

# IN SEARCH OF BEACH-LA-MAR

## TOWARDS A HISTORY OF PACIFIC PIDGIN ENGLISH

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### 0. Introduction

For nearly 200 years now, English-based pidgin and creole languages have been used in various parts of the South Pacific.<sup>1</sup> Systematic study of these languages goes back nearly 100 years to the work of Hugo Schuchardt (1883, 1889), and in recent times two of them, Tok Pisin and Hawaiian English, have taken their place among the best known and most intensively studied of the world's pidgins.

The linguistic history of these two centuries remains in a much less satisfactory state. Although there are some valuable studies of the internal and external histories of particular languages,<sup>2</sup> the overall picture of the origins and relations of the several traditions, particularly in the period before 1880, remains only vaguely known. A set of plausible conjectures, based mainly on the pioneering work of Schuchardt, Churchill (1911) and Reinecke (1937), has been passed from writer to writer, with occasional folkloric embellishments, so often that it has come to be thought of as established fact. The three authors mentioned, however, had little or no linguistic data from before 1880, and scarcely even adequate descriptions of the pidgins spoken by their contemporaries. Their conclusions are thus in need of further investigation rather than mere repetition.

The title of the present paper is intended to symbolize this state of affairs, since my research began as an attempt to find out something about "Beach-la-Mar". According to various authorities, this language, an "offshoot" of China Coast Pidgin, grew up in the late 18th or early 19th century, and was used in some broad but vaguely-defined area of the South Seas, or "islands between Asia and Australia". As to its later fate, opinions differ. At least one writer treats "Beach-la-Mar" as a synonym for "Neo-Melanesian"; but others speak of Neo-Melanesian as an "offshoot" of Beach-la-Mar, which has gradually replaced

it, though Beach-la-Mar "more or less in its original form" is still spoken in the New Hebrides and Fiji. (See Hall 1966:10, Hancock 1971:523, 1977:378, Laycock 1970:105, Todd 1974:93, Wurm 1971:1007-8.) It is difficult to know what to make of these various statements, since most of them are unaccompanied by evidence of any sort, and no systematic description of "Beach-la-Mar" exists to which one might refer.

My investigation showed that "Beach-la-Mar" as a term for a type of pidgin had its origin in New Caledonia. There is as yet no evidence for its use earlier than about 1870. The term had a local currency during the late 19th century in southern Melanesia (as far north as the southeast Solomons), and to a lesser extent in some plantation areas (Queensland, Fiji) which drew labourers from this region. It was probably obsolescent in local English by the early 20th century, when it was made known to the rest of the world by such writers as William Churchill (1911), Jack London (1909) and Robert Louis Stevenson (1900). (See Clark 1977, 1978b for further details.) More important, "Beach-la-Mar" was merely one term for a pidgin which was also referred to as "sandalwood English", "broken English", "pidgin English", "South Seas English", and so on. There seems to be no justification for treating the name as if it referred to a distinct language apart from the general pidgin history of the region. For this reason I will avoid it in the rest of this paper.

The present study employs two methods of investigation. After a brief outline of the historical background and the distribution of present-day pidgins (section 1), a number of lexical and grammatical features of these pidgins are systematically compared (section 2), and some tentative conclusions are drawn as to probable historical relations. These are then compared with documentary evidence on the language situation, mainly before 1880 (section 3). The limitations of each method by itself are obvious enough, but it is hoped that the two used in conjunction may provide more reliable conclusions.

## 1. Historical and Geographical Background

### 1.1 Historical Sketch<sup>3</sup>

By the time of Captain James Cook's death in Hawaii in 1779, all the major islands and archipelagos of the Pacific had been discovered by Europeans, and their locations were fairly well fixed on charts. Though many minor discoveries and much detailed surveying remained, this date can be taken as marking the end of an age of exploration and the beginning of one of exploitation. Within a decade of Cook's death the first English settlement was

established at Port Jackson, New South Wales (1788), and the first whale-ships entered the Pacific (1789). The London Missionary Society's ship *Duff* reached Tahiti in 1797. Although European governments took only a fitful interest in the Pacific islands during the 19th century - most islands were not formally annexed by any foreign power until after 1880 - there was an ever-increasing penetration of the region by missionaries and by Europeans engaged in a variety of commercial activities.

For the history of South Pacific pidgin, the 19th century may conveniently be divided into the period before 1865, which was dominated by whaling and other purely extractive trades, and that from 1865 to 1900, when plantation agriculture and labour migration became important.

The first European trade to affect the islands was that in sea otter furs from the west coast of North America to China. The fur-trading ships regularly visited Hawaii from 1786 on, and some took Hawaiian crewmen on board. But this trade was relatively short-lived, and its effects were confined almost entirely to Hawaii. Of far wider importance was whaling. Whaling grounds had been expanding for more than a century, first from the North into the South Atlantic, and then in 1789 around Cape Horn for the first time. The beginnings were slow, since the best grounds had to be gradually discovered, and European wars and commercial rivalries disrupted the industry. But after about 1820 the number of whale-ships operating in the Pacific climbed steadily into the hundreds. Whalers spent most of their time far from land, returning to their home ports when they had a full cargo of oil. But since voyages of three years and more were by this time commonplace, they needed to seek fresh water, provisions and firewood on land from time to time. Since there were very few European settlements, this generally meant dealing with the native people. Those islands with good anchorage, supplies of food and water, and friendly inhabitants quickly became known among whalers and were regularly visited. At the peak of the whaling era, in the 1840s and 1850s, there were several years when more than 500 ships called at the ports of Hawaii (Daws 1968:169), and even tiny, isolated Pitcairn received as many as 49 ships in one year (Maude 1964:75). Among other favourite resorts of whale-ships were the Marquesas, Tahiti, Ponape and Kusaie in the Carolines, Samoa, and the Bay of Islands in northern New Zealand.<sup>4</sup>

As well as food and drink, whalers often needed men, to fill gaps in their crews left by accident or desertion. It was soon found that many Pacific islanders were not only excellent seamen, but were interested in seeing the world and earning the price of coveted European goods. In this way Maoris, Hawaiians and "Kanakas" from many other islands were added to the Americans,

Englishmen, Portuguese and many other nationalities in the whaling crews.

Several other natural products of the Pacific islands were sought by Europeans in the early 19th century, and eventually played a role in the development of pidgins. Sandalwood, which could be sold for high prices in China, was first discovered in the Fiji islands some time before 1810, later in Hawaii (1811) and the Marquesas (1814), and finally in southern Melanesia (1828). Each discovery led to a sandalwood "rush" which exhausted all usable stands of the tree in the area within a few years. Steadier, long-term trades developed from an equally early date around *bêche-de-mer* and pearl shell. The *bêche-de-mer* or trepang, an edible sea slug also highly valued in China, was found almost anywhere where extensive coral reefs existed, but the most important areas of the trade were Fiji, New Caledonia, the Torres Straits and Micronesia. Pearls and pearl shell were sought particularly in the lagoons of the Tuamotu group, and later in the Torres Straits.<sup>5</sup>

By the early 1860s, whaling was rapidly declining and the last sandalwood rush was coming to an end. But a number of new economic developments were taking place which had important linguistic consequences: the first commercial cultivation of sugar cane in Queensland began in 1862; a shortage of cotton as a result of the American Civil War set off a brief boom in that crop in Queensland, Fiji and elsewhere; and the Hamburg trading firm of Godeffroy and Sons established the first large copra plantations in Samoa.<sup>6</sup> All of these plantation crops required large numbers of workers. It was generally believed that Europeans could not perform manual labour in the tropics, and the local populations were uninterested in regular work for wages. The labour supply problem thus became one of finding non-Europeans willing to leave their homes and work on plantations for a time. Hawaiian sugar growers had at first experimented with Gilbertese workers, but by 1852 had turned to China as a labour source. For Queensland, Fiji and Samoa, however, there were large populations of potential workers much closer at hand in Melanesia. The first shipload of New Hebrideans was brought to Queensland in 1863, and over the next 45 years perhaps 100,000 Melanesians worked as indentured labourers, mostly for a term of three years, in one or another of these territories.<sup>7</sup> The main area of recruitment gradually moved north with time, beginning with the New Hebrides and Loyalty Islands in the 1860s, shifting to the Solomon Islands during the 1870s, and reaching New Guinea only after 1880. For various reasons, the system was legally abolished in Queensland in 1904 and in Fiji in 1911, and most of the remaining islanders were repatriated.

These economic activities, then, were the major determinants of pidgin formation in the 19th-century Pacific. Local, and later imperial, political events had at most a secondary effect. The gradual decline of English pidgin in New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands, contrasting with its vigorous survival in the other Melanesian territories, may be attributed to the French administration's policy of discouraging English influence. The ascendancy of Hiri Motu at the expense of Melanesian pidgin in the Territory during the first half of the 20th century is apparently attributable to the influence of one governor, Sir Hubert Murray (Mühlhäusler 1978a). The effect of German administration on the development of pidgin in New Guinea and Samoa is mentioned below in section 3.5.

## 1.2 The Present-Day Pidgins and Creoles

The comparative study in the following section will focus on seven living pidgin and creole languages of the South Pacific region, plus China Coast pidgin, which is generally believed to have played a role in their history. The languages were selected because reliable and reasonably full published descriptions of them exist, and they cover all the main areas where pidgins and creoles are known to be in use. Some information follows on their locations and speakers, and the sources used. For further references see Hancock (1977).

Melanesian pidgin is spoken in the islands from eastern New Guinea to the New Hebrides, in three main dialects corresponding to political divisions. *New Guinea Pidgin* (NG), spoken throughout Papua New Guinea, is by far the best known dialect. It is often referred to as Tok Pisin or Neo-Melanesian, as in the dictionary and grammar of Mihalic (1971). *Solomon Islands Pidgin* (SI), spoken in the former British Solomon Islands Protectorate,<sup>8</sup> is described by Simons and Young (1978). *New Hebrides Pidgin* (NH), also known as Bislama or Bichelamar, is spoken throughout the New Hebrides. My data are from the dictionary by Camden (1977). There are no accurate figures available for numbers of speakers of any of these dialects, but in general a large majority of adult males, as well as many women and children, are competent in pidgin. (Pidgin has a less widespread use in the former Territory of Papua, where it is gradually expanding at the expense of the Melanesian-based pidgin Hiri Motu.) The total number of speakers of all dialects is probably on the order of one million. A few thousand of these, mainly in towns, are native speakers.

English-based pidgins and creoles have been reported from many parts of Australia, of which two representatives are considered here. *Cape York Creole* (CY) is spoken in the extreme north of Queensland. Crowley and Rigsby (1979) describe the

dialect of Bamaga, a community at the tip of the peninsula with a mixed population of about 1,000 Australian Aboriginal and Torres Straits Island people. (Some additional material was supplied by Bruce Rigsby in personal communications.) The pidgin spoken in the Torres Straits Islands, described by Dutton (1970) and Laade (1971), appears to be very similar. Sharpe (1975) and Sharpe and Sandefur (1976) describe *Roper River Creole* (RR), spoken by the Aboriginal people of Roper River (Ngukurr), Northern Territory. The same language is apparently used at Bamyili (near Katherine), N.T., and probably in other Aboriginal communities in the area. (See also note 41.)

By contrast with Melanesia and Australia, English-based pidgins no longer exist in most of Polynesia and Micronesia. There are two important exceptions, each related to peculiar historical circumstances. *Pitcairn-Norfolk Creole* (P-N) originated with the mutineers from the *Bounty* and their Tahitian wives, who settled on Pitcairn Island in 1790. It is now spoken by the Pitcairnese, who number fewer than 100, and by several hundred persons on Norfolk Island (about half the population), whose ancestors migrated from Pitcairn in 1856. The data used in this study come from the description of the Norfolk dialect by Harrison (1972). The Pitcairn dialect, as described by Ross and Moverley (1964), appears to be essentially the same. *Hawaiian English* (HE) refers to a complex situation including both a pidgin and a creole-English continuum. The historical and sociolinguistic situation is described by Reinecke (1969) and Bickerton and Odo (1976). Forms cited in the comparison are mainly from Nagara (1972), who describes the pidgin of elderly native Japanese speakers, but some reference is made to Carr (1972), a survey of various periods and levels of HE.

*China Coast Pidgin* (CC) is apparently on the way to extinction, but survives to some extent in Hong Kong. The data, from Hall (1944), are taken from published material and some European informants.

## 2. Comparative Study

### 2.1 The Comparative Features

Table 1 shows the distribution of 30 features of grammar and lexicon among the eight languages being compared. These are discussed in detail in the following section. Here something should be said about the choice of features.

Since the purpose of the comparison is to find evidence of common historical origin, the features are all innovations relative to standard English. Thus, points at which these

languages are essentially the same as English (for example Subject-Verb-Object and Adjective-Noun word order, and most of the lexicon)<sup>9</sup> are not usable for comparison. I have also passed over those innovations likely to occur more than once independently as a result of universal processes of simplification and improvisation - such as the elimination of inflections and of most grammatical morphemes, the use of pre-verbal *no* as negator, and such periphrases as *what time* for "when?". Naturally there are differences of opinion on this last point, and some of the features I have used may be felt to be weak evidence for this reason.

Since my focus of interest is in the origin and relations of the Melanesian pidgins, all but one of the features are reflected in at least two of the Melanesian dialects. (The single exception is *along*<sup>1</sup>, which is included for purposes of comparison with *along*<sup>2</sup>.) Otherwise, they have been selected to show a variety of relationships: some restricted to the Melanesian group, others shared with other Pacific pidgins, and still others found outside the Pacific. The list, of course, is not exhaustive, but the claim is being made that the addition of more features would not significantly upset the conclusions to be drawn. If, for example, a large number of points of resemblance between New Guinea Pidgin and Hawaiian English were adduced, which were not shared by the other languages, the conclusions would have to be revised or abandoned, unless a plausible case could be made for later borrowing between NG and HE, or unexpectedly widespread loss by the other languages. One or two examples of such apparent counter-features will be noted in the course of the discussion, and such explanations will be suggested.

Because of the great variation in both phonological shape and orthography, the features are referred to in the table headings and in the general discussion by their presumed etyma, in normal English spelling. Three pairs of homophonous features (*all*, *along*, *fellow*) are distinguished by superscript numbers.

Sentences (1) - (10) provide examples of a number of the features as found in New Hebrides Pidgin, which will be referred to in the following discussion.

- (1) 01 turis oli kam blong lukluk ples nomo.  
'Tourists only come to look at the place.'
- (2) Bambae sip ya i kasem Kanal long sapa.  
'The ship will reach Luganville at dusk.'
- (3) I gat plante nil olsem oli stap long haos.  
'There are many nails like that in the house.'

	<u>New Guinea</u>	<u>Solomons</u>	<u>New Hebrides</u>	<u>Cape York</u>
<i>all</i> <sup>1</sup>	ol	-	ol	ol
<i>all</i> <sup>2</sup>	ol	-	ol	ol
<i>all same</i>	olsem	olsem	olsem	olseim
<i>all together</i>	olgeta	olketa	olgeta	olgeta
<i>along</i> <sup>1</sup>	-	-	-	lo(ng), la
<i>along</i> <sup>2</sup>	long	lo(ng(o))	long	lo(ng), la
<i>been</i>	bin	bin	bin	bi(n)
<i>belong</i>	bilong	blong	blong	blo(ng), bla
<i>bullamacow</i>	bulmakau	bulumakau	bulamakao	(bullamacow)
<i>by and by</i>	(ba(i)m)bai	baebae	bambae	baimbai
<i>catch</i>	kis-im	kas-em	kas-em	kech-im
<i>fellow</i> <sup>1</sup>	-pela	-fala	-fala	-
<i>fellow</i> <sup>2</sup>	-pela	-fala	-fala	-pela
<i>got</i>	gat	gar-em	gat	gat
<i>he</i>	i	i	i	i
<i>him</i>	-im	-im,-em,-m	-im,-um,-em	-i(m)
<i>kaikai</i>	kaikai	kaikai	kakae	kaikai
<i>kill</i>	kil-im	kil-im	kil-im	-
<i>man bush</i>	+	+	+	-
<i>piccaninny</i>	pikinini	pikinini	pikinini	pikanini
<i>pigeon</i>	pisin	pisin	pijin	(pigeon)
<i>plenty</i>	planti,plenti	plande	plante	plenti
<i>savvy</i>	save	save	save	savi
<i>something</i>	samting	samting	samting	-
<i>stop</i>	stap	stap	stap	stap
<i>suppose</i>	s(a)pos	sapos	sipos	(suppose)
<i>too much</i>	tumas	tumas	tumas	tumach
<i>what name</i>	wanem	wanem	wanem	wanim
<i>where</i>	-	wea	we	wee
<i>you me</i>	yumi	yumi	yumi	yumi

Table 1  
Distribution of Comparative Features



<u>Roper River</u>	<u>Norfolk</u>	<u>Hawaiian</u>	<u>China Coast</u>
al	-	-	-
-	-	-	-
-	-	o:r se:m	ólsem
-	-	-	-
la(nga)	lɔŋ(f)ə	-	(lɔŋ)
la(nga)	-	-	-
bin	bɪn	bɪn	-
bla(nga)	-	-	(b(ə)lɔŋ)
-	-	-	-
baymbay	bɛmbɛə	baimbai	bajmbaj
gej-im	-	(catch)	kæčɪ
-bala	-	(fellow)	(-fɛlə)
-(m)bala	-	-	-
gat	gʌt	gott, gatto	hæv gat
-	-	-	-
-im, -um	-	-	(-əm)
kaikai	-	-	-
gil-im	-	-	-
-	-	-	-
biginini	-	-	-
-	-	-	-
-	plente, plænte	parenti:	plenti
jabi	-	sabe	sævi
-	-	-	-
-	-	stopp	stap
buji, buñi	səpos(ɛn)	sapo:z	səpōs
dumaj(i)	tu	to: mačč	tūmáčč
wanim, wanem	-	-	-
(weya)	-	-	-
yunmi	-	-	-

- (4) Oli stap kakae wan ples.  
'They regularly eat together.'
- (5) Hem i tekem wud ya, i kilim woman blong hem long hem,  
we kolosap i kilim hem i ded.  
'He took this piece of wood and hit his wife with it,  
almost killing her.'
- (6) Sipos i ren, bambae hem i no save kam.  
'If it rains, he won't be able to come.'
- (7) Kakae blong mifala i nambawan.  
'Our food was excellent.'
- (8) Hemia tufala trak blong yumi ya.  
'Those are our two taxis.'
- (9) Ol man ya we haos ya i blong olgeta oli harem nogud  
tumas.  
'The people whose house it was were very upset.'
- (10) Olgeta long velej oli stap taltalem olsem.  
'The people in the village are talking like that.'

## 2.2 Discussion of Table 1

*all*<sup>1</sup>: pronoun, third person plural (examples 1,3,4,9,10). RR *al* is listed as one of several forms, of which *imalabad* is apparently the most common (Sharpe & Sandefur 1976: 69). For further discussion see *all together*.

*all*<sup>2</sup>: plural marker, preceding the noun (examples 1,9). The development of a plural marker from a third person plural pronoun is known from elsewhere, for example Jamaican Creole *dem* (Bailey 1966:27). This suggests that *all*<sup>2</sup> may be historically derived from *all*<sup>1</sup>. For further discussion see *all together*.

*all same*: preposition, 'like, the same as'. Also used adverbially without object: 'thus', 'like that' (examples 3, 10).

*all together*: quantifier, 'all', preceding nouns. The distribution of *all*<sup>1</sup>, *all*<sup>2</sup> and *all together* in NG is as indicated above. In SI, however, neither *all*<sup>1</sup> nor *all*<sup>2</sup> occurs, and *olketa* is used both as pronoun and as plural marker. (The word for 'all' is *everi*.) One might hypothesize that NG preserves the older situation, and that SI *olketa* has assumed the functions of a hypothetical earlier *ol* via the same course of development whereby English *all* had originally acquired its functions in pidgin.

New Hebrides Pidgin would then appear to be at

an intermediate stage of this development. The third person plural pronoun is *olgeta*, except after the preposition *blong*, where *ol* may optionally occur. Additional evidence of pronominal *ol* is the fact that the predicate marker, normally *i*, assumes the form *oli* in agreement with third person plural subjects <sup>10</sup> (Camden 1977: xvi, 77-78). *ol* is the only plural marker in NH, according to Camden. I have heard *olgeta* used in this function, but by urban speakers who may have been influenced by SI usage.

These facts may be summarized as follows:

	'all'	3 pl. pronoun	pl. article
NG	<i>olgeta</i>	<i>ol</i>	<i>ol</i>
NH	<i>olgeta</i> ( <i>evriwan</i> )	<i>olgeta, ol</i>	<i>ol, olgeta</i>
SI	<i>everi</i>	<i>olketa</i>	<i>olketa</i>

*along*<sup>1</sup>: preposition, 'with (comitative)'. Also found in Sranan (*nana*) and Gullah (*longa*).<sup>11</sup> Hall (1966:119) gives CC *lon* as a reflex of Proto-Pidgin English \**lon* 'with', without further comment. However, it is not listed among the prepositions in his description of CC (Hall 1944), and I have found no examples of it.

Norfolk *lonfə* is instrumental as well as comitative. This might be taken as a case of *along*<sup>2</sup>, but could as easily be an independent development, probably influenced by standard English *with*.

The Melanesian pidgins have a comitative preposition of a different form (NG *wantaim*, SI NH *wetem*). I suggest this is a local innovation, replacing earlier *along*.

*along*<sup>2</sup>: preposition, with a range of functions including spatial ('to, at, from'), dative, and instrumental (examples 2, 3, 5, 10).

*been*: past or anterior tense marker, preceding verbs. Also found in Sranan (*ben*), Jamaican Creole (*bin, ben*), Krio (*bin*) and Cameroons Pidgin (*bin*).

The distribution of this form - grammatical, geographical and historical - is rather complex. In New Guinea it was apparently unknown in many places until quite recently, having originally been restricted to the Rabaul and Morobe areas (Mihalic 1971:72). This led Hall (1966:80) to conclude that it was a post-war introduction from Australian Aboriginal pidgin. However *bin* is given as the marker of 'past

perfect indicative mood' by Murphy (1943:12), who had studied pidgin for some years before the war. It is also documented in Papuan pidgin from an early date (Mühlhäusler 1978a:37).

The dialect of NH described by Camden uses *bin* only in the anterior sense, and other dialects not at all (Camden 1977:9). SI *bin* is glossed by Simons and Young (1978:163) as 'past, action habitual'. In RR *bin* appears to be used regularly as a past tense marker (Sharpe 1975:14-16).

*belong*: preposition, genitive. Phrases of the form *belong* + NP may be used as predicates (example 9), or more commonly as postposed adjuncts to nouns (examples 5, 7,8). In RR, preposing is more common, as in *blanga yumob mani* 'your (pl.) money'.

The CC form is sometimes cited as evidence of a connection between Chinese and South Pacific pidgins, but in fact it is quite different grammatically. CC *blon* is a copula verb used with nominal, adjectival and other non-verbal predicates, and has nothing specifically to do with the genitive relation. Hall (1966:79) makes a point of this difference in function. *b(ə)lón* 'of, for' is listed among the CC prepositions in his earlier paper (Hall 1944:98), but none of the examples seem to suggest the existence of such a preposition as distinct from the verb *blon*. Thus CC sentences like (11), while superficially similar to NH examples like (14) and (15), must be considered along with others such as (12) and (13), whereas the NH sentences are to be compared with (16) and (17).

CC:

- (11) *ðís pénsil bilón jú*  
'Is this pencil yours?'
- (12) *ðæt bəlón tú θfk*  
'That's too thick.'
- (13) *jú bilón própər mæn*  
'You are a fine man.'

NH:

- (14) *Pensel ya i blong yu?*  
'Is this pencil yours?'
- (15) *Hemia pensel blong yu?*  
'Is this your pencil?'
- (16) *Pensel blong mi i lus.*  
'My pencil is lost.'

- (17) Waetman ya i stilim pensel blong mi.  
'That white man stole my pencil.'

CC does not have noun phrases of the form *A blon B* 'B's A',<sup>12</sup> and the South Pacific pidgins do not use *belong* to mark nominal or adjectival predicates. The two *belong* traditions, in fact, seem to be quite independent developments. Both have their origin in English sentences like (18), which are most directly reflected in (11) and (14), but the two have generalised *belong* in quite different directions

- (18) This pencil belongs to you.

In the Melanesian pidgins, *belong* has an additional use as a conjunction introducing clauses of purpose or intention (example 1).

*bullamacow*: noun, 'bull, cow, ox, etc.'. The NH form is described by Camden as old-fashioned, being now generally replaced by *buluk*. Likewise Rigsby (personal communication) says that *bullamacow* is known, but regarded as old-fashioned, at Cape York.

*by and by*: future tense marker. Generally clause-initial, but in the Melanesian pidgins may also occur between subject and verb.

This form is described as a tense marker only in the Melanesian pidgins and CY (in the latter, glossed as 'distant future'). Elsewhere it may be simply a time adverb with an indefinite future meaning. This is of course the standard English use, but the common selection of *by and by* from among the various adverbs of similar meaning (*soon, after a while, later on, etc.*) seems to me of some small value as evidence of a relation among these languages.

P-N *bembæə* has the additional sense of 'lest, in case', as in (19):

- (19) KAM dʌʊn bembæə ju fɔl  
'Come down lest you fall.'

*catch*: verb, 'get, obtain, receive'. In NH, SI and CY also 'reach, arrive at' (example 2).

*fellow*<sup>1</sup>: suffix to various pre-nominal modifiers. The items to which *fellow*<sup>1</sup> is attached include adjectives, numerals and reflexes of *this, that, some* and *another*. Details of which items take the suffix, whether suffixation is optional or obligatory and, if optional, what difference it makes, vary considerably from language to language.

Carr (1972:129) gives the example (20) to illustrate '-fellow as a suffix', but it would be equally possible to interpret it as simply a noun.

- (20) Dese two-fellow, man and wife - dere name A'alona. Jonh Reinecke (personal communication) confirms that Hawaiian English does not use *fellow* in any way analogous to the Melanesian pidgins.

Hall (1966:190-110) states that *-felə* was suffixed to numerals modifying animate nouns in 'Classical' (pre-20th century) China Coast pidgin, but was later replaced by generalising the corresponding inanimate suffix *-pisi*. However, there are no examples of the supposed *-felə* in Hall 1944, and Bauer (1974:126-8) was unable to find any in material he examined. He raises the possibility that Hall's statement may be simply a historical conjecture, based on the supposed substratum influence of Chinese numeral classifiers (and, I would add, on the supposed connection with the Melanesian forms).

*fellow*<sup>2</sup>: plural suffix in personal pronouns. The forms *me fellow* 'we (exclusive)' and *you fellow* 'you (plural)' occur in all the Melanesian pidgins, and the Australian creoles have third-person forms in addition (CY *dempela*, RR *imbala*).

*got*: verb, 'have'. Also in Jamaican Creole (Bailey 1966:52,55) and American Indian Pidgin English (Leechman & Hall 1955:165-7). The form *get* (*get*) occurs with this meaning in Krio, Cameroons Pidgin and Guyana Creole, and is the more common form in modern HE. CC *hæw* seems to be an accreted aspect marker; compare the negative *no gat*.

All the Pacific forms except SI *garem* and RR *gat* also occur in subjectless sentences with existential meaning (example 3).

*he*: predicate marker, predicate-initial. This marker is used in subjectless sentences, and with third-person subjects. It is never used with the singular pronoun subjects *me* and *you*. Usage with other pronoun subjects varies.

*him*: transitive suffix to verbs. Also found in American Indian Pidgin English (Leechman & Hall 1955:169), apparently in early Nigerian Pidgin (Mafeni 1971:96-7) and in the Eskimo Trade Jargon of Herschel Island (Stefansson 1909).

The CC form *-əm* is mainly passive, but Hall

(1944:98) states that it was transitive at an earlier stage, and is still occasionally so used.

SI, NH and RR show similar harmonic alternations in the shape of the suffix according to the nature of the preceding vowel:

SI: *-im* after high vowels, *-em* elsewhere (but note variant forms *pul-um*, *pus-um*, *put-um*). *-m* results from reduction of *-e-em* and *-i-im* sequences.

NH: *-im* after *i*, *-um* after *u*, *-em* elsewhere.

RR: *-im* after *i*, usually *-um* elsewhere.

*kaikai*: verb, 'eat' and noun, 'food'. The RR form is said by Sharpe (1975:2) to be an 'old word', still known but now generally replaced by *daga* (from Australian English *tucker*).

*kill*: verb, 'strike, beat'. Where context is clear, this may also mean 'kill', but more commonly a complement specifying death is added, as in NH *kilim i ded*.

*man bush*: noun compound, 'inland dweller' (opposed to *man salt water* 'coastal dweller'). I use this phrase as a cover term for noun compounds of the form *N N* where modifier follows head. Some examples:

NG: *bokis mani* 'moneybox', *pasin kanaka* 'native custom', *sip sel* 'sailing ship'

SI: *lif ti* 'tea leaves', *nel fingga* 'fingernail', *skin kokonat* 'coconut husk'

NH: *haos meresin* 'dispensary', *lif kokonas* 'coconut leaves', *pig woman* 'sow'

*piccaninny*: noun, 'child'. Also in Jamaican Creole (*ptkini*), Guyanese Creole (*ptkni*) and Krio (*piktn*).

*pigeon*: noun, 'bird'.

*plenty*: quantifier, 'much, many', preceding nouns. Also occurs in Krio and Cameroons Pidgin (*plénti*) and Jamaican and Guyanese Creole (*plenti-plénti*). Occasionally used in this sense in standard English, but usually implies sufficiency for a purpose, an implication which is lacking in the pidgins. As with *by and by*, the fact of selection (absence of *a lot, many*, etc.) is as much evidence as the shift of meaning.

*savvy*: verb, 'know, understand'. Widespread elsewhere in the world, including Krio *sabt*, Sranan, Saramaccan, Cameroons Pidgin, Jamaican Creole and Gullah *sábi*, and American Indian Pidgin (Leechman & Hall 1955:170).

In the Melanesian pidgins and CY, *savvy* extends

its meaning through 'know how to' and 'be able to' (example 6) to 'be in the habit of'.

*something*: noun, 'thing'. Also found in Jamaican Creole (*somting*) and Sranan (*sani*) (Cassidy 1971:211).

*stop*: verb, 'be (in a place)' (example 3). In NG and NH *stop* is also used as a progressive or habitual auxiliary preceding verbs (examples 4, 10). The progression from locative to progressive aspect is well known from elsewhere (e.g. Krio *de*).

In HE, *stei* as both locative verb and progressive aspect marker is nearly universal. However, one old speaker in the sample studied by Bickerton & Odo (1976:151-2) used *stap*, and Bickerton identifies this as an older form.

*suppose*: conjunction, 'if'. It is 'known, but not much used' at Cape York (Rigsby, p.c.). Also occurs in American Indian Pidgin (Leechman & Hall 1955:165,167) and Chinook Jargon (*pos*). The standard English form tends to be restricted to conjectural (rather than generic or predictive) conditions, and to intonationally independent clauses; but I don't know how old or how dialectally universal these restrictions are. More important is the selection of *suppose* as the sole conditional marker in the pidgins.

*too much*: adverb, 'very, very much'. The Melanesian forms normally follow the verb they modify, whereas the others precede. Also found in all seven of Hancock's Atlantic Creoles (Krio *túmɔs*, Sranan *tumsi*, etc.). Hall (1966:121) points out the same semantic shift from the source language in creoles of Spanish and French base (e.g. Papiamentu *mašá*, Dominican Creole *tro*).

*what name*: interrogative pronoun 'what?' or determiner 'which?' preceding nouns.

*where*: relative clause marker, clause-initial. Also in Krio, Cameroons Pidgin, Jamaican Creole (*we*) and Gulla (*be*).

*you me*: first person inclusive pronoun. The Melanesian forms are plural, but the Australian are dual.

### 2.3 Results of the Comparison

Although there are some gaps, the general distribution of the features compared is far from random. We may distinguish the following distribution classes:



- World*: features shared by Pacific pidgins with English-based pidgins and creoles elsewhere in the world;
- Sino-Pacific*: features found in CC and most of the South Pacific languages, but not elsewhere;
- Southwestern*: features shared by the Melanesian pidgins and Australian creoles, but not found elsewhere;
- Melanesian*: features not found outside the Melanesian group.

These four classes form the basis of the subgrouping hypothesis to be drawn from the comparison, and will now be considered in turn.

### 2.3.1 World Features

The World features are *along*<sup>1</sup>, *been*, *by and by* (adverbial), *got* ('have'), *him*, *piccaninny*, *plenty*, *savvy*, *something*, *suppose*, *too much* and *where*. Most of these are found in all, or all but one, of the eight Pacific languages. Those with more defective distributions are *along*<sup>1</sup>, not found in HE or the Melanesian group; *him*, *piccaninny* and *where*, restricted to Melanesian and Australian; and *something*, restricted to Melanesian.

Insofar as they are accepted as evidence of historical connections, these features indicate that the English-based pidgins and creoles of the Pacific were not independent local developments, but had some link with pidgins and creoles elsewhere in the world. Such a link could have been a world-wide English nautical jargon in the eighteenth century or earlier, the existence of which has been frequently suggested or even assumed, but hardly established. It is also possible that some features were transmitted by way of standard English (e.g. *piccaninny* and *savvy*) or through non-English-based pidgins (perhaps *too much*).

The features with notably defective distribution within the Pacific are less convincing as evidence for an early and widespread jargon source. The two obvious ways of explaining the gaps in their distribution are: loss of an earlier feature by several modern languages; and independent innovation within a restricted group. Documentary evidence should be helpful in deciding between these possibilities. The possibility of local borrowing direct from some non-Pacific pidgin should also be considered, but the historical facts do not suggest that this has been a significant factor.

### 2.3.2 The Position of Pitcairn-Norfolk

Pitcairn-Norfolk Creole shares only seven of the 30 comparative features with the other languages, and all of these are World

features.<sup>13</sup> In other words, it does not show any distinctly "Pacific" characteristics which would connect it with the other languages being compared. (This point has been noted by Hancock (1969:35), among others.)

Such a conclusion is consistent with the known external history of P-N (Maude 1964, Harrison 1972). The *Bounty* mutineers and their Tahitian companions cut themselves off from contact with the rest of the world in 1789, when the period of South Seas trade had scarcely begun. Tahiti, although it was one of the centres of European contact, had been visited by fewer than ten ships since its discovery by Wallis in 1767. Commercial routes to China had so far touched only Hawaii. Thus, while a world-wide jargon of the sort referred to above may have been known to some of the founders of the community, it would not be likely to have developed any clear regional characteristics.<sup>14</sup> During the 18 years of total isolation (1790-1808) and another ten years during which only three ships visited Pitcairn, it seems likely that Pitcairnese Creole became firmly established, at least among the island-born members of the community. Moreover, what little documentation exists on the early period suggests that the Pitcairners may have communicated with outsiders in more or less standard English (which had been formally taught to the children from the very beginning), and reserved the creole for use among themselves (see Ross & Moverley 1964:118-120). This would help to explain why, even after 1820 when visits by whalers became more and more frequent, the South Seas Jargon which undoubtedly existed by that time appears to have had no significant effect on Pitcairnese.

### 2.3.3 Sino-Pacific Features

Only four of the comparative features - *all same*, *catch*, *got* (existential) and *stop* - are shared by CC with most of the South Pacific pidgins but not found elsewhere.<sup>15</sup> These features are the comparative evidence supporting the claim of a Chinese derivation for the South Pacific pidgins. (It is possible, of course, that some of the World features reached the South Pacific via China, but comparative evidence alone cannot show this.) The list is not particularly impressive, considering the historical circumstances - early and important trade routes linking the Pacific islands with ports such as Canton, where a well-developed trade pidgin already existed. Many of the most familiar features of CC do not appear in the South Pacific at all: for example, *my* as first person singular pronoun, *have* as an auxiliary, the suffix *-piecee*, and lexical items such as *bobbery* "trouble", *chop* "letter", *chop chop* "quickly", *joss* "god", *pay* "give" and *pidgin* "business, affair" itself.

#### 2.3.4 The Position of Hawaiian English

The comparative features found in Hawaiian English (*all same, been, by and by, catch, got, plenty, savvy, stop, suppose* and *too much*) all belong to either the World or the Sino-Pacific group.<sup>16</sup> Resemblances between Hawaiian and the other South Pacific pidgins, in other words, can be accounted for in terms of common inheritance either from the early world-wide jargon or from CC. There is no basis for a South Pacific grouping including HE but excluding CC.

HE also shares a few other features with CC not found elsewhere in the Pacific, such as *kaukau* 'eat' (CC *čaw*), *look-see* 'look', and the postposed locative marker *side*.

As in the case of Pitcairn-Norfolk, the comparative facts are in accord with the known historical circumstances. Although a local form of South Seas Jargon was undoubtedly in use in Hawaii by the early 19th century, the decisive fact in the origins of modern Hawaiian English was the importation of large numbers of plantation labourers beginning in 1852, the first group of which were Chinese. Bickerton (Bickerton & Odo 1976: 17-19) has argued that the original contact language on the plantations was a pidginized Hawaiian, which was gradually relexified to a predominantly English form around the end of the century. The original seaport jargon (*hapa haole*) would thus have played no more than a peripheral role in the development of HE. Whether Bickerton's hypothesis is correct or not, it is clear that after mid-century the center of pidgin development in Hawaii was on the plantations, effectively isolated from the South Seas whaling and trading circuits, and subject to Asian influences which were nowhere else as strong.

#### 2.3.5 Southwestern Features

The features *all*<sup>1</sup>, *all together*, *along*<sup>2</sup>, *belong*, *bullamacow*, *fellow*<sup>1</sup>, *fellow*<sup>2</sup>, *he*, *kaikai*, *kill*, *pigeon*, *what name* and *you me* are uniquely shared by the Melanesian pidgins and the Australian creoles. The Australian-Melanesian connection has not always been recognized,<sup>17</sup> but the number and importance of these features seem to suggest a rather close historical relationship. Historical evidence also tends to support this view. On the origin of Roper River Creole, Sharpe writes:

My elderly informant at Ngukurr, Mr. Barnabas Roberts, an Alawa tribesman (now deceased), told me that stockmen brought PE to the Territory from the Queensland canefields in the last century, during the time when South Sea Island labourers were brought there.... My informant told me this pidgin became a lingua franca at

Ngukurr at its inception as a mission in 1908, when Aborigines from a dozen or so tribes found refuge there. (Sharpe 1975:1-2)

Crowley & Rigsby (1979:157-160) likewise trace the origins of Cape York Creole to Melanesia. Melanesians worked on board ships engaged in the pearl shell and *bêche-de-mer* trades in the Torres Straits from the 1860s onward, and some Loyalty Islanders came as missionaries. Later (beginning in the 1890s), Aboriginal men from the coasts of Cape York were also recruited for work on sandalwood and pearling vessels. Some Melanesians from the Queensland plantations also came and settled on Mabuia Island, marrying local women.

Further discussion of the Australian situation in the light of documentary evidence will be found in section 3.6.

### 2.3.6 Melanesian Features

Two comparative features (*all*<sup>2</sup> and *man bush*) occur only in the Melanesian pidgins, and some other features have extended uses only in this group: *belong* as a conjunction, *stop* as progressive aspect marker, and *too much* in post-verbal position. The list of uniquely Melanesian features could probably be considerably extended. One possible explanation for these facts would be a period of specifically Melanesian common development after the Australian traditions had established a separate existence. Equally important, however, is the fact that Aborigines, as a minority in a predominantly English-speaking country, have been subject to far greater Anglicizing pressure than have the Melanesians in their home islands. It would not be surprising, therefore, to find that many originally common Southwestern pidgin features had been lost in Australia. (An example of such Anglicization has been seen in the replacement of RR *kaikai* by *daga*.) It is also possible that the Melanesian influence in Australia was not a matter of language replacement but rather of heavy borrowing into an existing Australian pidgin. (See section 3.6 for further discussion.)

Figure 1 summarizes the relationships suggested by the comparative evidence examined in this section.

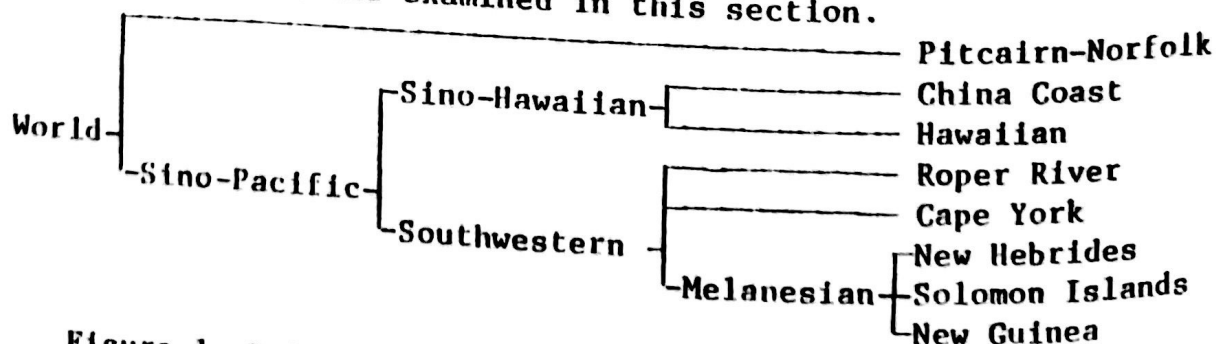


Figure 1: Relationships suggested by comparative evidence

### 3. Documentary Study

#### 3.1 The Nature of the Evidence

In the present section I give some evidence from early records about the development of English pidgin and the general linguistic situation in the South Pacific in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The records used were written by Europeans engaged in commercial ventures of one sort or another (whaling, trading, labour recruiting), and also by explorers, missionaries, naval officers and mere tourists. None of the writers were linguists in the modern sense; very few of them devoted even so much as a paragraph to explicit discussion of pidgin. But a good deal can be learned both from their comments on the linguistic situation (difficulties of understanding, use of interpreters, linguistic abilities of natives and Europeans, etc.) and from their direct quotations of the 'broken English' spoken by the natives (and occasionally by Europeans).

It might be objected that such quotations are largely a creation of European imaginations, a conventionalized idea of how natives spoke which has little to do with reality. (Bickerton (Bickerton & Odo 1976:13) speaks of 'comic-book stereotyping of non-standard varieties which was already rife among nineteenth [century] speakers of English'.) For a number of reasons, I think this is not a major problem. First, the authors are writing works of non-fiction, describing events they have personally experienced. (There would be much more reason to expect an inauthentic, stereotyped pidgin from the writers of fictional South Seas adventure yarns, who might never have left England or America.) While they undoubtedly use pidgin quotations to add colour to their narratives, it is hard to see what motive they would have for falsifying its structure, unless one were to maintain that all the natives were in fact speaking standard English. Second, there is a reasonable consistency from writer to writer in a given area and period, rather than a wild jumble of imagined pseudo-pidgins. The features also found in pidgins elsewhere are limited in number, and almost entirely restricted to the World and Sino-Pacific features discussed in the previous section. When Chinese or American Negroes, for example, are quoted, their English is clearly of a different type from that of the Pacific islanders. If this is a literary dialect, then, it is a well-defined and distinctive one, and my discussion ought at least to be of interest to literary historians. Third, the records lead in a continuous and plausible sequence up to the first reliable descriptions of the modern pidgins. Finally, the variation in spelling of various words suggests that the writers were trying to represent something they had actually heard, rather than copying a written dialect from some other author.

Thus *savvy* may also be written *sabee*, *sabé* or *savez*; *fellow* as *feller* or *fella*; *all same* as *allee same*, *allasame* or *all 'e same a'*.

I shall therefore take these quotations seriously as representations of the sort of language in use between Europeans and natives at the time and place of writing, though not necessarily of the exact words spoken on a particular occasion. Naturally, various limitations must be allowed for. Pronunciation is only sporadically indicated, by ad hoc modifications of English orthography. Grammatical errors are inevitable, as a result of the writer's imperfect grasp of the rules of the pidgin (or failure to perceive that it had any). There is also, particularly in longer texts, a tendency to drift into standard English, either from the same lack of competence, or because long stretches of real pidgin would be too hard for the reader to understand. A short utterance is more likely to have been accurately remembered and noted down.

### 3.2 South Seas Jargon: The Pacific to 1865

#### 3.2.1 The Pre-contact Linguistic Situation

Contrary to some popular ideas, the South Pacific is a region of considerable linguistic diversity. The total number of languages is estimated at well over 1,000, and the figure is still in the hundreds even if we eliminate the interior of New Guinea, which is of little concern to the present study. Before European intrusion, there was no single language understood over any considerable portion of the South Pacific. The maximum geographic extension of single languages was probably reached in some Polynesian island groups (such as Hawaii and New Zealand). There were also lingua francas (some of them pidginized) associated with various regional trading networks in Melanesia, which might extend for distances of a few hundred kilometers. Among these was the language used on the well-known *hiri* trading expeditions of the Motu of central Papua (Dutton & Kakare 1977). Other lingua francas are mentioned in connection with the Vitiaz Straits trading system on the north coast of New Guinea (Bellwood 1978:103) and in the Santa Cruz archipelago (Fox 1948:252).

In general, however, contact was between neighbouring linguistic groups, and was managed by strictly local multilingualism. For the Europeans this meant that no language was of use much beyond the immediate area of its native community, and each new area entered presented a new communication problem.<sup>18</sup> The situation could change only when knowledge of English became sufficiently widespread among the islanders to make interpreters available in most places.

### 3.2.2 First Contacts and Early Bilingualism

Europeans and islanders encountering each other for the first time naturally had to make use of all possible non-linguistic means of communication. The following account of the *Dolphin's* arrival at Tahiti (1767) is typical:

... when they came within pistol shot they lay by for some time - and lookt at our ship with great astonishment, holding a sort of Counsel of war amongst them mean time we made all the friendly signs that we could think of, and showed them several trinkets in order to get some of them onb<sup>d</sup> after their Counsel was over they paddled all round the ship and made signs of friendship to us, by holding up Branches of Plantain trees, and making a long speech of near fifteen minutes, when the speech was over he that made it throwd the plantain branch in to the sea, then they came nearer the ship, and all of them appeard cheerful and talkt a great dale but non of us could understand them, but to pleas them we all seemd merry and said something to them, their language is not Gutteral but they talkd so very fast that we could not distinguish one word from another... we made signs to them, to bring of Hogs, Fowls and fruit and showd them coarse cloth, Knives sheers Beeds Ribons etc, and made them understand that we was willing to barter with them, the method we took to make them understand what we wanted was this, some of the men Grunted and Cryd lyke a Hogg then pointed to the shore - oythers crowd Lyke cocks to make them understand that we wanted fowls, this the natives of the country understood and Grunted and Crowd the same as our people, and pointed to the shore and made signs that they would bring us off some....

(Robertson 1948:136-7)

This kind of makeshift was usually satisfactory for barter and the exchange of simple messages, given good will on both sides. Any further development of relations, however, would require a common language.

Evidence from the earliest contacts indicates that the most common pattern was for the Europeans to learn the local language. The 18th-century explorers repeatedly refer to their limited knowledge of the vernacular as an obstacle to communication, and

incorporate words and phrases of it into their accounts of conversations. There is virtually no mention of natives using English.<sup>19</sup> In his account of more than five months spent at Tahiti in 1788-9, Bligh (1792:84) mentions only one Tahitian, 'Oedidee, the man who had been at sea with Captain Cook in 1773 and 1774', who 'still retained some of the English words which he had learnt in that expedition.'

There is some evidence that a pidginized or simplified form of the vernacular was used in these early contacts. At Nomuka (Tonga) in 1789, Bligh, who had visited the island 12 years earlier with Cook, at first found himself 'not sufficiently master of the language' to make enquiries for former acquaintances. At length, however, 'an old lame man, named Tapa, whom I had known in 1777 ... came on board ... Tapa having formerly been accustomed to our manner of speaking their language, I found that I could converse with him tolerably well.' (Bligh 1792:149, emphasis added). Apparent examples of pidginized vernacular can be found in early sources on Hawaiian (Campbell 1822:185-6), Maori (Savage 1807, Nicholas 1817, *passim*) and Fijian (Dodge 1972:184-5). The main pidgin-like characteristics of this material are the use of English word order, and the omission of most grammatical particles. There is also abnormally frequent reduplication, particularly in the Maori examples. (For discussion of the Maori and Fijian material see Clark 1978a and Geraghty 1978, respectively.)

European competence in Pacific vernaculars reached a higher level when individuals settled among the natives for longer periods. Both missionaries and beachcombers<sup>20</sup> were generally considered by their contemporaries to be highly proficient; but whether in a fully grammatical vernacular or in some type of pidgin is difficult to say, since the writers generally had no way of telling the difference. Peter Dillon hired as an interpreter Martin Buchert, a German who had lived on Tikopia for 13 years, but later found that Buchert's knowledge of Tikopian was 'very imperfect' and of little use in communication (Dillon 1829, II:156). Such a case was exceptional, however, and most beachcombers were fully competent for practical purposes. Some are even said to have eventually forgotten their native language (Campbell 1976:247).

Because of their competence in the local language, both beachcombers and missionaries were in frequent demand as interpreters for more transient Europeans. But the same competence meant that they played little or no role in the development of pidgin English. The missionaries, indeed, may have had a locally inhibiting effect on it. Augustus Earle wrote of New Zealand in 1827:



I cannot forbear censuring the missionaries, inasmuch as they prevent the natives, by every means in their power, from acquiring the English language. They make a point of mastering the native tongue as quickly as possible, and being able to give their whole time and attention to it, this is easily accomplished. It is of importance that they should do so, otherwise they could not carry on the duties of the mission; but by thus engrossing the knowledge, they obtain great influence over the minds of the natives.

(Earle 1832:133-4)

While Earle's statement cannot be taken as strictly and universally true (some natives did learn English from missionaries), it is clear that for many missionaries there was an association between the learning of English (especially in pidgin form) and the influence of secular Europeans, generally considered to be morally harmful. Thus John G. Paton, a well-known missionary in the southern New Hebrides, writes:

A number of the Tannese spoke a little English, but they were the worst and most treacherous characters of all. They had imbibed the profane trader's language and his hatred of Missionaries and their work; and these, added to their own Heathen prejudices, made them the most troublesome and dangerous of men. (Paton 1965:91)

Thus most Europeans who entered Pacific island communities in the early years accommodated themselves linguistically to their environment. It was not primarily from them that the islanders first learned English. Only when they left their homes and found themselves in the midst of English-speaking communities - at first on shipboard, and perhaps later in foreign lands - did they begin to become significantly bilingual. Note that the one Tahitian mentioned by Bligh as knowing a few words of English was one who had actually been 'at sea with Captain Cook'.<sup>21</sup>

By the beginning of the 19th century, islanders were being met with in unexpected places who could speak some English. The ability was uncommon enough that contemporary writers usually added a word of explanation, which in the great majority of cases referred to a voyage in a whaler or other ship. When the whaler *Euphrates* arrived at Tahuata (Marquesas) in December 1798, she found 'Tom', a Hawaiian who had travelled as far as Boston in a fur-trading vessel, and on his return had been put ashore in the Marquesas on his own request. He spoke 'a little broken English', and was useful as an interpreter and go-between with the Marquesans (Denning 1974:46-7). Another Hawaiian, 'Too! Too!', was

at Tongatapu in 1806, and came on board the *Port au Prince* with the first group of Tongans. He 'spoke a little English, which he had formerly learned on board an American ship, that had taken him from the Sandwich Islands to Manila, and thence had brought him to the Tonga islands.' His role, however, was 'to convince the ship's company that the natives were friendly disposed towards them', whereas in fact they were planning to plunder the ship and massacre most of her crew, which they did the following day (Martin 1827, I:57).

By the 1830s, a visitor could expect to find English-speaking individuals such as these in almost any island. Though often the only resident English speakers for many miles around, they usually had regular contact with English-speaking seamen through service as pilots and interpreters, as well as during periods as crewmen. They may be thought of as end points of a linguistic community whose primary locus was at sea. The crews of the whale ships, which made up the great majority of ships frequenting the Pacific during this period, were well known for their polyglot composition. The American-owned ships (the largest number) regularly carried Portuguese from the Atlantic islands, recruited to supplement the New England labour supply. There were also American Negroes and Indians, Peruvians, Europeans of various nationalities, East Indians, Malays, and of course 'Kanakas' (Pacific islanders) from various places. (See Hohman 1928:48-57 for discussion of the sources of whaling crews.) Inevitably in such a community there would be a good deal of broken English spoken, and a constant need for rough and ready communicative devices.<sup>22</sup>

### 3.2.3 Examples of South Seas Jargon

I will refer to the English-based contact language illustrated in the following quotations as South Seas Jargon. The examples in this section are from the period before 1865, and mainly from Polynesia and Micronesia. Melanesia and Australia will be dealt with separately below.

In each example, the location and date, as near as can be determined, of the reported speech are given first in square brackets. Unless otherwise indicated, the speaker is represented as being a native of the place in question. The source reference is given in parentheses after the quotation. In most cases the source is a published book or manuscript datable to within a few years of the date of the reported speech, so that seriously anachronistic use of pidgin (at least in one direction) is ruled out. Even in cases where there was a long delay between the speech event and date of publication, travel narratives were commonly worked up from journals kept at the time, so there is still a good chance that the quotation is accurate.

- (21) [Maoris in Australia, 1824] 'No, this land is no good for the New Zealand man. New Zealand man all die. You bury our countrymen all the same as *kararehe* (a beast); you no cry, nor pray, when you bury New Zealand man! Pakeha die, plenty *karakia*; New Zealand man die, no *karakia*!' (Butler 1927:372)<sup>23</sup>
- (22) [Tasmania, 1835] 'How he tell you make a friend along him? A'nt he all same a white un? 'Pose black un kill white fellow, an't you send all your soddier, all your constable after him? You say, dat black devil kill a nurra white man, go - catch it, - kill it, - an't he then kill all black fellow he see, all piccaninny too? An't dat all same black fellow - an't you been a take him own kangaroo ground? How den he like?' (Melville 1965:75n)
- (23) [Hawaiians in California, 1836] 'New Zealand kanaka eatee white man; Sandwich Island kanaka - no. Sandwich Island kanaka *ua like pu na haole* - all 'e same a' you!' (Dana 1840, Ch.19)<sup>24</sup>  
'By-'em-by money *pau* - all gone; than Kanaka work plenty.' (Ch.18)  
'No! We no all 'e same 'a' you! Suppose one got money, all got money. You - suppose one got money - lock him up in chest. No good! Kanaka all 'e same a' one!' (Ch.19)  
'*Aole! aole make make makou i ka hana*. Now, got plenty money; no good, work. *Mamule*, money *pau* - all gone. Ah! very good, work! - *maikai, hana hana nui!*' (Ch.18)<sup>25</sup>
- (24) [Tuamotus, 1842] One of our divers who could talk a little English told me that there 'were plenty man - too muchee makee fight - plenty spear - eat man. I say, captain, lookee out!' (Lucett 1851:250)
- (25) [Marquesas, 1842] 'Why you no like to stay? Plenty moee-moee (sleep) - plenty ki-ki (eat) - plenty whihenee (young girls) - Oh, very good place Typee! Suppose you no like this bay, why you come?' (Melville 1846, Ch.33)<sup>26</sup>
- (26) [Tahiti, 1842] 'Me *tamaree* - plenty *kanaka* Martair... Now, only poor *pehe kanaka* left - me born here.' (Melville 1847, Ch.55)<sup>27</sup>
- (27) [Tongan in Fiji, 1845] 'Oh, me live with one mission in Tonga; I learn English, I wash, my wife, he iron; suppose you want wash, me wash.' (Wallis 1851:58)

- (28) [Tahiti, 1852] 'Ah! no good here; too big stoney, by, by, canoe broke; more good go 'shore; bery good eak shicken, man ashore he cook 'im; bery good, ah! by, by, sleepy sleepy, bery good; here too much a-cold, by, by, canoe broke, too much a swim, swim no good!' (Lamont 1867:68)
- (29) [Kusaie, 1852] 'Plenty white man speak me, very good tap cocoanut tree, get toddy; me say, no; no good; plenty men get drunk on shore; too much row; me like all quiet; no tap cocoanut tree on Strong's island.' (Bingham 1866:16)
- (30) [Kusaie, 1857] 'Me think missionary stop board that ship ... Me want to go 'long pilot; look quick. Me no care nothing 'bout 'nother ship; that's what for I want go; look plenty.' (Bingham 1866:35)
- (31) [Rarotonga, 1860] 'Go my house; me got plenty fruit my house.' (Jones 1861:94)  
 [Gilbertese, 1860] 'Me no all same Strong's Island Kanaka pool; me *saba* plenty.' (145)  
 [Kusaiean, 1860] 'You think carva been poison? Strong's Island no got poison.' (147)  
 [Gilbertese, 1860] '... bimeby me eat you - look out!' (268)

As the examples show, the comparative features *all same*, *by and by*, *plenty*, *suppose* and *too much* (pre-verbal) are common in South Seas Jargon. Also attested, though relatively rare, are *along*<sup>1</sup> (22,30), *been* (22, also in Jones 1861, *passim*), *piccaninny* (22, also in Nicholas 1817, I:280, II:71) and *savvy* (31, also in Melville 1847, Chapters 26, 72).

Some of the other features are uncertainly attested. Phrases of the form *all N* occur, as in (22), but not commonly, or in contexts that would exclude the normal English interpretation. *Got* is commonly used for 'have', but there are only a couple of unclear cases where it may be existential. This could be the case in the third sentence of (31), for example, if the phrase 'Strong's Island' is interpreted as a locative rather than a subject NP. A stronger candidate perhaps is the following:

- (32) [Marquesas, 1859] I asked one of the leading men ... if we could have permission to visit the above named cocoanut grove; he said, 'Oh no, got gote up there', meaning a god. (Ward 1966, IV:295)

*He* occurs rarely following a subject NP that is not third person singular masculine (as in (27)), but such instances could be accounted for in terms of topicalization together with confusion

of number and gender in pronouns, as can the occasional non-English use of *him* (as in (28)). Example (30) shows the only example I have found of *stop* which suggests a reading 'be in a place' rather than 'remain'.

Two comparative lexical features, *bullamacow* and *kaikai*, probably entered South Seas Jargon during this period. *Bullamacow* is not quoted in a jargon context, but it was clearly in use in Tonga as early as 1830 (Bays 1831:132), in Fiji by about 1840 (Wilkes 1845:218), and in Samoa by the late 1840s (Walpole 1849, II:345-6). It seems likely that the word originated in Tonga, where the first cattle were introduced by Cook in 1773. *Kaikai* is recorded very early in New Zealand (Nicholas 1817, I:167 *et passim*) and also in the Marquesas (25, also in Coulter 1845:228). Of the Polynesian languages which have the form *kai* 'eat, food', Maori seems the most likely point of origin for *kaikai*. The first occurrence which clearly shows its currency beyond Polynesian-speaking areas is the account by Jones (1861:115) of his ship's rescue of a drifting canoe full of Gilbertese: 'their constant cry was "Ki ki" (eat)'.

One other example of South Seas Jargon requires special comment:

- (33) [Fiji, 1840s] 'How you do? Ah! You come see me; all white men see me; man belongen ebery place see me; me like um man belongen noder place.' (Erskine 1853: 461)

The speaker is Cokanauto (also known to Europeans as 'Phillips'), a well-known chief of Rewa (Viti Levu) whose linguistic abilities are commented on by several visitors (Belcher 1843:50; Wilkes 1845:216; Erskine 1853:290, 461). He was said to be able to speak French, Spanish, Tahitian and Tongan in addition to English. The example given above includes *belong* and apparently also transitive *him*, with a following object NP. Neither of these features occurs elsewhere in the Pacific islands before the 1860s, and then only in Melanesia.<sup>28</sup> Some explanation for Cokanauto's anomalous grammar must be suggested. Local influence from some other pidgin is one possibility. Since both these features seem to have been present in Australian Aboriginal pidgin at the time, it is possible that Cokanauto picked them up from some individual Australian. For that matter, they may be contaminations from the writer's Australian experience, or in the case of *him*, from elsewhere in the world. However, an idiolectal innovation seems plausible in the case of *belong*. Both occurrences in (33) are semantically quite close to the nautical use of *belong* in which a ship 'belongs to' its home port and a crewman 'belongs to' his ship. An extension of this sort would not be too surprising from a linguistically gifted individual.

Finally, the two lexical items *very good* 'good' and *no good* 'bad', though not among the comparative features of section 2, should be mentioned. They occur repeatedly in the South Seas Jargon material, sometimes with the senses given (as in (21) and (25)), and sometimes in a generalized modal sense (23,28,29), in which case they most often precede the clause to which they apply.

### 3.2.4 The Nature of South Seas Jargon

The classic dichotomy of pidgin vs. creole, according to whether or not the language has a community of native speakers, not only lumps under 'pidgin' systems of quite different types, but may also place unwarranted emphasis on the native-speaker criterion. Recent discussions indicate the need for a typology of at least four categories:

- 1) creoles, with a native-speaking community, expanded lexicon, elaborated structure and full functional range;
- 2) elaborated pidgins such as modern Melanesian, which structurally and functionally may approximate to creoles, though they remain second languages to the great majority of their speakers;
- 3) restricted pidgins such as Chinook Jargon, limited to use in trade and contact situations, with minimal lexicon and grammar, highly variable phonology resulting from first-language influence, yet sufficient autonomy and stability to be recognized as distinct languages;
- 4) interlanguages such as Cocoliche (Spanish as spoken by Italian immigrants in Argentina). Though they may be stereotyped for comic purposes, such systems have no distinct grammar, lexicon or phonology of their own. Their form is the product of the structures of the target and substratum languages, and varies widely even within the performance of a single speaker.

Cocoliche itself was not spoken to Italians by native Spanish speakers (Whinnom 1971:97). There are, however, similar systems, discussed by Ferguson & DeBose (1977), in which target language speakers make use of some type of foreigner-talk register, which may include some imitation of source-language speakers' performance as they perceive it. To the extent that such foreigner talk makes up a significant portion of the target language data available to learners, it creates a 'false target' which in turn affects their performance.

The documentary evidence suggests that South Seas Jargon (SSJ) was a foreigner-talk/broken language system of this sort, and thus fell somewhere between (3) and (4) in the above

typology. On the one hand, most users of SSJ do not seem to have made a clear distinction between it and English. A lack of stability and of communicative adequacy is indicated by the practice of macaronic alternation between SSJ and local vernaculars. On the other hand, it is clear that at least some Europeans made use of a foreigner-talk register in communicating with islanders, and a small number of features existed which were peculiar to SSJ rather than directly derivable from any contributing language. The evidence on these points will not be discussed in more detail.

There is virtually no indication of any recognition of SSJ as a *tertium quid* distinct from both English and the vernacular languages.<sup>29</sup> Europeans refer to the jargon spoken by islanders as 'broken English', or simply as 'English', assuming its brokenness to be self-evident (see example (24)). Although there is much less record of how the islanders saw it, what little evidence exists would be consistent with the hypothesis that they, too, did not distinguish the jargon from English (see example (27)).

There are widespread records of macaronic alternation, at word, phrase or sentence level, between jargon English and (sometimes pidginized) vernacular languages. The Hawaiians that Dana met in San Diego, for example, 'spoke a little English, and, by a sort of compromise, a mixed language was used on the beach which could be understood by all.' (Dana 1840, Ch.19). Example (23) shows this Hawaiian-English mixture. This device was naturally of use only where Europeans had some knowledge of the vernacular, and it is therefore found only in the areas most frequently visited by whalers. Dana's texts probably represent what was referred to in Hawaii as *hapa haole*, described by Reinecke (1969:34) as 'English ... of a makeshift character ... mixed with Hawaiian words'. Similar macaronic jargon is recorded from New Zealand (Clark 1978a), Tahiti (example (34), also Melville 1847 *passim*), and the Marquesas (example (23)), and 'Anglo-Kusaiean' may well have been of this nature (see footnote 29).

Although abundant evidence of the sort given in the preceding section indicates that islanders used SSJ in speaking to Europeans, it is less easy to prove that Europeans used it back to them. Accounts of conversations commonly give the substance but not the form of the European side. And when direct quotation is used, it often shows standard English in reply to jargon:

- (34) 'You *sabbee* me?' he shouted. 'You know me, ah? Well: me *Jim*, me *pilot* - been pilot now long time.'  
'Ay,' cried Jermin, quite surprised, as indeed we all

were, 'you are the pilot, then you old pagan. Why didn't you come off before this?'

'Ah! me *sabbee* - me know - you *piratee*' (pirate) - 'see you long time, but no me come - I *sabbee* you - you *ita maitai nuee*' (superlatively bad).

'Paddle away with ye,' roared Jermin in a rage; 'be off; or I'll dart a harpoon at ye!' (Melville 1847, Ch.26)

To some extent this must be a literary convention, to emphasize the contrast between European and native, and also to increase the intelligibility of the dialogue. But undoubtedly many, perhaps most Europeans used something closer to standard English than their native interlocutors. In occasional passages, however, we find indications not only that English speakers were using jargon, but that an element of imitation was involved:

(35) I asked him one day how old he was. 'Olee!' he exclaimed, looking very profound in consequence of thoroughly understanding so subtle a question - 'Oh! very olee - 'tousand 'ear - more - big man when Capin Tootee (Captain Cook) heavey in sight' (in sea parlance, came into view).

This was a thing impossible; but *adapting my discourse to the man*, I rejoined - 'Ah! you see Capin Tootee - well, how you like him?'

'Oh! he maitai (good): friend of me, and know my wife'. (Melville 1847, Ch.31, emphasis added)

Though Europeans were largely silent on their use of 'broken English', they frequently referred to mixing languages, perhaps just because this was less expected (and more difficult) than the use of foreigner talk. The French explorer Dumont D'Urville communicated with Maoris in a 'mixture of New Zealand and debased English' (Wright 1950:201). Beale (1839:372) carried on a conversation with a Borabora chief in 'a mixture of languages', including Hawaiian as well as Tahitian and English. And Mrs Wallis described her sea-captain husband as using 'a mingling of English, Feejeean and Spanish' in speaking to Micronesians (Wallis 1851:196). Such references show that SSJ was not a one-sided system like Cocoliche, but that Europeans participated in it, certainly by mixing English and vernacular, and probably also by modifying their English according to foreigner-talk conventions.

Although both Europeans and islanders apparently saw SSJ as simply (a form of) English, evidence was presented in the preceding section to show that a small number of distinctive jargon conventions were in widespread use in the Pacific at least from the 1820's onward. It is these conventions which justify talking



about a single jargon, as opposed to an unconnected series of English-vernacular interlanguages. The examples suggest that the language had only a small vocabulary (perhaps a few hundred words) and rudimentary grammatical resources. The evolutionary schema outlined above would also lead us to expect that it would be unstable or highly variable. It seems difficult, however, to confirm or disconfirm such an expectation on the basis of data of this sort, given the above-mentioned limitations of the writers, and the fact that the brief samples are scattered over a wide range of time, place and social context. The actual variation observable in the above examples might well be matched by a similar sample from any natural language.

In Polynesia and Micronesia SSJ shows little sign of development throughout its history. Examples recorded from the 1870's to the end of the century (Bullen 1926:245,248,306; Christian 1899:186,254,273,301-2; Stevenson 1900:22-88, 280ff.; Stevenson 1926:217ff.) do not share the innovations which by that time were established in Melanesia, and in fact largely resemble the jargon of half a century earlier. The decline of whaling in the 1860's removed a large part of the jargon's social base. Increasing numbers of settled Europeans, and greater availability of formal education, tended to produce a stable bilingualism. Having no function as an inter-native medium in islands or groups with a single vernacular, the jargon either died out or was re-absorbed into standard English.

One possible isolated survival of South Seas Jargon exists on the small island of Ngatik, near Ponape, in the eastern Carolines. The 'men's language' apparently consists of Ngatikese with incorporated English elements, including the Sino-Pacific features *all same, catch, got, savvy* and *suppose*. This unusual situation results from the early contact history of the island, all of whose male inhabitants are said to have been massacred in the 1830's by a group of European sailors, who then settled on the island, taking the local women as wives (Fischer 1957:27). (This language is being studied by Kenneth Rehg of the University of Hawaii, to whom I am indebted for the information on it.)

### 3.3 Sandalwood English: Melanesia to 1865

Melanesia had only sporadic visits from Europeans before the 1840s. The islands were reputed to be unhealthy in climate and inhabited by ugly and treacherous cannibal tribes. Whalers, traders and missionaries alike had largely avoided them. In 1825, however, sandalwood had been discovered in quantity on Eromanga in the southern New Hebrides. Several ships visited Eromanga and nearby islands in search of the wood during the late 1820s, but because of unpleasant encounters with the Melanesians,

as well as a drop in the Chinese market price, the trade lapsed for several years. Then a new find on the Isle of Pines, southeast of New Caledonia, in 1841, set off the last major sandalwood rush in the Pacific. It lasted nearly 25 years, until the forests of New Caledonia, the Loyalty Islands and the New Hebrides had been stripped of all significant stands.

In the triangular trade that developed during this period, ships would bring European manufactured goods (knives, axes, guns, cloth, tobacco) from Sydney to the islands to exchange for sandalwood, which was carried to Canton or Hong Kong to be sold. The ships then re-loaded with tea or other Chinese merchandise for the return voyage to Australia.

This trade brought about the first sustained and widespread contact between Europeans and Melanesians.<sup>30</sup> The latter were employed in cutting and carrying wood, as boats' crews, and as labourers at sandalwood 'stations'. The stations were centralized depots established from the mid-1840s, where the wood was collected and stored to await the arrival of the next ship. To a large extent, labour for these operations was recruited not from nearby communities, but from other islands in the area (Shineberg 1967:190-8; Howe 1978). The well-known trader James Paddon is said to have 'adopted ... [the] plan of bringing them in limited numbers from different islands, so that they could not combine against their employer' (Inglis 1887:201).

Similar temporary communities were created by the *bêche-de-mer* trade, which flourished alongside the sandalwood, often pursued by the same traders. A fairly exacting process of cleaning, boiling and drying is required to prepare *bêche-de-mer* for long-term storage and shipment, and shore stations were set up for this purpose as well.

These shore stations were significantly different from the early foci of bilingualism in Polynesia and Micronesia. On board the whalers, islanders were generally a minority among native English speakers, whereas the sandalwood stations might bring together dozens or even hundreds of Melanesians with only a few European overseers. And whereas in sandalwood, *bêche-de-mer* or pearling operations elsewhere the native labourers were linguistically homogeneous, in Melanesia they might be brought from several different islands with mutually unintelligible languages. A vehicle for communication among Melanesians was needed, and South Seas Jargon was the obvious candidate.

The linguistic situation thus parallels in all essentials that on the plantations of Queensland or the Caribbean. Whinnom (1971) has suggested that the use of broken language among speakers of two or more different languages with limited access to the standard target is the crucial step in the formation of

stable pidgins. If this is true one would expect South Seas Jargon to show signs of stabilization and elaboration during the years 1840-1865 in Melanesia. Unfortunately most of the primary documents of the sandalwood period remain unpublished, and I have not been able to examine the major manuscript collections. Direct quotations are thus very limited (paradoxically, most are from missionary sources). Perhaps the best piece of evidence is indirect. During this period the jargon became recognized by Europeans as something distinctive, to the extent of acquiring two names of its own: 'Sandalwood English' (or simply 'Sandalwood'), and '*Bêche-de-mer* English' or simply 'Beach-la-Mar'.<sup>31</sup>

The following examples include most of the quoted pidgin I have been able to find from this period:

- (36) [Lifu, Loyalty Is., 1851] 'You see all Lifu man can't swim, by and bye me drowned.'  
'Canoe too little, by and bye, broke - All man go away, canoe gone, very good me stop.' (Nihill ms., August 16)
- (37) [Tanna, New Hebrides, 1859] 'You see ... no good missionary stop Tanna. Suppose missionary stop here, by and by he speak, "Very good, all Tanna man make a work." you see that no good: Tanna man he no too much like work. By-and-bye missionary speak, "No good woman make a work: very good, all man he only get one woman." You see Tanna man no like that; he speak, "Very good plenty woman: very good woman make all work." Tanna man no savé work ... he too much lazy; he too much gentleman!'  
'You see ... suppose missionary stop here, he tell all man, "Very good, get a clothes." That no good; very good, white man get a clothes; very good, black man make a paint. Suppose black fellow get a clothes he no look well: you look this fellow, he no look well!' (McFarlane 1873:106)<sup>32</sup>
- (38) [Sermon by John G. Paton, missionary, at Maré, Loyalty Is., 1865] 'Jehovah very good. He love Black Man all same White Man. He send Son belonga Him. He die for all Man.' (Paton 1895:7)<sup>33</sup>
- (39) [New Caledonia, 1863-66] 'Boat belong you?'  
'Allsame man ouiouï belong boat mate mate kaikai.'  
'Gondou he no allsame man he allsame poika; he look one Kanak he houo-houo; he kai-kai plenty man.'  
(Garnier 1867:190; 1868:42,48)<sup>34</sup>

The above examples show the South Seas Jargon features *all same, by and by, plenty, savvy, suppose* and *too much*, as well as

*very good* and *no good*. Though *kaikai* occurs in (39), the presence of other Polynesian elements suggests that it may be an independent development here.<sup>35</sup> The use of *stop* in (37) seems equivocal as between 'stay' and 'be in a place'. To these features may be added *bullamacow*, which was clearly in use in southern Melanesia by the 1840s, probably introduced by Samoan mission teachers (Shineberg 1971:57; Inglis 1851). Of the remaining SSJ features, *along*<sup>1</sup>, *been*, existential *got* and *piccaninny* are rare in SSJ texts, and may be missing here because of the small quantity of Sandalwood material.

Of possible innovations in Sandalwood English, the use of *all* and *he* suggests that they may have begun to take on their modern functions at this period. Note particularly the use of *he* after plural subjects in (37). Two unmistakable novelties are the presence of *belong* (38,39) and *man ouioui* 'Frenchman' (39), the first example of the *man bush* pattern. A remark by Shineberg (1967:75) also suggests that *pigeon* may have been used in its extended sense as early as 1844.

While *pigeon* is simply a lexical addition, and *man bush* a substratum-influenced reversal of an existing construction (compare *New Zealand man* and *Sandwich Island kanaka* in examples (21) and (23) above), the other three features represent an elaboration of grammatical structure, providing formal means for marking the category of plurality in nouns (*all*), the genitive relation (*belong*) and the predicate constituent (*he*), all of which had been unmarked in South Seas Jargon.

### 3.4 Early Melanesian Pidgin (to 1878)

In the 1860s, as whaling declined and the last of the sandalwood was being cut out, labour migration became the new focus of linguistic acculturation in Melanesia. The first New Hebrideans were taken to Queensland in 1863, and to Fiji in 1864.<sup>36</sup> During the first five years of recruitment nearly 3,500 New Hebrideans and Loyalty Islanders went to work in one place or the other (Howe 1978:34). Undoubtedly many of these recruits had already learned Sandalwood English through work for Europeans. There was additional continuity in that many of the same Europeans who had been in the sandalwood business took part in the early stages of the labour trade (Shineberg 1967:193). In Queensland, the greater diversity of languages among the labourers (usually recruited one or two at a time from different places, rather than in 'gangs' as before), and the longer period for which they were brought together (typically three years in Queensland as opposed to a few weeks or months at sandalwood stations) intensified the need for a common language, and provided more lasting communities in which it could develop.

Earlier writers have been unanimous in ascribing to the

labour trade a crucial role in the formation of Melanesian pidgin, and indeed (speaking impressionistically) it is in the 1870s that it develops to the point where the label 'early Melanesian pidgin' seems appropriate. Fortunately for modern research, the controversy surrounding the early years of 'blackbirding' attracted a great deal of publicity to Melanesia, and resulted in far better published documentation than is available for the sandalwood period. The following is a sample of quotation from 1867-1878. (All locations are in the New Hebrides.)

- (40) [Aniwa, 1867-8] 'What for you make paper about man Aniwa?'  
 'You plenty lie! You all same Tiapolo!'  
 'Missy make him bokis sing! Plenty man come hear you make him bokis sing!'  
 ... she looked up innocently and told me she *did not savvy talk Biritania!* (Paton 1895:30,39,77,79)<sup>37</sup>
- (41) [Nguna, 1870] 'Captain, he buy him four boy belong a me.' (Kay 1872:80)
- (42) [Nguna, early 1870s] 'Come back! come back! Plenty devil stop at the top!'  
 '... the white man and Tanna man too much pray.'  
 'Oh ... pussy too much pray me.' (Don 1927:30,87-8)<sup>38</sup>
- (43) [1871] In this way a number of them picked up a considerable knowledge of a lingo, which is known among these islands as sandal-wood English, consisting largely of such expressions as, 'Me go Sydney;' 'You go Queensland' 'You want big fellow yam?' 'This woman belong o' you?' 'Plenty kai kai' (food), etc... (Kay 1872:10)
- (44) [Gaua (Santa Maria), 1872] 'All black man savey, no kidnapping now; if black man like to go, he go, if he like to stop, he stop.' (Moresby 1876:96)
- (45) [Makura, 1872] 'Well, master, man Makura, he no want missionary.' (Don 1927:12)
- (46) [Nguna, 1875] 'He say, canoe come, seven or eight men. Canoe break, men run away bush. He no kaikai him. He say, long time before he no kaikai man. See he build house for Missi Milne. You see him.' (Goodenough 1876:292)
- (47) [Tanna, 1877] 'Me been work long-a Maryboro. Misse White my Massa ... You savvee Misse White, my work me plenty work long that fellow Massa long-a-soogar ... Misse White no good he plenty fight, too much kill-em me; he been give me small fellow box, no good, me fine

fellow man, very good you give me tambacco, me too much like-em smoke.'

'What name work you want em man he do?'

[European] 'I want plenty man come work Rockhampton, work long bulla-ma-cow, longa sheep, long horse, me look out good fellow Master belong man suppose any come.'

[Emae, 1878-9] 'You see Massa, you bin tell me altogetther man fool put im red longa face. Me no fool, me put im blue.' (Giles 1968:37,40,57)

The quotations illustrate the features *all same*, *along*<sup>1</sup>, *been*, *belong*, *bullamacow*, *kaikai*, *man bush*, *plenty*, *savvy*, *stop*, *suppose* and *too much*, all of which are already attested in South Seas Jargon or Sandalwood English texts. To these may be added *piccaninny*, used by a Rotuman working in Queensland (Royal Commission: 17), and *pigeon*, on the strength of the remark by Hope (1872:97) that on Malekula 'the wild birds are scarce, and all go under the generic name of pigeon.' The use of *all*<sup>2</sup> (44) and *he* (41,45,47) is, as usual, equivocal. Rather surprisingly, *by* and *and by* and *got* do not appear in the material from this period. There are, however, a number of clear innovations: *all together*, *along*<sup>2</sup>, *fellow*<sup>1</sup>, *him*, *kill* and *what name*; and of these *along*<sup>2</sup>, *fellow* and *him* are evidence of further grammatical elaboration, providing overt marking for categories which had been largely unmarked in previous stages of the pidgin.

### 3.5 Origins of New Guinea Pidgin

The specifically New Guinea form of Melanesian pidgin developed in the area of eastern New Britain and southern New Ireland, particularly Blanche Bay, New Britain (site of the successive capital town Kokopo and Rabaul) and the nearby Duke of York Islands (Mühlhäusler 1978b). The Tolai language of New Britain is the source of the largest Melanesian component in the New Guinea Pidgin lexicon.

There was some knowledge of pidgin in the area by 1875. In that year the German *Gazelle* expedition found many people at Lamassa in southern New Ireland who could speak English 'tolerably well' (Stephan and Graebner 1907:10). And according to Threlfall (1975:34), 'many leading men' in the Duke of York group knew some English when the first missionaries arrived about the same time. There appears, however, to have been a dramatic increase in the number of pidgin speakers in the late 1870s and early 1880s. (See for example the comment by Herrnsheim in Schuchardt 1883:154.) Salisbury (1967) stated on the basis of early documents that a recognizably Melanesian form of pidgin was in use in the Tolai area by 1881. He pointed out that there was no recruitment of labourers for Queensland from

New Guinea until 1883-4, so that Queensland plantations could not have been the primary source of New Guinea Pidgin. More recently, Mühlhäusler (1978b) has shown convincingly that the crucial factor was the German recruitment of labour to the Samoan plantations of the Deutsche Handels and Plantagen Gesellschaft. Samoan Plantation Pidgin - rediscovered by Mühlhäusler in old documents and the memories of a few surviving labourers - shows a number of characteristics shared only with New Guinea Pidgin as against the Solomons and New Hebrides dialects.

If we consider Melanesian pidgin to have developed and spread, like South Seas Jargon, within a dispersed network of communities at least partly seaborne, then the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands were connected to this network more or less continuously throughout the period 1865-1900 (with the focus of recruitment gradually shifting northward). The connection of New Guinea with this network, on the other hand, was limited and brief. In 1878, the year chosen as the end-point for the Early Melanesian Pidgin examples above, about 1,500 new recruits went to Queensland, 80 percent from the New Hebrides and 20 percent from the Solomons (Price and Baker 1976:110), and roughly the same number returned (Parnaby 1964:Appendix, Table 4). In the same year the first Melanesians (83 New Hebrideans) arrived on the German plantations of Samoa. The first labourers from New Britain and New Ireland came the following year, but for the next few years the New Hebrideans and Solomon Islanders were numerically dominant. The total numbers of labourers from various sources entering Samoa during the period 1878-1882 were as follows:

New Hebrides	985	
Gilbert Islands	612	
Solomon Islands	425	
New Britain/New Ireland	145	(Moses 1973:102)

Many of the New Hebrideans and Solomon Islanders had probably learned the evolving Melanesian pidgin, either during previous service in Queensland, through contact with ships in their home islands, or en route. Not only were they a solid majority of the labour force in Samoa; their pidgin, through 15 years of development in Queensland, was probably a superior linguistic instrument to whatever form of South Seas Jargon the Gilbertese and New Guineans may have known. It was thus natural that the southern Melanesians would dominate linguistically, and their pidgin be adopted by the New Guineans.<sup>39</sup>

After 1882 the situation changed rapidly. The numbers of New Guineans recruited to Samoa increased greatly, and from 1885 on there appears to have been no further recruitment from southern Melanesia (Mühlhäusler 1978b:78). After a brief and

disastrous episode of recruitment from New Guinea to Queensland and Fiji (1883-5), the area was closed to the labour trade by the governments of the two colonies (Corris 1973:38). New Guinea's connection with the Melanesian pidgin network thus lasted no more than seven years. Furthermore, for the next three decades the pidgin speakers of New Guinea and Samoa lived under a German administration, whereas English continued to be the dominant European language in the other territories. It was this isolation both from standard English and from the southern pidgins, that led to the rather deviant character of New Guinea pidgin relative to the Solomons and New Hebrides varieties.<sup>40</sup>

### 3.6 Australia

The comparative study showed that the modern Australian creoles of Cape York and Roper River, while quite distinct from each other, have a number of features in common with the Melanesian pidgins. Early 20th century sources<sup>41</sup> from various parts of Queensland, Northern Territory and Western Australia confirm this picture, showing pidgin in use between Europeans and Aborigines which includes the Southwestern features *along*<sup>2</sup>, *belong* and *fellow*<sup>1</sup>, in addition to the more widespread *all same*, *been*, *him*, *savvy*, and *suppose*. Documents of the 19th century, however, reveal a more complex situation.

Evidence of the existence of a European-Aboriginal contact language goes back to Collins' well known remark that in 1796 'a barbarous mixture of English with the Port Jackson dialect' was the means of communication between the two races (Collins 1798:544). As might be expected, a number of South Seas Jargon features occur in recorded examples of pidgin from the period 1820-1850, including *all same*, *along*<sup>1</sup>, *been*, *piccaninny*, *plenty*, *suppose*, and *too much*, as well as *no good* and *very good*.<sup>42</sup> But there is also a conspicuous lexical component of Aboriginal origin (most of it apparently from the language or languages of the Port Jackson area), including the following:<sup>43</sup>

<i>gin</i> '(Aboriginal) woman'	<i>patter</i> 'eat, food'
<i>cobbra</i> 'head'	<i>Pyalla</i> 'talk, say'
<i>bingy</i> 'stomach'	<i>budgereee</i> 'good'
<i>jumbuck</i> 'sheep'	<i>jerran</i> 'afraid'
<i>yarraman</i> 'horse'	<i>carbon</i> 'big'
<i>gunya</i> 'house'	<i>bong</i> 'dead'
<i>gibber</i> 'stone'	<i>murry</i> 'very' (<Eng?)
<i>waddy</i> 'piece of wood'	<i>baal</i> 'not, no'

There are also a number of apparent local innovations of English origin, including *it* as a transitive suffix, the nouns *whitefellow* 'European' and *blackfellow* 'Aboriginal' and the verbs *sit down* 'camp, stay, be in a place' and *tumble down* 'fall down, die, kill'. Some examples of this early Australian pidgin:



- (48) [1828] 'All gammon white fellow pai-alla cabon gunyah,  
me tumble down white fellow.'  
'Kurryjong bail boodgeree.'  
'Me like it pai-alla you gentleman.'  
'Murry me jerran.' (Ramson 1966:110-1)<sup>44</sup>
- (49) [1849] 'Baal Englishman, me ... Baal I like Englishman.  
That too much take away black fellow's land.  
That too much, hunt away kangaroo, possum, fish.  
That jumbuc (sheep) too much drink up all bardo  
(water).' (Ramson 1966:111-2)

The problem of the possible influence of Australian pidgin on Melanesian pidgin has not been much illuminated as yet. Reinecke (1937:734-5) raised the question but could not find enough evidence to answer it. Baker (1945:220) made the unsubstantiated claim that early Australian pidgin was 'the original of what is now known throughout the Pacific as beach-la-mar'. Recently Wurm (1971:1008-9) once again mentioned the possibility, but dismissed it with the comment that 'in the modern-time descendants of this pidgin [Beach-la-Mar], i.e. New Guinea pidgin and Solomon Islands pidgin, none of the characteristic features of Australian pidgin are present.'

My own investigation suggests that this opinion will have to be reconsidered. Even with a fairly small sample of Australian sources, there is evidence that at least four of the comparative features were present in Australia at least as early or earlier than in Melanesia. The features are *along*<sup>2</sup> (Australia 1844, Melanesia 1877),<sup>45</sup> *belong* (Australia 1831, Melanesia 1863), *fellow*<sup>1</sup> (Australia 1850, Melanesia 1871) and *him* (Australia 1850, Melanesia 1867). Assuming that more extensive sampling does not close these gaps, the implication is that these four important structural innovations are of Australian origin.<sup>46</sup> Early Australian attestations are given below:

- (50) [1831] 'You hear, Massa? Black pellow cooe. Broder belonging to me, massa: tit (sit) down here always.'  
(Ramson 1966:111)
- (51) [1832] 'What for you jerran budgerry whitefellow?  
Whitefellow brother belongit to black fellow.'  
[European speaker] (Ramson 1966:109)
- (52) [1844] 'You maan waddie 'long of fire.' ("Go and fetch firewood") (Morris 1898:491-2)
- (53) [1850] '... we should only have found, as Jackey says, "bones belonging to white fellows".'  
'I threw him down one fellow compass somewhere here.'  
'... you leave him tent, everything, altogether there ...' (MacGillivray 1852:246,251,268)

Table 2

Correlation of Comparative and Documentary Evidence

Earliest occurrence	Distributional Category			
	World	Sino-Pacific	Southwestern	Melanesian
South Seas Jargon (before 1865)	<i>along</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>been</i> <i>by and by</i> <i>piccaninny</i> <i>plenty</i>	<i>all same</i> <i>got?</i> <i>stop?</i>	<i>bullamacow</i> <i>kaikai</i>	
Sandalwood English (1840-1865)			<i>along</i> <sup>2</sup> ? <i>belong</i> <i>he</i> <i>pigeon?</i>	<i>all</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>man bush</i>
Early Melanesian Pidgin (1866-1878)	<i>him</i>	<i>stop</i>	<i>all together</i> <i>along</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>fellow</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>kill</i> <i>pigeon</i> <i>what name</i>	
Later	<i>something</i> <i>where</i>	<i>catch</i> <i>got</i>	<i>all</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>fellow</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>you me</i>	

(54) [1851] 'Cabonn buggel along bingee' ("I am very sick in the stomach.") (Morris 1898:31)

(55) [1860s] '... mine think black fellow sit down along of this fellow scrub.' (Eden 1872:156)

Indeed, it would be very surprising if the hundreds or thousands of Australians who took part in the sandalwood, *bêche-de-mer* and labour recruiting trades did not include many who had had contact with the Aborigines and learned the prevailing pidgin. Planters like the Edens, while speaking pidgin with the Aborigines during everyday intercourse, were at the same time employing dozens of Melanesian labourers (Eden 1872, Ch.12). Thus while Aborigines and Melanesians, even in Queensland, may have remained largely separate and rarely or never spoken pidgin to each other, Europeans who dealt with both provided a means of transmission of linguistic influences in both directions.

Further understanding of the relations between Australian and Melanesian pidgin will require a larger sample of evidence than I have used here. One may note, however, that in the 20th century the Aboriginal vocabulary becomes much less common but does not entirely disappear. Undoubtedly there has been some influence from Melanesia on Australia since 1850 - the item *kaikai*, if nothing else, would prove this. And as mentioned above (section 2.4.5), there is historical support for the possibility of such influence. In the case of Roper River Creole, at least, this was not a matter of Melanesian simply replacing Australian, since a number of items of the old Australian tradition survive: *gabarra* 'head', *wadi* 'tree', *binji* 'stomach', *jidān* 'camp, stay', *yūway* 'yes', and some use of *-id* as a transitive suffix (Sharpe 1975). Cape York Creole, on the other hand, does not appear to inherit any of this component, and may be a more direct descendant of early Melanesian pidgin via Torres Straits.

#### 4. Discussion and Summary

Table 2 shows the correlation between the distributional categories of section 2 and the earliest appearance of the various features in the documentary record.

The great majority of the World and Sino-Pacific features are attested in the South Seas Jargon phase. This supports the view that the only significant input from outside the South Pacific was during the pre-plantation era, when a Pacific-wide jargon was spread and supported mainly by the whaling industry. This jargon may have been a local development of a cosmopolitan 18th-century English nautical jargon, though there is as yet no direct documentation of the latter. China Coast Pidgin was one

source, but not the only one, as it lacks certain World features which appear in SSJ (*been, piccaninny* in the sense 'child').

The World features which appear later in the record, then, are probably local innovations unconnected with their apparent external cognates. This is not hard to believe in the case of *him*, as formal marking of transitivity in verbs is one of the most widespread characteristics of the Oceanic (Melanesian) languages. (It is also found in many Australian languages, which helps to explain the development of the two transitive markers *it* and *him* in Australia.) Even in the case of *something* and *where* (neither attested until the 20th century), for which there is no obvious substratum source, the alternative of some direct influence from, say, the Caribbean, seems both historically and sociolinguistically implausible. On the other hand, I would expect further research to turn up more examples in South Seas Jargon of existential *got, stop* and probably also of *catch* (in view of its occurrence in Ngatik Men's Talk).

The Southwestern and Melanesian features appear only in Australia and Melanesia, except for *bullamacow* and *kaikai*, which are of Polynesian origin. The chronology of developments in Melanesia does not support the hypothesis of a period of common Melanesian development after the separation of the Australian traditions. *All*<sup>2</sup> and *man bush*, which do not appear in Australia, are not late developments, but occur just as early as *kaikai, belong* and *he*, which do appear there. Rather, the facts discussed in section 3.5 might lead us to expect linguistic evidence of a common ancestor for New Hebrides and Solomons pidgin and one or both of the Australian creoles, existing after the isolation of the New Guinea-Samoa pidgin speakers about 1885. The distribution of *where*, of *catch* in the sense of 'arrive at', and of the vowel alternations in the transitive suffix, might be just such evidence.

Certainly the relations among the Southwestern traditions after 1885 pose a number of difficult problems. To mention just one example, the three distinctive features of the plural pronoun system are all of quite late occurrence. I have found no examples of *all*<sup>1</sup> before the turn of the century in New Guinea (Stephan and Graebner 1907:99,121), and even later in the New Hebrides (Jacomb 1914:96). *Fellow*<sup>2</sup> may have occurred as early as the 1880s (Salisbury 1967:46; Rannie 1912:108), and *you me* in the 1890s (Pionnier 1913:187). But the earliest systematic descriptions of Southwestern pidgins do not suggest much unity:

	Torres Straits	New Hebrides
	(Ray 1907)	(Pionnier 1913)
'we'	<i>we (fellow)</i>	<i>you mi (dual) olquita (plural)</i>
'you (pl.)'	<i>you (fellow)</i>	<i>you</i>
'they'	<i>they</i>	<i>tou fala (dual) olquita (plural)</i>

Neither writer suggests that there was an inclusive-exclusive distinction, though Ray, at least, must have been aware of the category from his work on Melanesian languages. Yet the modern Southwestern languages have evolved largely identical pronoun systems, involving inclusive-exclusive distinctions, as well as dual (and in some cases trial) categories. This implies either a remarkable set of convergences, remarkably bad documentation, or the existence of some possibility of diffusion throughout the group into the 20th century.

An equally difficult and related problem is the relation between *all*<sup>1</sup>, *all*<sup>2</sup> and *all together*. If *all* was in fact in use as a pluralizer as early as the sandalwood period, it cannot very well have derived from the pronominal *all* as suggested earlier. If anything, the opposite direction would be indicated. Moreover, *all together* as plural pronoun considerably antedates *all*<sup>1</sup>:

(56) [European speaker, New Hebrides, 1877] '... suppose you let him some boy go along a Queensland, we buy him altogether, my word, good fellow.' (Giles 1968: 4ln.)

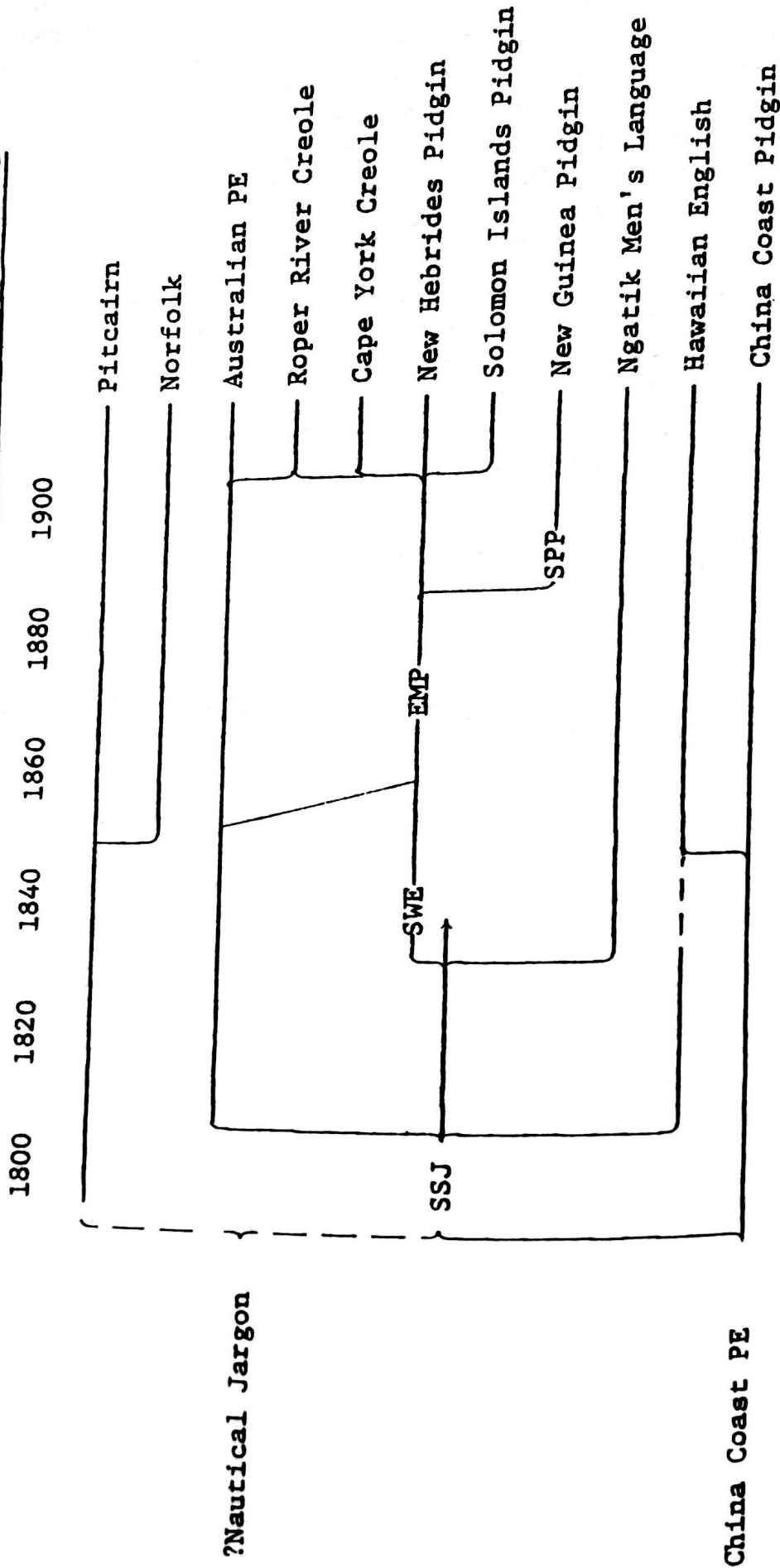
(57) [Solomons, 1884] 'What for Government Agent no let boat's crew help 'em boys, when altogether want go Queensland?' (Rannie 1912:46).

Such examples weigh against the earlier suggestion that *all* was the original pronoun and the NH and SI *all together* an innovation. But these problems can only be clarified by a more detailed study of records after 1885.

Finally, I summarize the conclusions drawn from the evidence considered in this paper. (Figure 2 shows the suggested historical relationships of the various traditions.)

A foreigner-talk/broken language system, which I refer to as South Seas Jargon, is documented as being in use in various parts of the Pacific from the 1830s on. It may have taken shape as early as the 1800s among scattered speakers, particularly those from Hawaii, Tahiti and New Zealand. It was used primarily between European seamen and islanders who sailed with them. The foreigner-talk conventions were either universal ones, or derived from other pidgin and creole traditions, rather than locally developed. China Coast Pidgin was one source, but not the only one; a hypothetical 18th-century nautical jargon may also have been involved. In some areas SSJ was mixed macaronically with more or less pidginized forms of the local vernacular. The *hapa haole* of early 19th century Hawaii, as well as 'Maori Pidgin English' and 'Micronesian Pidgin' (Hancock 1977:377-8) were local varieties of this jargon. It was also the basis of the 19th century Australian Aboriginal pidgin,

Figure 2: Historical Relations Indicated by Comparative and Documentary Evidence



SSJ = South Seas Jargon (Polynesia and Micronesia)  
 SWE = Sandalwood English (New Caledonia, Loyalty Islands, New Hebrides)  
 EMP = Early Melanesian Pidgin (New Hebrides, Solomon Islands, Queensland, Fiji)  
 SPP = Samoan Plantation Pidgin  
 (For the sake of simplicity, the positions of vernacular languages have not been shown.)

though this early assumed a relatively independent form, incorporating a good deal of indigenous vocabulary. Pitcairn-Norfolk Creole was formed independently of SSJ, though the two may share a source in the hypothetical nautical jargon.

In the 1840s a form of SSJ was introduced into southern Melanesia, and under the quasi-plantation conditions of the sandalwood and *bêche-de-mer* industries it achieved a more advanced level of elaboration and stability. This jargon or pidgin, locally known as 'Sandalwood English' or 'Beche-de-Mer English', was widely used between Europeans and Melanesians in New Caledonia, the Loyalty Islands and the New Hebrides, and probably also between Melanesians from different areas (though direct evidence of this is lacking). In the 1860s it was taken to the plantations of Queensland and Fiji by Melanesian indentured labourers, and there underwent a period of rapid development. By the 1870s it can be recognized as an early form of Melanesian pidgin. During the sandalwood and early labour trade periods there appears to have been a significant influence from Australian Aboriginal pidgin.

Labourers from the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands took this early Melanesian pidgin to Samoa in the late 1870s, where it was learned by men from New Britain and New Ireland. Later, under conditions of relative isolation, New Guinea Pidgin developed its somewhat distinctive lexicon and structure. Pidgin had spread to the Torres Straits region from southern Melanesia as early as the 1860s, first via pearling ships, and later by various other routes. Cape York Creole is a result of this long-term movement. Pidgin from the Queensland plantations was also carried by stockmen into the Northern Territory, where it merged with the existing Aboriginal pidgin to form the basis of the modern Roper River Creole.

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#### NOTES

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- <sup>1</sup> 'South Pacific' in this paper will be used in a broad sense including Australia, New Zealand and Hawaii. Likewise, for present purposes, it is convenient to consider Fiji as part of 'Polynesia' rather than 'Melanesia'.
- <sup>2</sup> Notably Bickerton and Odo (1976) and Reinecke (1969) on Hawaiian English, Harrison (1972, Chapters 8-9) and Ross and Moverley (1964) on Pitcairn-Norfolk, and Mühlhäusler (1976, 1978b) on New Guinea Pidgin.
- <sup>3</sup> General accounts of the history of this period can be found in Grattan (1963) and Oliver (1961).

- 4 On the history of South Pacific whaling see Hohman (1928) and Stackpole (1953).
- 5 On sandalwood in Melanesia see Shineberg (1967); on *bêche-de-mer* see Ward (1972).
- 6 Coconut oil, used in the manufacture of soap and candles, was one of the earliest products of the islands sought by Europeans. Eventually it was found that instead of extracting the oil on the spot, it was more profitable to carry away the dried coconut meat (copra) and extract the oil from it in Europe, where the residue could even be used as cattle feed. Before the establishment of Godeffroy's plantations, most copra had been collected by itinerant traders from small native producers.
- 7 The labour trade, often referred to as 'blackbirding', was surrounded by passionate controversy in its time, and has since become the stuff of much sensational popular history. Recent historical studies, however, have shown that although violence and deception were undoubtedly used by some recruiters, particularly in the early stages, the great majority of Melanesians migrated willingly, many of them even signing on for second terms. See Scarr (1970) and Corris (1973).
- 8 As a result of colonial divisions, the geographic Solomon Islands are divided between two modern nations. The islands of Bougainville and Buka, formerly German possessions, are part of Papua New Guinea; the other major islands, together with the Santa Cruz group, make up the political Solomon Islands (the former British Protectorate). The linguistic division naturally follows the political rather than the geographical boundary.
- 9 The expression 'essentially the same' must, of course, be understood in the context of the broad-brush approach required by a study of this sort. Adequate semantic analysis would undoubtedly show that few if any pidgin lexical items were absolutely identical in semantic content to their English cognates. This point is emphasized by Mühlhäusler (1976), who objects to the term 'English-based' for this reason.
- 10 That this *ol* is pronominal in origin can be seen from the parallel development of *mi* and *yu*, which gives rise to the distinctively New Hebridean sequences *mi mi* and *yu yu*, where the first member of each pair is a subject pronoun and the second a predicate (agreement) marker. (Camden 1977:66,136)
- 11 Unless otherwise indicated, forms from non-Pacific pidgins and creoles are taken from Hancock (1969).
- 12 The phrase *belong he pidgin* 'his business', cited by Bauer (1974: 123) is, I suggest, the result of an incorrect analysis of a sentence like *That belong he pidgin*, where, in fact, the noun phrase meaning 'his business' is *he pidgin* alone.



- 13 A possible exception is the existential use of *got*, for which I have no evidence of use outside the Pacific. However, impersonal use of 'have' in existential constructions is common enough (e.g. French *il y a*, Sranan *yu abi*) that this could well be an independent local development.
- 14 In addition to the hypothetical world-wide jargon, another possible source of linguistic input to the nascent creole was Edward Young, midshipman, born in St. Kitts, who 'had a dark complexion and was reputed to have West Indian blood' (Maude 1964:50).
- 15 As noted in section 2.3, there is no clear evidence of the existence of the suffix *-fellow* in CC, and CC *blon* probably represented a development independent of South Pacific *belong*.  
One lexical item is shared by CC and NG exclusive of all other pidgins in the Pacific: CC *maski* 'in spite of, never mind', NG *maski* 'in spite of, it doesn't matter, who cares?'. In view of the absence of this item from early records, a late local borrowing seems likely. This may have been through Chinese immigrants to New Guinea, but perhaps a more likely source is Malay *měski* 'in spite of, although'. Malay is known to have contributed a number of words to the NG vocabulary (Mühlhäusler 1976:260-1).
- 16 One possible innovation found in Hawaiian and Melanesian pidgins but not in CC is the use of *stop* as progressive aspect marker. However, as noted earlier, the semantic shift from location to progressive aspect is natural enough to have taken place more than once. Bickerton in fact argues that the aspectual use began only after the relatively recent lexical replacement of *stop* by *stay* (Bickerton & Odo 1976:151).
- 17 Hancock (1977:377) states that 'Australian Pidgin English is a direct offshoot of a [sic] Neo-Melanesian', but his reference is to Hall, who had concluded that 'Australian Pidgin is sufficiently different from Melanesian Pidgin to be classed as a separate pidgin language, not merely a subdivision of Melanesian Pidgin or of a more inclusive "Beach-la-Mar"' (Hall 1943:367; see also the family tree in Hall 1961). Hall's Australian material includes the Southwestern features *all*<sup>1</sup>, *along*<sup>2</sup>, *belong* and perhaps *fellow*<sup>1</sup> and *he*. Sharpe (1975:2-3) cites an unpublished paper by E.H. Flint which argues against a connection between Beach-la-Mar and Australian pidgin, but from her synopsis of the argument it is not clear what variety of Australian pidgin he is referring to. See also the authors quoted in section 3.6.
- 18 By an amazing stroke of luck, Captain Cook found that his Tahitian interpreter was able to make himself understood in New Zealand, over 2,000 miles from Tahiti. It soon became clear, however, that even in Polynesia, with its closely-related languages, this sort of far-ranging use of interpreters could not be relied on; in Melanesia it was quite out of the question.

- 19 I exclude from this statement, of course, loanwords for objects of European introduction and European proper names, native pronunciation of which is frequently commented on.
- 20 This term refers to individual secular Europeans living in Pacific island communities during the early historic period. See Maude 1968.
- 21 Perhaps the only 18th-century islanders whose English was recorded at any length were two who journeyed as far as London: Omai, a Tahitian who went to London with Cook in 1774, and returned to Polynesia after two years as a lion of fashionable society (McCormick 1977); and Prince Lee Boo of Palau, who accompanied Captain Henry Wilson to London in 1784, and lived there for several months before dying of smallpox (Wilson 1789).
- 22 One must distinguish, however, between 'whalemen's talk' or 'sailors' language' and the pidgin we are interested in. Some writers (e.g. Todd 1974:32-33) seem to be in danger of confusing the two. Sailors' speech was doubtless full of the technical jargon of their trade, in-group slang, general working-class slang of the time, and non-standard phonology, all of which would shock, bewilder or amuse well-bred middle-class writers. But all this together does not make a pidgin. The narratives of whaling life (e.g. Olmsted 1841, Jones 1861, Bullen 1926) do not represent British or American whalemen as using broken or pidgin English among themselves.
- 23 I have normalized Butler's rather peculiar punctuation. Maori words: *kararehe* 'dog, animal', *pakeha* 'European', *karakia* 'spell, incantation, prayer'.
- 24 Because of the large number of editions of the works of Dana and Melville, I give references by chapter rather than page.
- 25 Hawaiian: *ua like pu [me] na haole* 'just like the Europeans', *pau* 'finished, consumed', *aole make make makou i ka hana* 'we don't want work', *mamuli* 'later', *maikai* 'good', *hana* 'work', *nui* 'large, much'. The phrase *maikai, hana hana nui* seems to be broken or pidginized Hawaiian, whereas the other two are more or less grammatical.
- 26 Marquesan: *moe* 'sleep', *kai* 'eat', *vahine* 'woman'.
- 27 Polynesian words: *tamari'i* 'children' (Tahitian), *kanaka* 'person' (Hawaiian, also common in 19th century English in the sense 'Pacific islander'), *pihi* 'fish' (Hawaiian, apparently borrowed from English). Translation: 'When I was a boy, there were many people at Ma'atea. Now there are only poor fishermen left. I was born here.' This passage illustrates Melville's tendency to mix up Hawaiian, Tahitian and Marquesan words in his jargon. In other respects, however, it agrees quite well with that recorded by other writers.

- 28 See note 1.
- 29 There was an interesting exception to this generalization on Kusaie, where intensive contact with whalers had given rise to an unusually widespread knowledge of English in the community. A visitor in the early 1840s observed that 'nearly every native could converse in good English' (Ward 1966, III:559). The first Christian missionary, Benjamin Snow, who arrived in 1852, decided, in view of this unusual situation, to preach and teach in the jargon, variously referred to as 'Strong's Island English' (Pierson ms.) or 'Anglo-Kusaiean' (Ward 1966, IV:472), and described as a 'mixture of Kusaiean, English, Spanish, Hawaiian and other languages' (Ward, loc.cit.). This experiment continued for about three years, after which Snow switched to normal Kusaiean, which he was by then able to use quite readily (Pierson ms., 99). Although Snow may well have written in this jargon, unfortunately no documents appear to have survived.
- 30 Missionary activity was beginning at about the same time, but for several years it was carried on mainly by Samoan and Rarotongan 'teachers'. Wurm (1971:1007) suggests that these teachers played a role in the establishment of 'Beach-la-Mar' in New Caledonia, but I find no evidence that they used pidgin in communicating with the Melanesians. Some, in fact, knew little or no English, to judge by the fact that Andrew Cheyne had to communicate with the two Samoan teachers at the Isle of Pines through his pilot, Foxall, who spoke Samoan. (Shineberg 1971:34). There is clear evidence of mission teachers using pidgin to Europeans (e.g. Don 1927:95, 232-3; Schuchardt 1889:160), but they may well have learned it in Melanesia. On general missionary attitudes towards pidgin see section 3.2.2.
- 31 The earliest occurrence I have found of the term 'Sandalwood English' is from the very end of the period (1865, in Paton 1895:6), where it is described as 'a sort of peculiar broken English, which traders use with the natives all over the Islands.' Shineberg (1967:79, 84) states that 'Sandalwood English' became the *lingua franca* of the region during the 1840s, but does not indicate whether the actual phrase was in use that early. The dating of 'Beach-la-Mar' to this period is so far only conjecture. It is not attested at all until 1872, and then only in French; the earliest English uses are from the 1880s. I have argued elsewhere (Clark 1977), however, that the term originated in local New Caledonian English, and in view of the close association between the two trades there would be nothing implausible in supposing an equally early origin for both terms. Much earlier attestations should be found in unpublished material. It is worth noting that even during the heyday of the labour trade these two terms continued to be used, and no such term as 'sugarcane English' or 'Queensland English' seems to have been coined, which suggests that the plantation

pidgin was seen as the continuation of one which had evolved during the earlier period.

32 This speech can be dated to 1859, since the question of allowing missionaries to settle on Tanna was being debated. See Murray (1863:204, 489) for the historical details.

33 Paton was on Maré for only a few days on his way back to Tanna, where he had been working since 1858, and where he had probably picked up his knowledge of 'Sandalwood English'. Though labour recruiting from the Loyalty Islands to Queensland had begun in 1865 (Howe 1977:90), no labourers would have returned by this time. Thus it is safe to assign this text to the sandalwood period.

34 Garnier's translations of these three pieces are as follows:

'C'est votre bateau?'

'Autant que cela Français du bateau sont morts et mangés.'

'Gondou n'est pas comme un homme mais comme un chien.

S'il voit un Kanak, il aboie contre lui: il mange beaucoup d'hommes.'

The words *mate mate*, *kaikai* and *poika* (*puaka*) are of Polynesian origin.

35 On the use of Polynesian vocabulary in the New Caledonian region see Hollyman (1976, 1978).

36 Most of the comments on the labour trade in this paper will refer to Queensland, since that side of the trade has been most thoroughly studied by modern scholars. The Fijian labour trade is not only less well known in general; there is some uncertainty about the extent to which pidgin English was used there. It seems beyond question that many Melanesian labourers learned some form of Fijian rather than English as a general language of communication on the plantations (Ivens 1930:44; Palmer 1871:143; Schuchardt 1889:162; Thurston 1957:89, 114, 115). On the other hand there are numerous references to individuals who had learned 'English' in Fiji (Don 1927:39, 115; Goodenough 1876:325; Royal Commission Correspondence: 69, 144; Rannie 1912:172), or even 'a mixture of English and Fijian' (Wawn 1893:75). Some later writers identify this form of English as '*bêche-de-mer*' (Brewster 1937:101; St. Johnston 1922: 71-72).

37 *Tiapolo* (Greek or Latin) 'devil'; *bokis* 'box' (referring to a harmonium); *Biritania* 'England, English'.

38 *pray* 'afraid'. Cf. modern New Guinea Pidgin *pret* but Bislama *fraet*.

39 I know nothing of the linguistic history of Gilbertese who worked in Samoa. However, while they may have taken some Melanesian pidgin home with them, it failed to take root because it had no function in their essentially monolingual islands.

40 No systematic study of differences among the Melanesian pidgins has

yet been undertaken, though a number of points are noted by Dutton (1973:275-9) and Simons (1978). The most conspicuous difference is in the lexical sources. Only about 75-80 percent of NG vocabulary is of English origin (Wurm 1971:1010), and the non-English component includes a number of items of basic vocabulary. Comparable percentages for New Hebrides and Solomons pidgin, by my estimates, would be 90 (NH) and 95 (SI).

- 41 Banfield (1908), Blackwell and Lockwood (1965), Gunn (1925), Mountford (1948), Spencer and Gillen (1912), and Kaberry (1939) - this last being the source of the 'Australian Pidgin English' described by Hall (1943).

The only other well-described modern Australian creole is the English-based 'Neo-Nyungar' spoken by Aboriginal and part-Aboriginal people in the southwest of Western Australia (Douglas 1976:10, 14-24). This language shows no evidence of historical connection with other pidgin traditions in Australia or elsewhere.

- 42 Ramson (1966:107-12) gives a number of early quotations, though his selection is probably biased in the direction of Australian lexical content. A number of short utterances are recorded by Bennett (1834:v.I, 123, 131, 236, etc.). A text of some length from an Australian Aboriginal in Tasmania is given by Melville (1965:39-40n.). Another text from Melville, by a Tasmanian speaker, has already been given as an example of South Seas Jargon (example (22), section 3.2.3). It is not clear whether the jargon used between Europeans and Tasmanians, before the latter were exterminated about mid-century, shared the specific Australian characteristics.

Except for *all same*, the comparative features found in the Australian jargon are all of the World group, and hence in themselves are not evidence of a connection with the South Pacific. In view of the focal position of Sydney in the South Pacific trading networks, however, such a connection can hardly be doubted.

- 43 See Ramson (1966:100-31) for a discussion of the origins and use of these words. The spellings given are merely common ones from among numerous variants. The status of this vernacular component in Australian pidgin appears to be quite different from that described above for the vernacular component in the macaronic jargon of Hawaii, New Zealand, etc. In most cases the Australian items are not from the speaker's native language, but ordinary pidgin lexical items, transferred from their original source mainly by Europeans. The Australian examples I have seen show no evidence of pidgin-vernacular code-switching.

- 44 'It was all a lie, what the Europeans said in the big house (Court House), that I killed the European.'

'Rope (or hanging) is not good.'

'I want to speak to you, Sir.'

'I am very afraid.'

- 45 A considerably earlier date for *along*<sup>2</sup> in Melanesia might be allowed on a reinterpretation of the 1863-6 sentence 'Tayos, lookout belong faia.' ('Amis, faites attention au feu.') (Garnier 1867:171). It appears to me that some early writers tended to confuse *along* and *belong*. That this may be such a case is suggested by the fact that *along* here would agree exactly with modern Melanesian usage (e.g. NH *lukaot long* 'be careful about').
- 46 A number of items in Melanesian pidgin vocabulary have been cited as specifically Australian in origin, and some of these (such as *gammon* 'lie, deceive' and *walkabout* 'walk, travel, move about') may have been adopted from Australian pidgin rather than colloquial English. None of the words of Aboriginal origin have established themselves in Melanesian pidgin; but R.H. Codrington, the missionary linguist, states that he was once addressed by a Melanesian in pidgin which included Australian negative *bel* (=baal) (Schuchardt 1889:160-1).