

MELANESIAN SAILORS ON A POLYNESIAN SEA: MARITIME VOCABULARY IN SOUTHERN VANUATU

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One might expect that people living on the coasts of small islands would have an abundance of terms for things maritime and, if they had moved there from some other maritime area, that these terms would be inherited rather than borrowed. It therefore comes as something of a surprise to find languages in this position which have borrowed much of their maritime terminology from some other language. This paper examines the maritime vocabulary in the non-Polynesian languages of Southern Vanuatu, and focuses particularly on loans from Polynesian sources.¹

1. THE LANGUAGES OF SOUTHERN VANUATU

One Polynesian language – (West) Futuna-Aniwa – is spoken in the Tafea (formerly Southern) District of Vanuatu. The remaining languages of the District, spoken on the islands of Erromango, Tanna and Aneityum, form a closed subgroup whose nearest relatives appear to be the other members of the Central-Eastern Oceanic subgroup of Oceanic (see Lynch 1978c, 1982c, Lynch & Tryon 1985). The Southern Vanuatu group itself divides into three subgroups:

- (a) Erromangan, consisting of Sie, Ura and some now extinct languages (including Utaha and Sorung);
- (b) Tanna, consisting of North Tanna, Whitesands, Lenakel, South-West Tanna and Kwamera; and
- (c) Aneityumese, with just one language, Anejom.

A considerable amount of work has been done on the reconstruction of Proto Erromangan (Lynch 1983a) and Proto Tanna (Lynch 1982d), and a discussion of the development of Proto Oceanic phonology in the Southern Vanuatu languages appears as Lynch (1978c).²

¹ This is an expanded version of part of a seminar paper I gave at the Australian National University in 1982 (Lynch 1982c). I am grateful for comments received there and at the 1990 symposium, for numerous discussions with Les Groube on this general topic, and especially for comments and suggestions made by Ross Clark, Terry Crowley, Paul Geraghty, Andrew Pawley and Darrell Tryon. I also thank Mike Huber for assistance with fish identification.

In 'maritime vocabulary' I include terms for the physical environment, names of fish and other marine life, and terms relating to fishing and canoe technology.

² I use here the orthography of Proto Oceanic proposed by Ross (1988). For individual languages, the orthography is generally that of the sources as listed in Appendix 1; however, for the sake of consistency and readability, in this paper *bw*, *b*, *d* and *g* represent prenasalised stops, *bw*, *pw* and *mw* velarised

However, reconstruction of the phonology of Proto Southern Vanuatu is not yet complete, because of a number of problems still to be solved. I do not attempt in this paper to give Proto Southern Vanuatu reconstructions for lexical items, but instead give reconstructed forms for lower-order subgroups or actual forms from individual languages.³

Maritime vocabulary will be treated under three separate headings: the physical environment in section 2; names of fish and other marine life in section 3; and terms for the canoe and its parts, and terms related to fishing in section 4. In each semantic area, I look at cases of continuity (i.e. where Proto Southern Vanuatu appears to have continued a Proto Oceanic form), and at cases of change (i.e. where Proto Southern Vanuatu appears to have innovated a form, or where one or more Southern Vanuatu languages appear to have borrowed a term from some other language).⁴ I am particularly concerned with examining borrowings from (one or more) Polynesian languages. Such loans can be identified with relative ease in the Southern Vanuatu languages. In the case of some nouns, they incorporate the Polynesian article *t* + vowel, while with others (especially when the root is *t*-initial) they have no fused article. In a large number of cases, the retention of final vowels is a strong indicator of borrowing, as is the retention of vowels in pretonic (usually antepenultimate) position, since Southern Vanuatu languages generally lose vowels in these positions: thus a form like Proto Oceanic **malino* 'calm, peaceful' would probably be directly inherited into, say, Lenakel as ***amlin* or ***amlən*; the actual Lenakel form *amelinu*, however, shows retention of both pretonic and final vowels, and thus suggests a Polynesian source – most like West Futuna *marino* (cf. example (8)).

2. PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

Language abbreviations in this and the following sections, together with sources of data, can be found in Appendix 1; data on which Proto Erromangan and Proto Tanna reconstructions are based can be found in Appendix 2.

2.1 CONTINUITY

The following forms (examples (1) - (6)) appear to represent direct inheritance in Southern Vanuatu languages of Proto Oceanic forms for the maritime physical environment.

bilabials, *ʔ* the glottal stop, *θ* the voiceless dental fricative, *ʃ* the voiceless palatal fricative, *ɣ* the voiced velar fricative, *ŋ* the velar nasal, and *ə* the mid central vowel.

³ A number of points should be noted in relation to the lexical reconstructions given in this paper. Firstly, very many nouns begin with *n* (and also *in* in Anejom), reflecting a fused article (deriving from Proto Oceanic (POC) **na*): where the root is derivable from a known POC form, then the reconstructed form of the noun consists of **n* (or **na*, **ne*, etc.) separated from the root by a hyphen (thus POC **kupega*, Proto Tanna (PTN) **na-(kgy)apun* 'net'); where the root is not derivable from a known POC form, no hyphens occur (and thus PTN **namu* 'fish' might equally well have been **n-amu* or **na-mu*). Secondly, very many verbs have accreted an initial vowel, probably **a* (cf. Lynch 1992): such verbs are reconstructed as **a*-root (or as **V*-root since, here and elsewhere, when the identity of a protovowel cannot be reconstructed with reasonable certainty, the symbol **V* is used). Thirdly, hyphens are also used to separate elements in compounds, or in cases where the presence or absence (or, if present, the nature) of a prefix to a noun or a verb cannot be clearly established (e.g. POC **bakiwak*, Proto Erromangan (PER) **-baisu* 'shark': Sie *ne/mpou*, Ura *u/beu*). Other standard conventions apply.

⁴ I exclude from discussion here cases where forms in Southern Vanuatu languages do not continue Proto Oceanic forms and are not demonstrably borrowings, and where it appears that no Proto Southern Vanuatu reconstruction can be made.

In each example, the gloss at the beginning represents the meaning of the term in the languages of Southern Vanuatu; it also represents the meaning of all forms in other languages unless some other gloss is given for a particular item.

- (1) 'sea'
POC **tasik* > PER **dey*, PTN **(n)-tahik*
- (2) '(be) low tide'
POC **ma-masa* 'dry' ((or possibly **maqati* 'low tide') > SIE *n/mah*, ANJ *in/mas*, PTN **(a)-ma(sh)a*
- (3) 'detached reef'
POC **motu* > PTN ('land' +) **mwərah*
- (4) 'reef'
POC **mwalo* > ANJ *in/moje*
- (5) 'coral'
POC **laje* > ANJ *in/las*
- (6) 'seaweed'
POC **lumut* > PTN **ləmus*

2.2 SOUTHERN VANUATU INNOVATIONS

There appear to be no forms which are clearly Proto Southern Vanuatu innovations in this semantic area.

2.3 BORROWING

The following terms (examples (7) - (13)) are probably Polynesian loans:

- (7) 'bay'
PPN **[fai]awa* (> WFU *feiava*, ANW *fiava*): NTN *na/feafa*, WSN, SWT, KWM *nə/feafe*, LEN *nu/heafe*, ANJ *na/fayava*.
- (8) '(be) calm (of sea)'
PPN **malino* (> WFU *marino*): NTN *ə/məlinu*, WSN *ə/melinu*, LEN, SWT *a/melinu*, KWM *a/mərinu*
- (9) 'a wave'
PPN **peau* (> WFU, ANW *peau*): SIE *ni/mpiau*, NTN, WSN, LEN, SWT, KWM *peau*, ANJ *ne/peau*
- (10) 'whirlwind'
PPN **qa(a)siosio* (> WFU, ANW *siosio*): WSN, LEN, SWT, KWM *siosio*
- (11) 'wind (general term)'
POC **mataŋi* (> WFU *mtaŋi*): SIE *ne/mtaŋi*, NTN *metaŋ*, SWN *nə/metaŋi*, LEN, SWT *nə/mataaŋ*, KWM *nə/mətaŋi*.
- (12) 'prevailing wind' (?)
PPN **tokelau* 'north wind' (> WFU *tokorau* 'west wind, south-west wind');

LEN *tokolau* 'south wind', SWT *tokolau* 'south-east wind', KWM *takwarau* 'south-south-east wind'

- (13) 'wind from the south or east'
 PPN **toġa* 'south (wind)' (> WFU *toġa* 'south-east wind', *ruġ/toġa* 'south wind', *retma/toġa* 'east wind'): SIE *na/tuġa* 'south wind', LEN, SWT, KWM *na/toġa* 'east wind', LEN *uri/toġa* 'south-east wind', KWM *uri/toġa* 'south wind'

For the next two examples, there are (as far as I am aware) no Proto Polynesian reconstructions. However, phonological considerations suggest that the Southern Vanuatu forms have been borrowed from West Futuna-Aniwa:

- (14) 'north wind'
 WFU *ruetu*; ANW *ruotu* 'north': LEN *luatu*, KWM *ruatu*, ANJ *na/ruutu*; SIE *na/rwotu* 'east wind', SWT *luatu* 'north-east wind'
- (15) 'north-east wind'
 WFU *retuamlai*: LEN *luatuamlai*, KWM *ruatu amrai*; SWT *luatuamlai* 'north wind'

The form in (15) is clearly a compound incorporating the form in (14); it may well be that the two South-West Tanna forms have been misidentified, and that SWT *luatu* in fact refers to 'north wind' while *luatuamlai* refers to 'north-east wind'.

The final example is less clearcut:

- (16) 'west wind'
 WFU *parapu*; SWT *nə/pelaap*, KWM *nə/parapu*; LEN *nə/pwelaapw* 'south wind'

The Kwamera form suggests a borrowing from West Futuna, but the Lenakel and South-West Tanna forms are not clearly borrowings, and in fact they *could* be the source of the West Futuna form. However, given the fact that many other names for winds appear to have been borrowed into Southern Vanuatu languages from West Futuna, I incline slightly to the view that West Futuna is the source language here.

3. NAMES OF FISH AND OTHER MARINE LIFE

3.1 CONTINUITY

The following forms (examples (17 - (23)) appear to have been directly inherited into the Southern Vanuatu languages from Proto Oceanic:

- (17) 'shark'
 POC **bakiwak* > PER **-baidu*, KWM *pakau* 'barracuda', ANJ *ne/pyev*
- (18) 'turtle'
 POC **poñu* > PER **-avu*, PTN **iakw(u)*, ANJ *nahau*⁵

⁵ There are problems with establishing what the reflexes of POC **ñ* are in Southern Vanuatu languages, and in any case it is not clear that these forms do in fact derive from POC **poñu*. Ross Clark has suggested that they may be related to PNV **?avua* (which presumably does *not* derive from POC **poñu*); if this is the case, they still represent 'continuity', though of a different kind. (It is for this reason that, for example, the Anejom form *nahau* has been written as such, and not as *na/hau* or *n/hau*, since it is not clear if the *a* belongs to the fused article or to the root.)

- (19) 'mullet'
POC **kanase* > ANJ *ne/yna*
- (20) 'octopus, squid'
POC **nusa* > PTN **i(a)hi*, ANT *niθ*, (URA *wis?*)
- (21) 'stingray'
POC **paRi* > SIE *u/var*, ANJ *in/har*, (PTN **vi(lr)a(a)kw?*)
- (22) 'conch shell'
POC **tapuRi* > SIE *tovu*, WSN *toui*, ANT *in/tohou*
- (23) 'sea-urchin'
POC **sopa* > PTN **suaifa*

The following item is rather less certain:

- (24) 'k.o. crab'
POC **kamakama* > LEN *ia/kəm* 'k.o. land crab'

In addition, it is possible that a POC form **[ali]ali* 'flounder, flatfish' could be reconstructed on the basis of PPN **ali*, ANJ *n/ajaj*.

3.2 SOUTHERN VANUATU INNOVATIONS

The following terms (examples (25) - (34)) appear to be innovations in Proto Southern Vanuatu which are not demonstrably due to borrowings.⁶

- (25) 'flying fish'
PTN **vVnis*, ANJ *nowa/hiniθ*
- (26) 'parrotfish'
SIE *moŋkum* 'fish sp.', PTN **ma(kg)əm*, ANJ *in/mokom*
- (27) 'rabbit-fish'
SIE *mesen* 'fish sp.', PTN **mi(n)hin*
- (28) 'eel (saltwater)'
SIE *poki*, ANJ *in/pei*; LEN *pəku* 'eel sp.'
- (29) 'eel (freshwater)'
SIE *ne/ven*, PTN **vin*, ANJ *ne/heñ*
- (30) 'bêche-de-mer'
PTN **sika(fu)*, ANJ *ni/syahou*
- (31) 'lobster'
SIE *ye/loŋi*, SWT *luan/tahik*, KWM *ia/ren*, ANJ *ni/jvañ*
- (32) 'fish-scale'
SIE *niŋeven*, ANJ *ninehen*

⁶ Because I have not finalised the reconstruction of Proto Southern Vanuatu phonology, no PSV proto-forms will be given here; therefore the status of these items as PSV innovations must necessarily be tentative.

- (33) 'k.o. crab'
SIE *ne/vlah*, PTN **-vilas*, (ANJ *in/yelas?*)
- (34) 'k.o. shellfish'
SIE *nompri*, ANJ *nepjen*

Now consider the generic term for 'fish' itself:

- (35) 'fish'
PER **nomu*, PTN **namu*, ANJ *numu*

This clearly does not continue POC **ikan* but, on the other hand, it may not be a Southern Vanuatu innovation. There are possible cognates in the following areas:

- (a) Vanikoro (Solomon Islands): Buma *namuko*, Vano *namweka*, Tanema *namaka* (Tryon 1976b);
- (b) Banks Islands (Vanuatu): Motlav *nomomo*, Sasar *momo*, Bek *mwomwo* (Tryon & Hackman 1983);
- (c) Micronesia: "A defining characteristic of Ponapeic languages is that PMC [= Proto-Micronesian] **ika* 'fish' has been replaced by *mwamw*, or some predictable variant thereof" (Rehg & Bender 1990:16).

3.3 BORROWING

Lenakel has the term *tuna*, meaning 'tuna', borrowed from English, but I am not now sure whether this applies to the fish itself or to the canned variety. The remainder of the terms dealt with in this section are probably borrowings from Polynesian sources; I rely heavily on Robin Hooper's paper in this volume for identification of species and for Proto Polynesian reconstructions. West Futuna-Aniwa forms are derived from Dougherty (1983a), Capell (1984) and from Hooper's paper.

- (36) 'whale'
PPN **taf(ou)ra?a* (> WFU *tafora*, ANW *tafara*): SIE *tovura*, NTN *təpla*, WSN *tafla*, LEN, SWT *toulhaai*, KWM *tafra*
- (37) 'flying fish'
PPN **sasawe* 'Exocoetidae, flying fish sp.' (> WFU *save*): SIE *save*
- (38) 'boxfish'
PPN **moamoa* 'Ostraciontidae, boxfish' (> WFU *momoa* or *moamoa*): ANJ *moamoa*
- (39) 'coral trout' (?)
PPN **tonu* '*Plectropomus leopardus* (Lacépède), *P. maculatus* (Bloch), coral trout' (> WFU *tonu* '*Plectropomus* and *Cephalopholis* spp.'): KWM *tonu* 'grouper(?), k.o. fish with large mouth'

- (40) 'surgeonfish'
PPN **palaji* 'Acanthurus sp. of large size and elongate shape' (> WFU *paraŋi* 'k.o. fish'): KWM *paraŋi*⁷
- (41) 'soldierfish, squirrelfish'
PPN **malau* 'general term for a number of fishes of the genera *Holocentrus*, *Adioryx*, *Myripristis* and *Flammeo*, soldierfishes and squirrelfishes' (> WFU *marau* '*Adioryx caudimaculatus* and others'): LEN *məlau* 'small red fish (usu. caught at night)', KWM *marau* 'soldierfish', *marauta* 'squirrelfish'⁸
- (42) 'barracuda'
PPN *(*st*)*apatuu* '*Sphyraena* spp., barracuda' (> WFU *tapatu*): LEN *təpətu*
- (43) 'barracuda'
PPN **haohao* '*Sphyraena* spp., barracuda' (> WFU *tatao*): LEN *tetau* 'barracuda, sawfish', KWM *tataua*
- (44) 'triggerfish'
PEP **kookili* 'Balistidae spp., triggerfish': KWM *koko* 'triggerfish', and note also KWM *kiri* 'Moorish idol fish'
- (45) 'eel'
PPN **pusi* '*Gymnothorax* spp., sea eel': KWM *tə/pisi* 'k.o. seaworm'

Although with the next example I am not aware of a Proto Polynesian reconstruction, the source – on phonological grounds – seems to be West Futuna:

- (46) 'bêche-de-mer'
WFU *kipori*: WSN, KWM *kipori*

One should also note the following:

- (47) 'sea-snake'
WFU *taŋaroa*, ANW *taŋaro*: NTN, LEN, SWT *taŋalua*, KWM *taŋarua*

Of relevance here is the relationship with the Polynesian culture-hero Tangarua.

The following are less secure examples, because the glosses either vary considerably or are unspecific:

- (48) 'k.o. fish'
PPN **palu* '*Aphareus furcatus*, small-toothed jobfish; *Etelis carbunculus*, squirrel fish snapper; *Pristipomoides argyrogrammicus*, big-eyed snapper; *Tropidinius zonatus*, flower snapper; *Ruvettus pretiosus* (Cocco), oilfish': LEN *pwaru*, KWM *paru* 'swordfish'
- (49) 'k.o. fish'
PPN **sa(a)putu* '*Lutjanus* sp.': SIE *sapwotu* 'fish sp.'

⁷ There is another term in Kwamera for 'surgeonfish', and this is *prəŋsivur*. The second part of this term is *sivur*, which refers to the coconut lorry; what is interesting is that the first part of the term, *prəŋ*, may well be an *inherited* form (with loss of vowels in pretonic and final positions), whereas the term *paraŋi* seems to be a *borrowing* from West Futuna.

⁸ Hooper (this volume) also reconstructs PPN **ta'a* "*Holocentrus* sp., probably *H. spinifer* (Forskål), armoured soldierfish", and notes a number of cases where **malau* + **ta'a* (or sometimes **ta'a* + **malau*) occur (e.g. Tongan *malauta'a* '*Adioryx spinifer*'). While there is no evidence in the West Futuna sources for this particular combination, one can presume that Kwamera *marauta* also has a Polynesian source.

- (50) 'k.o. fish'
PPN **?ume* 'Naso sp., unicorn fish': KWM *ume* 'k.o. fish'
- (51) 'k.o. fish'
WFU *laʒo* 'fish sp.': LEN *laʒo* 'swordfish'
- (52) 'k.o. fish'
WFU *sasua* 'fish sp.': LEN *sasua* 'grouper'
- (53) 'k.o. clam'
PPN **pasua*: KWM *pahasua*

One 'reverse' borrowing should also be noted here, and this is the West Futuna form *numulou* 'dolphin, porpoise', which derives from Anejom *numulau* or *numulou* (note Anejom *numu* 'fish' in example (35); I cannot identify the second part of the compound).

4. CANOE AND FISHING TECHNOLOGY

4.1 CONTINUITY

Only a few terms in this semantic area seem to be directly inherited from Proto Oceanic:

- (54) 'outrigger-float'
POC **lima* 'hand' > PER **ne-liman*, ANJ *nijmañ*⁹
- (55) 'a paddle'
POC **pose* > SIE *ni/vuo* 'steering-paddle', PTN **n-/vaia*
- (56) 'a net'
POC **kupeŋa* > PTN **na-/kgy)apun*, ANJ *no/upwon*, (PER **na(IL)(au)pwan?*)¹⁰
- (57) 'a hook'
POC **kawil* > SIE *div/kau*, ANJ *in/yowoj*
- (58) 'bait'
POC **pani* > PTN **n-/pian* (with metathesis?)
- (59) 'to bail water'
POC **asu* > KWM *i/as*

The terms for 'outrigger-float' in the Tanna languages present some problems. The terms themselves are listed in example (60):

- (60) 'outrigger-float'
NTN *rəmən*, LEN *rəmər*, SWT *ləməl*, KWM *temən*

All four terms appear to derive in some way or another from POC **saman*; however, only NTN *rəmən* derives *regularly* from **saman*. The other three languages show unexpected initial consonants – Lenakel *r* for expected *t*, South-West Tanna *l* for expected *h*, and Kwamera *t* for expected *h*. In addition, there is an unexplained development in the final

⁹ The POC form **lima* 'hand' is also reflected in Anejom, as *nijma-*, with the meaning 'hand'. It is *not* so reflected in Erromango, however: cf. Sie *noru-*, Ura *deŋen*, *loŋun* 'hand'.

¹⁰ Note two problems here: firstly, the intrusive lateral (and loss of the velar) in the Proto Erromangan form; and secondly, the fact that in all three subgroups POC **ŋ* is irregularly reflected as *n* rather than as *ŋ*.

consonants in two languages, with Lenakel having *r* and South-West Tanna *l* for expected final *n*. Borrowing *may* be involved here, but West Futuna *ama* is clearly not the source.

4.2 SOUTHERN VANUATU INNOVATIONS

The following terms appear to be Proto Southern Vanuatu innovations:

- (61) 'canoe'
PER **nala(iu)*, PTN **[na-Jyyau]*, ANJ *nelyau*¹¹
- (62) 'to fish with a net'
KWM *anai*, ANJ *anai*

4.3 BORROWING

The following terms (examples (63) - (66)) appear to be loans from Polynesian sources:

- (63) 'mast'
PPN **tila* (> WFU *fira*): NTN, WSN, LEN, SWT *tila*, KWM *tira*
- (64) 'outrigger-boom'
PPN **kiato* (> WFU *kiato*): NTN *noa-nə/kiatu*, WSN *noua-nə/ɣiatu*, LEN (*noua-nə/kiatu*), SWT *kwa-nə/kiatu*, KWM *nə/kiatu*, ANJ *na/kiato*
- (65) 'fishhook'
PPN **matau* (> WFU *metao*): NTN *metao*, WSN, LEN *nə/metau*, SWT, KWM *kwa-n/metau*
- (66) 'to paddle'
WFU *sua*: SIE *a/huwo*, URA, LEN *a/sua*, KWM *ə/sua*

The Tanna and Anejom forms in (64) and (66) do *not* appear to be directly inherited from POC **kiado* 'outrigger-boom' and POC **sua* 'paddle'; the expected directly inherited forms in Lenakel, for example, would be something like ***nəkiat* and ***asu* respectively. It seems clear, therefore, that these forms are Polynesian loans.

The following terms (examples (67) - (69)), though they ultimately have an English source, are most likely borrowed from Bislama (cf. Crowley 1990):

- (67) 'canoe'
NTN, WSN, LEN, SWT, KWM *kənu*, ANJ *kinou*; Bislama *kenu* (also *kanu, kinu*)¹²
- (68) 'mast'
SIE *mas*, ANJ *mas*, *inyi-mas*; Bislama *mas*

¹¹ Terry Crowley has raised the question as to whether there is a relationship between these forms and POC **layaR* 'a sail' (which seems to have been lost in the Southern Vanuatu languages). While this is not impossible, the presence of the velar in the second syllable of the Tanna and Anejom forms would be difficult to explain.

¹² The Bislama loans seem to be the standard forms for 'canoe' in the Tanna languages; the forms deriving from PTN **[na-Jyyau]* (cf. (61) above) are used (i) with the vague meaning of 'boat', and apply to ships, launches, and the like, and (ii) with the sense of a moiety or some other social division (along the lines of, for example, Maori *waka*). In Anejom, however, the inherited form *nelyou* seems to be used more commonly with the meaning 'canoe' than does the borrowed form *kinou*.

- (69) 'an anchor'
SIE, WSN, SWT *aŋka*: Bislama *angka*

This last term is of interest, in that West Futuna has borrowed *two* terms for 'anchor': one, *haŋka*, clearly derives from Bislama; the other, *us*, is definitely non-Polynesian in its phonotactics, and in fact almost certainly derives from either North Tanna *us* or Lenakel *uus*.

5. DISCUSSION

It is clear that there has been considerable Polynesian lexical influence on the Southern Vanuatu languages in the semantic areas I have been examining. There are quite a number of terms for aspects of the physical environment (especially names of winds), names of a number of fish and other forms of marine life, and terms for parts of the canoe which clearly seem to be borrowed from West Futuna-Aniwa or, just conceivably, some other Polynesian language.

It should also be pointed out here that there are a number of other items of material culture which seem to have been borrowed into Southern Vanuatu languages from Polynesian sources, including terms for kava, bow and arrow, mat, platform or bed, rafters, tattoos and the dog. The culture-hero Mautikitiki has also been adopted (e.g. Lenakel *Mwatiktik*) (see Lynch (1982c) for details).

One possible explanation for the number of Polynesian borrowings in this area of maritime terminology is that, having arrived by sea, speakers of Proto Southern Vanuatu turned their attention to the reef and the land, and did not exploit the deep sea to nearly the same extent as they did in more recent times.¹³ That is, it is possible that they treated the sea as if it were a river – fishing from the beach, exploiting the reef, but not venturing much beyond.

It is interesting in this regard to note the changes in canoe technology forced on the New Zealand Maori by the new environment they found themselves in (see Biggs, this volume). The Maori abandoned the double-hulled outrigger with sails in favour of long narrow single-hulled canoes which were paddled rather than sailed, which were much more suitable for river navigation and inshore voyaging. The early inhabitants of Southern Vanuatu may have simply taken this a step further: having found an extremely fertile island, with abundant shellfish on the reefs, and no real need to sail anywhere else, they may simply have given up sailing almost totally. Haddon (1937:17), for example, states:

Navigation has evidently played a minor role in the life of the Tannese. Today there is constant intercourse by means of small cutters, manned entirely by natives, between Aniwa and Tanna, but it is significant that the boats are owned exclusively by Aniwans; the voyages originate from that island, which is almost pure Polynesian.

¹³ One particular small point of interest here is in the words for 'mast' and 'sail'. It will be seen from examples (63) and (68) that *no* Southern Vanuatu language has an indigenous word for 'mast': the Tanna languages have borrowed from Polynesian, while Sie and Anejom have borrowed from Bislama (the first part of Anejom *inyi-mas* simply being 'wood, tree'). It will also be seen that no mention at all was made in section 4 of forms for 'a sail'. In Sie, *nmah* means both 'cloth, clothes' and 'a sail', and this form may be related to Fijian *masi* 'tapa'. The form **nivVn* 'a sail' can be reconstructed for Proto Tanna; this does not have the additional meaning of 'cloth, clothes'. It may be that the earlier inhabitants had canoes without masts and sails, and that they subsequently borrowed these from the Polynesians.

It would appear, therefore, that having pretty much abandoned the use of canoes and the exploitation of maritime resources beyond the reef for some considerable time, the people of Southern Vanuatu were subsequently reintroduced to this technology by Polynesians from neighbouring Futuna and Aniwa, from whom they derived much of their modern-day maritime vocabulary.

APPENDIX 1: LANGUAGES AND SOURCES

The languages referred to in this paper, their three-letter abbreviations and sources of data are:

ERROMANGO

Sie (SIE)	Capell & Lynch (1983)
Ura (URA)	Lynch (1982f, 1983c)

TANNA

North Tanna (NTN)	Lynch (1974, fieldnotes)
Whitesands (WSN)	Lynch (1974, fieldnotes)
Lenakel (LEN)	Lynch (1977)
South-West Tanna (SWT)	Lynch (1982e)
Kwamera (KWM)	Lindstrom (1986)

ANEITYUM

Anejom (ANJ)	Lynch (1982a, 1982b)
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FUTUNA-ANIWA

West Futuna-Aniwa (WFU, ANW)	Capell (1984), Dougherty (1983a)
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OTHER

Proto Oceanic (POC)	Grace (1969), Ross (1988), Wurm & Wilson (1975)
Proto Southern Vanuatu (PSV)	Lynch (1978c, 1982c)
Proto Erromangan (PER)	Lynch (1983a)
Proto Tanna (PTN)	Lynch (1982d)
Proto Northern Vanuatu (PNV)	Clark (1986)
Proto Polynesian (PPN)	Walsh & Biggs (1966), Wurm & Wilson (1975), Hooper (this volume)

(Note: For Proto Nuclear Polynesian (PNP) and Proto Eastern Polynesian (PEP) reconstructions for fish names I rely on Hooper's paper in this volume.)

APPENDIX 2: SOUTHERN VANUATU RECONSTRUCTIONS

Below is a list of all Proto Erromangan and Proto Tanna reconstructions cited in this paper, together with supporting evidence. These are basically 'bottom-up' reconstructions; I have not at this stage made any 'top-down' reconstructions, since these would depend on the finalisation of Proto Southern Vanuatu phonology, a task yet to be completed.

PROTO ERROMANGAN

*-avu 'turtle'	SIE <i>navu</i> , <i>nahvu</i> , URA <i>yavu</i>
*-bairu 'shark'	SIE <i>nempou</i> , URA <i>ubeu</i>
*-dey 'sea'	SIE <i>toy</i> , URA <i>de</i>

**nala(iu)* 'canoe'
 **na-(IL)(au)pwan* 'net'
 **ne-liman* 'outrigger-float'
 **nomu* 'fish'

SIE *lou*, URA *nelai* (Utahai *atnelo* 'his canoe')
 SIE *naupwan*, URA *nalampon*
 SIE *nelman*, URA *neliman*
 SIE, URA *nomu* (Utaha *umu*)

PROTO TANNA

*(a)-*ma(sh)a* 'be low tide'
 **i(a)hi* 'squid, octopus'
 **iakw(u)* 'turtle'
 **lɛmus* 'seaweed'
 **ma(kg)əm* 'parrotfish'
 **mi(n)hin* 'rabbit-fish'
 'land' + **mwərah* 'island'
 **na-(kgy)apun* 'net'
 **namu* 'fish'

NTN *as*, WSN *amas*, LEN *mha*, SWT *mas*, KWM *maha*
 NTN *iih*, WSN *iah*, LEN, SWT *ihi*, KWM *is*
 NTN, WSN *iou*, LEN *iau*, SWT *iakw*, KWM *iaku*
 WSN *lɛməs*, LEN, SWT *lɛmus*, (KWM *iamha*?)
 LEN *makəm*, KWM *məkəm* 'blue fish'
 LEN *mihin*, KWM *minhin*
 NTN, WSN *-mutah*, LEN *-murh*, KWM *-mwerəs*
 LEN, SWT *nakapun*, KWM *nəpun*
 NTN *nom*, WSN *namu*, LEN *nam*, SWT *kamaam*, KWM
nəmu
 WSN *nəgo*, LEN *niko*, SWT *lau*
 NTN, WSN, LEN, SWT, KWM *nivən*
 LEN *nəpien*, KWM *nəpien*
 NTN *ntehi*, WSN *nətehi*, LEN *tehe*, SWT *tahik*, KWM
təsi
 NTN, WSN, LEN, SWT *nəvea*, KWM *nəveia*
 NTN *sikou*, LEN *səkou*, SWT *səkavh*
 LEN *suevha*, KWM *suefa*
 LEN *kəvləs*, KWM *iavira*
 LEN *vin* 'freshwater eel', SWT *vin* 'saltwater eel'
 WSN *vilau*, LEN *vəraau*, SWT *vəlaakw*, KWM *vəraku*
 NTN, WSN, LEN, SWT *vənəs*, KWM *vənis*

*[*na-Jyyau* 'canoe'
 **nivVn* 'a sail'
 **n-pian* 'bait'
 *(n)-*tahik* 'sea'
 **n-vaia* 'a paddle'
 **sika(fu)* 'bêche-de-mer'
 **suaifa* 'sea-urchin'
 *-*vilas* 'k.o. crab'
 **vin* 'k.o. eel'
 **vi(lr)a(a)kw* 'stingray'
 **vVnis* 'flying fish'