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Micronesian Ethnological Studies in Japan, 1884-1986

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| メタデータ | 言語: eng 出版者: 公開日: 2009-04-28 キーワード (Ja): キーワード (En): 作成者: 石川, 榮吉, 牛島, 巖 メールアドレス: 所属: |
| URL | https://doi.org/10.15021/00003260 |

Micronesian Ethnological Studies in Japan, 1884-1986

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BEFORE AND DURING WORLD WAR II

It is indeed regrettable that the development of modern ethnology was linked to imperialism and colonialism. Also unfortunate is the fact that the origin and development of Oceanian ethnology in Japan was inseparable from the rise of Japanese imperialism.

The development of Micronesian ethnological studies in Japan can be conveniently divided into three periods: the pre-war period, the period during World War II, and the post-war period.

The Pre-war Period

During this period, Oceanian ethnology in Japan focused mainly on the former South Sea Mandate Territories (Micronesia), which came under Japanese administration in 1919, as a result of World War I. However, Japanese interest in Oceanian politics and economics had begun to emerge as early as 1887, and ethnographic accounts of this area started to appear around this time.

In 1884, Tsunenori Suzuki visited the Marshall Islands to investigate the murder of some Japanese drifters. Afterwards, in 1889, he sailed with a navy training ship which enabled him to visit the Polynesian islands, including Hawaii, Samoa and Fiji. The book he later wrote on his adventures during these two trips is valuable as the first ethnographic account on Micronesia and Polynesia written by a Japanese [SUZUKI 1892]. However, it must be noted that, when touching on the significance of his trip to the Marshall Islands, Suzuki wrote:

If I survive and can complete my exploration, it would mean not only a mission accomplished, but also the incorporation of the Marshall Islands into the territories of the Empire and the enhancement of our country's prestige in the eyes of the world [SUZUKI 1892: 15].

Suzuki visited Micronesia again in 1890, this time as a trader for *Nanyo Shokai* (South Pacific Trading Company) operated by a proponent of southward expansion, Ukichi Taguchi and Suzuki wrote a book on his experiences during this trip also

[INOUE and SUZUKI 1893]. Although it is a valuable resource, as is the first one, it resembles the earlier volume with regard to the political and economic ambitions behind the trip. In this book, Taguchi was quoted as saying:

My original motivation was not simply commerce. I wanted to encourage the emigration of volunteers among the *samurai* families of Tokyo to the South Pacific islands, firstly, to help it to attain independence, and secondly, to aggrandize the national prestige of our country [INOUE and SUZUKI 1893: 253].

The greater part of Micronesia, which was the object of early territorial ambitions, came into Japanese hands under the Treaty of Versailles (1919). Quite naturally, colonial rule necessitated ethnological investigation of the natives. And, from the point of view of ethnologists, a long sought after opportunity to do fieldwork for academic purposes opened up. Even considering this relationship, which was implicitly of mutual benefit to both parties, it would not be accurate to say that all fieldworkers and researchers consciously served the purposes of colonialism. There were many who were motivated by the untainted desire for academic pursuit of an innocent fascination with foreign lands. It is also a fact that outstanding research which indeed made a contribution to knowledge was produced. Nevertheless, from the historical point of view, it could be denied that Oceanian ethnology in Japan during this period was a product of Japanese colonialism and served colonial purposes.

With the outbreak of World War I in 1914, the Japanese navy occupied Micronesia, which was then under German administration. Soon after, in 1915, Akira Matsumura, an anthropologist from the Imperial University of Tokyo, came to Micronesia to conduct a field survey of the natives. His findings were published in English in 1918 [MATSUMURA 1918]. Prior to this, in 1916, the Ministry of Education had already published a report on this new Japanese territory [MONBUSHO 1916]. This was subsequently republished by the *Nan-yo Cho* (the South Seas Government) [NAN-YO CHO 1927]. In the same year, books written on this area by Imperial University geographer Naokata Yamazaki [YAMAZAKI 1916] and others were also published [NAN-YO KYOKAI 1916].

The fate of Micronesia after World War I was decided at the Versailles Peace Conference, whereas those publications had all appeared during a period when the future of Micronesia was still officially undecided. This clearly demonstrates Japan's obsession with this area at that time. These pioneering works, while providing valuable data, had their ethnological or ethnographical shortcomings. Given the historical context of that period, this may have been unavoidable.

Of more importance is the work of Shizuo Matsuoka who entered the field somewhat later. Matsuoka had been with the occupation forces which landed in Micronesia. That experience motivated him to later engage in ethnological and linguistic studies in Micronesia [MATSUOKA 1915, 1925, 1927, 1935]. During the span of his research career, although he also engaged in activities like organizing the

Nan-yo Kogyo Investigation Group which sent exploration ships to the Dutch New Guinea for the purpose of preparing for the eventual settlement of Japanese there (1923), and although it is also undeniable that Matsuoka was a proponent of southward expansion, his works *per se* were not written with obvious political purposes in mind.

Naturally, since he had not received any professional training as a scholar, his works were amateurish. His limitations in the area of social anthropology are particularly glaring. Nevertheless, his ethnographic accounts of native culture in Micronesia are academically of high value. His voluminous work, combining first-hand data provided by Nan-yo Cho office personnel at that time and hitherto unavailable written materials, is unsurpassed by other similar works in terms of comprehensiveness.

In 1927, when Matsuoka published his *Ethnography of Micronesia*, the research findings of Isao Isoda [ISODA 1928, 1929] and Setsuji Tanaka [TANAKA 1929] on social organization were also published. These works effectively laid the foundations of Micronesian ethnology as an academic pursuit. By that time, anthropologist Kotondo Hasebe and archaeologist Ichiro Yawata had also begun fieldwork. Valuable data in anthropology and archaeology comparable to Matsuoka's was collected by these men [HASEBE and YAWATA 1932; YAWATA 1943].

Although Japan's main ambition at that time was directed primarily toward the Asian continent, the number of researchers visiting the southern colony gradually increased. Particularly important contributions to the field were made by a scholar of colonial policy, Tadao Yanaihara, and a painter and specialist on material culture, Atsushi Someki, around 1935. Commissioned by the Pacific Affairs Research Association in 1933 and 1934, Yanaihara started his studies of indigenous society and the economic modernization process in Micronesia, and also did field research. His research reports published in 1935, although somewhat defective from the ethnological point of view, were remarkable in their comprehensiveness [YANAIHARA 1935]. Together with Matsuoka's work, they remain indispensable reading for students of Micronesia.

Someki, although an amateur in ethnology, spent six months travelling through Micronesia in 1933, mainly recording and collecting specimens of material culture. His travels took him beyond Japanese-administered territory to the British held Gilbert Islands. The majority of his specimens became part of the collection of the Hoya Ethnological Museum. His research reports, which first went into publication around 1935, were later compiled into a single volume in 1945 [SOMEKI 1945]. Accompanied by exquisite illustrations by the author, who was also a painter, this work contains valuable data on Micronesia's material culture.

At this point, we must introduce the name of Ken-ichi Sugiura. This scholar represents the early peak of academic excellence in the field of Micronesian ethnology. He was the first ethnologist who was well-versed in the theory and methodology of modern ethnology and who seriously devoted himself to the study of Micronesia.

Sugiura began his career in 1937, the year the Sino-Japanese War started, by

attempting an ethnological study of the Palau Island. From 1938 to until the Pacific War started in 1941, he engaged in a field survey of the land tenure system in Micronesia under the auspices of the South Seas Government. It is a great misfortune that the major portion of the voluminous data he collected during this period remained unpublished due to his sudden death, in 1953¹⁾. However, some of his work was published in short reports, all of them being of remarkable scientific value. In particular, his reports on the land tenure systems in Palau and Ponape written toward the end of the War [SUGIURA 1944], and his paper on the political organization of Palau and Ponape, written after the war [SUGIURA 1949], deserve to be called masterpieces, both in terms of their quality and volume. They represent an early achievement in Japanese ethnology which has gained respect in international academic circles.

It is clearly evident that Sugiura's research endeavors were motivated by the pure desire for academic pursuit. However, the fact that even Sugiura was at times forced to engage in ethnology as a political science of colonial rule [SUGIURA 1941a, 1941b]—although this can easily be justified by the historical situation—prompts us to contemplate the dual nature of ethnology as an academic undertaking.

The beginning of the Pacific War put a halt to field investigation in Micronesia. Subsequently, Micronesia was lost as a fieldwork location for Japanese ethnologists. However, immediately before the war broke out, a unique investigation team, "the Ponape Island Investigation Team", headed by Kinji Imanishi, was dispatched by the Kyoto Tanken Chiri Gakukai (Kyoto Society of Exploration and Geography). Although the field work was of short duration, the reports that were published in 1944 provided interesting data on the natural environment, society and ecology of Ponape Island [IMANISHI 1944].

This investigation team was allegedly sent for preparatory training for planned inroads into New Guinea, Borneo and other tropical areas. Historically, explorers have often been used as advance parties of imperialist forces. Although I would not care to go so far as calling the Kyoto Tanken Chiri Gakukai a tool of the military rulers of Japan, the time element cannot be ignored. It is noteworthy that subjectively innocuous acts may objectively perform unexpected functions.

Furthermore, it is interesting to note that among the former members of the Ponape expedition team, Sasuke Nakao, Tatsuo Kira, Tadao Umesao and Jiro Kawakita are today the leading scholars of the Kyoto School of Ecology. These men joined the expedition as students.

A few final remarks should be made here on Micronesian studies. One concerns an article published by Hikorokuro Okuno after the war. Okuno was both a scholar of customary law and a practitioner of law. He was in the field from late 1936 to 1941 as Chief Justice of the South Seas Government. In the above mentioned paper, Okuno discussed the role of territorial factors in the formation of kinship groups in Micronesia, based on data gathered during his stay. This article put forth a question

1) For a list of works and critical biography, see [IZUMI 1953] and [SOFUE 1976].

which is not only significant in Micronesian studies, but also in social anthropology as a whole [OKUNO 1950]. Although it is likely that Okuno had in his possession more valuable data, these have remained unpublished, due to his death in 1955, an unfortunate occurrence, as in the case of Sugiura.

Here, we should also mention Hisakatsu Hijikata who worked in the field (Palau and Satawal) for more than 10 years and published regular reports in *Mizonkugaku Kenkyu* (The Japanese Journal of Ethnology) and other journals²⁾. It is thought that he too possesses substantial original data. Some of those data were compiled into one book in 1984 [HIJIKATA 1984].

The Wartime Period

With the outbreak of the Pacific War, the sudden extension of the frontline to the south as well as the euphoria produced by war victories gave rise to a boom in the "South Seas fever". At that time, the south was considered "the lifeline of Japanese Imperialism" even more than the Asian continent and was given a great deal of attention. Together with a survey of resources in the southern territories, studies of the native peoples became highpriority tasks for the War effort.

The perspective of Oceanian ethnology was extended beyond its previous boundaries to Japanese-held Micronesia, and included Melanesia, Polynesia, Australia and the whole of Oceania. A portion of Melanesia was also occupied by the Japanese army. However, the intensity of the war precluded field work in the occupied territories of Oceania, including Micronesia. Thus, Oceanian studies during this period, in contrast to pre-war Micronesia studies which were mainly based on fieldwork, were characterized by a complete dependence on earlier documentation. Furthermore, the research based on written records, in reality, consisted almost exclusively of translations of ethnography written by European and American scholars or introductory essays based on such works. Original theories or viewpoints based on documented data were rare. What the war demanded of ethnology during that period was merely ethnographic knowledge of the natives.

Because of this at war time some unreliable material, taking advantage of the boom of "South Seas fever", was published. Occasionally, this type of material was even discovered among the writings of well-known scholars. Nevertheless, due to this trend, a great accomplishment of that period was that a substantial quantity of works by European and American scholars were introduced or translated³⁾. Moreover, it cannot be ignored that, although not of the standard of scholarly research, some general introductory work on ethnology made its appearance.

THE POST-WAR PERIOD

The defeat of Japan in the war liberated ethnology from its role as a policy science of colonial rule. Ethnology had now nothing to fear, and scholars could,

2) For a list of works and critical biography, see [SUDO 1984b; USHIJIMA 1979b].

3) Some of major works are: Firth/Suzuki 1943; Haddon/Miyamoto 1944; Malinowski/Aoyama 1943; Mead/Kaneko 1943.

therefore, devote themselves to this field of study out of a pure desire for academic pursuit. Several problem areas which had been designated as taboos under the Emperor system were now open to free inquiry.

However, on the other hand, the defeat temporarily eliminated the possibility of Japanese ethnologists doing overseas fieldwork. Although the freedom to engage in fieldwork was greatly limited, during the war, immediately after the war, all opportunity was lost, even in Micronesia. Needless to say, the "instant scholars of the South" produced in haste during the war hastily changed their occupation with the defeat.

When Japan regained status in the international community, Japanese ethnologists, previously confined to the four islands of Japan, were surprisingly quickly allowed to engage in fieldwork overseas. Naturally, fieldwork hereafter had to be performed without the support of the state and was solely dependent on individual resources. This was in contrast to the situation before and during the war when field workers investigating the colonized natives were backed by the ruling powers. Needless to say, fieldwork was now free from the demands of the state.

However, as of 1965, researchers were primarily interested in Melanesia and Polynesia, and fieldwork in Micronesia was nonexistent absent. Overseas fieldwork flourished remarkably in comparison to the period immediately after the war. The scope of research extended to the eastern part of Polynesia, thus including the whole of Oceania. This new flourishing of activity and the introduction into the field of female scholars, such as Machiko Aoyagi and Sachiko Hatanaka, were evidence of the resurgence of Oceanian ethnology in Japan and were just cause to rejoice. Nevertheless, financial limitations often necessitated very short research periods. There was a striking absence of seminal works, such as found among pre-war Micronesian studies. This is a matter worthy of some reflection.

AFTER 1965

In the post-war period, Micronesia became the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and fieldwork was started by American anthropologists under the auspices of the Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology (C.I.M.A.). Prospects were brought for both the collection of field data and theoretical study. In stark contrast, Micronesian ethnological studies by Japanese were virtually non-existent in the first decade or so after the war.

It was not until the second half of the 1960's that the documented studies by Iwao Ushijima began to appear. In the first half of the 1970's studies based on field investigation were limited to field reports by Machiko Aoyagi (Palau Islands) and Ushijima (Yap Island). However, since 1975, the amount of research has increased by leaps and bounds making it possible now to describe the basic culture of Micronesia. In the following section, we survey the existing literature in the field, starting with documented studies and continuing on to various area studies.

Documented Studies

Considering the whole of Micronesia and directing his observations at customary and cultural history, Ushijima reconstructed the Micronesian islanders' image of the other world through the analysis of the complex of meanings embodied in cultural phenomena such as funeral rituals, the concept of the soul and the universe [USHIJIMA 1967a]. He also observed regional differences in various aspects of the matrilineal system in Micronesia (*i.e.*, descent, residence, and succession) brought about through the gradual disintegration of the matrilineal system. He argued that the dislocalization process of the matrilineal clan and the emphasis on patrilocal residence and patrilineal succession ran parallel to each other, and the increasing independence of the family group which result from this are the overt and covert aspects of the same phenomenon [USHIJIMA 1967b, 1969].

Toshimitsu Kawai compared the circulation of wealth among relatives by marriage in the matrilineal areas of Micronesia. This results in the overlapping of theory of descent centering on sibling relations with the bonds between husband and wife, and father and child within the nuclear family [KAWAI 1975]. Furthermore, Ken-ichi Sudo made a general study of the relationship between adoption and customs surrounding the kinship and land ownership system, and the distribution system [SUDO 1977]. Being mainly interested in ethnocultural history, Eikichi Ishikawa used a different orientation in his analysis of the breadfruit cultural complex. Here he emphasized that cultural factors entering via Micronesia (for example, the breadfruit culture complex) played a significant role in the development of Polynesian culture [ISHIKAWA 1976, 1979].

Field Studies

With regard to studies based on field work, the following are the area research efforts to date:

1) PALAU

Machiko Aoyagi has published a number of reports and papers on social organization and cultural change in the Palau Islands. In Palauan society, women, through marriage, serve their husbands as sex partners and laborers. In return, husbands make payments to the wives or the wives' groups on various occasions. In other words, the ideal is that women should acquire large quantities of valuables for their brothers [USHIJIMA 1970]. Aoyagi reported the mechanism by which wealth was transferred to the wife's side from the husband's side using the data she gathered through participant direct observation of funerals, housewarmings and so forth in terms of sibling relations and the status of women [AOYAGI 1976, 1979b].

In Palauan social structure, the principles of dichotomy and quadrichotomy perform the function of maintaining the balance of power among various groups. Aoyagi observed that in various villages there is some confusion or contradictions concerning the ranking of honorific titles and the ranking of relationships between villages. She also noted that, in all villages, stories are circulated regarding the title

or ranking of the lineage chief. She concluded that this confusion and contradiction is in itself a structural mechanism which adjusts and maintains the equilibrium of the power of the lineage chief or of the families within the village that elected him [AOYAGI 1979a, 1986].

Furthermore, the fact that the shaman of the village god is always placed in the 5th rank attests to the artificial distribution of power [AOYAGI 1983]. Additionally, through an analysis of the legends concerning the origin of the island during the legendary period, the creation of the universe, the social order, and the path of the clan's migration—which reveal the origin of the clan—, Aoyagi examined the Palauans' world view and concept of geography [AOYAGI 1982b].

On the other hand, Aoyagi was also interested in culture change. She compared the cooperative model of human relations in Palau with the disjunctive model of human relations in Yap and discussed the difference between the degree and quality of the acculturation process [AOYAGI 1977a], including that of children in changing Palauan society [AOYAGI 1982a]. In particular, she collected comprehensive data on the Modekngai, a nativistic religious movement which thrived during the period of Japanese occupation. Aoyagi collected data from the point of view of both believers Modekngai, anti-Modekngai people as well as the Japanese Nan-yo-Cho (South Seas Government) who supervised the movement, thus producing a complete picture of the Modekngai movement [AOYAGI 1977b, 1978, 1980, 1985]. In the area of Paluan food categories, the research of Tomoya Akimichi also merits mention here [AKIMICHI 1980d].

2) YAP

Ushijima has published numerous field reports and papers on the traditional social organization of Yap. One of his primary monographs, using case studies in northern Yap Island, discussed the relationship between the estate, land and the inheritance pattern as well as age categories and village structure [USHIJIMA 1974]. Another study clarified the links between the mechanism of ritual exchange of valuables, such as stone money, shell money and so forth, and the estate, sibling relations and relations involving the father's sisters [USHIJIMA 1976, 1977]. He also wrote a report on the collection and distribution of yams in memorial services [USHIJIMA 1978]. Later, he analyzed the interaction between patri-familial inheritance and the maternal blood line by examining kinship ideology as demonstrated in filial relationships in the estate, in sibling relationships and in land holdings [USHIJIMA 1979a, 1979c].

Furthermore, he showed that the present structure of patrilocal residence might be the result of resultant changes in the cultivating method of the staple crop, and the change in labor organization and increasing independence of the family group. To accomplish this, he investigated the contrast between labor investment and labor organization in taro-planting in paddy fields and the slash-and-burn method of yam planting [USHIJIMA 1980].

Concerning the traditional political structure in Yap, Ushijima observed the

various communication channels between villages and between estates, which led him to the conclusion that, with regard to the emergence and maintenance of these channels, war reorganizes the traditional relationship between villages and leads to the formation of new channels. On the other hand ritual exchanges provide occasions for achieving fame or prestige through competition, and facilitate continuous re-affirmation of existing communication channels [USHIJIMA 1986].

Concerning Ushijima's fieldwork, Shoichi Hayakawa drew up the maps after surveyed the villages, the inland areas and the sea, clearly marking the topography of the villages and the forms of economic activities [HAYAKAWA 1982]. Hayakawa also comprehensively recorded the material culture of the men's houses and described the changes in the functions of these houses [HAYAKAWA 1978].

3) THE Central Caroline ISLANDS

With regard to the coral islands in the Carolines, Ushijima has done research on the Ulithi Atolls, near the Yap Islands, in relation to the trading system between Yap and the small islands to the east [USHIJIMA 1982a]. On Mogmog Island of the Ulithi Atoll, chiefs have control over the reefs and lagoons and claim a portion of the fishing catch as the "chief's share". Ushijima characterized the distribution of fish as being symbolic of the privileges enjoyed by the chief when describing the political structure of the Ulithi Atolls [USHIJIMA 1982b]. He also reported on the membership patterns of kinship groups as landholders in a matrilineal, virilocal society such as on Mogmog Island, and the variations in this pattern regarding ownership rights, and the use and inheritance of taro fields and other land [USHIJIMA 1983, 1985].

Regarding studies on Satawal Island in the Central Carolines, Hisakatsu Hijikata wrote several reports during the pre-war period [USHIJIMA 1979b, SUDO 1984b]. His book entitled *Ryuboku (Drifted Woods)* [1943], were republished after 30 years. In this book taboos, magic, incantations and the existence of spirits in Satawal were reported in detail in the form of a diary of Hijikata's first year on the island [HIJIKATA 1974]. His collection of folktales contained Japanese translations of 155 naratives which he compiled [HIJIKATA 1953; YOSHIDA 1979]. Moreover, he published the first reports on marriage, divorce, adultery and the ethnography of Satawal [HIJIKATA 1979b, 1984].

A field study on Satawal Island was also undertaken by Shuzo Ishimori, Tomoya Akimichi, Ken-ichi Sudo and others of the Ethnological Research Group on Traditional Navigation Methods. Satawal is one of the few places where traditional navigation methods remain well preserved. The research pointed out that traditional navigation methods operate on the principle of utilizing various natural phenomena including stars, sun, tides, waves, wind, islands and fish [SUDO and AKIMICHI 1983].

Art of traditional navigation is based on the sidereal compass: stars are arranged symmetrically around the circumference of a circle, according to their positions of rising and setting on the horizon, on which 32 positions are occupied by 13 selected stars. Their compass enables the navigators to allocate themselves at seas and to take the due course by associating the star course with the relevant four canoe parts

[AKIMICHI 1980c]. Deliberate applications of this sidereal compass are chrystallized as shown in the bulk of the navigational knowledge, some of which are examined by Akimichi; *i.e.*, the conception and allocation of the sea space by means of invisible reference islands [AKIMICHI 1986a], island orientation [AKIMICHI 1985] and through the images of triggerfish and the associated knowledge [AKIMICHI 1981c]. He also studied the Satawalese almanac system, based largely on the periodical occurrence of storms which are believed to give rise to simulataneously with the rising and setting of particular "storm stars" [AKIMICHI 1980a]. Further works on navigational knowledge are expected.

Apart from these, ethnoecological studies on Satawal have also been reported by Akimichi, which deal with the ethnoichthyology, *i.e.*, folk-classification and cultural transactions related to fish domains [AKIMICHI 1981b, 1984a, 1984b; AKIMICHI and SAUCHOMAL 1982], resource perception and management, and the cognitive aspect of food [AKIMICHI 1981a, 1986b].

Sudo has reported on his experience of navigation between Satawal and Elato based on traditional methods [SUDO 1980b]. He investigated the relationship between canoe owners and canoe builders involved in the construction and management of canoes, and the social relations as manifested in the selection of crew members [SUDO 1979b]. He also compiled texts of folktales on canoe navigation and tales of "great navigators". Using these texts, he examined canoe building technology, names of the different parts of the canoe, rules and manners of navigators, and the nature of supernatural beings [SUDO 1979a, SUDO and SAUCHOMUL 1981]. In the field of kinship structure, Sudo concentrated on taboos concerning individuals of higher status, taboos regarding siblings of the opposite sex, and verbal taboos in his analysis of taboos as behavioral norms in human relations [SUDO 1980c]. Comparable to this is Kazuhiko Komatsu's paper on Pulap Island to the northwest of Truk. He reported on the system of taboo behavior for showing respect called *yoppowo*, analyzing it from the perspective of its being a function of kinship terminology [KOMATSU 1982].

Further Sudo wrote some social anthropological reports focused on avoidance behavior, land tenure and resource management system, the structural changes of matrilineal societies and gift-exchange customs [SUDO 1984a, 1985, 1986a, 1986b, 1986c, 1987]. He analysed and compared the structure of land holding groups in Satawal, Truk and Mortlocks. Although the unit of corporate group has been reduced into smaller according to population increase and cash economy in Truk and Mortlocks than in Satawal, he mentioned that it is common for those societies still adopt the principle of matrilineal descent to arrange kin group [SUDO 1986b]. He also reported the typology of sea tenure system in Micronesian societies [SUDO 1984c].

Incidentally, navigational knowledge, together with canoebuilding technology, architecture, medicine and pharmacology is part of the system of traditional knowledge called *rong*. Traditional knowledge and technology are monopolized by specific practitioners, and inheritance to this knowledge is governed by strict social regulations and celebrated by secret rituals. Ishimori conducted a general study of

these *rong* [ISHIMORI 1980, 1983, 1985a]. He also described the traditional knowledge of number divination [ISHIMORI 1979] and examined several systems of traditional knowledge, especially related to multiplying food [ISHIMORI 1985d] and to curing illness [ISHIMORI 1985b, 1985e].

In relation to this, Shigenobu Sugito described the traditional knowledge involved in house construction, surveying, and house repairing in nearby Elato Atoll, and changes in this knowledge over time [SUGITO 1982c]. He also reported on the techniques of making loincloths and their function and value in ritual exchanges [SUGITO 1982a, 1982b].

With regard to Micronesian architecture, Shigeki Kobayashi reported in detail on the structure and construction process of Yapese houses discovered in his attempt to transport one such structure to Japan [KOBAYASHI 1978]. Shigeo Asakawa also reported on the construction methods for *wuut* (men's house) in Tol Island of the Truk Group [ASAKAWA 1980]. Motoe Nakamura investigated the living habits in a house located on Pulusuk, in the northwest Truk [NAKAMURA 1977]. Sudo also reported a note of the canoe house on Satawal [SUDO 1980].

4) TRUK

There has not been much research on Truk, but Toshimitsu Kawai has reported on the various phenomena of social relations revolving around food, such as the exchange of food between regional groups, giving of food to the father's sisters, the common ownership of land and food among groups of affinal relatives in Moen Island, Truk [KAWAI 1978]: the symbolism of food as expressed in folktales and abuse expressions was also explored [KAWAI 1979]. Sudo recorded the distribution and tribute-giving rituals of pounded breadfruit on Wuman Island, Truk [SUDO 1983]. Moreover, Sudo has published his notes on the social life of Ulul Island, located to the northwest of Truk [SUDO 1976].

5) PONAPE

Both Kiyoshi Miyazaki and Akitoshi Shimizu have published research reports concerning Ponape Island. Shimizu examined the social and cultural world of the Ponape people as seen through their daily household utensils, beginning with the material aspect of *um* (roasting on hot pebbles) and continuing on related objects [SHIMIZU 1976a, 1976b]. Furthermore, with the objective tracing the relationship between daily life and the chieftain system, he analyzed the various manifestations of the chieftain system which have penetrated daily life in terms of the following themes: the structural principles of the chieftain system and daily life: food and the first-product tribute: the division of the domains of life and of the seasons; seasonal and nonseasonal food, food used for feasts; the classification of yam, man, god, land and the sea; and the social order and the chieftain system [SHIMIZU 1982]. He also presents one aspect of chieftainship in Ponape through the analysis of different perceptions in relation to diverse statuses of visitors that people encounter [SHIMIZU 1985].

6) MARSHALL AND GILBERT

On the Marshall Islands, the report of Shuzo Ishimori on naming and traditional navigation methods (stick charts) is the only one available [ISHIMORI 1975, 1978]. Through a study of the basic principles of navigation which were characterised by the use of wave phenomena, Ishimori analysed the concept of space in the world-view of the Marshall Islanders [ISHIMORI 1978]. And on the Gilbert Islands, Masanori Yoshioka reported the kin categorization applied not only to blood kin but also to fictive kin through the analysis of terminology using typical and non typical concepts [YOSHIOKA 1985].

7) JAPANESE OCCUPATION AND MICRONESIA

In addition to Aoyagi's investigation of the *Modekngei* movement, there is a fair amount of literature a Micronesia during the Japanese occupation, such as Sachiko Hatanaka's report on cultural change during the Japanese occupation [HATANAKA 1967, 1975]. Kazuyoshi Nakayama is also writing on the acceptance of Christianity and Japanese colonial rule in Ponape [NAKAYAMA 1984, 1986]. Dealing with contemporary political affairs, Matori Yamamoto has examined historical changes in the traditional political system and society in Palau, by analyzing the present state of traditional leadership [YAMAMOTO 1976]. Shimizu has also illustrated political and economic difficulties and the internal conditions of mini-states and provisional state [SHIMIZU 1981].

Furthermore, it should be noted that as a result of their substantial efforts, Sachiko Hatanaka, Matori Yamamoto and Naofumi Saito were able to publish a bibliographical list and the pre-war materials on Micronesia, together with their present location [HATANAKA *et al.* ed. 1979].

Finally, Satoru Tanabe, Michiko Into and Mikiyuki Egami have published papers on the material culture of Micronesia. In the field of pre-history, Jun Takayama's energetic excavation is worthy of note, and, in linguistics, Hiroshi Sugita, Osamu Sakiyama, Fumio Kusakabe have published various papers.

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