

- Genetic affiliation
- **Loyalty Islands** < New Caledonian subgroup < Nuclear Southern Oceanic linkage < Oceanic < AN family.
 - Absolute number of speakers
- **4 078 speakers** (2009 census, INSEE-ISEE)
- 6th Kanak language in NC by number of speakers
 - Language contacts
- Indigenous contact: **West Uvean** (fagauvea, Polynesian outlier), spoken on North & South of Uvea. Common (passive) bilingual competence in Iaai.
- Exogenous contact: **French**, entire population is **fluent** (official language); ancient influence of **English** missionaries (19th).
- **Diglossic** context and general **subtractive bilingualism**.
 - Level of vitality
- Around **65%** of Uvea's population speak Iaai.
- Well preserved intergenerational transmission but increasing number of **semi-speakers** (Dorian, 1977).
- *Unsafe / Endangered language* by UNESCO's (2003) criteria.

b) Aim and scope of the present study

- Previous studies on Iaai
 - grammar & dictionary by **Françoise Ozanne-Rivierre** (1976, 1984)
 - grammatical sketch by **Darrell Tryon** (1968)
- PhD research program²
- PhD dissertation on Iaai in the 21st century: structural effects of language contact (Iaai/French) in the context of modernisation of a minority language of New Caledonia.
 - **neologisms** (Dotte, 2010)
 - integration of **loans**
 - **structural** impact of new words (as on possessive classifiers, Dotte, 2011)
- Fieldwork
- 2009 : study on neologisms through prepared questionnaires
- 2010 :
 - natural texts for signs of modernisation
 - collection of narrations through prepared **video stimuli**³

² PhD research program funded by the Government of New Caledonia (*Prix d'Encouragement à la Recherche*, 2010-2013).

3. Verbal morphosyntax in Iaaï

- Word order: **VOS** in unmarked clauses (1)⁴ / **SVO** when topicalisation⁵ of subject (2).

(1) *Ame hom wathââ wanakat* ‘The child takes the ball’
 a=me hom wathââ wanakat
 3SG=PRS take ball child
 ----- **V** ----- **O** **S**

(2) *Wanakat ame hom wathââ* ‘The child, he takes the ball’
 wanakat a=me hom wathââ
 child 3SG=PRS play ball
S ----- **V** ----- **O**

- As cited in Lynch, Ross, & Crowley (2002: 786) from Ozanne-Rivierre, (1976, 1984) and Tryon (1968), verb phrase structure in Iaaï is:

(Subject +) Aspect₁₋₆ + Preverb + VERB + Adverb + Aspect₇

(3) *Ame caa labwöö oo duöng but*
 a=me caa labwöö oo duöng but
 3SG=PRS NEG habitually arrive secretly TEL
 ‘He doesn’t arrive secretly anymore’

- A cluster of various **aspect particles** (Ozanne-Rivierre, 1976: 220-230):

(4) *Ogeme huliwa* ‘I work’
 oge=me huliwa
 1SG=PRS work

(5) *Ogeme huliwa but* ‘I am already at work’ / ‘I am already working’
 oge=me huliwa but
 1SG=PRS work **TEL**

(6) *Ogeme huliwa dhö* ‘I am working’
 oge=me huliwa dhö
 1SG=PRS work **MOM**

- Complex paradigm of **verb classes** (see Appendix 1, page 10), with two major types: **independent** and **dependent** verbs.

- Verbal affixation:

- **Causative** *oo-* (+ transitivity), (7)b
- **Transitive** *-â* (determined form), (8)b / *-ii* (undetermined form)

(7)a. *hmëk* ‘to wake up’
 wake_up

b. *oo-hmëk-â* ‘to wake sb up’
CAUS- wake_up-TRV

(8)a. *sumat* ‘to ask’
 ask

b. *sumat-â* ‘to ask something’
 ask-TRV

³ Common scenes with familiar ‘modern’ objects and situations: at the airport, post office, flying company agency, library, pharmacy, grocery shop.

⁴ Data are transcribed according to the normed Iaaï’s orthography commonly in use.

⁵ Ozanne-Rivierre (1976: 133) described an optional bipartite element *haba...me* for topicalisation. However, present data mostly have reduced it to *haba...* alone.

4. French loan verbs in Iaaï

a) Frequency and token

- Corpus: 6 stimuli clips x 9 speakers = 54 narrations = 807 sentences.
- Collection of sentences involving **French loan verbs**, as in (9):

(9) *Ame pase hnyimëkan jee bwat* (st10_Te2/14)
 a=me pase hnyimëkan jee bwat
 3SG=PRS pass in_front_of PL mailbox
 ‘She passes in front of the mailboxes’

- List of **45 tokens** of French loan verbs / **20 types**

Iaaï loans					
	orthographic	transcription ⁶	French verbs	meaning	token
1	<i>sârti</i>	[sɔ̃rti]	sortir	‘to get out’	10
2	<i>pase</i>	[pase]	passer	‘to pass, to cross’	10
3	<i>ârözistre</i>	[ɔ̃rɔzistʁe]	enregistrer	‘to check in’	4
4	<i>râze</i>	[râze]	ranger	‘to put back’	3
5	<i>âkese</i>	[ɔ̃kese]	encaisser	‘to cash’	3
6	<i>poste</i>	[poste]	poster	‘to post’	1
7	<i>rezerve</i>	[REZERVE]	réserver	‘to reserve’	1
8	<i>âbarke</i>	[ɔ̃barke]	embarquer	‘to board’	1
9	<i>espoze</i>	[espoze]	exposer	‘to expose’	1
10	<i>filme</i>	[filme]	filmer	‘to film’	1
11	<i>okûpe</i>	[okype]	(s’)occuper	‘to be in charge of’	1
12	<i>kâtinûe</i>	[kɔ̃tinye]	continuer	‘to carry on’	1
13	<i>propoze</i>	[pɔ̃pɔze]	proposer	‘to suggest’	1
14	<i>echâze</i>	[eʃɔze]	échanger	‘to exchange’	1
15	<i>ateri</i>	[ateri]	atterrir	‘to land’	1
16	<i>kalkûle</i>	[kalkyle]	calculer	‘to calculate’	1
17	<i>etûdie</i>	[etydje]	étudier	‘to study’	1
18	<i>turne</i>	[turne]	tourner	‘to turn’	1
19	<i>konekte</i>	[konekte]	connecter	‘to connect’	1
20	<i>rakroche</i>	[RakRoʃe]	raccrocher	‘to hang up’	1
<i>total</i>					45

Table 1: Types and token of French loan verbs found in a limited corpus of Iaaï⁷

⁶ It seems that there is a free variation between [R] and [r] in French loans. For some speakers the variation seems to be more stylistic, words pronounced with the [r] sounding more indigenous than words pronounced with the [R], typically the French pronunciation.

b) Why does Iaaï borrow verbs? Semantic issues

- “Necessity” of loans (Haspelmath, 2009: 46-49):
 - **cultural borrowings** (lexical gaps): ‘to check in’, ‘to cash’, ‘to post’, ‘to connect’, etc.
 - vs. **core borrowings** (relexifications, see Grinevald, 1998: 262): ‘to get out’, ‘to pass’, etc.
- The two most frequent loan verbs in the corpus (*sârti* ‘to get out’ / *pase* ‘to pass’) appear as **relexifications**:

sârti = *ta* (*but*) ‘to get out’ *pase* ≈ *he* ‘to go’
- **Concurrent** loans, from different “donor” languages:
 - **âkese** ‘to cash’ < French *encaisser*
 - **treinâ** ‘to cash’ < English *change (currency)*
 = sign of synchronic contacts and of intensity of bilingualism.
- French loan verbs in Iaaï come **directly from French verbs** (i.e. different from Parker Jones, 2009, Hawaiian verb loans from English **nouns**)

5. Integration of loan verbs in Iaaï

a) Form of borrowed verbs

- (Phonotactic adaptation)
- Work in progress... reference article by Moysse-Faurie (2008)
 - Type of input forms
- From **past participle** (“*semi-verbal form*” in Wohlgemuth, 2009: 83) of the source language:

French infinitive form	French past participle form	Borrowed form
[pase] ‘to pass’	[pase]	[pase]
[sɔʁtir] ‘to get out’	[sɔʁti]	[sɔʁti]

Table 2: Borrowed verb forms in Iaaï

b) Strategies of integration

- Clearing a doubt...
- **Morphological integration** confirm that they are cases of **borrowing** and not of code-switches (Haspelmath, 2009: 41).

⁷ Verbs in grey have been produced by a sole speaker.

- Direct insertion

- “process whereby the loan verb is **plugged directly** into the grammar of the target language with no morphological or syntactic accommodation” (Wohlgemuth & Wichmann, 2008: 99).
- Transfer of **sound and form-meaning** units (i.e. conservation of the semantic of the source language verb) + of its input **valency** (transitive or intransitive), respectively in examples (9) and (10) below:

- **Transitive** verb both in source and recipient languages:

(10) *Ame he ga rezerve iplas hnâân he Numeaai* (st10_Ma1/3)
 a=me he ga rezerve i-plas hnâân he Numea-ai
 3SG=PRS go for reserve SG-seat for go Numea-DIR
 ‘She is going to reserve a seat to go to Numea’

- **Intransitive** verb both in source and recipient languages:

(11) *E jii hnyööu hnyi pist anyin jee aviâ ejii areme ateri*
 e jii hnyööu hnyi pist anyi-n jee aviâ ejii are=me ateri
 COP down outside in runway POS-3SG PL plane LOC 3PL=PRS land
 ‘Outside, there are planes that are landing’ (st10_Lo3/4)

- Integration within the verb phrase structure

- Cohabitation with particles of aspect, preverbs and adverbs, as endogenous verbs do (cf. *aspect particles* page 3):

- **but** : telic

(12) *aa sârti but hnyi sidroâ* ‘She got out of the shop’ (st10_De6/14)
 a=a sârti but hnyi sidroâ
 3SG=PAS get_out TEL in shop

- **dhö** : momentary

(13) *Ame turneâ dhö jee paaz* ‘She turns the pages’ (st10_Ma4/7)
 a=me turne-â dhö jee paaz
 3SG=PRS turn-TRV MOM PL page

- **hmetu** : iterative

(14) *Ame sârti hmetu but* ‘She get out again’ (st10_Ma2/17)
 a=me sârti hmetu but
 3SG=PRS get_out ITER TEL

c) Loan verbs and affixation

- Transitive affix

- Enables **polysemy** by semantic derivation absent from input verb (intransitive). It is the case of *sârti*:

- **inTR** = ‘to get out’

- (15) *Taûëët areme sârti hnyin uma* (st10_Ka3/5)
 taûëët are=me sârti hnyin-n uma
 people 3PL=PRS get_out inside-3SG house
 ‘People are getting out of the house’

- **TR** = ‘to print’

- (16) *Ame sârtiâ dhö anyin peipë* (st10_Ma1/12)
 a=me sârti-â dhö anyi-n peipë
 3SG=PRS get_out-TRV MOM POS-3SG paper
 ‘She is printing her paper’

- Cf. Intransitive-transitivable verb class (Appendix 1, page 10).
- But also examples of **valency redundancy** (valency of input verb + transitivity):

French *[[encaisser] [quelque chose]]* ‘to cash something’

- (17) *Itangen dut jee thaatûnyi hnyi pâsâ me âkeseâ dhö anyin mani* (st10_L66/13)
 itangen but jee thaatûnyi hnyi pâsâ me âkese-â dhö anyi-n mani
 pack TEL PL thing inside plastic_bag and cash-TRV MOM CL.POS-3SG money
 ‘He put the things in a plastic bag and he cashed her/his money’

- Direct or **indirect insertion** ? Is the affixation of *-â* on loan verbs used as an accommodating affix (i.e. a “loan verb affix” as called by Wohlgemuth & Wichmann, 2008: 97) ? Indirect insertion => the suffix would be meaningless but required to accommodate the loan verb.

- (18) *(Faisen ame...) he ga kalkûleâ nya hwaaban hia jee thaatûnyi...*
 Faisen a=me he ga kalkûle-â nya hwaaba-n hia jee thaatûnyi
 Faisen 3SG=PRS go ASV calculate-TRV ART? price-3SG all PL thing
 ‘Faisen is going to calculate the price of the things’

o Causative affixation

- Loan verb + **CAUS prefix** + TRV suffix⁸

- (19) *Biso ame oosârtiâ but biie* (st10_L61/11)
 Biso a=me oo-sârti-â but biie
 Biso 3SG=PRS CAUS-get_out-TRV TEL ticket
 ‘Biso prints the ticket’

d) Accommodation to endogenous verb classes

- All the loan verbs are integrated as **independent personal active verbs**, they diverge on their **transitivity**.
- Loan verbs can fit in the **endogenous verb classes** (i.e. Appendix p. 10, framed categories):

⁸ As it is described for endogenous examples by Ozanne-Rivierre (1976 : 215), the causative is a specific case of transitivity that can either comport the TRV suffix or not. Data comports one occurrence without TRV suffix (*oosârti*) with the same meaning (st10_Bi1/10).

Independent			
Personal			
	Active		
		Transitive	
			Determined <i>ârözistre; poste; rezerve; propoze; echâze; râze; kalkâle; etüdie; konekte; rakroche; filme; âbarke; espoze; kâtinûe</i>
			Undetermined <i>∅</i>
		Intransitive	
			Transitivabile (-â) <i>sârti; pase; âkese; okûpe; turne;</i>
			Intransitivabile <i>ateri</i>

Table 3: Accommodation of French loan verbs into IaaI verb classes

6. Sociolinguistic criteria

- Translinguistic strategy
- No evidence of **source language dependence** strategy: same integration with English loan verbs (Ozanne-Rivierre, 1984: 104):

(21) a *soop* 'to wash' < Eng. *to soap*
wash

b *soobw -â* 'to wash something'
wash -TRV

- A sign of language shift ?
- Strategy/sociolinguistic background coherence: direct insertion implies a relatively **high degree of bilingualism** (Wohlgemuth & Wichmann, 2008: 111)
- No loan verbs in all data from the **oldest informant** of my panel (71 years old).
 - ⇒ Phenomenon widely spread within the younger generation *vs.* absent within the oldest?
 - ⇒ Precursory sign of language obsolescence?

7. Openings and conclusions

- **Typological** perspectives (Adamou, 2012; Mifsud, 1995; Wohlgemuth, 2009; Wohlgemuth & Wichmann, 2008)
- **Direct insertion**, but further analysis (I still have the data from 11 speakers to look at !) would explore the hypothesis of eventual spread of **indirect insertion** (-â TRV suffix). Collection of data on wider domains is also planned.
- High degree of **variation** reinforces the hypothesis of important number of **semi-speakers**, varying continuum of language skills in the context of IaaI as an endangered language because of language shift (Wacalie, 2011).

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Abbreviations⁹

ART?	article ? (<i>uncertain</i>)	OBJ	object
CAUS	causative	PAS	past
CL.POS	possessive classifier (generic)	PL	plural
CL.POS:LAND	possessive classifier of lands	PRS	present
COP	copula	PUNC	punctual
DIR	directional	SG	singular
ITER	iterative	TEL	telic
LOC	locative	THM	thematization
MOM	momentary	TRV	transitive
NEG	negation		

⁹ Following the *Leipzig Glossing Rules*, <http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/LGR08.02.05.pdf>

Appendix

Independent		Dependent	
Personal		Personal	
Active	Transitive	Active	Active
	Determined <i>a=me kot bií</i> 3SG=PRS hit bat		<i>oge=me bivöö -k</i> 1SG=PRS precede -1SG 'I precede'
	Undetermined <i>a=me bií hwaaba -n</i> 3SG=PRS do price -3SG		
	Intransitive		
Stative	Transitive		
	<i>a=me belök</i> 3SG=PRS garden		
	<i>a=me belök -á ii</i> 3SG=PRS garden-TR CL.POS.LAND-3SG field 'he cultivates his field'		
Intransitive			
<i>a=me oo</i> 3SG=PRS arrive			
<i>e hwege</i> 3SG strong			Stative <i>iiny seeku -k</i> 1SG replete -1SG 'I am replete'
Impersonal		Impersonal	
Existential			introduced by <i>e</i>
<i>e gaan at</i> 3SG many person			<i>e hmöö -k</i> 3SG hate -1SG 'I hate'
+ obligatory personal complement			introduced by \emptyset
<i>e xanöö =iŋa</i> 3SG know =1SG.OBJ			<i>biíi -k</i> last -1SG 'I am the last'

Table 4: Verb classes in Iaaí (adapted from Ozanne-Rivierre, 1976: 200-201)