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## Manus Fish Names

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## Manus Fish Names

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Fish names of the Manus people of the Admiralty Islands in Papua New Guinea are investigated. The Manus are expert fishermen who have depended solely on fishing and trading for sustaining their livelihood. Manus lore on marine life, regarding cognitive and behavioral aspects, is ingenious and extensive. The present paper particularly deals with fish names spoken by the Manus fishermen. Approximately 300 vernacular fish names are given, with additional data from neighboring groups of different ecological and linguistic backgrounds. At the generic and specific levels of nomenclature, cognates of fish names are broadly found between the Manus and the other groups. Possible cognates are, except for a few cases, also extended for languages in Halmahera and Micronesia. These cognates suggest a multiple mode of connections of the Manus languages with neighboring areas, in terms of ecological, economic, and historical implications. There is also an urgent need for further comparative study of fish names including such areas as Indonesia, Melanesia and Micronesia.

### INTRODUCTION

Austronesian fish names have received insufficient attention in the studies of Oceanic culture history in the past, if compared with ethnobotanical inquiries [BARRAU 1958, 1961; YEN 1974]. The bulk of fish names collected by linguists, archaeologists, and marine biologists, whatever their intention may be, is found scattered in monographs, dictionaries, and unpublished materials [ELBERT 1972; HELFMAN and RANDALL 1973; ELAMETO 1975; BARNETT 1978; AKIMICHI and SAUCHOMAL 1982; RANDALL and EGAÑA 1984; TSUCHIDA 1984]. However, this field has increasingly gained the particular attention of anthropologists with the advances of linguistic prehistory and ethnoarchaeology,

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and more recently in line with the advent of the Lapita Homeland Project.

It is believed that comparative studies of fish names have definite importance for the reconstruction of the Austronesian languages as well as for the analysis of possible migration of the people. This is supported by the ecological uniformity of the ichthyofauna in the tropical Indo-Pacific region [CARCASSON 1977], and the corresponding wide distribution of Austronesian speakers in the area [BELLWOOD 1979: 116-134].

More practically, studies of fish names provide several benefits: first, as an essential source of data for ethnoichthyology [ANDERSON 1972; TITCOMB 1972; AKIMICHI 1978, 1984]; second, for the reconstruction and grouping of the Austronesian languages [WURM and WILSON 1975; BIGGS 1979; BLUST 1980, 1984-5: 45-67]; and third, as a useful tool to analyse prehistoric fishing activities [KIRCH and DYE 1979: 53-76; GOTO 1989: 1-34].

In this paper, we present fish names spoken by the Manus people who live in the Admiralty Islands of Papua New Guinea. First, native fish classification in the area is briefly described. Second, a list of vernacular fish names is presented with common English and scientific names. Lastly, the Manus fish names are compared not only with the neighboring groups of the distinct ecological and linguistic backgrounds, but also with some Micronesian languages, in terms of cognates. So far, possible contacts between New Guinea and Micronesia have been suggested from a few selected fish names [SAKIYAMA 1980: 41-49, 1987: 299-303]. It is hoped that the present paper will not only add more data as to the relations between Micronesia and New Guinea, but also provide a new perspective for the study of Austronesian fish names.

## MANUS AND ITS PEOPLE

### The Manus Setting

Geographically speaking, Manus Province is located in the area between 1°50' and 3°S, and 146°20' and 148°20'E. It is due south of the equator in the tropical southwestern Pacific. Manus Province consists of some seventy islands. The largest of all is Manus, a massive volcanic island, and its highest peak is 720 m. The other large islands which lie to the south and southwest of Manus are Rambuty, Baluan and Lou, which are mostly volcanic in origin. Numerous small islands fringe Manus Island to the north and to the west, and there are small off-shore reefs and atolls, particularly to the south. Together with these adjacent islands, Manus Island forms a central position of this Province.

Besides these, there lies the Western Islands group of such as Hermit, Kaniet, Ninigo, Aua and Wuvulu, which are spread about 200 to 350 km apart

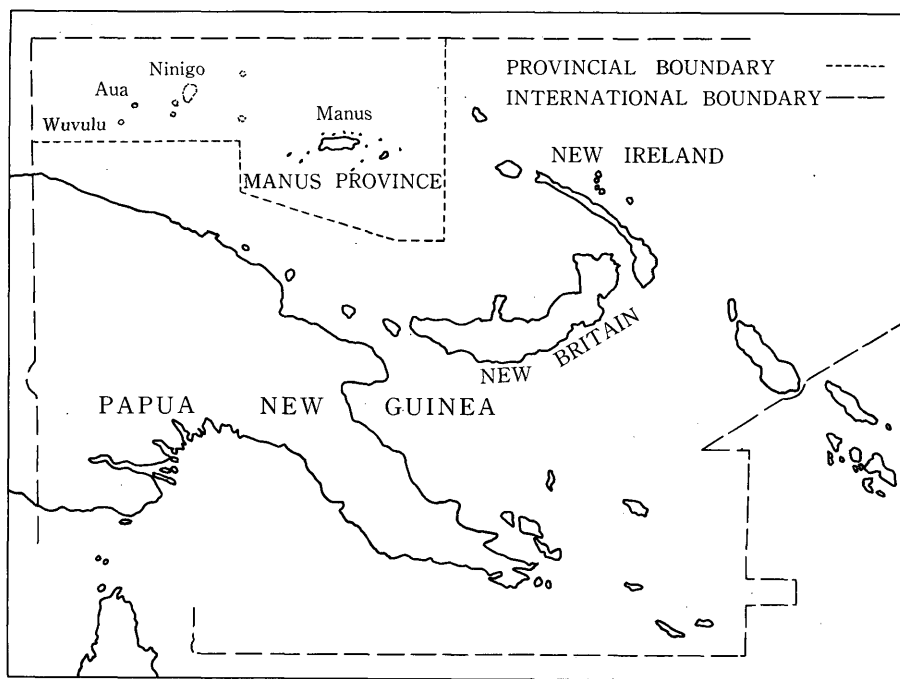


Figure 1. Location of Manus Province (Based on the Papua New Guinea Atlas, UPNG 1782)

to the west of Manus Island (Figure 1).

The total population of Manus is about 25,000, according to the census in 1980 [MANUS PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT 1980]. The people of the Manus Province are, in general, physically Melanesians. However, those who live on Aua and Wuvulu are Micronesian in features, although they speak the Melanesian language [SMYTHE 1970].

In Manus and its adjacent areas, the inhabitants have been divided into three main groups: Manus or Moanus, Usiai, and Matankor. Manus is the name given to the entire region as well as to the main island. The Manus are a maritime people inhabiting coastal areas and small off-shore islands. Their economy is characterised by fishing and trading. "Usiai" is a generic name for agriculturalists who live on the hillsides and in the interiors of the Manus main island. They engage in sago-making and taro-cultivation as a main economic pursuit. This group is further divided into about eight to ten linguistic groups [HEALEY 1976: 349-364]. The name "Usiai" conveys a sense of contempt. Thus, we will use alternatively the word "agriculturalists", or "Nali", the name of a group of our study area. The Matankor people dwell either on small islets off the mainland of Manus to the north and west or on large and small islands to the west and southwest of Manus. The subsistence basis of the Matankor is a

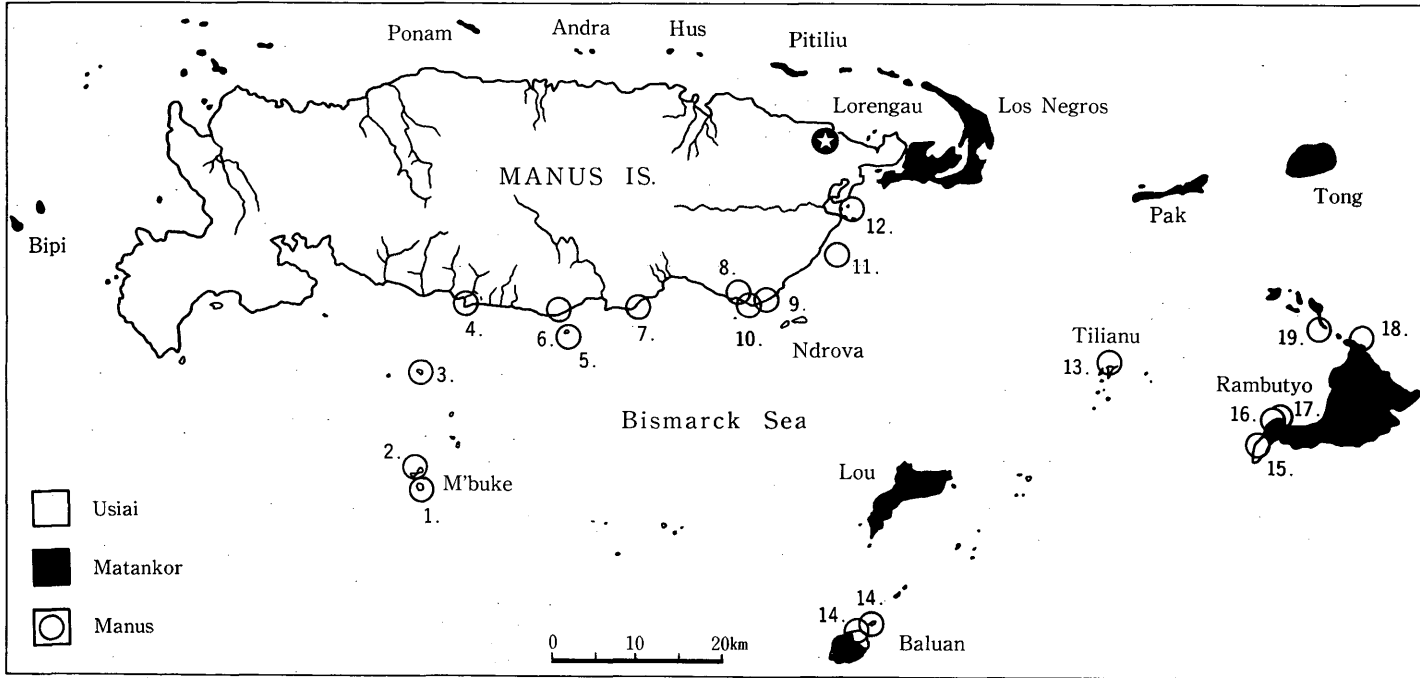


Figure 2. Manus and Its People

Numbers 1.~19. show the location of the Village of the Titan people.

- |           |              |            |             |                 |             |            |
|-----------|--------------|------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|------------|
| 1. M'buke | 4. Tiemoenai | 7. Loča    | 10. Patusi  | 13. Tilianu     | 16. Palamot | 19. Loamat |
| 2. Pokali | 5. Peri      | 8. Pere    | 11. Čalalou | 14. Mouk        | 17. Pus     |            |
| 3. Wol    | 6. Tawi      | 9. M'bunai | 12. Patam   | 15. Langendrova | 18. Liuliu  |            |

combination of agriculture and fishing. Their economy is intermediate between that of the Manus and the Usiai, although there exist inter-group variations in degrees of dependence on fishing and trading [MITTON 1979]. The Matankor are also subdivided into over ten linguistic groups [HEALEY 1976].

Linguistically, the Manus region is generally divided into three: Wuvulu Isolate, Ninigo family, Manus family, of which the last is dominant in terms of number of speakers. The Manus linguistic family is further divided into four sub-families: *e.g.*, North-East Islands, South-East Islands, East Manus, and West Manus [HEALEY 1976: 349–364]. Manus has been noted as the area where a mixture of Indonesian, Melanesian and Micronesian elements are found in the linguistic structures [SMYTHE 1970; SAKIYAMA 1987].

As is illustrated in Figure 2, the villages of the Manus fisher-folks are dispersed. Yet, it should be noted that they share the same Titan language of the East Manus sub-family. While the Matankor people of Rambutyo, Lou, and Baluan share languages of the South-East Islands sub-family, those of the southeast coast of Manus mainland (*i.e.*, Nali of the present study) speak dialects of the East Manus sub-family in addition to the Titan-speakers of the Manus people.

### **Manus Fisherman**

The subsistence of the Manus is obviously sea-oriented. First, as the distribution of the Manus villages suggests, their living space is almost exclusively confined to the tiny islets and coastal edges. In the past, people used to dwell in piled houses built on reefs and shallow lagoons [MEAD 1968]. This may be explained either as an adaptive process to the maritime environment, or as a means of easy access to the sea in order to obtain marine resources for economic exchange. Alternatively, such a marginal distribution of the people and exclusive dependence on the sea may be owing to the recent migration of the Manus from New Guinea or some other western parts of the Pacific to this region, which agriculturalists had already occupied. This is suggested from the fact that the language spoken by the Manus is fairly uniform, despite a wide distribution of the people in the region.

Second, they are skillful fishermen. Although most of them shifted their dwellings to the coasts during the time of the cult movement which, between 1946 and the mid 1950s, swept throughout Manus areas [SCHWARTZ 1962], the maritime tradition of the Manus has persisted to the present.

They engage in various types of fishing and gathering, using different ecological zones such as mangrove swamps, reef flats, reef drops and open seas. The fishing techniques employed are more than thirty in number at the time of the present research, and these include line fishing (pole and line, bottom line, and troll line), netting (stand net, scoop net, fixed net, drive-in net), coconut sweep, poison fishing, fish trapping, bamboo weir, stone weir, spear-

ing, diving and groving. Some of the fishing techniques appear to be also employed by the Matankor [CARRIER 1982: 904-915]. The details of the fishing techniques of the Manus will be described elsewhere.

Third, they have no land to cultivate. Sago and taro are not only the main food source of the Manus people, but also staples of the entire region [WARD and LEA 1970]. Scarcity of land for the Manus, and moreover a lack of big games on the mainland as a source of animal protein, has caused them to establish inter-tribal food exchanges. The commonest transaction is held at the local market (*pe*), which is found along the coast or at river banks where the Manus fishermen and inland agriculturalists meet on certain occasions and exchange goods between them. Trading used to cause tension and warfare between the groups [CARRIER and CARRIER 1989]. This situation has also caused the Manus to depend heavily on marine exploitation.

They also used to work as traders and small-scale sellers. Medium-sized single-outrigger canoes with two sails were used for the inter-islands navigation. It is said that the Manus knows navigational techniques using stars and the moon while the Matankor seem to have lost such knowledge, although they still retain expert technology of canoe building [HADDON and HORNELL 1975].

Although they have undergone drastic socio-economic changes during the last few decades, the Manus still play an important role as fish-sellers in the modern economy, and especially as a promoter in the development programmes of coastal resource uses of the local Provincial Government.

As is suggested from the above, it is apparent that the Manus have sustained a unique fund of knowledge and technology related to the seas. Marine lore, particularly concerning fish, is the crystallization of such maritime tradition of the Manus fishermen.

### Data Collection

The field survey was conducted during a few days in 1984, a few weeks in 1987, and three months in 1988. Fish names of the Lou were collected by Sakiyama in 1984, and those of the Manus and other groups of Matankor and Nali agriculturalists were collected by Akimichi during the field work in 1987 and 1988. Groups that were surveyed are as follows: Lou of Lou Is., M'bunai and Nali of the southwestern coast of Manus Is., Langendrova of Mouklen Is., Lenkau of Mouklen Is., and Pañcal of Rambutyo Is. Among these, people of M'bunai and Langendrova are Manus fisher-folks, those of Lou, Lenkau and Pañcal are Matankor or agrico-fishermen. The Nali are the agriculturalists. For the collection of fish names, direct observation of the fish catch and interviewing were used as well as two fish books for these purposes [MUNRO 1967; MASUDA *et al.* 1980].

The sound system of Manus is not relatively complex compared with that of other Melanesian languages of Oceania. We take Lou as a sample. Lou has

fourteen phonemic consonants and five phonemic vowels. In this paper the following symbols are used to represent each phoneme: *p*, *pw*, *t*, *k*, *s*, *n*, *m*, *mw*, *ng*, *l*, *r*, *v*, *w*, *y* and *a*, *e*[e], *i*, *o*, *u*. There is no phonemic contrast between voiced and voiceless stops. But voiced stops usually are prenasalized slightly. In M'bunai and Nali voiced stops appear in initial position. Some examples follow: leatherjacket (*mbuli/mbuli*), sweet lips (*ndrati/ndrati*).

Phonemically Lou is similar to Lenkau and Nali, but Lou *s* corresponds to Pančal and M'bunai č. Some examples follow: goatfish (*marse/mwaračei*), moorish idol (*simbu/čumbou*), rabbitfish (*posowe/pačal*), wrasse. (*soup/čou*).

The final *-l* in Lou, M'bunai and Matankor becomes *-i* in Nali. Some examples follow: blue-speckled parrotfish (*kwel/kwil/kuwel/kuwei*), perch (*ndrawal/ndrowai*), lionfish (*rol/lal/lai*).

Linguistically, Lou is closely related to Baluan in the South-East Islands sub-family. This can be pointed out from the fish names also. Some examples are taken from [SMYTHE 1975]: moray eel (*palngin/balngin* [sic]), shark (*pelesam/balesam* [sic]).

In the list of fish names, vernacular names and the corresponding English common names and scientific names are described. All the data are from M'bunai Titan (*i.e.*, Manus fishermen who live at M'bunai village). Supplementary information of fish names derived from the Matankor and the Nali people is presented as a discussion

## CLASSIFICATION OF FISH AND MARINE LIFE

For the Manus, fish is a source of food as well as an important means for sustaining the socio-economic and religious life. In this paper, descriptive focus is not on the use of fish, but the names. Fish are treated here, not as bearing socio-economic traits, but as implying folk-biological categories. Below, certain characteristics of the Manus classification of fish and relevant marine life will be described.

### Category of Fish

Folk-biological studies in twenty-four Polynesian languages demonstrate that "fish", "bird" and "snake" are abstracted as three major life-form categories [BROWN 1981: 83–110]. In this theory, fish or *ika* represents a life-form adapted to aquatic environment. It is true that *ika* or its cognates is quite extensively found not only in Polynesian languages, but also in other languages of the Austronesian.

Yet, such a life-form category as *ika* does not always include all the different kinds of organisms in the water. Rather, it is likely that *ika* implies free-swimming fish, as a representative but not the whole. As Brown points out, however, the semantic focus of this life-form seems to be true fish [BROWN



1981]. On the contrary, such marine animals as turtle and octopus are sometimes included in fish, but in other cases not. They are either a member of *ika*, or are excluded from it. How such peripheral animals are positioned in each folk-classification system differs according to the society. Then, the problem lies not in typical fish, but creatures that have anomalous morphology and behavior.

We can examine how fish and other marine life are distinguished, based on our studies in Manus. Among several groups of Manus and Matankor, it is found that the broadest category to include various kinds of fish is *nii* or *nik*. For instance, according to the Manus, *nii* includes not only fish but also other marine creatures such as whale (*lau*) and porpoise (*uri*), dugong (*kemanda*), turtle (*kalahat*), crocodile (*buai*). However, other marine creatures such as shellfish (*mbukei*), crab (*kopat*), sea urchin (*čaleya*), sea cucumber (*ponai*), and sea algae (*mot*) are excluded from the category of *nii*. Hence, *nii* denotes marine creatures in general, which are roughly analogous to free-swimming animals, and fish is surely the representative of *nii* in this case.

It should be noted that other creatures of the non-*nii* category are benthos or plankton in the ecological terms. Interestingly, the status of shellfish (gastropods and bivalves) is unique. A generic term to include shellfish is *mbukei* in the Manus folk classification. In *mbukei*, involved are octopus (*kwit*) are nautilus (*kalopue*), while squid (*nu*) and cuttlefish (*mwumwak*) are excluded [Figure 3]. The native explanation of this is not clear; given *mbukei* as a creature that has shells and meats, octopus becomes an exception to this as it has no shells. Furthermore, squid and cuttlefish, although they have no outer shells, are excluded from *mbukei*. The status of fish, shellfish and other marine invertebrates also needs further comparative consideration here, as it differs according to the groups investigated.

### Shellfish Focus

In Lenkau of the Matankor group, a larger category to include marine animals and plants are *doromei*. *Doromei* includes not only fish (*nik*), but also turtle (*pwun*), dolphin (*uhi*), whale (*moluam*), crocodile (*buai*), sea algae (*mot*), benthic animals (*mwe*). In *mwe*, octopus (*kit*), cuttlefish (*moman*), sea cucumber (*ponai*), starfish (*sangusan*), sea urchin (*porunsolok*) are included, in addition to shellfish (*mwe*) [Figure 4].

In Pančal on Rambutyo Is., a group of Matankor, all the animals *tetwain* are classified into land animals (*lalon kanum*) such as pig, cuscus, bird, and flying fox, and marine animals (*tetewain*). Thus, the meaning of *tetewain* is twofold: animals in general, and marine animals. *Tetewain* of the second meaning is further classified into *nii*, *mwel* and *tewun*. *Nii* includes fish (*nii*), turtle (*pwun*), dolphin (*duli*), whale (*muluwan*), and octopus (*kwuit*). The semantic domain of *mwel* is similar to that of Lenkau's and it involves sea ur-

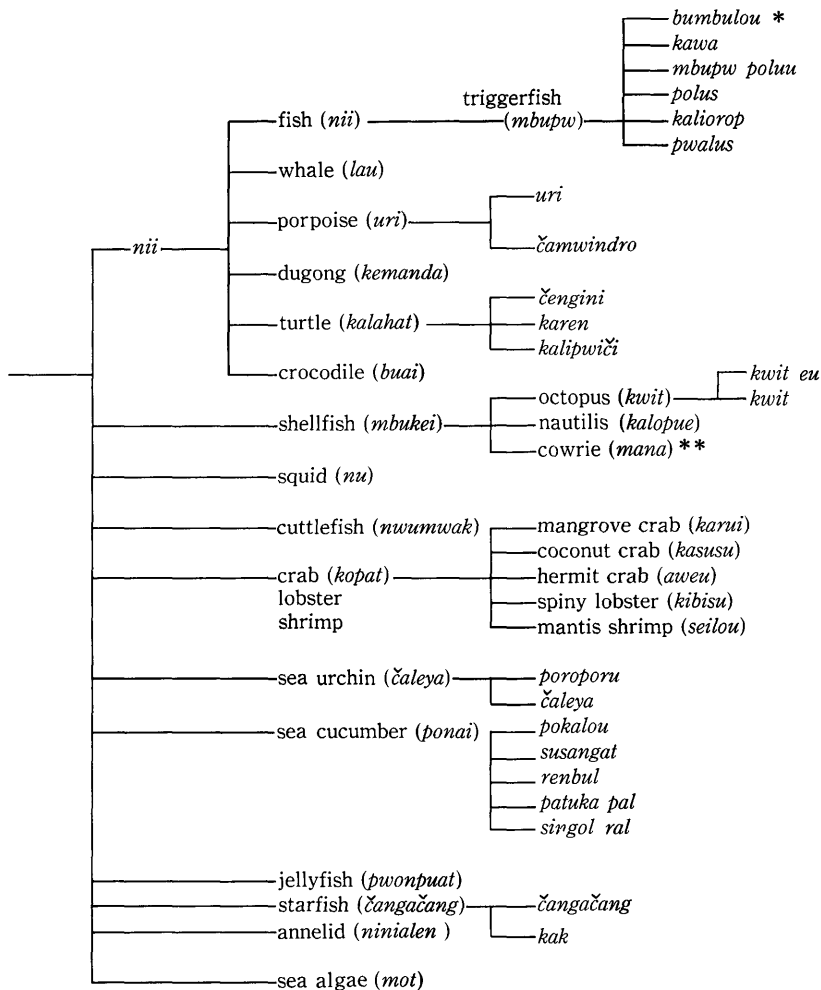


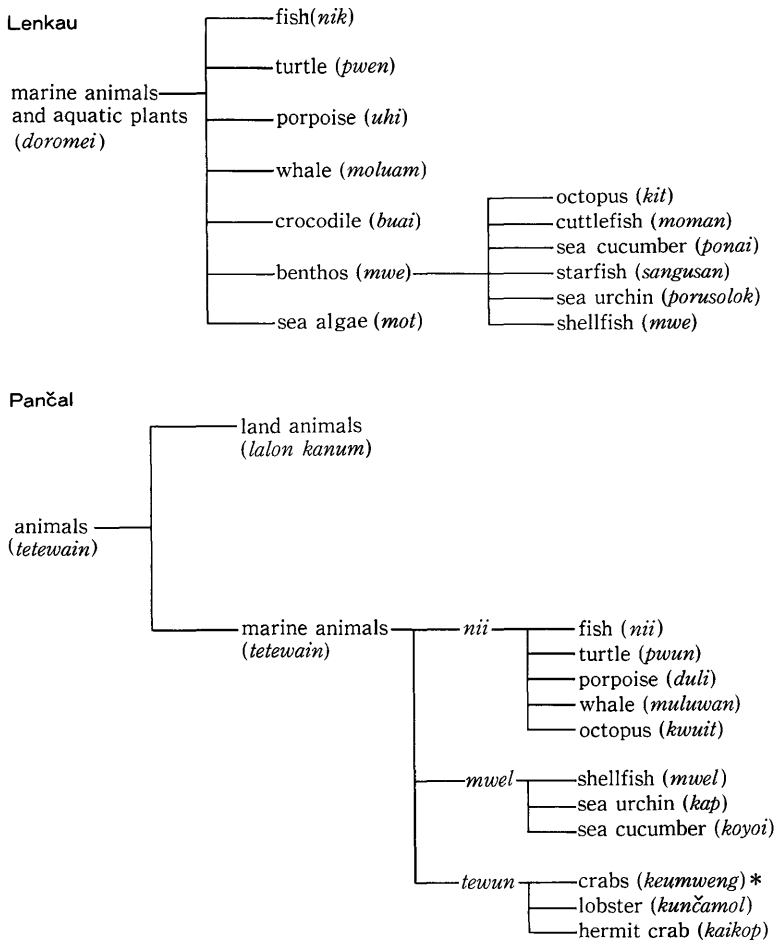
Figure 3. Folk Classification of Marine Life of the Manus

\* only described those of triggerfish (*mbupw*)

\*\* only described generic term for cowrie (*mana*)

chin (*kap*), sea cucumber (*koyoi*), and shellfish (*mweŋ*). *Tewun* denotes crabs, lobster, and hermit crab [Figure 4].

It is evident that the (fin) fish-like category is not the sole life-form category in the marine environment, as far as the folk-zoological classification of the three Manus communities is concerned. The status of shellfish and similar benthic animals calls for attention, although there exists instability in the classification of benthos into either fish or as an independent category. Folk-taxonomic relations of fish, benthos and octopus are summarized in Figure 5.



**Figure 4.** Folk Classification of Marine Life in Two Matankor Villages  
 \* denotes mangrove crab

### Hierarchy

Whatever the status of life-form category, the true fish group involves a rich variety of individual fish species. Each fish species is labeled uniquely according to the native ideas, and depending on their cognition and knowledge on fish. As is shown in a list of vernacular fish names, approximately 300 fish names are distinguished from the study of the M'bunai.

In ordering these individual fish into the folk-classification, there exists a hierarchy. At the higher level, *nii* is an inclusive category and it covers both cartilaginous and bony fish. *Nii* is further sub-divided into generic and specific categories. At the lower levels, each labeled fish name often corresponds to biological categories. For instance, *mbupw* is a generic category which cor-

responds roughly to the triggerfish of the family Balistidae. It is then further sub-divided into several lower categories which also correspond to individual fish species. As shown in the list below, there are six sub-categories of *mbupw*, and five of them correspond to species whereas *kalirop* corresponds to a few triggerfish species as these are morphologically similar, and the people do not distinguish them. On the other hand, *no* is a generic category to represent stonefish (Synanceidae) but it has no lower category.

In this manner, most of the fish are grouped together within higher categories at the generic level, and these generic categories are also positioned at the lower categories of fish. Thus, the whole forms a hierarchy, comprising two or three levels. It should also be noted that for the labeling of individual fish names, primary lexeme is dominantly used, especially at the specific level. Exceptionally, needlefish or *čo* are classed into four sub-categories in which secondary lexemes are used; *čo kipou*, *čo ndrilis*, *čo kematan*, and *čo wi*. A few other examples are thresher shark (*peu paliyao*), “a shark with tunas”, and remoras (*kanbulunbulun peu*), “attaching to sharks”, respectively. It is interesting to note that remoras are labeled quite similarly in different groups; in Lenkau it is termed as *kulukulu paheu* whereas in Pančal it is *kalupupun peu*. Even in Nali it is called *mbulunmbulun peu*.

## A LIST OF MANUS FISH NAMES

Below, a list of Manus (M’bunai) fish names is described. Vernacular fish names with serial numbers and the corresponding English common names of fish are romanized. Scientific names are shown in parenthesis, and in italics. (\*) denotes taxa that have lower categories and/or that are classified as a group

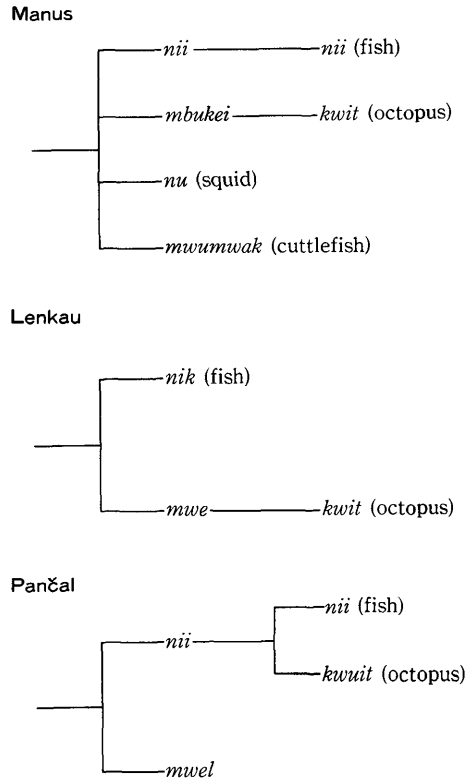


Figure 5. Folk-Taxonomic Relations of Fish, Benthos and Octopus in Three Manus Groups

name of fish. When a vernacular name denotes more than one species or genus, corresponding species or genus are described with priority to the identified species, and in alphabetical order of the scientific names of fish.

No.	Vernacular Name	Common Name (Scientific Name)
<b>Cartilaginous Fishes</b>		
001	peu*	Sharks (Lamniformes)
002	potoi	Shark
003	kombuluam	Shark ( <i>Stegostoma varium</i> )
004	peu paliyao	Thresher Shark ( <i>Alopias pelagicus</i> )
005	čeit	Black-tip ( <i>Carcharhinus spallanzani</i> )
006	čaku	Shark (Carcharhinidae)
007	lalau	White-tip ( <i>Triaenodon</i> sp.)
008	čupui	Hammerhead Shark ( <i>Sphyrna lewini</i> )
009	pei*	Rays (Rajiformes)
010	bulipei	Stingray ( <i>Dasyatis</i> sp.)
011	popon*	Stingray (Dasyatidae)
012	čelu*	Eagle Ray (Myliobatididae)
013	čelukarat	Eagle Ray (Myliobatididae)
014	pera	Eagle Ray ( <i>Rhinoptera javanica</i> )
<b>Bony Fishes</b>		
015	ndreini*	Shardines
016	kwal	Tarpon ( <i>Elops machnata</i> )
017	palawar	Bonefish ( <i>Albula vulpes</i> )
018	par	Gizzard Shads (Dorosomatidae)
019	malekei	Sardine-like Fish
020	mare	Round Herring ( <i>Spratelloides gracilis</i> )
021	kangar	Sardine ( <i>Sardinops melanostictus</i> )
022	kwal	Sardine ( <i>Sardinops melanostictus</i> )
023	ndreini	Herring ( <i>Herklotsichthys ovalis</i> )
024	kepai	Sardine-like Fish
025	potoi	Sea Catfish ( <i>Plotosus anguillaris</i> )
026	ases	Milkfish (mature) ( <i>Chanos chanos</i> )
027	aundras	Milkfish (mature)
028	ločilou	Milkfish (immature)
029	mwatamwat*	Sea-eel, Sea-snake (Anguilliformes)
030	pesu*	Moray Eels (Muraenidae)
031	matalul	Moray Eel ( <i>Gymnothorax</i> spp.)
032	kaniyan saul	Snake Eel ( <i>Ophichthus bonaparti</i> )

033	mwatamwatan pwalu	Starry Moray ( <i>Echidna nebulosa</i> )
034	mbuan ndrilo	Snake Eel ( <i>Ophichthus</i> sp.)
035	palamači*	Lizardfishes (Synodontidae)
036	čo*	Needlefishes (Belontiidae)
037	čo ndrili	Needlefish ( <i>Ablennes hians</i> )
038	čo kipow	Hornpike Long-Toms ( <i>Strongylura leiura leiura</i> )
039	čo kematan	Long-Toms ( <i>Tylosurus</i> spp.)
040	čo wi	Keel-Jawed Long-Toms ( <i>Thalassosteus appendiculatus</i> )
041	čaro*	Garfishes (Hemiramphidae)
042	makoi	Garfish ( <i>Hemiramphus</i> sp.)
043	kariu	Garfish ( <i>Hemiramphus</i> sp.)
044	činap	Barred Garfish ( <i>Hemiramphus commersoni</i> )
045	awi	Garfish ( <i>Hemiramphus marginatus</i> )
046	čaro	Black-Tipped Garfish ( <i>Hyporhamphus unifasciatus</i> )
047	mokou*	Flyingfishes (Exocoetidae)
048	rapokam*	Trumpetfishes (Aulostomidae), Cornetfishes (Fistulariidae)
049	karingat	Shrimpfishes (Centriscidae)
050	palakeke	Seahorses (Hippocampinae)
051	čolai*	Swordfish/Marlin (Istiophoridae/Xiphiidae)
052	nian kau*	Mullet (Mugilidae)
053	palača	Mangrove Mullet ( <i>Mugil cephalus</i> )
054	kombe	Diamond-Scale Mullet ( <i>Liza vaigiensis</i> )
055	kopati	Mullet ( <i>Liza parva</i> )
056	loilou	Troschel's Mullet ( <i>Liza macrolepis</i> )
057	kau-ou	Mullet ( <i>Liza haematocheila</i> )
058	buamwani	Warty-Lipped Mullet ( <i>Crenimugil crenilabis</i> )
059	popo*	Sea-Pike (Sphyrinae)
060	pičči	Sea-Pike ( <i>Sphyaena forsteri</i> )
061	poyou	Slender Sea-Pike ( <i>Sphyaena jello</i> )
062	al	Giant Sea-Pike ( <i>Sphyaena picuda</i> )
063	kombuluam	Common Threadfin ( <i>Polydactylus plebejus</i> )
064	palawar	Sea-Pike
065	ndrilai*	Squirrelfishes (Holocentridae)
066	mbulemela*	Soldierfish ( <i>Myripristis</i> spp.)
067	poso*	Squirrelfishes ( <i>Sargocentron</i> and <i>Flammeo</i> spp.)
068	ndrilai	Spiny Squirrelfish ( <i>Sargocentron spiniferum</i> )
069	pwendrandrai	Red Squirrelfish ( <i>Sargocentron rubrum</i> )
070	pisil*	Sweepers (Pempheridae)
071	pisil	Sweeper ( <i>Parapriacanthus ransonneti</i> )
072	solele	Sweeper ( <i>Pempheris xanthoptera</i> )
073	palit	Oualan Sweeper ( <i>Pempheris ovalensis</i> )
074	kouli	Sweeper

075	pandrondroma	Butterfish (Scatophagidae)
076	mwarāčei*	Goatfishes (Mullidae)
077	ndriakei	Golden-Banded Goatfish ( <i>Mulloidichthys flavolineatus</i> )
078	kalaet	Goatfishes ( <i>Upeneus</i> spp.)
079	kambutoniū	Goatfish ( <i>Upeneus</i> sp.)
080	kas	Goatfish ( <i>Parupeneus</i> sp.)
081	pandriankasi	Dash-and-Dot Goatfish ( <i>Parupeneus barberinus</i> )
082	mwarāčei	Yellow-Spot Goatfish ( <i>Parupeneus indicus</i> )
083	pwendrou	Bright-Saddled Goatfish ( <i>Parupeneus cyclostomus</i> )
084	reinmbup	Swarty-Headed Goatfish ( <i>Parupeneus barberinoides</i> )
085	mwini	False Whiting ( <i>Malacanthus</i> sp.)?
086	mbuapao*	Cardinalfishes (Apogonidae)
087	bučai	Cardinalfish (Apogonidae)
088	ndronču	Tripletail ( <i>Lobotes surinamensis</i> )
089	čapar	Rovers ( <i>Erythrocles</i> sp.)?
090	palit*	Bigeyes ( <i>Priacanthus</i> spp.)
091	pwemačau*	Flagtails ( <i>Kuhlia</i> spp.)
092	kaliy*	Rock-Cod (Epinephoridae)
093	apweu	Rock-Cod (Large Size ) (Epinephoridae)
094	pein	Rock-Cod (Epinephoridae)
095	kamal	Rock-Cod (Epinephoridae)
096	buangou	Red-Spotted Rock-Cod ( <i>Plectropomus leopardus</i> )
097	kekwa	Leopard-Cod ( <i>Plectropomus</i> spp.)
098	unun	Red-Spotted Rock-Cod ( <i>Plectropomus leopardus</i> )
099	pongolači	Red-Spotted Rock-Cod ( <i>Plectropomus leopardus</i> )
100	čilimokew	Rock-Cod ( <i>Plectropomus melanoleucus</i> )
101	čopot	Fair Cod ( <i>Variola louti</i> )
102	čauka	Orange Rock-Cod ( <i>Cephalopholis aurantius</i> )
103	monol	Orange Rock-Cod ( <i>Cephalopholis aurantius</i> )
104	lomei	Flag-Tailed Rock-Cod ( <i>Cephalopholis urodelus</i> )
105	ndrakel	Long-Finned Rock-Cod ( <i>Epinephelus megachir</i> )
106	ndrang	Sea Bass ( <i>Gracila polleni</i> )
107	palapokey	Honeycomb Rock-Cod ( <i>Epinephelus tauvina</i> , <i>E. merra</i> )
108	ndromon	Rock-Cod ( <i>Epinephelus tukula</i> )
109	kot	Flower Cod ( <i>Epinephelus fuscoguttatus</i> )
110	čauka	Rock Cod ( <i>Epinephelus malabaricus</i> , <i>Cromileptes altivelis</i> )
111	čepat	Nibblers ( <i>Girella</i> spp.)
112	čaposi	Ashen Drummer ( <i>Kyphosus cinerascens</i> )
113	kata	Drummer ( <i>Kyphosus</i> spp.)
114	wer	Nibblers ( <i>Girella</i> spp.)
115	čomparat*	Silver-Biddies ( <i>Gerres</i> spp.)
116	čon-ndris	Spotted Silver-Biddies ( <i>Gerres filamentosus</i> )

117	kalipaniu	Deep-Bodied Silver-Biddy ( <i>Gerres abbreviatus</i> )
118	čomparat	Majarras ( <i>Gerres oyeana</i> , <i>G. macrosoma</i> )
119	maros*	Butterfly-Breams ( <i>Nemipterus</i> spp.)
120	čilimwekew	Threadfin-Breams ( <i>Nemipterus</i> spp.)
121	čapar*	Monocle-Breams ( <i>Scolopsis</i> spp.)
122	puapitou	Monocle-Breams ( <i>Scolopsis</i> spp.)
123	čapar	Latticed-Breams ( <i>Scolopsis cancellatus</i> )
124	ndrang	Monocle-Porgies (Sparidae)
125	ndrutula	Monocle-Porgies ( <i>Acanthopagrus</i> sp.)
126	čaborat	Bream ( <i>Acanthopagrus</i> sp.)
127	kolang*	Emperors (Lethrinidae)
128	kulap*	Sea-Bream (Lethrinidae)
129	kulap	Large-Eyed Sea-Bream ( <i>Monotaxis grandoculis</i> )
130	kulap	Sea-Bream ( <i>Gymnocranius</i> spp.)
131	pau	Sea-Bream, Emperor ( <i>Gymnocranius</i> sp., <i>Lethrinus</i> sp.)
132	kasi	Long-Nosed Emperor ( <i>Lethrinus miniatus</i> )
133	ngandrus	Thread-Fin Emperor ( <i>Lethrinus nematacanthus</i> )
134	poyap	Spangled Emperor ( <i>Lethrinus nebulosus</i> )
135	čangačang	Emperor ( <i>Lethrinus</i> spp.)
136	čor	Variegata Emperor ( <i>Lethrinus variegatus</i> )
137	čilimwekeu*	Deep Sea Snappers (Lutjanidae)
138	malos	Snapper ( <i>Etelis carbunculus</i> , <i>Aphareus</i> spp.)
139	buror*	Sea-Perch ( <i>Lutjanus</i> spp.)
140	buror	Mangrove Jack ( <i>Lutjanus argentimaculatus</i> )
141	pwanenei	Sea-Perch ( <i>Lutjanus fulvus</i> )
142	ke	Two-Spot Sea-Perch ( <i>Lutjanus bohar</i> )
143	ndra	Rufous Sea-Perch ( <i>Lutjanus rufolineatus</i> ), Yellow-and-Blue Sea-Perch ( <i>Lutjanus kasmira</i> )
144	čina*	Sea-Perch ( <i>Lutjanus</i> spp.)
145	čina	One-Spot Sea-Perch ( <i>Lutjanus monostigma</i> )
146	pwa	Moses-Perch ( <i>Lutjanus russellii</i> ), Black-Spot Sea-Perch ( <i>Lutjanus fulviflamma</i> )
147	pwe	Blue-Spotted Sea-Perch (Small Size) ( <i>Lutjanus rivulatus</i> )
148	pwalimat	Blue-Spotted Sea-Perch (Large Size) ( <i>Lutjanus rivulatus</i> )
149	nindraman*	Sea-Perch (Lutjanidae)
150	penga	Red Emperor ( <i>Lutjanus sebae</i> ), Sea-Perch ( <i>L. sanguineus</i> )
151	nindraman	Paddle-Tail ( <i>Lutjanus gibbus</i> )
152	rou*	Fusilier ( <i>Caesio</i> spp.)
153	kamot*	Sweet Lips (Pomadasyidae)
154	čapolat	Common Javelinfinch ( <i>Pomadasyus hasta</i> )
155	ngučungučī	Sweet Lip ( <i>Plectorhynchus</i> spp.)
156	kamot	Sweet Lip ( <i>Plectorhynchus nigrus</i> )



157	loloi	Sweet Lip ( <i>Plectorhynchus</i> spp.)
158	ndrati	Drummer ( <i>Plectorhynchus</i> spp.)
159	buniu	Drummer ( <i>Plectorhynchus</i> spp.)
160	ndrutula	Terapon-Perch (Teraponidae)
161	ndrowal	Crescent-Perch ( <i>Terapon jarbua</i> )
162	čondra	Morwongs ( <i>Goniistius</i> spp.)
163	kanankalamat	Silver Pomfrets ( <i>Pampus argenteus</i> )?
164	atul*	Scad ( <i>Pampus</i> spp., <i>Decapterus</i> spp.)
165	pwasi	Scad ( <i>Trachurus</i> spp.)
166	atul paliyao	Scad ( <i>Decapterus</i> spp.)
167	atul	Purse-Eyed Scad ( <i>Selar crumenophthalmus</i> )
168	mwaleu	Scad ( <i>Decapterus</i> spp.)
169	kailou*	Jacks and Trevally (Carangidae)
170	tut	Lowly Trevally ( <i>Caranx ignobilis</i> )
171	pulen kailou*	Trevally (Small Size) (Carangidae)
172	ndramalau	Bluefin Trevally ( <i>Caranx melampygus</i> )
173	pwīčilow	Jacks ( <i>Caranx lugubris</i> , <i>Carangoides</i> sp.)
174	ndrembul	Pennantfish ( <i>Alectis ciliaris</i> )
175	wut	Trevally ( <i>Carangoides</i> sp., <i>Gnathanodon</i> sp.)
176	ndrapal	Trevally ( <i>Carangoides</i> sp., <i>Caranx</i> sp.)
177	palamandra	Trevally ( <i>Uraspis helvola</i> )
178	kalumat	Swallowtail ( <i>Trachinotus</i> sp.)
179	kamei	Rainbow Runner ( <i>Elagatis bipinnulata</i> )
180	pataken	Trevally ( <i>Caranx</i> sp.)
181	bulawas	Trevally ( <i>Caranx</i> sp.)
182	momot	Gold-Spotted Trevally ( <i>Carangoides fulvoguttatus</i> )
183	las	Skinnyfish ( <i>Scomberoides lysan</i> )
184	we	Dolphinfish ( <i>Coryphaena hippurus</i> )
185	pwīčilou*	Pony Fishes ( <i>Leiognathus</i> spp.)
186	mwini	Cobias ( <i>Rachycentron canadum</i> )
187	paliyao*	Tuna and Skipjacks (Thunnidae)
188	ndrou	Tuna ( <i>Thunnus</i> spp.)
189	kaot	Skipjack Tuna ( <i>Auxis thazard</i> , <i>Sarda orientalis</i> )
190	paliyao	Skipjack Tuna ( <i>Euthynnus affinis</i> )
191	tarou	Skipjack ( <i>Katsuwonus pelamis</i> )
192	kohoi	Tuna (50 cm) ( <i>Gymnosarda unicolor</i> )
193	mwalat	Tuna (100 cm) ( <i>Gymnosarda unicolor</i> )
194	kesau	Mackerel ( <i>Scomber</i> sp.)
195	omau	Mackerel Scad ( <i>Rastrelliger kanagurta</i> )
196	niamat	Shark-Mackerel ( <i>Grammatocynus bilineatus</i> )
197	tangini	Spanish-Mackerel ( <i>Scomberomorus niphonius</i> )
198	yau	Barred Spanish-Mackerel ( <i>Scomberomorus commerson</i> )

199	mamao	Jack-Mackerel ( <i>Acanthocybium solandri</i> )
200	kuliakei	Pomfret ( <i>Taractichthys steindachneri</i> )
201	landro	Hairtail ( <i>Trichiurus</i> sp.)
202	pangae	Hairtail ( <i>Trichiurus</i> sp.)
203	tukulup*	Sandperches (Mugiloididae)
204	kapulepele*	Blennies, Gobbies (Blennioidei, Gobioidei)
205	kena	Sand Divers (Trichonotidae)
206	pondrongōi	Archerfish ( <i>Toxotes jaculator</i> )
207	ninia mači*	Anemonefish ( <i>Amphiprion</i> spp.)
208	pwačči*	Damselfishes (Chrominae)
209	kapawewei	Damselfishes ( <i>Abudefduf</i> spp.)
210	pwelei*	Wrasse (Labridae)
211	pisies	Yellow-Cheeked Tuskfish ( <i>Choerodon anchorago</i> )
212	ndrang	Wrasse ( <i>Bodianus</i> spp.)
213	kalowin	Green-Blocked Wrasse ( <i>Thalassoma fuscum</i> )
214	pal	Thick-Lipped Wrasse ( <i>Hemigymnus melapterus</i> )
215	čaju	Wrasse ( <i>Hemipteronotus</i> sp.)
216	papalat*	Wrasse ( <i>Cheilinus</i> spp.)
217	papalat	Triple-Tail Maori-Wrasse (Small Size) ( <i>Cheilinus trilobatus</i> )
218	papuniu	Triple-Tail Maori-Wrasse (Medium Size) ( <i>Cheilinus trilobatus</i> )
219	loubulai	Triple-Tail Maori-Wrasse (Large Size) ( <i>Cheilinus trilobatus</i> )
220	mam	Double-Headed Maori-Wrasse ( <i>Cheilinus undulatus</i> )
221	ula*	Parrotfish ( <i>Scaridae</i> )
222	pwatao	Black-Veined Red Parrotfish ( <i>Scarus rubroviolaceus</i> ♀)
223	pwatao	Black-Veined Red Parrotfish ( <i>Scarus rubroviolaceus</i> ♂)
224	kamatu	Double-Headed Parrotfish ( <i>Bolbometopon muricatum</i> )
225	čalakei	Parrotfish ( <i>Bolbometopon bicolor</i> )
226	karen	Parrotfish ( <i>Scarus ovifrons</i> ♂)
227	malo	Parrotfish ( <i>Scarus ovifrons</i> ♂) (Young Adult)
228	ula	Long-Nosed Parrotfish ( <i>Scarus harid</i> )
229	nalubwis	Parrotfish ( <i>Scarus gibbus</i> , <i>Scarus lunula</i> )
230	pwatao	Five-Banded Parrotfish ( <i>Scarus venosus</i> ), Green-Finned Parrotfish ( <i>Scarus sordidus</i> )
231	patambut	Parrotfish ( <i>Scarus</i> spp.)
232	arau	Yellow-Barred Parrotfish ( <i>Scarus oviceps</i> )
233	ndromaleči	Parrotfish ( <i>Scarus scaber</i> )
234	malalang	Blue-Barred Orange Parrotfish ( <i>Scarus ghobban</i> )
235	lonke	Parrotfish ( <i>Scarus</i> spp.)
236	čiam	Parrotfish ( <i>Calotomus</i> spp.)
237	kuel	Blue-Speckled Parrotfish ( <i>Leptoscarus vaigiensis</i> )
238	robou*	Narrow-Banded Batfish ( <i>Platax orbicularis</i> )
239	pwopwelou*	Coralfish ( <i>Chaetodon</i> and <i>Pomacanthus</i> spp.)

240	pwenur*	Angelfishes ( <i>Genicanthus</i> spp.)
241	pwepwelou*	Coralfish (Chaetodontidae)
242	čumpow*	Moorish idol ( <i>Heniochus</i> spp.)
243	papai*	Surgeonfish (Acanthuridae)
244	ndronkel*	Surgeonfish ( <i>Naso</i> spp.)
245	montu	White-Cheeked Surgeonfish ( <i>Acanthurus glaucopareius</i> )
246	čapan	Spot-Cheeked Surgeonfish ( <i>Acanthurus nigrofuscus</i> )
247	kalombuow	Convict Surgeonfish ( <i>Acanthurus triostegus</i> )
248	papai	Surgeonfishes ( <i>Acanthurus</i> spp.)
249	ku	Blue-Lined Surgeonfish ( <i>Acanthurus lineatus</i> )
250	kombun-ndron	Orange-Epaulette Surgeonfish ( <i>Acanthurus olivaceus</i> )
251	par	Tang ( <i>Zebrasoma</i> spp.)
252	kalong	Orange-Dotted Hair-Toothed Surgeonfish ( <i>Ctenochaetus striatus</i> )
253	mwanoi	Long-Snouted Unicornfish ( <i>Naso unicornis</i> ), Short-Snouted Unicornfish ( <i>Naso brevirostris</i> )
254	čamel	Poll Unicornfish ( <i>Naso lituratus</i> )
255	čačai	Surgeonfish ( <i>Axinurus</i> spp.)
256	pačal*	Spinefoot (Siganidae)
257	mumuat	Blue-Linned Spinefoot ( <i>Siganus puellus</i> )
258	kwapat	Ocellated Orange Spinefoot ( <i>Siganus corallinus</i> ), Pearl-Spotted Spinefoot ( <i>Siganus oramin</i> )
259	nakau	Spinefoot ( <i>Siganus virgatus</i> )
260	pačal	Fuscous Spinefoot ( <i>Siganus fuscescens</i> )
261	pamumučo	Fuscous Spinefoot (Young Stage) ( <i>Siganus fuscescens</i> )
262	mwiči	Black Trevally ( <i>Siganus spinus</i> )
263	kwa	Gold-Spotted Spinefoot ( <i>Siganus chrysopilos</i> )
264	mwilou	Rabbit-Faced Spinefoot ( <i>Siganus rostratus</i> )
265	mwasai	Golden Spinefoot ( <i>Siganus guttatus</i> )
266	numwat	Pencil-Streaked Spinefoot ( <i>Siganus doliatus</i> )
267	času	Spinefoot ( <i>Siganus vulpinus</i> )
268	mbupw*	Triggerfish (Balistidae)
269	bumbulou	White-Tailed Triggerfish ( <i>Melichthys vidua</i> )
270	kawa	Triggerfish ( <i>Sufflamen fraenatus</i> , <i>Pseudobalistes</i> spp.)
271	polus	Yellow-Blotched Triggerfish ( <i>Balistoides conspicillum</i> )
272	kaliorop	Brown Triggerfish ( <i>Pseudobalistes fuscus</i> ), Triggerfish ( <i>Xanthichthys</i> spp., <i>Canthidermis</i> sp.)
273	pwalus	Triggerfish ( <i>Rhinecanthus</i> spp.)
274	mbupw pwalus	White-Barred Triggerfish ( <i>Rhinecanthus aculeatus</i> )
275	pokulu-ulu*	Filefishes (Aluteridae)
276	burui	Black-Saddled Leatherjacket ( <i>Paraluteres prionurus</i> )
277	kom	Boxfish ( <i>Ostracion</i> and <i>Lactoria</i> spp.)

278	mbuli*	Puffers
279	čangini	Pufferfish ( <i>Arotron hispidus</i> )
280	poto-poto	Porcupinefishes ( <i>Diodon</i> spp.)
281	lal*	Lionfish ( <i>Pterois</i> spp.)
282	mačarop*	Stonefish (Synanceiidae)
283	no	Stonefish (Synanceiidae)
284	lapa	Flatheads (Platycephalidae)
285	čaku	Flathead (Platycephalidae)
286	tekulup	Flathead (Platycephalidae)
287	monol	Left Eye Flounders (Paralichthyidae)
288	pe monol	Right Eye Flounders (Pleuronectidae)
289	kambulunbulun	Remoras (Echeneidae)

## DISCUSSION

Using the data of the fish names of the Manus, some comparative considerations will be made. Of approximately 300 entries of fish names some vocabularies have cognates with those spoken by the other groups in Manus while others are quite distinct from each other and have no similarities between them. For examining these, fish names of M'bunai of the Manus were compared with those of Pančal, Lenkau, Lou and Nali. Location of these five sample areas are shown in Figure 6.

Whether individual fish names are shared commonly among five selected groups or not differs from fish to fish, and between the areas, but usually the fish names can be sorted into several divisions. Here, four groups (Group A to Group D) are elicited for the analysis (Table 1 to 4).

In parenthesis, the arrangement is in the order of M'bunai, Pančal,

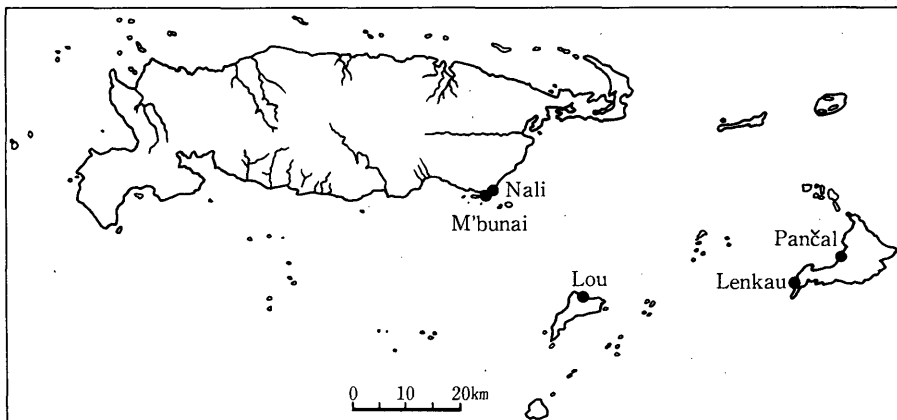


Figure 6. Location of Five Study Villages

**Table 1.** Cognates of Manus Fish Names Shared by the Other Groups

Fish Names	Manus	Matankor		Usiai	Matankor
	M'bunai	Pančal	Lenkau	Nali	Lou
<i>Group A</i>					
I) Manus = Matankor = Usiai					
Stingray (Rajiformes)	<i>pei</i>	<i>pwi</i>	<i>pei</i>	<i>pei</i>	<i>pe</i>
Rainbow Runner ( <i>Elagatis bipinnulata</i> )	<i>kamei</i>	<i>kawai</i>	<i>kemem</i>	<i>kemei</i>	—
Tunas and Bonito (Thunnidae)	<i>paliyau</i>	<i>paliyao</i>	<i>paliyao</i>	<i>paliyao</i>	<i>peliya</i>
Wahoo ( <i>Scomberomorus niphonius</i> )	<i>tangini</i>	<i>tangini</i>	<i>tangini</i>	—	<i>tangini</i>
Damsel fish (Pomacentridae)	<i>pwačči</i>	<i>poči</i>	<i>pos</i>	<i>pwas</i>	<i>pos</i>
Niphonius Batfish (Platacidae)	<i>ropou</i>	<i>lobou</i>	<i>lobou</i>	<i>lobou</i>	—
Halfbeak (Hemiramphidae)	<i>činap</i>	<i>panap</i>	<i>panap</i>	<i>pana</i>	<i>panap</i>
Long-Snouted Unicornfish ( <i>Naso unicornis</i> )	<i>mwanoi</i>	<i>manoi</i>	<i>manoi</i>	<i>manoi</i>	<i>mone</i>
Paddle-Tail ( <i>Lutjanus gibbus</i> )	<i>kalamet</i>	<i>met</i>	<i>med</i>	<i>met</i>	<i>kurmit</i>
Blue-Speckled Parrotfish ( <i>Leptoscarus vaigiensis</i> )	<i>kwel</i>	<i>kwil</i>	<i>kuwel</i>	<i>kuwei</i>	—
Rabbit-Faced Spinefoot ( <i>Siganus rostratus</i> )	<i>mwilou</i>	—	<i>mulow</i>	<i>mwilou</i>	—
Moray Eel (Muraenidae)	<i>pes</i>	—	<i>pes</i>	<i>pwesi</i>	<i>palngin</i>
-----					
Flyingfish (Exocoetidae)	<i>mokou</i>	—	<i>mokow</i>	<i>mokou</i>	<i>mokou</i>
Rock-Cod (Epinephoridae) <sup>1)</sup>	<i>kaliy</i>	<i>kot</i>	<i>keli</i>	<i>kaliyi</i>	<i>keli</i> <sup>1)</sup>
Shark (Lamniformes)	<i>peu</i>	<i>paheu</i>	<i>pelesam</i>	<i>peu</i>	<i>pelesam</i>
Goatfish (Mullidae) <sup>2)</sup>	<i>mwarāčei</i>	<i>kouči</i>	<i>mwasei</i>	<i>mwalasei</i>	<i>marse</i>
Drummer (Kyphosidae)	<i>makao</i>	<i>makau</i>	<i>milmil</i>	<i>makao</i>	<i>mulmul</i>
Emperor (Lethrinidae)	<i>kolang</i>	<i>ribul</i>	<i>kulom</i>	<i>kolan</i>	<i>kolan</i> <sup>2)</sup>
Porcupinefish (Diodontidae)	<i>mbulipotopot</i>	<i>puničimil</i>	<i>kulipotopot</i>	<i>mbuli</i>	—
Spiny Squirrelfish ( <i>Sargocentron spiniferum</i> )	<i>dilai</i>	—	<i>dilai</i>	—	—

<sup>1)</sup> *Aethaloperca rogae*: *kelipot* in Lou

<sup>2)</sup> *Monotaxis grandoculis*: *kulom* in Lou

Lenkau, Nali, and Lou. /—/ shows that it is unknown or no data. Group A is composed of words that are used extensively among the five groups, regardless of ecological and social differences. Fish names included are found at the generic and specific levels. Stingray (*pei/pwi/pei/pei/pe*), wahoo (*tangini/tangini/tangini/—/tangini*) and flyingfish (*mokou/—/mokow/mokou/mokou*) which originate evidently in Proto-Austronesian (*\*paRi* and *\*tangiRi*) and in Proto-Oceanian (*\*mangaR*) [SAKIYAMA 1987] respectively, rock-cod (*kaliy/kot/keli/kaliyi/keli*), which derives quite probably from PAN (*\*kurapu*), tunas and bonitos (*paliyau/paliyao/paliyao/paliyao/peliya*), damselfish (*pwačči/poči/pos/pwas/pos*), and batfish (*ropou/lobou/lobou/lobou/—*) are the former cases, whereas paddle-tail (*Lutjanus gibbus*) (*kalamet/met/med/met/kurmit*), M'bunai and Lou forms being possibly compound, and long-snouted unicornfish (*Naso unicornis*) (*mwanoi/manoi/manoi/*

**Table 2.** Cognates of Manus Fish Names Shared by the Other Groups

Fish Names	Manus	Matankor		Usiai	Matankor
	M'bunai	Pančal	Lenkau	Nali	Lou
<i>Group B</i>					
IV) Manus=Usiai/Matankor					
Needlefish (Belonidae)	čo	ču	selien	so	seliyung
Double-Headed Maori Wrasse ( <i>Cheilinus undulatus</i> )	mam	pwengungus	muihil	mam	mem
Sweet Lips ( <i>Plectorhynchus</i> spp.)	ndrati	leu	lou	ndrati	lo
Sweet Lips ( <i>Plectorhynchus</i> spp.)	ngučinguči	kumut	kumut	komwei <sup>1)</sup>	kumut
Perch ( <i>Terapon</i> spp.)	ndrawal	čamičam	samhi	ndrowai	suweri
Parrotfish (Scaridae)	ula	puliyep	ulep	ula	poleyep
Golden Spinefoot ( <i>Siganus guttatus</i> )	mwasai	kula	kuhak	mwasai	—
Triggerfish (Balistidae)	mbupw	pulot	pulot	mbup	purot
Leatherjacket (Aluteridae)	mbuli	pahao	hao	mbuli	—
Puffer (Lagocephalidae)	mbuli	pangei	pwangei	mbuli	pwili
Lionfish ( <i>Pterois</i> spp.)	lal	pancup	pansop	lai	rol
Barracuda (Sphyraenidae)	pičči	kul <sup>2)</sup>	kol	sul/pit	kol
Golden-Banded Goatfish ( <i>Mulloidichthys flavolineatus</i> )	ndriakei	—	—	ndriakei	—
Yellowfin Tuna ( <i>Thunnus albacares</i> )	ndrau	—	—	ndrou	lou
Tuskfish ( <i>Choerodon</i> sp.)	pisies	—	—	pusios	—
Milkfish ( <i>Chanos chanos</i> )	ases	—	—	asis	—
Double-Headed Parrotfish ( <i>Bolbometopon muricatum</i> )	kamatu	—	—	kamatu	komoru

<sup>1)</sup> There is also *ngusup* in Nali.<sup>2)</sup> *Kul* and *kol* come from Proto-Malayo-Polynesian \**qalu* [BLUST 1980].

*manoi/mone*) are the latter. The remaining examples also show the clear correspondence between M'bunai, Matankor and Nali.

There is, however, a discrepancy between the two Matankor groups in terms of fish nomenclature. For instance, goatfish is termed *mwasei* in Lenkau, which is also understood among other groups of Manus and Nali, while in Pančal it is *paliyao*. Other example are emperor, flyingfish, drummer, and rock-cod.

Group B is shared both by Manus and Nali, but not with Matankor (Lou will be discussed later). Fish included in this category are needlefish (*čo/ču/selien/so*), double-headed Maori wrasse (*mam/pwengungus/muihil/mam*), parrotfish (*ula/puliyap/ulep/ula*), triggerfish (*mbupw/pulot/pulot/mbup*), sweet lips (*ndrati/leu/lou/ndrati*), lionfish (*lal/pančup/pansop/lai*), and so forth. *Mbuli* provides interesting examples. Leatherjackets are termed *mbuli* both in Manus and Nali while it is called *pahao* or *hao* in Matankor. Porcupinefish is also termed *mbuli* (Manus and Nali), but it is *puničimil* (Pančal) and *kulipolopot* (Lenkau). Similarly, *mbuli* also denotes puffers in Manus and

**Table 3.** Cognates of Manus Fish Names Shared by the Other Groups

Fish Names	Manus	Matankor		Usiai	Matankor
	M'bunai	Pančal	Lenkau	Nali	Lou
<i>Group C</i>					
V) Manus=Matankor/Usiai					
Boxfish (Tetraodontiformes)	<i>kom</i>	<i>kong</i>	<i>kong</i>	<i>paingis</i>	<i>kung</i>
Moray Eel (Muraenidae)	<i>mwatamwat</i>	<i>mamat</i>	—	—	—
Sea-Perch ( <i>Lutjanus</i> spp.)	<i>ke</i>	<i>kip</i>	<i>kep</i>	—	<i>kip</i>
Dolphinfish ( <i>Coryphaena hippurus</i> )	<i>we</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>we</i>	—	—
Moorish Idol ( <i>Zanclus cornutus</i> )	<i>čumbou</i>	<i>čunhembu</i>	<i>suhimbou</i>	—	<i>simbu</i>
Squirrelfish (Holocentridae)	<i>poso</i>	<i>kululu</i>	<i>poso</i>	<i>kulun</i>	<i>kurur</i>
Anemonefish (Amphiprionidae)	<i>ninia mači</i>	—	<i>nian mas</i>	—	<i>nian perit</i>
Gold-Spotted Spinefoot ( <i>Siganus chrysopilos</i> )	<i>kuapat</i>	—	<i>kohopet</i>	—	—

**Table 4.** Cognates of Manus Fish Names Shared by the Other Groups

Fish Names	Manus	Matankor		Usiai	Matankor
	M'bunai	Pančal	Lenkau	Nali	Lou
<i>Group D</i>					
VI) Manus/Matankor=Usiai					
Coralfish (Chaetodontidae)	<i>pwopelou</i>	<i>pwep</i>	<i>pwem</i>	<i>pep</i>	<i>pwim</i>
Fusilier ( <i>Caesio</i> spp.)	<i>lou</i>	<i>hop</i>	<i>hop</i>	—	<i>rop</i>
Rabbitfish ( <i>Siganus</i> spp.)	<i>pačal</i>	<i>pie</i>	<i>pie</i>	—	<i>posowe</i>
Flathead (Platycephalidae)	<i>lapa</i>	<i>malan-buhai</i>	<i>malan-puai</i>	<i>kalan-mbui</i>	<i>lavak</i>
Wrasse ( <i>Hemipteronotus</i> spp.)	<i>čou</i>	<i>niyan dran</i>	<i>nian dan</i>	—	<i>soup</i>
VII) Miscellaneous					
Sea Perch ( <i>Lutjanus</i> spp.)	<i>ndra</i>	<i>dak</i>	<i>dak</i>	<i>koran</i>	—
Blenny (Blenniidae)	<i>kena</i>	<i>kojilip</i>	<i>kekenap</i>	<i>pakose</i>	—
Mullet (Mugillidae)	<i>niankou</i>	<i>kunhal</i>	<i>kuluha</i>	<i>konbe</i>	<i>kanas</i>
Scad ( <i>Decapterus</i> spp.)	<i>atul</i>	—	<i>korul</i>	—	—
Trevally (Carangidae)	<i>kailou</i>	<i>tatalol</i>	<i>heliam</i>	<i>kahayu</i>	<i>parakin</i>
Surgeonfish (Acanthuridae)	<i>papae</i>	<i>kahel</i>	<i>kehel</i>	<i>sapang</i>	<i>samer</i>
Triggerfish ( <i>Sufflamen fraenatus</i> )	<i>kawa</i>	—	<i>pohot</i>	<i>kun</i>	—
Stonefish (Synanceiidae)	<i>no</i>	<i>sosopan</i>	<i>makolkol</i>	<i>sandro</i>	—

Nali whereas in Matankor it is termed *pangei* or *pwangei*. Thus, puffer-like fish are distinguished between Manus and Nali groups, and two Matankor groups. Exceptionally, it is supposed that Nali use both *kol* and *pit* for barracuda, which are cognates of the Manus (*pičči*) and Matankor (*kul* and *kol*), respectively. Also, sweet lips are termed as *komwet* and *ngusup* in Nali where in Manus they are *ngučinguči* and in Matankor *kumut*.

In spite of the small samples, the peculiar correspondences of fish names between Manus and Nali, and the distinction between Manus/Nali and Matankor require a brief discussion. Possible reasons why inland agriculturalists can use the Manus fish names are virtually related to the tribal relations between the two groups. It is interesting to note the statements of Nali saying, "We follow the Manus in the fish that we eat." As suggested from this, Nali people had no access to the seas and were quite ignorant about marine fish. On the other hand, Manus (in this case, M'bunai Titan) and Nali used to engage in economic barter trades along small riversides of the south coast of Manus. Major exchange items of the Manus were fish, turtles, and sea algae whereas Nali traded sago and taro for fish. Exchange rates, according to our study, were well-defined, depending on the size and kind of fish. For instance, five small emperor fish or *kolang* (*Lethrinus* spp.) of about 20 cm length were worth a bag of sago flour of 1 kg. Ten small taros were worth five emperor fish of 30 cm. This exchange value may have created an accumulation of knowledge as to fish and fish names for the inland dwellers. After the Paliau movements during the post-war periods, these two groups came to co-reside along the coast [SCHWARTZ 1962]. This historical event definitely has caused the Nali to obtain knowledge on fish names, directly from the maritime neighbors in the same village area. Thus, word borrowing through economic barter may have contributed to characterising Group B. Other examples such as goatfish, yellowfin tuna, and parrotfish have no vocabularies of the Matankor as counterparts, but apparently the Manus and Nali share cognates.

Group C comprises those that are shared by both Manus and Matankor, but not with Nali. This includes, boxfish (*kom/kong/kong/paingis*), sea perch (*ke/kip/kep/—*) and dolphinfish. Squirrelfish is termed *poso* by both Manus and Lenkau while in Pančal and Nali it is *kululu* or *kulun*. Other instances are not many and are insufficient for drawing meaningful conclusions.

As to Lou, it is noticed that the categorizations in Group B and Group C are characteristic. Double-headed Maori wrasse, puffer, lionfish and yellowfin tuna are the former cases whereas squirrelfish and anemonefish are the latter. One of the reasons why the bifurcation occurred in Lou is presumably that the Lou people engaged in intermediary barter trades with Nali and another Matankor peoples. In the Lapita network in the Bismarck Archipelago, Lou as an obsidian source is tied to the Manus and adjacent islands: e.g. Mussau and Tuam [HUNT 1988: 145–149]. But it is noteworthy that Lou shares several cognates with Lenkau alone. Some examples follow: shark (*pelesam/pelesam*), needlefish (*seliyung/selien*), drummer (*mulmul/milmil*).

Group D and miscellaneous instances have also no implications, and both economically important and non-commercial fish species are included in these categories.

As is well-known, fish occupy different ecological niches such as coral



habitats, sea-grass beds, mangrove muddy swamps, and open seas. How such an ecological diversity may contribute to differences in fish names is not a simple matter for consideration. However, as inter-group relations between M'bunai and Nali show, fish names are surely borrowed from fisher-folks by agriculturalists.

Tunas and bonitos, which are prized most in Manus cultures have the highest economical significance. Even now at the Lorengau market, the main town of the whole Province, smoked skipjacks are highly esteemed by the urban dwellers and one costs five kinas (about six US dollars). The name of *paliyao* is common and famous in Manus and its name is even adopted as person's names.

Extensive distribution of *Zostera* sea-grass beds along the coasts of Manus suggests abundance of grazers in these sea areas. Use of *kuweli* for *Cetoscarus vaigiensis*, and *mwilou* for *Siganus rostratus*, are identical among three or four groups investigated and the use may be related to this ecological feature. Halfbeaks may also be a member of this group (see Group A). Paddle-tail (*Lutjanus gibbus*) is known to cause ciguatera poisoning widely in the Pacific, and it may also be suggested that this fish is known for its poisonous nature. Yet, other ciguatera-borne fish such as surgeonfish, trevally and barracuda are not included in this category. On the contrary, even those that are not economically important and tiny inedible fish such as damselfish and anemonefish are included among this group. Here also, coralfish may be involved in group A.

From comparisons described above, a few factors can be elicited to explain the diversity and similarities of fish names among five groups in the Manus. One is the environmental characteristics of the region where extensive coral habitats provide not only a diversity of ecological niche for the fish, but also an abundance of particular fish species.

Economic trading between Manus and Nali, sometimes between Manus and Matankor, and also between Nali and Matankor has great significance in adopting fish names by agriculturalists. Such a kind of economic exchange seems to be quite common in other parts of the Pacific and hence there is a need to study comparatively the use of fish names of both agriculturalists and their maritime partners.

Beyond group relations within the Manus, there appear more implications regarding the comparison of fish names. As in shown in Table 5, some fish names may have cognates with the Micronesian languages. Concerning names of barracuda, triggerfish and flyingfish, it has been proposed that these have cognatic relations between languages of New Guinea and Micronesia [SAKIYAMA 1987]

Using Akimichi's data from Satawal Island in the Central Carolines and Palau and Yap Islands in the Western Carolines where he conducted researches in 1980-81 and in 1978, respectively, we present further evidence. These are shark (*peu/pááw*), stingray (*pei/fayi*), rock-cod (*kaliy/yániy*), double-headed

Table 5. Cognates of Fish Names Shared by the Manus and the Micronesians

Fish Names	Manus	Satawal <sup>1)</sup>	Tobi <sup>2)</sup>	Yap <sup>3)</sup>	Palau <sup>4)</sup>
Shark (Lamniformes)	<i>peu</i>	<i>pááw</i>	<i>pogow</i>		
Stingray (Rajiformes)	<i>pei/pwi</i>	<i>fayi</i>	<i>fayiya</i>		
Halfbeak (Hemiramphidae)	<i>činap/panap</i>	<i>fena</i>			
Flyingfish (Exocoetidae)	<i>mokou/mokow</i>	<i>mengar</i>	<i>mangag</i>		
Rock-Cod (Epinephelidae)	<i>kaliy/keli</i>	<i>yániy</i>			
Triggerfish (Balistidae)	<i>mbupw</i>	<i>pwuupw</i>	<i>bub</i>	<i>wuuq</i>	<i>beab</i>
Lionfish (Pteroinae)	<i>lal</i>	<i>nariiné</i>		<i>laar</i>	
Stonefish (Synanceiidae)	<i>no</i>	<i>noow</i>		<i>nōw</i>	
Double-Headed Parrotfish ( <i>Bolbometopon muricatum</i> )	<i>kamatu</i>			<i>gamäygu</i>	<i>kemedukl</i>
Double-Headed Maori Wrasse ( <i>Cheilinus undulatus</i> )	<i>mam</i>	<i>máám</i>	<i>mam</i>		<i>maml</i>
Golden Spinefoot ( <i>Siganus guttatus</i> )	<i>mwasai</i>				<i>meas</i> <sup>5)</sup>
Needlefish (Belonidae)	<i>čo/cu</i>			<i>suup</i>	

<sup>1)</sup> See [AKIMICHI and SAUCHOMAL 1980]

<sup>2)</sup> See [JOHANNES 1981; QUACKENBUSH 1968]

<sup>3)</sup> See [JENSEN 1977]

<sup>4)</sup> See [JOSEPHS 1990]

<sup>5)</sup> *Meosra* in Kusaiean is a cognate.

Maori wrasse (*mam/máám*), double-headed parrotfish (*kamatu/gamäygu/kemedukl*), halfbeaks (*činap=panap/fena*), a kind of parrotfish (*ula/wurha*), lionfish (*lal/nariiné/laar*), stonefish (*no/noow/nōw*), and possibly needlefish (*čo/cu/suup*). (Parenthesis is in order of languages of Manus, Satawal, Yap and Palau). On the other hand, *las* or whitefish (*Chorinemus* spp.) may also have cognates with languages in Port Moresby and Halmahera of eastern Indonesia. In Port Moresby an Austronesian people, Motu who lives in houses on piles uses *ladi* for these fish [MUNRO 1967: 232–233] whereas in the Galela of northern Halmahela it is *lasi* [OGO 1980: 203–246]. And this *lasi* is also shared among the Lau fishermen of north Malaita, Solomon Islands [AKIMICHI 1991]. Possible explanations concerning these must be considered in more detail in the future.

Overall, it is advantageous to examine Manus fish names due to their ecological and historical implications. Perspectives that the present study provides may enhance regional interests in northern Melanesia, Micronesia and Indonesia.

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## マヌスの魚名

秋道智彌・崎山 理

パプアニューギニアのアドミラルティ諸島マヌス島周辺に居住するマヌス族は、その生活を漁撈と交易活動に大きく依存した漁撈民である。人びとが海洋生物に関してはぐんできた知識や慣習は、詳細かつ多岐にわたっている。本論では、マヌス族によって使用されている魚名に関する調査資料の分析をおこなう。採集した魚名数は約300に達するが、これまでに採集したマヌス族に隣接して居住する他の半農半漁民やマヌス島本島の農耕民のもちいる魚名の資料とも比較し、分析を試みた。現地調査は、1984(崎山)、1987、1988(秋道)年に実施された。

漁撈民(ブナイ村)、半農半漁民(バンチャル村、レンカウ村、ロウ島)、農耕民(ナリ族)とのあいだで魚名を比較することにより、同族語に関して4つの類型を見出すことができた。すなわち、マヌス地域全体で共有される魚名(グループA)、漁撈民と農耕民とが共有するが、半農半漁民とは異なる場合(グループB)、漁撈民と半農半漁民とが共有するが、農耕民とは異なる場合(グループC)、そして漁撈民の使用する魚名が、半農半漁民と農耕民によって共有される魚名と異なる場合(グループD)の4類型にまとめることができる。魚名にみられるこのような言語的類型は、漁撈民、半農半漁民、農耕民という三集団間における社会経済的な交易関係やその地域性を明瞭に示すものである。さらに、マヌスの魚名のうち、サメ、エイ、サヨリ、トビウオ、ハタ、モンガラカワハギ、ミノカサゴ、ダツ、カンムリブダイなどをあらかず魚名は、あきらかにミクロネシアの諸言語(カロリン諸島語、パラオ語、ヤップ語)などと共通し、今後、ミクロネシアとメラネシアの文化的な交流関係を再検討するうえでも注目すべきである。