

3.

MELANESIAN BORROWINGS IN NEW CALEDIAN FRENCH

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I

The purpose of this paper is to detail those borrowings from the Melanesian languages of New Caledonia which are in reasonably common spoken or written use in the local French, and to discuss their integration.

Decisions as to inclusion or exclusion from the list given in Section II were not easy to make. Most anthropological works on New Caledonia contain a variety of MN words, many of which have tended to become part of the lexical stock-in-trade of their authors. They are normally, however, accompanied by explanatory contexts which make it plain that they cannot be considered to have become French words. The same may be said of works by natural scientists, in particular botanists, but the stock-in-trade is considerably smaller, because here the author is generally more concerned with scientific nomenclature. There remains, however, a fringe zone of words about which opinion may reasonably differ, and a few of these have been deliberately included (ava, piré, tilit, yute). This fringe group is particularly evident in literary works based on native legends, such as those of Baudoux and Mariotti: here an exact understanding of a native term used may not be imperative for the appreciation of events and their context, and the value of the exotic term may simply be its exoticism. The problem of checking on currency can then be very difficult. One of the words included here is tigga "octopus", used by Baudoux in his story Le Tayo Gras. A fisheries expert and a fisherman declared that the word was not used by Europeans, and was purely a native term. Yet I heard it used on more than one occasion in French conversations between European and Melanesian. Such information is clearly essential and needs to be stated, and it is where it is not available that difficulties arise. Written usage is not always open to such checking, as a word may be a borrowing used only in the written form of the language. There may, therefore, be disagreement with inclusions or exclusions of my list.

The list is intended to give the following information for each word: meaning(s) in scientific or descriptive terms; alternative names with the same meanings(s); other phrases in which the word occurs; date of first recorded occurrence (these are final dates only in a very few instances)\*; and where possible, the MN word and the language to which it belongs. The list as

a whole is divided into several groups of words, each covering a different semantic field. Discussion of the borrowings follows the list.

## II

### FLORA

1. AZOU, s.m. Name given to trees of the following genera: Planchonella, Chrysophyllum, Elaeocarpus, and Sarcolepus. Also used with qualifying word or phrase: Azou à feuilles rousses (also called Chêne jaune à petites feuilles), designating Chrysophyllum ochrothallifolium Guillaumin; Azou à graines bleues (also called Cerisier de forêt), designating Elaeocarpus speciosus Brongniart & Gris; Azou blanc, designating a rare Planchonella, with white trunk; and Azou cloche or Azou de montagne (also called Cerisier de montagne), designating Elaeocarpus thyensis Guillaumin; Azou du Col d'Amieu (more usually known as a Faux Châtaignier), designating Chrysophyllum amieuanum Guillaumin; and Azou rouge designating Sarcolepus balansaeus Pierre. First noted in Lison 1880: 12. Possibly a Lifu word.
2. BABAÏ, s.m. Plant, Maxwellia lepidota Baillon, more usually called Thé canaque, since its leaves are used for an infusion rather like tea. First noted in Rageau 1957: 45.
3. BALOGHIA, s.m. Plant, Fontainea pancheri Heckel. First noted in Jeanneney 1894: 282, 299, but its properties were analysed by Heckel in 1870.
4. BIJOUIN, s.m. Tree, Fagraea schlechteri Gilg. and Ben., also called Arbre à pétrole, Bois pétrole, Arbre à tabous, Bois à tabou, Bois tabou. (The tabou is a sculptured figure.) First noted in Leenhardt 1935: 57a. Wailu mbisuë. There must be variants in other languages, not recorded by Leenhardt, as I noted biouin at Pinjen.
5. BOULÉ, s.m. Tree, Cerbera manghas L. (= C. odollam Gaertner), more usually called Faux Manguier. First noted in Jeanneney 1894: 126. Mainland word, cf. Chawa, no. 7.
6. BUGNY, BUNI, s.m. Large tree, Manilkara pancheri Pierre, growing mainly on uplifted coral. First noted in Jeanneney 1894: 117, 295. Bugny is apparently a Kapone word, Buni the corresponding mainland form.
7. CHAWA, s.m. Kapone word for Boulé, no. 5 above. First noted in Jeanneney 1894: 126.
8. GOAYA, s.m. Tall tree, Ilex sebertii Pancher & Sébert, also called Collier blanc. First noted in Sarlin 1954: 287, who also mentions a Goaya à petites feuilles (Myrtaceae).

9. GOYA, s.m. Medium-sized tree, Piliocalyx laurifolius Brongniart & Gris, also called Gaiac de forêt and Pommier jaune. First noted in Sarlin 1954: 229, who records as the native name goueia.
10. GUILLOUK, s.m. Ornamental plant, Coleus blumei Benth., also called Coléus. First noted in Rageau 1957: 62.
11. HOUP, s.m. Very tall tree, Montrouziera cauliflora Pancher & Triana. With qualifying word or phrase, used of other trees also: Faux Houp is used of several Garcinias, two of which have other names also: G.collina Vieillard, also called Mou (no. 20 below), and G.puat Guillaumin, also called Oseille de montagne and Houp blanc; and Houp de montagne, designating the rare Montrouziera sphaeroida Pancher & Triana. First noted in Patouillet 1873: 76, 143. The Northern group of MN languages all have hup or xup; hup also exists in Haraguré. Because of the pronunciation of the final -p, the spelling houpe is occasionally found for the French word; the initial h- is treated as an aspirate.
12. IRAMIA, s.m. Small tree or shrub, Pleurocalyptus deplanchei Brongniart & Gris, according to Heckel 1913: 75; tree, Pancheria ternata, also called Chêne rouge, according to Jeanneney 1894: 96, who also characterises the name as native.
13. KAVITI, s.m. Native name for the indigenous raspberry plants, Rubus elongatus L., R.moluccanus L., R.rosaefolius Smith, usually called Framboisiers. First noted in Rageau 1957: 23.
14. KIMA, s.m. Tree, Cunonia sp. First noted in Sarlin 1954: 73.
15. KOHU, s.m. Medium-sized tree, Intsia bijuga O. Kuntze. The names kohu jaune and kohu rouge refer to the timber which may vary in colour from a golden to a reddish yellow. There is also the Faux Kohu, Allophyllus timorensis (DC) Blume. First noted in Jeanneney 1894: 81, 290, according to whom the word is a Kapone one.
16. KOÏNIT, s.m. Forest tree, Elaeocarpus spathulatus Brongniart & Gris. First noted in Jeanneney 1894: 112 (coïnitt).
17. MANOUÉ, s.m. Tall tree, Flindersia fournieri Pancher & Sébert, also called Chêne blanc. First noted in Jeanneney 1894: 105.
18. MARTAOUÏ, s.m. Coastal tree, Acacia simplicifolia (L.) Schinz & Guillaumin. First noted in Sarlin 1954: 148.
19. MEAMOROU, s.m. Plant, Plectranthus parviflorus Willd., a cutting of which in the Wailu area was always included in the bouquet presented to the maternal uncle when a child was born, and symbolised the renewal of life. First noted in Guillaumin 1941: 127, 129. Essentially a literary term. Meamoru is a Wailu word.

20. MOU, s.m. Designates the Gaiac, Acacia spirorbis Labillardière (first noted in Guillaumin 1911: 74), and a Faux Houp (cf. no. 11 above), Garcinia collina Vieillard (first noted in Jeanneney 1894: 114, 302). Haragure mu and Mare and Lifu hmu are names for the gaiac.
21. MOUÈNE, s.m. A sago-palm, Cycas circinalis L. First noted in Rageau 1957: 6.
22. MOUIN, s.m. Small tree, Alstonia sp., found in mineral soils. First noted in Jeanneney 1894: 125.
23. NANEMIE, s.m. A close relation of the Tamanou: Calophyllum neurophyllum. First noted in Sarlin 1954: 205.
24. NDIGRI, s.m. Freycinetia sp. First noted in Rageau 1957: 7.
25. NÉ, s.m. Medium-sized tree, Planchonella microphylla Pierre. First noted in Sarlin 1954: 244, who characterises the name as of St. Louis origin, i.e., Dumbea.
26. NIAOULI, s.m. Best known tree of New Caledonia, being the main characteristic of the savannah country of the western side of the mainland: Melaleuca ~~gossypifera~~ dendron L. There are also the Faux Niaouli, Callistemon pancheri; and the Niaouli nain, Melaleuca gnidioides. First noted in Labillardière 1800: II, Vocab., p. 51: gniaouni; then Leconte 1851: 488: nhéaouli; Braille 1854: 213: nhiaoulis ou gnaïli; Malte-Brun 1854: 7: gnaïli; Moniteur 1862: no. 122: niaouli. Word of the Balad and Belep dialects in the far north, the area visited by Labillardière and Leconte: noted yauli by Leenhardt, which would imply that the French word has attached to the noun the -n of un; but A.G. Haudricourt has noted ny-; in any case, it would be astonishing to find the -n already attached in the first possible example.
27. NIE, s.m. Small tree, Callitris neocaledonia Schltr. First noted in Sarlin 1954: 89.
28. NOMRÉ, s.m. Tree, Endiandra baillonii Pancher & Sébert. First noted in Jeanneney 1894: 90.
29. OUARÉ, s.m. A kind of yam, Dioscorea esculenta (Lour.) Burk., better known as Pomme de terre canaque. Used by Baudoux in Ce Vieux Tchiao (1919). Ware is in 7 Southern languages, cf. Paci, Mare, warei.
30. OUÉBO, s.m. Tree, Pancheria obovata Brongniart. First noted in Lison 1880: 21.
31. POINDÉA, s.m. Tree, Diplanthera deplanchei. First noted in Sarlin 1954: 52, 75.
32. QUECHOT, s.m. (archaic). Earlier name for the Magnagna, Pueraria thunbergiana Benth., and Pachyrrhizus trilobus DC. Noted in Moniteur 1861: no. 112; and 1862: no. 122: Quéchot; Jeanneney 1894: 79: le magnagna ou quéchoc; Lafforgue 1905:

- 40: le Magnagna ou Quéhoc. The origin of magnagna is not known, but the Moniteur (no. 122) specifically mentions that quéchot is a Canala name. The Anesu (Canala) word is kerho, also found in Haragure.
33. RAPORE, s.m. Tree, Mimusops parvifolia R. Br. First noted in Sarlin 1954: 253, who gives it as the native name used on the mainland and the Isle of Pines.
34. SOA, s.m. Kind of yam, Dioscorea bulbifera L. First noted in Leroi-Gourhan & Poirier 1953: II, 742. Wailu soa.
35. WAKERE, s.m. An Azou (cf. no. 1), Planchonella wakere Pierre. First noted in Sarlin 1954: 289.
36. YAYOUC, s.m. Tree, Planchonella endlicheri Guillaumin, also called Bois fromage, Chêne rouge. First noted in Sarlin 1954: 242

#### AVIFAUNA

37. CACIOU, s.m. Golden Whistler, Pachycephala pectoralis littayei Layard. Found in forests of Lifu and Uvea, hence presumably a Lifu or Iai word.
38. CAGOU, s.m. Flightless bird peculiar to southern forests of mainland, Rhynocetos jubatus Verreaux & Des Murs. First noted in Moniteur 1861: no. 100. Dumbea kagu.
39. COUYOUC, s.m. Barred Honey-Eater, Guadalcanaria undulata Sparrman, a small bird found mainly in the mountain forests of the mainland, also called Petite Grive.
40. DAGO, s.m. (archaic). White-throated pigeon, Columba vitiensis hypoenochroa Gould, found on the mainland, Lifu and Uvea. Also called Gendarme, and most commonly Collier blanc. Noted in Gallet 1884: 8 and Lemire 1884: 48.
41. NDINO, s.m. Large woodland rail, almost or entirely flightless, Tricholimnas lafresnayanus Verreaux & Des Murs; apparently restricted to the SW of the mainland, and thought to be now extinct. First noted in Moniteur 1861: no. 100.
42. NEÔME, s.m. Whistler, Pachycephala caledonica Gmelin, found on mainland. First noted in Mariotti 1939 (1948: 60, 64, 79).
43. NOTOU, s.m. Giant pigeon, Ducula goliath Gray, peculiar to the mainland. Formerly also called Pigeon goliath. Used also in the expressions Notou de Lifou, (more commonly) Notou des Iles, local names for the Pacific Pigeon, Ducula pacifica pacifica Gmelin, rather rare on the mainland and Lifu, and only a casual visitor to Uvea. First noted in Garnier 1871: 151, etc.; Labillardière (1800: II, 230) refers to them as "de très-gros pigeons d'une espèce nouvelle". Word from one of the Southern languages: nundu.
44. OUAPIPI, s.m. Scarlet Honey-Eater, Myzomela dibapha caledonica Forbes, found on the mainland; also called Colibri and Rouge-gorge. First noted in Baudoux, Le Tayo Gras (1925).

45. TOUROU, s.m. Crow Honey-Eater, Gymnomyza aubryana Verreaux & Des Murs, a very large bird found on the mainland.
46. WINGHIRI, s.m. Long-tailed bird, not identified. Noted in Mariotti 1939 (1948: 59, 60, 79).

FISHES AND MOLLUSCS

47. AFIMUNDA, s.m. Herbivorous fish, Kyphosus sp., also called Ui-ua (no. 58 below). Kapone or Haragure word.
48. BALABIO, s.m. Fish, Gerres punctatus. First noted in Legand 1950: 181. Possibly named after the northern island Balabio.
49. BAOUI, s.m. Shell used by natives as ornament, probably Ovula sp. First noted in Labillardière 1800: II, Vocab. p. 53. cf. Wailu mbwiwi, but a far northern word is the original.
50. BORAGI, s.m. Particular kind of land snail (Placostylus sp.) eaten by the Cagou (no. 38). First noted in Faivre, Poirier & Routhier 1955: 61.
51. DAOUA or DAUA, s.m. Fish, Naso unicornis Forskal, also called Poisson à corne (metropolitan Fr. licorne). First noted in Mariotti 1948: 149, 157. Wailu ndawa designates the "perroquet" (Lacridae and Scaridae, whereas the daoua are Hepatidae), and Pwai ndawa the "carangue" (Caranx spp.), according to Leenhardt.
52. MEKOUA, s.m. Milkfish, Chanos chanos Forskal. First noted in Legand 1950: 182.
53. NACECE, s.m. Shell, Nerita sp.
54. OUACICI, s.m. Small white shells, Ovula ovum, used by natives as ornaments and in manufacture of shell money; also called Porcelaine blanche and Coquille-monnaie. First noted in Patouillet 1873: 85, 121: ouatchichis (pl.); this form is from wacici [watjitji], an Anesu, Haragure and Dumbea word. The now standard ouacici is from wasisi, found in Arhâ, /~~Ar~~ Sirhë, Neku, Kapone, Paci and Lifu.
55. POUATE, s.m. Unidentified fish.
56. TIGGA, s.m. Octopus. The usual word used by Europeans among themselves is Poulpe. First noted in Baudoux, Le Tayo Gras (1925). Nenema, Koumac cixa [tjiya].
57. TOUTOU, s.m. Conch shell, Charonia tritonis L. Lifu and Iai trutru (tr indicating a retroflex t); cf. Paci tu, Ciri t<sup>h</sup>u.
58. UI-UA, s.m. = Afimunda, no. 50 above. First noted in Legand 1950: 183. Cf. Wailu wi "kind of fish", ua "eel".

OTHER FAUNA

59. KORO, s.m. The candlenut-tree worm, Agrionome fairmairei Montrouzier, the larva of which is cooked and eaten like the huhu grub in New Zealand. In French designates the larva. First noted in La Hautière 1869: 156. Wailu, Arhâ, Aro korò, Haragure koro.
60. MÉOU, s.m. Flying fox, Pteropus ornatus Gray, also and more commonly called Roussette. First noted in Baudoux, Kavino (1952). Wailu, Arhâ, Aro, Bwewe, meu.
61. NOUGUI, s.m. Large spider, Aranea edulis Labillardière, eaten by the natives after cooking. First noted in Labillardière 1800: II, 240: nougui; II, Vocab., p. 51: nongui; Malte Brun 1854: 8: Nouki. Nenema, Koumac, Balad, Arama, Belep: nogin, recorded by A.G. Haudricourt.
62. POCA, s.m. Wild pig, name mainly used by non-Europeans. First noted in Baudoux, Le Tayo Gras (1925). Poka occurs in 6 Southern and 8 Northern languages, and is probably a form of PN poaka from English porker (cf. Hollyman 1959: 382-83).

NATIVE LIFE & CUSTOMS

63. AVA, s.m. Bark-cloth. First noted in an article by Montrouzier in Moniteur 1860: no. 54. Essentially a literary word. Cf. tilit (72). Pinje, Pwai, Nemi hava.
64. BOUGNA, s.m. A dish made up of yam, bananas, various vegetables and fish or pork, similar to the West Indian creole blaff. First noted in Collin 1914 by O'Reilly 1953: 208, in the form bounia; the spellings vary: bougnat, bunia. Mare buña.
65. DAMIETTE, s.m. Native Protestant pastor; name used mainly on Lifu (?). First recorded in Delord 1901: 20: "des catéchistes indigènes - des natas, dans la langue de Maré, ou des namietes, dans celle de Lifou".
66. NATA, s.m. Native Protestant pastor, originally used on Maré but in general use also on the mainland. Derivative term: élève-nata. First noted in Delord 1901: 16, 20, 22, etc. Mare word: nata "story-teller".
67. PILOU, PILOU-PILOU, s.m. Originally designating a complex ceremony of propitiation in which the whole community took part, the word now means in local French usage either a native fête or a particular kind of dance involving several or a large number of native performers. Pilou-pilou first noted in Moniteur 1862: no. 152; pilou in La Hautière 1869: 241. The suggestion made by Leenhardt (1930: 143) that the reduplicated form is a Europeanism may be correct, as

there are other notable examples of this (e.g., kaikai); on the other hand, reduplication is not unknown in New Caledonian languages, and early authors such as the reliable Garnier (1871: 353) affirm native use of the reduplicated form as well as the simple one. The far northern origin of the form pilu, indicated by Garnier (1870: 450: "dialecte de Balade et du nord de l'île"), is confirmed by Leenhardt's survey (1946: nos. 632-5, 637, 640, 668, 679: Mwenebeng pilu) and the recent work by A.G. Huadricourt: Arama: philu (Leenhardt: filu).

68. PIRÉ, s.m. Exchange "market" between coastal and mountain tribes; the word is little used nowadays except with historical reference. First noted in Baudoux, Kaavo (1919). According to Leenhardt (1935: 412a), the word was general throughout the native languages, except Wailu, where jana was used.
69. POPINÉE, s.f. Native woman. Formerly had the derivatives popinette, popinoche, ponoche (these last two pejorative), but they are now very rare, and generally avoided. First noted in Michel 1885: 11, 46, 47, etc. Popinée is a borrowing from one of the north-coast languages lacking the phoneme f (probably Paci), in which the Uvean fafine was therefore rendered \*papine; the word is thus originally PN, but borrowed into French from one of the MN languages (cf. Hollyman 1959: 375).
70. TALÉ, s.m. Sculptured posts or panels flanking the doorway to a hut. First noted in Sarasin 1917: 47, 48, 50. Nyua and Bonde: thalei; Jawe htale ic; cf. Balad telei.
71. TEA, s.m. Paramount chief. Term recorded by most early voyagers from Cook onwards (cf. Haudricourt & Hollyman 1960: 223), which is probably the reason for its continued literary use; it is not common in spoken French. Balad word: tēã.
72. TILIT, s.m. Strip of bark cloth, either in ceremonial use or as article of apparel. Essentially a literary word. First noted in an article by Montrouzier in Moniteur 1860: no. 54: tili; then in Patouillet 1873: 79, 85, 99: tilit. Pwai tilic [tilitj] "banyan" (banyan bark was the most favoured for making cloth).
73. TOGHI, TOGUI, s.m. Devil, evil spirit. First noted in Sarasin 1917: 287: "le diable Doki" (at Uvea); then Badoux, Ce vieux Tchiao (1919): togui. According to Leenhardt (1930: 233), Doki, the red god, originated on Lifu, was brought by Lifuans to the Isle of Pines, and so spread up the east coast of the mainland. He records (1946: no. 670) toki for Ciri and Dumbea (intervocalic k usually pronounced as a voiced velar fricative, hence the -gh- of one of the current French spellings)



74. YARRIK, s.m. In the northernmost group of languages (Nenema, Balad, etc.) the word means "diviner"; in Pwai and Jawe, "medecine". In French texts, it is used with several meanings associated mainly with the first of these: "faisons le djarick" (La Hautière 1869: 152); "la pierre de guerre . . . tiarick, langue de Hienguène" (Patouillet 1873: 156); and so on. The MN words are hiarik, hyarik, where the hi-, hy-, probably represents an earlier ōy-.
75. YUTE, s.m. Skirt worn under "Mother Hubbard" dress; word not in common use, unless perhaps on Maré and the other Loyalty Is. Noted in O'Reilly & Poirier 1953: 164. Mare yeote (Dubois 1948: 19).

#### TRANSLATION BORROWINGS

76. PEAU, s.f. Bark of trees; particularly common in the expression peau de niaouli (cf. no. 26), first noted in Lemire 1878: 173; also in peau de bourao (Hibiscus tiliaceus L.), first noted in Baudoux, Le Tayo gras (1925). The MN words, Wailu kara and cognates in the South, developments of Proto-Austro-nesian \*kulit in the North, mean both "skin" and "bark".
77. CHEF DE GUERRE, s.m. Leader of warriors in war, with no peacetime functions or powers. According to Leenhardt (1930: 42), a tried warrior elected by the tribe; hence his name in most languages has no connection with that of the true chief (etymologically "first-born, eldest"). But in Arhâ, Kapone, Paci and Mwenebeng, the names are connected, which suggests that Jouan's statement that the chief's younger brother was appointed war leader was true for some tribes. These names take the form "chef guerre" (Arhâ, Paci) or "chef à guerre" (Kapone). It seems likely, in view of the role of the Isle of Pines in the early history of European activities in New Caledonia, that Kapone vamuru we viyè is the source of French chef de guerre, first noted in an article by Jouan in Moniteur 1861: no. 118.
78. PATATE, s.f. A cyst or other swelling involving medical care. In Lifu and Wailu (and perhaps others), the PN borrowing kumala, kumara, took on meanings which have been variously interpreted as "an ulcer or sore", "scrofulous glands", "tubercular glands in the neck". (Cf. Hollyman 1959: 369). In the use of patate heard by me, the reference was to a cyst on the neck.

### III

Discussion of the phonemic integration of these borrowings cannot but be incomplete in view of the lack of information, not only concerning the MN originals of many, but also concerning the phonemic systems of the MN languages. Only one phonemic analysis has been published, that of Lifu by Lenormand (1952 and 1954), and

information on two others only is available, that of the far northern group (Balad, Nenema, etc.) by Haudricourt (in preparation) and that of Wailu by Jacqueline Kasarhérou (in press). The overall inventory of phonemes appears to be numerically as follows:

	French	Lifou	Balad	Wailu
Vowels	16	14	10	37 (2)
Consonants	19	33	31	21

Because these MN languages do not allow CC combinations, and because syllables of the form CVC are found only in word-final position, they use a larger number of phonemes than French: consonants in the case of Lifu and Balad, vowels in the case of Wailu. While CC combinations are not found, all of them have complex consonants (or consonant clusters interpreted as single phonemes), usually a prenasalised series mb, nd, j [ndj], ng; a labiovelar series mbw, pw, mw; and a pre-aspirated series hm, hn, hp, hŋ, hl. But each language does not use all these. In the vowels, length is normally phonemic, and nasalisation may be phonemic (as in Wailu) or a combinatory variant (Balad), or non-existent (Lifu).

In general, then the MN phonemic systems are more complex than the French, and the simplifications one would expect in the borrowings occurs.

The available evidence does not provide much for comment in relation to the vowels. The nasalisation of téã (71) has been consistently ignored by all who recorded the word, other than linguists. A VV sequence with both vowels nasalised is not, of course, found in French, and even Leenhardt (or his agent) recorded only teã. On the other hand, the final nasal of mbisuẽ (4) is retained. With the oral vowels, the alteration in the first vowel of nogĩñ (61) appears to be quite arbitrary, whereas the pronunciation of Fr. koro (59) with final [o] does not rule out korò [koro] as the source word, for in Fr. the opposition /o/:/ə/ is neutralised in final open syllables, with [o] the only possible one of the two.

With the consonants, there is more to note. Prenasalisation is consistently disregarded (4, 49, 51, etc.), with the exception of nd in ndino (41) and ndigri (24). Neither is a common word. Bougna (64) does not enter the picture here, as Mare does not have a prenasalised series. As French itself uses the combination C+w, there is no problem about the labiovelar series (21, 22, 28, 31, 55). All aspiration is ignored, including initial h- (20, 63, 67, 70, 74), but not x (11) which, while not pronounced, is treated as a French "aspirate h". Among the

palatals, intervocalic -k- and -x- are pronounced [ɣ], hence the -gh-, -gg-, of the French borrowings (73, 56). The palatalised c [tʃ] is realised in the French words as t (56, 72). The retroflex t becomes a dental (57). The unfamiliar rh, which Leenhardt (1946: 6) described as: "sorte de r chuintante et continuée, sans battements = rsh", is transformed into "sh", Fr. ch (32). There appears to be no reason for the transformation of mbisué into bijouin unless it be the pairing of unvoiced initial - voiced medial in French soin - besoin; but this does not explain the change from sibilant to "chuintante", unless Leenhardt's rendering is not phonetically exact.

#### IV

As the overwhelming majority of the words refer to natural objects: plants or animals, questions of semantic integration really arise only with the words concerning native customs. But there are points to be made with the others. The whole terminology of the flora and fauna of New Caledonia is still in the formative stage, and it is this, rather than any question of exoticism of borrowings, which accounts for the number of synonyms found in particular for trees. Synonymity is valid for flora names other than the group of MN borrowings, and the existence of synonyms for the various expressions involving the MN azou does not mean that azou is not well integrated: it is in fact one of the best known of the flora names listed. The counterpart of this frequency of synonyms is a considerable amount of polysemy: the Fr. name chêne rouge is applied to some fifty different trees belonging to four different families, and covers in one of them four different genera. The conclusion as to the formative stage of this terminology is thus quite clear.

A clear test of integration of borrowings is their figurative use in the new language. This is particularly true of the terminology of flora and fauna, which have been a fruitful source in French of new expressions, as Sainéan's studies among others have shown. It is also the case in New Caledonian French, and a few of the MN terms have followed this development. As examples may be quoted: cagou in c'est un cagou "c'est quelque chose de vilain", c'est un vieux cagou (of an ugly old woman); couyouc in the same sense as cagou; pouate in c'est un pouate "c'est un costaud" (because the pouate is a fish which when hooked "se défend bien"). Both expressions are of course "populaire".

Among the words used in describing or discussing native life and customs, it is those related to institutions or customs, i.e., to a different social organisation, which undergo semantic change in the local French. Good examples are pilou, toghi, yarrik (67, 73, 74). In some cases, such adaptation is evident only from the contexts in which the word is used, and many a page has already been written on the assimilation of the téa to the French idea of a chief.

## V

Unlike the word borrowing, the translation borrowing or calque implies some knowledge of the other language. It seems likely that the calques which can be observed in New Caledonian French have come in through the French (or perhaps, in the early days, the beach-la-mar) spoken by Melanesians. Not only are calques of words and phrases easier to understand if viewed in this way, but also fuller expressions. An expression mentioned to me as one used by Melanesian New Caledonians, but which I subsequently heard uttered by French New Caledonians, and used myself, is "C'est de la même couleur, mais bleu". The implication of my informants was that the expression was MN in origin, and this seems likely: if so, the personal experience confirms the view taken here of how calques happen. There are many popular expressions which are probably of similar origin, but information on the MN languages is, in published form at any rate, as yet inadequate to determine this clearly.

## VI

Melanesian borrowings in New Caledonian French are essentially in the fields of flora, fauna, and native life and customs. In the absence of detailed information on the source words, it is possible to say only of those for which this information is available, that they undergo phonemic adaptation to the French system; that the flora and fauna names undergo little, if any, semantic change\*, whereas the meanings of words relating to native social organisation tend to be adapted to French conceptions. There is no worthwhile comment to make in the field of morphology, as the MN words are invariable, and once borrowed are treated as French words.

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\* Publication of MN dictionaries of flora and fauna names, with scientific identifications, may of course disclose modifications at present not evident.

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