

New Zealand – New Caledonia:
Neighbours, Friends, Partners

La Nouvelle-Zélande
et la Nouvelle-Calédonie:
Voisins, amis et partenaires

Edited by
Frédéric Angleviel and Stephen Levine

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New Caledonia and New Zealand: A Linguistic Connection

Darrell Tryon

The New Zealand and Australian connection with New Caledonia goes back well over a century. This article focuses mainly on the contribution of Australasian and New Zealand English to Pacific French, particularly that of New Caledonia, particularly in the nineteenth century. At the same time it traces the other influences on the lexicon of New Caledonian French, especially Kanak languages. This article also briefly documents the linguistic legacy of New Caledonia's inter-colonial contacts. It pays tribute to the lifetime commitment of New Zealand linguists such as Hollyman, Butler, Corne et al, and the establishment of the Observatoire du Français dans le Pacifique at the University of Auckland in 1979.

Les liens de la Nouvelle-Zélande et de l'Australie avec la Nouvelle-Calédonie remontent à plus d'un siècle. Cette contribution insiste surtout sur la contribution de l'anglais australasien et néo-zélandais à la langue française du Pacifique, et plus particulièrement au français utilisé en Nouvelle-Calédonie au dix-neuvième siècle. Dans le même temps, cette contribution étudie les emprunts de ce parler français aux langues kanak tout en montrant l'importance de la recherche néo-zélandais dans ce domaine, avec la création en 1979 d'un observatoire du français dans le Pacifique à l'université d'Auckland ainsi que les travaux remarquables de messieurs Hollyman, Butler et Corne.

Preamble

The New Zealand and Australian connection with New Caledonia goes back well over a century. This paper focuses mainly on the Australasian contribution to Pacific French, particularly that of New Caledonia, while briefly documenting the linguistic legacy of New Caledonia's inter-colonial contacts. It pays tribute to the lifetime commitment of New Zealand linguists such as Hollyman, Butler, Corne et al, and the establishment of the Observatoire du Français dans le Pacifique at the University of Auckland in 1979. The paper concludes with an account of current Australasian research on Pacific French, with particular reference to New Caledonia.

Introduction

New Caledonia has a rich cultural and linguistic heritage in that it has 28 indigenous Austronesian languages (also known as Malayo-Polynesian) as well as a French-based creole, known as Tayo, spoken at Saint-Louis near Noumea. New Caledonia also has a rich and diverse colonial history, apart from its history as a former penal colony. Indeed, New Caledonian French reflects its extensive history of linguistic contacts around the region.

English has made a contribution to New Caledonian French since the earliest days of its European settlement in 1853, and even earlier, and has been a major external influence. In the 1840s and 50s New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands were visited by English-speaking sandalwooders, whalers, bêche-de-mer fishermen, blackbirders and trochus divers. These people used a variety of pidgin English known as Beach-la-mar, or Sandalwood English, which, because of its Polynesian elements, found ready acceptance as a lingua franca between them and the Pacific Islanders. These English speakers were Americans, Australians, English and New Zealanders.¹

In spite of the fact that from 1863 onwards French was the only language of instruction countenanced by the administration, O'Reilly (1953:211) reports that:

On parlait autant anglais que français à Port-de-France – le futur Nouméa – vers 1860. . . .des mineurs, des marins, des commerçants

néo-zélandais, des éleveurs australiens. . . propagent leur langue et font de Nouméa à cette époque une ville pratiquement bilingue'.

As described below, the influence of English in New Caledonia lessened considerably by the end of the nineteenth century, although it was to have a further period of significant impact there during World War II, with the stationing there of hundreds of thousands of English-speaking Allied troops.

Apart from the English-speaking world, other inputs to the rich tapestry that is New Caledonian French come from Reunion in the Indian Ocean, North Africa (in particular Algeria), from Indonesia, Japan and Vietnam (the source of labour for the mining industry), China, Wallis and Futuna, Tahiti, and the French Caribbean (Guadeloupe and Martinique).

The New Zealand Connection

In 1979 the late Professor K. J. (Jim) Hollyman founded the *Observatoire du Français dans le Pacifique* at the University of Auckland in New Zealand, after becoming interested in Pacific French when he was on active service in New Caledonia with the NZ forces in World War II. He worked on and published extensively on New Caledonian and other Pacific French varieties from about 1960. His publications were mainly focussed on the phonology and lexicon of French spoken in the Pacific, with a heavy concentration on New Caledonia. In fact it was K. J. Hollyman who was co-supervisor and examiner of my own Masters thesis, *Le Français Parlé aux Iles Loyauté* (University of Canterbury, 1963). Hollyman worked in close collaboration with the French linguist André-Georges Haudricourt of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), mainly on the indigenous languages of north-east New Caledonia. After Jim Hollyman's retirement it was another of his students, Chris Corne, who took up the baton and maintained the tradition of New Zealand engagement with Pacific French. Corne, before his untimely death in a road accident, also pioneered the study of Tayo, the French creole spoken at Saint-Louis, near Noumea. It is not without a sense of history, then, that in the last few years I have been engaged in a study of Pacific French varieties (with Peter

Brown, Australian National University and two doctoral students), looking particularly at the evolution of Pacific French (especially in New Caledonia) and questions of identity as New Caledonia takes on greater autonomy, especially since the Noumea Accord (1998).

The *Observatoire du Français dans le Pacifique* had its centre at the Department of Romance Languages at the University of Auckland. Team members included A. S. G. Butler, J. C. Corne, J. L. Glasgow, K. J. Hollyman, B. D. McKay and P. A. Petit. Other members who joined subsequently included Paul De Deckker (later to become President of the University of New Caledonia, but then lecturer in Sociology), and E. D. Jones of the University of Canterbury.

In 1981 the *Observatoire du Français dans le Pacifique* became an associate research unit of the Institut National de la Langue Française, itself a part of CNRS, the French national centre for research. Between 1983 and 1996, twelve volumes of the *Observatoire du Français dans le Pacifique* appeared, all published in Paris by Didier-Érudition. A listing of the volumes and their contents gives some idea of the scope of the *Observatoire*, as follows:

- 1983 Vol 1:
1. Documentation Lexicographique (JH)²
 2. Vocabulaire des Noms d'Oiseaux en Nouvelle-Calédonie (JH)
 3. Identité d'Emprunt, Identification de Repère (JH)
 4. Bibliographie des Études sur le Français dans le Pacifique (JH)
- 1984 Vol 2:
1. Documentation Lexicographique (JH)
 2. Vocabulaire des Noms des Arthropodes en Nouvelle-Calédonie (JH)
 3. L'Occlusion Glottale dans le Français Tahitien (CC)
 4. Bibliographie des Études sur le Français dans le Pacifique (JH)
- 1985 Vol 3:
1. Documentation Lexicographique (JH)
 2. Vocabulaire des Noms de Batraciens et de Reptiles (JH) et Vocabulaire des Zoophytes et des Vers (JH)
 3. Vocabulaires Français et Tahitien dans le Noanoa de Gauvain (PP)
 4. Bibliographie des Études sur le Français dans le Pacifique (JH)

- 1988 Vol 4: 1. Documentation Lexicographique (JH)
2. Vocabulaire des Noms de Poissons en Nouvelle-Calédonie (JH)
3. Vocabulaire des Mammifères Marins en Nouvelle-Calédonie (JH)
4. Bibliographie des Études sur le Français dans le Pacifique (JH)
- 1990 Vol 5: 1. Documentation Lexicographique (JH)
2. Vocabulaire des Noms de Coquillages en Nouvelle-Calédonie (JH)
3. Bibliographie des Dictionnaires des Langues Océaniques (JH)
4. Bibliographie des Études sur le Français dans le Pacifique (JH)
- 1991 Vol 6: 1. Documentation Lexicographique (JH)
2. Vocabulaire des Mammifères Terrestres Sauvages en Nouvelle-Calédonie. (JH)
3. Vocabulaire des Langues Calédoniennes (JH)
4. Pour une Description de la Langue Créole Parlée à Saint-Louis (CC)
5. Bibliographie des Études sur le Français dans le Pacifique (JH)
- 1993 Vol 7: 1. Ethnobotanique franco-calédonienne et noms des plantes (JH)
2. Lexique des Noms Français Locaux des Plantes Indigènes et Introduites de la Nouvelle-Calédonie (JH)
3. Classement taxonomique (JH)
4. Structuration linguistique. (JH)
- 1994 Vol 8: 1. Documentation Lexicographique (JH)
2. Le Lexique du Bagne à la Nouvelle (JH & ASGB)
3. De l'enculé à l'onkilé (CC)
4. Bibliographie des Études sur le Français dans le Pacifique (JH)
- 1995 Vol 9-10: 1. Présentation
2. Lexiques des Noms Français des Animaux Indigènes et Introduits de la Nouvelle-Calédonie (JH)
3. Classement taxonomique (JH)
4. Structuration linguistique (JH)
5. Conclusions
- 1996 Vols 11-12: 1. Le Lexique de l'Élevage du Bétail (JG & JH)

2. Les Caldoches et les Autres: le lexique inter-ethnique calédonien (JH)
3. La Formation de Deux Nouvelles Langues Vernaculaires en Nouvelle-Calédonie: le français calédonien et le tayo (CC)
4. Index Lexicographique des Tomes 1-12 d'OPPED (JH)

The contribution of Austral English

As mentioned above, in the 1840s and 50s New Caledonia and the Loyalties were visited by English-speaking sandalwooders, whalers, bêche-de-mer fishermen, blackbirders and trochus divers. Apart from the Sandalwood English or Beach-la-mar which was used as a lingua franca across the Pacific with the islanders, the English spoken in this region between Europeans should perhaps better be described as Pacific English, or as Morris (1898) called it, 'Austral English', since it is very difficult to distinguish between Australian, English expatriate and New Zealand English, in the mid-1800s.

Hollyman (1963:215) reports that during the early period of settlement, the dominant role in New Caledonia was at times played by English speakers such as James Paddon, one of the first to introduce cattle and sheep. Also important were the New Zealand farmers who came in the 1860s.³ Mrs Caporn records in her journal:

The English consul Cruickshank was very much pleased with New Caledonia. He brought numbers of farmers from New Zealand and the Governor gave him a vessel to visit the island and choose the settlement he deemed fit for his colony. He chose Bouloupari. . . .he ran a boat for years to Bouloupari. . . .planted cotton which was a failure owing to rust. . . .the Cruickshank colony wended their way back to New Zealand save two or three after some ten years. A good class of people.

Sydney and New Zealand had numerous vessels, some twenty sailing vessels principally here and to Fiji. . .there were 400 English in New Caledonia, principally coasters'. (Caporn ms Mitchell Library).

Also important were the Australian miners who came both before and after the discovery of gold at the Fern Hill goldmine in 1870.

There was no direct shipping, other than naval vessels, from France to New Caledonia until 1882. Colonists and visitors came on British ships to Sydney, and normally had to wait there before completing their journey, as there was only a monthly voyage from Sydney to Noumea, and this often involved going via New Zealand. 'Even the local coastal trade was long in the hands of English speakers' (Hollyman 1963:215).

It is not surprising, then, that the new colony became home to the many Franco-British (mainly Franco-Irish) families which were founded by marriages in Australia. As a result of this population pattern, English was as common as French in colonists' usage up to the turn of the century. Newspaper advertisements of the period in particular contain a great deal of English.

The demographic make-up of the population on 1 July 1866 is telling, as New Caledonia then had a total European of 2,340 of whom 1,060 were free settlers, as follows:

Nationality		Location	
French	770	Noumea, Mont Dore, Saint Vincent	843
Australian	202	Yaté	22
German	52	Ile des Pins	11
Italian	10	Loyalty Islands	38
Swiss	6	Canala	41
Spanish	6	Wagap	30
Dutch	5	Pouébo	71
American	4	North-West	4
Swedish	2	TOTAL	1,060
Chilean	2	(these figures only cover the free population)	
Belgian	1		
Troops	706		
Transportés	239		
Others	335 ⁴		
TOTAL	2,340	(Source: Clovis Savoie 1922:53)	

By 1870 the colony had a population of 1,300 European immigrants (Savoie 1922:53). Between 1879 and 1883 there were still more English speakers than French among the newly arriving settlers. By 1887 the European population had grown to 4,165 civilians, 3,000 military, and 11,358 convicts (Hollyman 1971:918)⁵.

In the economic development of the new country, a major role was played by Australia as the principal source area for animals, plants and technical knowledge. This was so not only because of shipping arrangements and geographical proximity, but also because Australia had to face up to many similar developmental problems (Hollyman 1963:215).

From the turn of the century English fell off quickly in use, although it survived much longer in Franco-British families than in the community generally. The only major renewal of close contact occurred through the presence of Australian, American and New Zealand troops during World War II.

Borrowings in New Caledonian French from Austral English

Hollyman (1963:216) warns that before considering English words and expressions in New Caledonian French as direct borrowings, it is important to distinguish them from words already borrowed from English into metropolitan French before their use in New Caledonia, or English words borrowed into another overseas dialect of French and subsequently introduced as intercolonial borrowings.

The borrowings generally reflect major fields of social activity of interest, in the immediate post-colonisation period in New Caledonia, agricultural and pastoral enterprises and the mining industry. There are three types: full borrowing, loan extension of meaning and loan translation.

Full borrowing:

This occurs especially where new technology or a new industry is introduced.

padlock, creek, stockman, stockwhip

Loan extension of meaning: (=meaning borrowing)

This occurs by the process of analogy, as in the following:

Language 1
Word *a* has meaning *x*
Word *a* has meaning *y*

Language 2
Word *b* has meaning *x*
Word *b* borrows meaning *y*

The loan extension of meaning may involve the same semantic field as the common meaning.

Thus: *drove* means 'to drive cattle over a distance for purposes of sale etc'. *conduire* (1925) has had its meaning extended in New Caledonian French to cover the concept of *drove*;

bat in Austral English may mean either a flying marsupial or a fish species (sea-bat). In metropolitan French *roussette* means only a flying marsupial, while in New Caledonian French it has taken on both of the meanings of *bat* in Austral English.

station in New Caledonian French has taken on the additional meaning 'farm, ranch', unknown in metropolitan French with this meaning, following Austral English.

c) Loan translation:

Loan translations fall into two groups: reproductions and renditions. In reproductions, the expression is analysed and its parts reproduced in translation. In renditions the translation is only partial.

Thus: stock-horse	> <i>cheval de stock</i>
bush-fire	> <i>feu de brousse</i> ⁶
paper mulberry	> <i>mûrier-papier</i>
banana passionfruit	> <i>pomme-liane banane</i>
parrot-fish	> <i>poisson perroquet; Labridae</i>
night heron	> <i>héron de nuit</i>

Also: corkwood	> <i>arbre à bouchons</i>
spearwood	> <i>arbre-sagaie</i>

As mentioned previously, the major area of influence from English was in the pastoral and mining industries in New Caledonia in the nineteenth century. While many of the borrowings have retained their currency today, quite a number have fallen into disuse. In some cases are no longer remembered except by a few people still involved in these industries. On the other hand, numerous

English borrowings have entered New Caledonian French in recent years.

Some examples⁷ of lexical borrowings:

Geographical:

Creek 1892⁸ 'The American English *creek* 'stream' which spread to French Guiana, Australia and New Zealand, also appears (1892) in New Caledonia, in a variety of spellings: *creek*, *cric*, even *crique*, but the normal English spelling is the commonest'. (Hollyman 1963: 219).

Brousse 1871 'bush, outback, country area' (see Hollyman 1962:33-34)

Pastoral:

Station or Station d'élevage 1865 'farm, agricultural or grazing property' (CP 1995)⁹

Squatter 1869 'farm owner' (no longer used)¹⁰; but *vide infra*.

Boy 1910 'native station worker, domestic'^{**}

Stock 1910¹¹ 'cattle/horse farm, horse race' (CP 1995:130)

Stockman 1871 'stockman' pl. stockmen, stockmans (CP 1995)

Stockwhip 1871 'stock whip' (CP1995)

Run 1871 'the land is generally known as the 'run' [Ron]; also means 'paddock' (CP1995)

Paddock 1871 'paddock' (CP1995)

Herb 1871 'herd of cattle'^{**}

Stockyard 1871 'stockyard' [stokjaR] (CP 1995)

Dip 1961 'cattle/sheep dip'^{**}

Fence 1866 'fence'^{**} (replaced by *barrière*)

Mustering camp 1905 'mustering camp'^{**}(from Australian 'camp')

Camp 1961 (used by stockmen!)*

Stock-horse 1910 'stock-horse, non-descript breed' (CP 1995)

Quarter-horse 1983 'quarter-horse' (CP 1995)

Mustang 1953 'mustang' *

Crossbreed 1961 'crossbreed'^{**}

Yearling 1961 'yearling'^{**}

Piebald 1961 'piebald'^{**}

- Buck, beauquer* 1953 'to buck, buck' (CP1995)
Buker, boquer, buck
- Hereford* 1867 'Hereford cattle'*
Devon 1867 'Devon cattle'*
Angus 1900 'Angus cattle'*
Norfolk 1905 'Norfolk cattle'*
Pollé 1961 'poll' as in *pollé angus**
Stag 1961 'castrated bull'*
Billy 1961 'bad-tempered bull'*
- Dingo rouge*¹² 1961 'standard working dog'* BUT *chien bleu* (CP1995)
Dingo bleu 1961 'standard working dog'* BUT *chien bleu* (CP1995)
- Nani* 1871 'nanny-goat' (from Bislama)*
Billy 1961 'billy-goat' (from Bislama)*

Trees and Grasses:

There were many borrowings related to pastures, grasses, horticulture and forestry:

- Kaori* 1858 'kauri tree', originally NZE, from Maori *kauri* (CP1995)
Montgomery 1961 'Montgomery red clover' (from NZE)*
*Buffalo*¹³ 1932 'buffalo grass' (CP 1995)
Paspalum 1905 'paspalum grass'¹⁴ *
Mimosa 1935 'mimosa' (CP 1995)
Lantana 1884 'lantana'¹⁵ (CP 1995)
- Gum-tree* 1859 'Native-born Australian'*
Niaouli n.d. 'Native-born New Caledonian'*

Mining:

- Prospecteur* 1869, 1873 'prospector' *
Nugget 1873 'nugget'*
Dish 1878 'panning dish'*
Slousse n.d. 'sluice' *
Tellings 1900 'tailings' *
Shaft n.d. 'shaft' [Shaf]*
Store 1873 'general store, but now used only in'

- Belay* camps'*.
 n.d. 'billy-can'. Cf. *Belly, bélé, bélet, billy* (CP1995)
- Transport (US Army):
- Benzine* 1953 'petrol'¹⁶*
Bulldozer 1945 'bulldozer' (CP1995)
Bus 1945 'bus' *
Grader 1945 'grader, bulldozer' (CP1995)
Jeep 1945 'Jeep' *
Motor Pool 1941 'Motor Pool, suburb of Noumea'
Receiving 1941 'Receiving, suburb of Noumea'
Poken 1947 'English-speaker' from 'English spoken' (CP 1995)

More Recent Borrowings:

- Carport* 'carport' (CP1995)
Bull-bar 'bull-bar'*
Aerogard 'Aerogard insect spray' (CP1995)
Babaille 'Bye bye' (CP1995)
Dungaree 'dungarees' (CP1995)
NZO 'New Zealander' (CP 2007)
NZU 'New Zealander' (CP1995)
Mummy 'mum' (CP1995)
Bye you 'good-bye' (CP1995)
Shopping center 'shopping centre' (CP1995)
Stone fish 'stone-fish' (CP1995)

Borrowings from Bislama:

- BIS* 'tomahawk' (CP1995)
BIS 'eat' (CP1995)
BIS 'pannikin' *
BIS 'child'*
BIS 'doctor'*
BIS 'cattle' (CP1995)
BIS 'pig' (CP1995)
BIS 'good-bye' (CP1995)
BIS 'man!' (CP1995)
BIS 'nanny-goat' (CP1995)

Borrowings from Sources other than English

From Melanesian languages in New Caledonia:

There are numerous borrowings from a range of New Caledonian vernaculars, in particular major languages such as Drehu (Lifou, Loyalty Islands) and Ajië (Houailou). For example:

<i>bougna</i>	'traditional vegetable and meat/fish pudding' (Kumak, Drehu)
<i>cagou</i>	'flightless bird, <i>Rhynochetos jubatus</i> (Drumbéa)
<i>dawa</i>	'fish, <i>Naso unicornis</i> ' (Ajië, Xârâcùù)
<i>houp</i>	'tree, <i>Montrouziera cauliflora</i> ' (languages of Northern New Caledonia)
<i>kakoune</i>	'bump, collision, accident'
<i>kalolo</i>	'beautiful, nice' (Drehu <i>ka lolo</i>)
<i>kanéka</i>	'local Kanak music'
<i>notou</i>	'large pigeon, <i>Ducula goliath</i> ' (Numèè)
<i>ouapipi</i>	'honey-eater, <i>Gerygone flavolateralis</i> ' (Paicî)
<i>pilou,</i>	'native dance' (Caaac, Yâlayu)
<i>poingo (banane poingo)</i>	'variety of cooking banana' (Hienghène region)
<i>popinée</i>	'native woman' [from West Uvea <i>fafine</i> , through Melanesian]; (<i>vide</i> JH 1959:375) ¹⁸
<i>popwaalé</i>	'European' (Paicî)
<i>toghi</i>	'evil spirit, devil' (Ajië, Xârâcùù)

From Tahitian French:

<i>bourao</i>	'hibiscus tiliaceus, yellow hibiscus' (Tahitian <i>purau</i>);
<i>tamanou</i>	'tree, <i>Calophyllum inophyllum</i> ' (Tahitian <i>tāmanu</i>)
<i>maïoré</i>	'breadfruit, breadfruit tree' (Tahitian <i>maïore</i>)

From Javanese (Indonesian):

<i>bami</i>	'Indonesian-style vermicelli, Indonesian'
<i>bayou</i>	'Indonesian woman'
<i>kakane, cacane</i>	'Indonesian; Javanese, gardener'

From Vietnamese:

<i>congai,</i>	'Vietnamese woman'
<i>naï</i>	'Asian'

From Algerian French:

<i>gourbi</i>	'untidy or tumbledown place'*
<i>dis, disque, dixé</i>	'tall grass, <i>Ampelodesmos</i> '*

From Reunion French:

<i>aloës</i>	'plant, <i>Agave sisilana</i> '.
<i>ambrevade</i>	'pigeon-pea'
<i>bois noir</i>	'tree, <i>Albizia lebbek</i> '
<i>brède</i>	'plant with edible leaves, <i>Amaranthus interruptus</i> '
<i>chouchoute</i>	'choko, <i>Sechium edule</i> '
<i>pipengaye</i>	'plant, <i>Luffa cylindrica</i> '

From West Indian French:

<i>barbardine</i>	'vine, <i>Passiflora quadrangularis</i> '
<i>bécune</i>	'fish, <i>Sphyræna sp</i> '
<i>crocro</i>	'fish, <i>Haemulon plumieri</i> '
<i>pomme-liane</i>	'vine, <i>Passiflora laurifolia</i> '

Referential readjustment of metropolitan French terms:

<i>cajou</i>	'tree, <i>Semecarpus atra</i> '.
<i>caïquer</i>	'beat, hit, reprimand'
<i>chêne</i>	'tree with sinuous branches and medium heavy timber' (22 compound names)
<i>manjager</i>	'dye-producing tree, <i>Morinda citrifolia</i> '

French regionalisms:

<i>taïche</i>	'peanut, <i>Arachis hypogaea</i> '
<i>gouet</i>	'locust, <i>Locusta migratoria</i> '.

↗ Caledonian French neologisms:

Many items of New Caledonian flora and fauna, especially, have no name in metropolitan French as they do not exist in that part of the world, they often given a name related to the closest European term. These terms often involve an adjective or descriptive phrase. Thus:

<i>amande amère</i>	'tree with edible fruit, <i>Ximения elliptica</i> '
<i>bois barre à mine</i>	'tree with timber difficult to bend, <i>Syzygium wagapense</i> '
<i>groseiller kanak</i>	'shrub, <i>Physalis peruviana</i> '
<i>chou kanak</i>	'native spinach, <i>hibiscus manihot</i> '
<i>pois collant</i>	'sticky-seeded plant, <i>Desmodium heterocarpum</i> '
<i>long cou</i>	'héron, <i>Dimigretta sacra albolineata</i> '
<i>lunette</i>	'white-eye, <i>Zosterops sp</i> '

Other current items are recent neologisms, which are well established, for example:

<i>bibiche</i> ,	'sling-shot' (<i>contra</i> metropolitan French <i>lance-pierres</i>)
<i>mobilis</i>	'portable telephone'
<i>nordiste</i>	'someone from the Northern Province'
<i>squat</i>	'slum dwelling, usually in the bush or on undeveloped land'

Slang and informal speech is the source of many new words and colourful expressions in New Caledonian French. While many are common to all Caledonian communities, quite a number tend to be limited to a particular age or ethnic group.

For example, the following expressions are seemingly limited to Kanak French:

<i>Araïeu!</i>	expresses surprise (Drehu <i>axaiö</i>) (vulg.)
<i>Babane</i>	bald, idiotic
<i>Babao</i>	ghost
<i>Doghi</i>	devil, evil spirit (Ajië)
<i>Ekoloini</i>	surprise! (Nengone <i>koloïni</i> 'poor me!')
<i>Kaikai</i>	eat, food
<i>Kalolo</i>	pretty, good (Drehu <i>ka lolo</i> 'beautiful')
<i>Kaya fou</i>	bohemian (Jamaican Creole <i>kaya</i> 'marijuana')
<i>Lin nien</i>	good-bye (Drehu <i>elahnyë</i>)
<i>Pe a keu</i>	none, no more (Drehu <i>pëkö</i> , 'zero', 'none')
<i>Popwaalé</i>	European
<i>Wanamatcha</i>	Expresses surprise (Drehu)

Polynesian French (Tahitians and Wallisians), also in use by Kanaks:

<i>Ahi!</i>	Expresses surprise (Tahitian)
<i>Aita</i>	No, not. (Tahitian <i>aita</i>). <i>Aita cigarettes</i> 'There are no cigarettes'
<i>Leleïpe?</i>	Greeting: Are you OK? (Wallisian)
<i>Caldoches:</i>	
<i>Babaille!</i>	Bye-bye
<i>Bobo</i>	idiot
<i>Cow-boy</i>	outrageous, old-fashioned
<i>Ça de wizz!</i>	wonderful!
<i>Ça de no!</i>	expresses disapproval
Whole Caledonian community (as opposed to metropolitan French):	
<i>A bloc</i>	much, a lot
<i>A la douille</i>	very quickly
<i>Aouh!</i>	Expresses dismay, surprise
<i>L'engin!</i>	Expresses admiration, dismay, surprise
<i>Coup de</i>	coup de pêche, coup de fête, coup de moutarde

Phonology and morpho-syntax

Any detailed account of the phonology or morpho-syntax of New Caledonian French is beyond the scope of this paper. However, there are two or three major phonological differences between metropolitan and New Caledonian French, one of which cannot be ignored.

This concerns the loss of the /õ:/ /ã/ distinction²⁰. Thus there is no distinction in New Caledonian French between /bã/ 'banc' and /bõ/ 'bond', /lã/ 'lent' and /lõ/ 'long'. In an attempt to cope with the /ã:/ /õ/ distinction taught by metropolitan teachers, New Caledonian school-children often change from the local /ã - õ/ system to an /æ - ä/ system. This is what leads to pronunciations such as /la dam blõš/ 'la dame blonde' and /lə mande/ 'le mande', and the perception that the metropolitan French /ã:/ /õ/ distinction is simply reversed in New Caledonian French.

For detailed accounts of the phonology of this variety of New Caledonian French see Hollyman (1964, 1971). Aspects of morpho-syntax are treated in Corne and Hollyman (1996), Barnèche (2005) and Fillol (2006).

Current Research

With the signing of the Matignon Accords (1988) and more importantly the Noumea Accord (1998) there has been a gradual transfer of powers from the French State to the Government of New Caledonia. As these transfers take place, there are obviously questions of a newly emerging New Caledonian identity, translated by new forms of expression and cultural practice. This is quite varied and complex. Given the fact that while any future New Caledonian identity will have French as its unifying means of communication, there is considerable and increasing diversity. With twenty-eight Kanak languages and a Caldoche population emanating from a broad spectrum of ethnic mixes, it is only to be expected that while New Caledonians work towards a 'common destiny', the emerging Caledonian identity will be at once 'national' and unified yet at the same time plural, recognising the many different ethnic and social strands which make up the rich tapestry which is New Caledonia.

From a linguistic stand-point, the work on Pacific French of earlier New Zealand scholars, led by Hollyman and his team has provided an exhaustive documentation of its lexical development, particularly in the case of New Caledonian French. This has been complemented more recently by the work of Mireille Darot (1996, 1997, 1998), and especially Christine Pauleau (1995, 2007).

Christine Pauleau, born in Noumea, based at the Université de Paris X-Nanterre, produced a substantial lexicon of New Caledonian French, based on her doctoral dissertation (Pauleau 1995). Most recently she has published a two-volume expansion of that earlier work (Pauleau 2007), which includes the results of her research in schools and colleges in Noumea in 2005. *Mots De Nouvelle Calédonie: éléments de recherche sociolinguistique sur le français calédonien* (2007) is a significant work which will allow us to better document and evaluate changes in the lexicon of New Caledonian French over the past two decades and the nature of those changes.

The Australasia-New Caledonia link in documenting and analysing New Caledonian French is being further enhanced through a current research project: 'Literature, Language and the Expression of Cultural Change in the Francophone Pacific'. This Australian Research Council Linkage Project involves Darrell Tryon and Peter

Brown, and two post-graduate researchers Peter Myers, and Rowena Dickens Morrison (all from the Australian National University). This four-year project, in collaboration with the Ministère de la Culture in New Caledonia, has as its aim to analyse and document in monographs, critical editions, doctoral theses and other forms the evolution of linguistic and cultural change in the French Pacific through a comprehensive case study of the contemporary literature and press of New Caledonia, together with an analysis of spoken New Caledonian French, on radio and in rural and urban areas in all three provinces of the country.

Conclusion

The variety of French spoken in New Caledonia, like that in metropolitan France, is not adequately represented by a single label. New Caledonian French is distinguishable from metropolitan French by a number of phonological, morpho-syntactic and lexical criteria, a sample of which has been presented above.

However, while a single label may suffice to distinguish New Caledonian French from metropolitan French, it is important to observe that there is a whole range of speech varieties or registers covered by this label, whose main function is to proclaim one's New Caledonian identity as opposed to any other identity. In the same way, New Zealand English may be distinguished from Australian or Canadian English for example.

Within New Caledonian French it is not difficult to identify varieties spoken by the Kanak population which differ in some ways from the variety spoken by Caldoche residents engaged in pastoral and agricultural pursuits on the west coast of the mainland. Even within Kanak French there are notable differences between the speech of urban and rural dwellers on the mainland, and between them and their neighbours in the Loyalty Islands. And even within Caldoche speech, there are recognisable Javanese and Tonkinese varieties.

More important than the identifiable speech varieties within New Caledonian French is the fact that nearly all speakers have a number of registers or varieties at their disposal. These registers

or codes may be invoked depending on the identity/background of one's interlocutor, normally to express in-group solidarity/membership. It is this complex set of code-switching scenarios and the multiple identities so encoded which lies at the heart of our current research.

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Notes

- 1 There is a record of a New Zealander from Auckland, named Fitzgerald, who was engaged in bêche-de-mer fishing off the NW tip of New Caledonia (see G. Cordier-Rossiaud *Relations Économiques entre Sydney et la Nouvelle-Calédonie 1844-1860*. Paris 1957, p. 50).
- 2 JH, Jim Hollyman; CC, Chris Corne; PP, Pierre Petit; ASGB, Alex Butler; JG, Jeanette Glasgow.
- 3 This group was brought over by the English Consul, Cruickshank. It is mentioned in a manuscript by Mrs A. Caporn, *Notes of New Caledonia 1859*, Mitchell Library, Sydney.
- 4 Asian, African & Pacific Island migrants.
- 5 In comparison, the Melanesian population was about 27,000 in 1860, but fell to less than 19,000 by 1887.
- 6 *Feu de brousse* appears in 1910, replacing the earlier *incendie de prairie* (1858) (Hollyman 1963:219).
- 7 The examples presented in this paper represent only a small fraction of lexical borrowings in New Caledonian French. For an extensive listing, see the Index lexicographique in the *Observatoire du Français dans le Pacifique*, Vol.12: 129-322 (1996).
- 8 The dates indicate the first recorded written use of the term in New Caledonian French: Source Hollyman OFF.
- 9 Christine Pauleau *Le français calédonien* (1995)
- 10 indicates not found in Pauleau 1995, an indication that the item has lost currency or disappeared.
- 11 Certainly used earlier than 1910.

- 12 Pronounced [dingo], unlike the metropolitan French pronunciation.
- 13 Although this is an American grass, the name is Australian, since it was discovered in Australia near Buffalo Creek, NSW.
- 14 Also known as '*herbe d'Australie*'.
- 15 Introduced from Australia before 1868 (Hollyman 1963:225).
- 16 Recorded by O'Reilly 1953, but disputed by Hollyman (1963:228).
- 17 *Poka* is old Beach-la-mar, replaced in modern Bislama by *pig*.
- 18 'Of particular interest is the French word *popinée* "native woman". The Uvean name for 'woman' is *fafine*. The consonant *f* is missing from the phonemic systems of a number of NC languages, including several along the northern coast of the mainland. It is clear that *fafine* underwent a transformation in the mouths of these speakers before being adopted as *popinée* by the French settlers. In view of the habit among north-coast chiefs of obtaining wives from Uvea, it seems that the word was commonly used by them before European visits were frequent' (Hollyman 1959: 375).
- 19 Usually pronounced *Pongin* /lõʒã/
- 20 In metropolitan French there is a four-way distinction in nasal vowels /ã - œ - õ - ä/ while in New Caledonian French there is a two-way distinction /ã - õ/ (Hollyman 1971:926).

Part Two

The 20th century relationship

Hier

Notes

- 1 Loi du 23 février 2005, dont le 2^e aliéna, article 4 évoquait les « aspects positifs de la présence française d'outre-mer ».
- 2 Le Président Jacques Chirac avait déjà appelé à ce que cet article soit supprimé, mais il fallait que le Conseil Constitutionnel l'ait déclassé d'abord, ce qu'il a fait début 2006.
- 3 Voir par exemple, le débat entre Keith Windschuttle (2000) et Henry Reynolds (2000 ; 2001), entre autres.
- 4 Voir, par exemple, Ranginui Walker (2004). L'ex-leader du Nationalist Party, Don Brash, a, quant à lui, parlé du « Treaty of Waitangi Grievance Indemnity ».
- 5 Toute citation ultérieure de *Son of France* sera suivie, entre guillemets, du seul numéro de la page du roman.
- 6 Joseph Comte de Gobineau, penseur du XIX^e siècle, disait dans son *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* : 'Les civilisations se sont développées en fonction de leur appartenance à une race. Il y a trois races humaines : la noire, la jaune et la blanche. Les races humaines sont inégales. La noire est la plus humble et gît au bas de l'échelle. . . '.
- 7 Louis-Hubert Lyautey (1854-1934), militaire français, ministre de la guerre pendant la Première guerre mondiale, dont la carrière s'est surtout associée à la présence française au Maroc et à la « mission civilisatrice de celle-ci.
- 8 Il est intéressant de noter que Nicholas Thomas conteste justement cette représentation du modernisme européen : 'it is odd that so singular a form of "primitive art" as tattooing should not have attracted the attention of the early twentieth-century modernists who notoriously gained inspiration from African and Oceanic arts' (Thomas, 2005 : 27). Voir également, dans le même volume, le texte de Nikora, Linda Waimarie, Rua, Mohi and Te Awekotuku, Ngahuia. 'Wearing Moko: Maori Facial Marking in Today's World', 191-203.
- 9 'The country went (to put it crudely) from a largely monocultural, Eurocentric, protectionist welfare state, dependent on British markets and British cultural ideals (the historian James Belich sums up the national super-ego of the period in the phrase "Better Britons") to a post-colonial, bi-cultural and multicultural nation dominated by neo-liberal economics and the global marketplace, and eager to redefine its culture and its identity as uniquely Pacific and Polynesian' (Brunt, 2005: 124).

Contributors

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Favorable au travail d'équipe, il co-dirigea en 1992 le manuel d'histoire de la Nouvelle-Calédonie CM et en 1999 un ouvrage portant sur Wallis-et-Futuna. En 2004, il a coordonné un numéro spécial du *Journal of Pacific Studies* (Suva), en 2006 les actes de la 16^e Pacific history Association conference et en 2008 les mélanges dédiés au Pr. Jean Martin. Editeur, il a créé en 1997 la collection *101 mots pour comprendre* aux éditions nouméennes île de lumière, (8 titres). A L'Harmattan la collection *Portes océanes* compte 4 titres. Depuis 2003, il est expert au niveau national pour le Ministère de la Recherche à la MSTP puis à la DGRI.

Frédéric Angleviel is professor in contemporary history at the University of New Caledonia and editor of the annual journal *Annales d'histoire calédonienne*. His 1989 doctoral thesis on the religious history of Wallis and Futuna was published in 1994, and in 2002 he completed his second French thesis (HDR) on New Caledonia's historiography (published in 2003). His research interests include perceptions of Christianity in Oceania, identity and migrations, historical sources, and, especially in recent years, the politics and governance of New Caledonia.

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François Garde, sous-préfet puis magistrat administratif, a été notamment secrétaire général adjoint de la Nouvelle Calédonie (1991-1993), conseiller chargé des affaires juridiques et de la Nouvelle Calédonie auprès du ministre de l'outre-mer (1998-1999), administrateur supérieur des terres australes et antarctiques

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Dominique Lataste was born in 1950 in France. She has a PhD in Anthropology from INALCO (Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, located in Paris) and has been a French teacher. She is co-author (with Fania Toa) of *Living customs in Uvea*

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Dominique Lataste est née en 1950, en France. Elle a un doctorat en anthropologie obtenu à l'INALCO et a enseigné comme professeur de français. Elle est co-auteur avec Epifania Toa de « *Vivre la coutume à Wallis* », un ouvrage qui traite de la vie quotidienne à Wallis. Elle a vécu dans différents pays mais surtout dans le Pacifique et en particulier à Wallis. Retraîtée, elle vit maintenant tant à Nouméa qu'à Brisbane.

Stephen Levine is a Professor of Political Science at Victoria University of Wellington and was the founding Head of the university's School of History, Philosophy, Political Science and International Relations. He has written extensively about political and security issues in the Pacific, and has also taught undergraduate and graduate courses on Pacific islands governance and international relations. Professor Levine has served several terms as editor of *Political Science* and in 2005 he was appointed founding co-editor of the Royal Society of New Zealand's new social science journal, *Kotuitui* ('Interweavings' in Maori). His work on Pacific Islands politics and the Asia-Pacific region has appeared in various journals, among them *The Contemporary Pacific*, *Pacific Studies*, *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, *The Australian Journal of Political Science* and the bilingual *Revue Juridique Polynésienne*, and Professor Levine has been responsible since 1995 for the annual review of Pacific Islands affairs published in *The Annual Register*.

Stephen Levine est professeur de sciences politiques à l'Université Victoria de Wellington et il a été le fondateur du département d'histoire, de philosophie, des sciences politiques et des relations internationales. Il a publié de nombreux écrits sur la politique et la sécurité dans le Pacifique et a également donné des cours sur les institutions ainsi que les relations internationales dans le Pacifique. Le professeur Levine a été l'éditeur durant plusieurs années de la

revue « Political sciences » et il fut co-fondateur en 2005 de la revue « Kotuitui », publiée par la Royal Society of New Zealand. Il a publié de nombreuses études sur la région Asie-Pacifique, en particulier dans les journaux scientifiques suivants : *Contemporary Pacific*, *Pacific Studies*, *Revue juridique polynésienne*. Depuis 1995, il est en charge de la parution de la rubrique concernant le Pacifique dans le *Annual Register*.

Ian McGibbon (D Litt, Victoria University of Wellington) is the General Editor (War History) in the Ministry for Culture and Heritage. He edited the *Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History* (2000) and is the author of numerous works on New Zealand defence and foreign policy. His publications include the two-volume official history *New Zealand and the Korean War* (1992, 1996), *New Zealand and the Second World War* (2004) and guidebooks to the New Zealand battlefields at Gallipoli and on the Western Front. In 1997 he was appointed an ONZM [Officer of the New Zealand Order of Merit] for services to historical research.

Ian McGibbon, docteur de l'université Victoria, est l'éditeur général des études portant sur l'histoire militaire au ministère de la culture et du patrimoine. En 2000, il a édité le *Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History* et il est l'auteur de nombreuses publications sur la défense et les affaires étrangères de la Nouvelle-Zélande. Il a rédigé les deux volumes de l'histoire officielle de l'armée néo-zélandaise durant la guerre de Corée. En 1997, il a reçu le titre d'officier de l'ordre du mérite néo-zélandais (ONZM) pour services rendus à l'histoire.

Adrian Muckle (PhD, Australian National University) is a lecturer in the History Programme at Victoria University of Wellington. He teaches Pacific history and has a specialist interest in New Caledonia. He is currently revising a study of the war that occurred in the north of New Caledonia in 1917-18 and is researching the political internment of Kanak between 1887 and 1946 under the colonial *indigénat* regulations.

Adrian Muckle (PhD, Australian National University) enseigne l'histoire du Pacifique dans le Programme d'histoire à l'Université de Victoria à Wellington. Son champs de recherche spécialiste est l'histoire de la Nouvelle-Calédonie. Il écrit actuellement une monographie sur la guerre qui eut lieu dans le nord de Nouvelle-Calédonie en 1917-18, et il prépare une étude sur l'internement politique des Kanak sous l'indigénat entre 1887 et 1946.

Michel Pérez est maître de conférences à l'Université de la Nouvelle-Calédonie et directeur des études à l'Institut de Formation des Maîtres du Pacifique. Il enseigne essentiellement l'histoire sociale et politique du monde anglophone. Ses recherches portent sur la politique intérieure et régionale de l'Australie, avec un intérêt croissant pour les relations internationales de Canberra et son rôle dans la mondialisation.

Michel Pérez is a Senior Lecturer at the University of New Caledonia and Academic Supervisor at the local Teachers' Training College. He teaches mostly social and political history in the English-speaking world. His research focuses on Australia's domestic and regional policies, with increasing attention paid to Canberra's foreign relations and global positioning.

Gilles Pestaña est maître de conférences en géographie à l'Université de la Nouvelle-Calédonie après avoir été enseignant-chercheur à l'université de Limoges de 1997 à 2001. Ses enseignements portent notamment sur l'approche systémique, les espaces urbains ou encore la géographie de la mondialisation. Collaborateur de l'équipe de recherche PRODIG, Unité Mixte de Recherche CNRS de Paris il est aussi membre du Centre des Nouvelles Études sur le Pacifique (CNEP), un laboratoire de l'UNC. Après une thèse sur le thème des « mutations sociales et dynamiques des systèmes ruraux au Fouta-Djalou (République de Guinée) », il mène depuis 2003 ses recherches sur la Nouvelle-Calédonie et sur le Pacifique sur les thèmes des politiques publiques de développement rural et durable, de l'habitat spontané et l'épistémologie de la géographie. Il a collaboré par ses articles à plusieurs ouvrages récents sur le

Pacifique et participe à un programme de l'Agence Nationale de la Recherche sur la production des politiques publiques de développement rural et durable, leur contexte de production et leurs modalités de mise en œuvre.

Gilles Pestaña is senior lecturer in geography at the University of New Caledonia, after having been a lecturer at the University of Limoges from 1997 to 2001. His teaching includes the systems approach, urban space and the geography of globalisation. He is a participant in the research team PRODIG, Unité Mixte de Recherche CNRS in Paris, and he is also a member of the Centre for New Pacific Studies (CNEP), a laboratory of the University of New Caledonia. After completing a doctorate on 'social change and rural systems evolution in Fouta-Jalou (Republic of Guinea)' he has been conducting his research since 2003 on New Caledonia and the Pacific, focusing on public policies for rural and sustainable development, informal settlements and the epistemology of geography. More recently he has published articles and books on the Pacific and is participating in a programme of the National Agency for Research (ANR) dealing with the implementation of public policies for rural and sustainable development.

Sarah Powell has written a doctoral thesis on literature from Kanaky/New Caledonia in the French Programme at Victoria University of Wellington where she teaches a variety of courses, including modules on creative writing from the francophone Pacific and on perceptions of the South Seas during the Enlightenment. In addition to publishing several articles on Déwé Gorodé and Claudine Jacques, she has also translated into English a number of short literary texts from Kanaky/New Caledonia.

Sarah Powell fait partie de la section française à l'Université Victoria de Wellington où elle a écrit une thèse doctorale sur la littérature de Kanaky/Nouvelle-Calédonie. Vacataire, elle est chargée de cours divers, se spécialisant dans l'écriture du Pacifique francophone et dans la perception des Mers du Sud au siècle des Lumières. Auteure de plusieurs articles sur Déwé Gorodé et Claudine Jacques, elle a

également traduit vers l'anglais de nombreux textes littéraires de Kanaky/New Calédonie.

Peter Tremewan has been working for some years on the relations between France and New Zealand in the nineteenth century. French settlers, whalers, scientists, writers and missionaries have been the subject of his publications as well as of research essays, theses and publications written by his postgraduate students in the French Department of the School of Languages and Cultures at the University of Canterbury. He is the author of *French Akaroa* (1990), about the failed attempt to declare French sovereignty over southern New Zealand, a project that resulted instead merely in the implantation of a small group of French settlers on Banks Peninsula.

Peter Tremewan travaille sur les relations entre la France et la Nouvelle-Zélande au XIXe siècle. Lui et ses étudiants à l'université de Canterbury ont écrit sur les baleiniers, marins, savants, écrivains, missionnaires et colons français qui sont venus en Nouvelle-Zélande. Son livre *French Akaroa* (1990) décrit la tentative française d'annexer l'île du Sud de la Nouvelle-Zélande en 1840: les Français arrivent trop tard et ne créent que le village français d'Akaroa; la France est obligé de tourner ses yeux vers les Marquises et Tahiti, où le capitaine Lavaud, commissaire du Roi à Akaroa, devra se rendre pour être gouverneur.

Darrell Tryon is Professor of Linguistics at the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University. His continuing involvement with New Caledonia, its languages and cultures, dates back more than forty years. He was co-editor (with Stephen Wurm and Peter Mühlhäusler) of and a major contributor to the *Atlas of Languages of Intercultural Communication in the Pacific, Asia and the Americas* (1995) and co-author (with Jean-Michel Charpentier) of *Pacific Pidgins and Creoles* (2004). He is currently involved in a major research project on New Caledonian French.

Darrell Tryon est professeur de linguistiques à la « research school » concernant la zone Asie-Pacifique à l'ANU. La part active et soutenue

qu'il a pris dans les recherches sur la Nouvelle-Calédonie, tant au niveau de ses langues que de ses cultures, remonte à plus de quarante ans. Il a été co-éditeur de *l'Atlas of Languages of Intercultural Communication in the Pacific, Asia and the Americas* (1995) et co-auteur de *Pacific Pidgins and Creoles* (2004). Il a actuellement entrepris une étude sur les différents français parlés en Nouvelle-Calédonie.