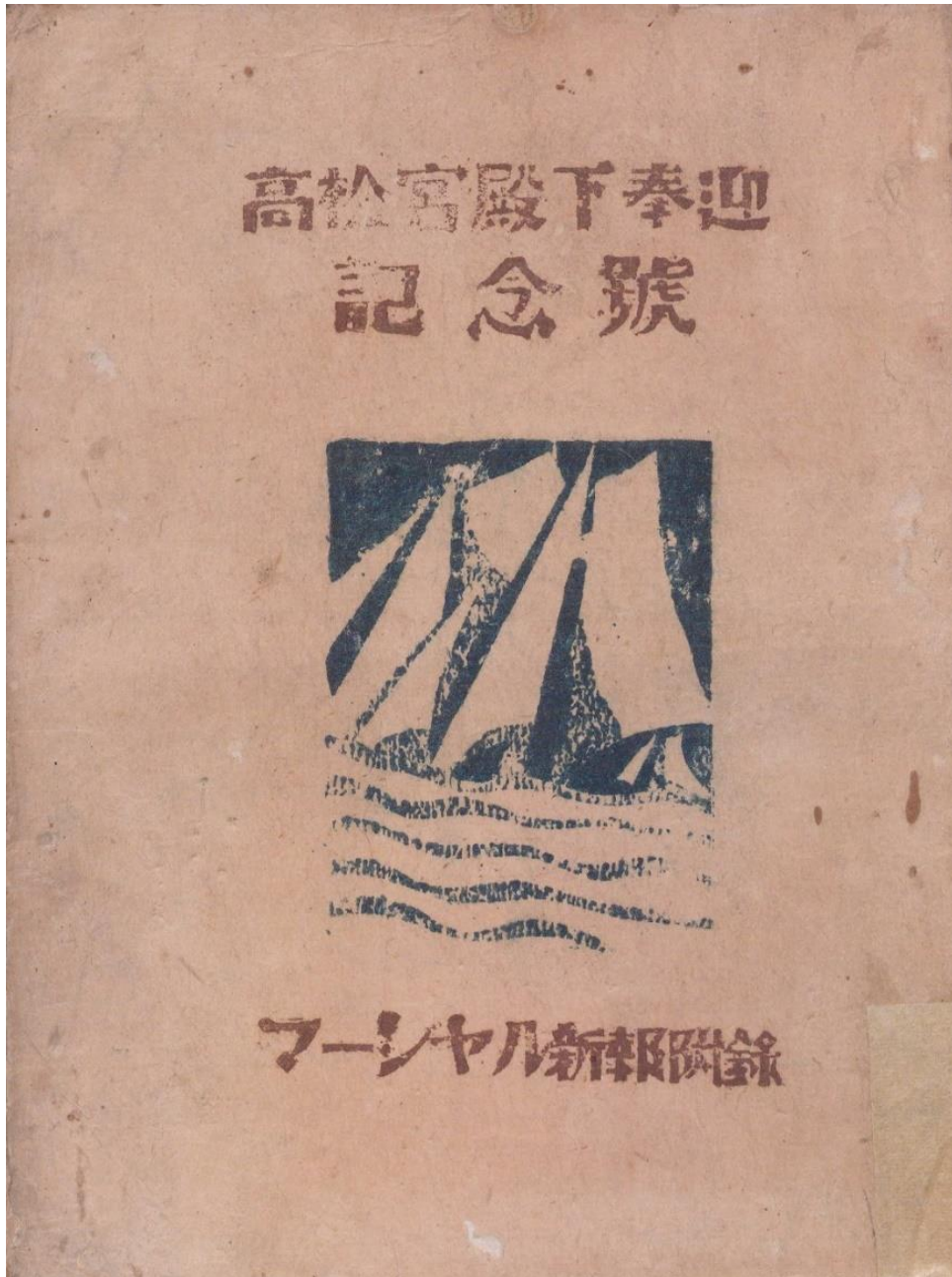


Translation of  
“Ethnography of the Marshall Islands”  
(Isao Isoda, 1928)



Takuya Nagaoka, Ph.D.  
NGO Pasifika Renaissance

2022

## Translator's Introduction

The original Japanese article (Isoda 1928) was translated for Ola Gunhildrud Berta (PhD Research Fellow, Department of Social Anthropology, University of Oslo, Norway) with funding from The Ryoichi Sasakawa Young Leaders Fellowship Fund (Sylff) Program. Ola would like to thank Stuart Dawrs at the Pacific Collection, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, for his help in locating it. The article was prepared by Isao Isoda (1898-1944?), a Japanese doctor for the South Sea Government, to briefly sketch traditional Marshallese culture for the visiting Japanese Prince Takamatsu in 1928.

Isoda graduated from Chiba Medical College in May, 1922 and was hired by the South Sea Government in June in the same year. Since then, he worked as a doctor for the South Sea Bureau until the early 1940s. He probably worked at the Jaluit Hospital in the late 1920s and in the early 1930s and worked at other governmental hospitals in the region. He seems to have had a keen interest in Marshallese culture, as he wrote another article "The position of Marshallese Islanders in the culture history" (Isoda 1929), in addition to an article in his medical field (Isoda 1934). He worked at the Division of Medical Affairs of the South Sea Development Corporation's (Nan'yo Kohatsu Kabushiki Gaisha) Tinian Sugar Manufactory in 1941 in Tinian, where he probably passed away during World War Two (Wakako Higuchi, personal communication).

The followings are technical notes:

1. Page breaks in the original text are indicated as *{Jxx}*.
2. In the original Japanese text, Marshallese words were written in katakana characters. Among them, those words that are found in the dictionary (Abo *et al.* 2009) or are recognized by contemporary Marshallese informants are transcribed into the current orthography and are written in italic in this translation. Those words that cannot be transcribed into the current orthography are written, using the romanization, in italic and underlined. In contrast, the spellings of those Marshallese words written in alphabets in the original text (i.e., the songs in pages 11, 16, and 25, and the table in pages 32-34) are retained in the translation.
3. Old place names are changed to the current names.
4. I added footnotes mainly on (1) Marshallese words that I found in the Marshallese-English Online Dictionary (Abo *et al.* 2009) and (2) ethnographic information that I know based on my research in Pohnpei and Mwoakilloa (Mokil), which was heavily influenced by the prehistoric and historic Marshallese visitors (e.g., Nagaoka 2014, Rehg and Bender 1990). Therefore, we need to note that those footnotes are not comprehensive.

I would like to thank Wakako Higuchi, Garry Scott LLB (Hons.), Ola Gunhildrud Berta, Eugene Kawakami, Mabel Peter, Alson Kelen, and Wilbert Alik for their various assistance in this translation.

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{J1}

## Ethnography of the Marshall Islands

Isao Isoda

### Introduction

As soon as the publication of this special issue was planned, Mr. Muromachi<sup>1</sup> ordered me to draft this article. I do not neglect my attention to the field I am usually engaged in, but fully understand that I am not a man of ability. However, since this issue will be dedicated to a training squadron that will enter port soon and the Imperial prince<sup>2</sup> will be on board the ship, I should not lose an opportunity of having the honor of my life and lose moderation to think of being presuming. I request many readers not to criticize this. Since the cultural anthropology of this island group is described in detail in Colonel Matsuoka's "*Ethnography of Micronesia*,"<sup>3</sup> this article could be redundant. However, since I tried to write about various items that were written simply in that book and are different from it based on my research, this article would be an addition to the book. So, it may not be fruitless.

### Voyaging

There are generally two types of canoes: paddling canoes and sailing canoes. Paddling canoes are about seven feet long and are capable for one to three persons while sailing canoes (*tipñōl*<sup>4</sup>) are capable for five to 30 persons and are up to about 20 feet long and six feet deep. According to natives, however, they used to be larger than these.

Triangular sails are woven with pandanus leaves (of canvas now). Vines are used in those for chiefs to make various patterns, and other decorations are made with such materials as feathers on the apex of a sail. {J2}

The hull is symmetric at the bow and the stern, and the horizontal curve of the gunwale and the vertical curve of the hull on the outrigger side are rounder than the other side.

The height of the mast and the distance between the outrigger float and the hull are both roughly the same as the length of the hull. The weight of the outrigger float is designed to make the hull a fulcrum, the sail a point of a lever where force is applied, and the outrigger float, including the outrigger booms, a point where a load is placed.

When the wind is strong, the sail moves lower and the outrigger float is lifted, and the canoe occasionally overturns. But natives turn it back upright to continue their voyage.

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<sup>1</sup> Editor Kōich Muromachi.

<sup>2</sup> Prince Takamatsu (Nobuhito)(1905-1987), who was the third son of Emperor Taishō and a younger brother of Emperor Shōwa.

<sup>3</sup> Matsuoka 1943.

<sup>4</sup> 'Large outrigger canoe, for sailing' (Abo *et al.* 2009).

Since canoe building is carried out with shell adzes, it will be described in the section on shell adzes. Connecting planks is done by tying them together with coconut strings and waterproofing by placing pandanus leaves in between planks and filling them with breadfruit sap.

A characteristic of the canoes of this island group is of deep draft, which is capable of long-distance ocean voyages. They are largely similar to Yapese and Kiribati canoes but are different from other Micronesian ones.

As for the navigation, since there are detailed descriptions in Mr. Matsuoka's "*Ethnography of Micronesia*," only the outline and the origin story of navigation will be described here.

In addition to constellations, the navigation is based on swells and the principle as follows. There are always certain swells between the two islands. For example, between Islands A and B in the figure below, continuous swells shaped like curved lines come from both left and right sides. Thus, since tracing intersections of swells from both sides lead to a straight course between Islands A and B and how the swells intersect differs at different intersections, we can roughly know a canoe's location. Since the current's effect on the curved lines of swells is largely regular depending on individual islands' geographical locations, it is possible to recognize in which island's vicinity, a canoe is located, based on their experiences. The most skillful person can navigate a canoe, by observing the canoe's shaking while laying in its cabin. Thus, they *{J3}* could make sailing charts, which are called *wa*.<sup>5</sup> Thin sticks tied together indicate curved lines of swells and characteristics created by currents around individual islands.



There are three or four types of *wa* today. The navigation was kept secret until recently and was only taught to a few most beloved descendants.

The timing of the introduction of navigational technology is unknown, but it was doubtlessly not invented in this island group according to the following legend.

Once two men rode a box on the sea and drifted to Namorik Atoll. Their bodies were not different from the Marshallese, but their language was unintelligible. According to

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<sup>5</sup> This is probably Isoda's misunderstanding. This word refers to 'canoe; ship; boat; vehicle' (Abo *et al.* 2009), while so-called stick charts are generally called *jemānāe* 'model' (Genz 2008:166).

what they said later, they were “people of Eri.”<sup>6</sup> One married to a Namorik woman, while the other married to a Kwajalein woman. The two settled down on their wives’ islands. The navigation was passed down from the one on Kwajalein, so Kwajalein people are good at navigation even today. On Namorik, since the people treated the other man cruelly due to his different ethnicity, new knowledge was not taught to them.

Concerning this legend, its storyline is in good order and is not like an ancient myth. This seems to suggest that the event in this legend does not go back beyond two centuries.

As for which race the “people of Eri” is, it is possibly Tuvalu islanders, but it is said that there is neither canoe nor navigational technology in Tuvalu today. Moreover, only celestial navigation is said to be currently practiced in Kiribati. However, celestial navigation was practiced in the Marshall Islands before this.

Due to the threat of typhoons and the necessity of ocean voyaging, climate observation is well developed, and experienced elders’ observation seldom goes wrong. **{J4}**

The observation is mainly done at sunrise and sunset. The colors and shapes of clouds on the horizon are observed and the shapes of waves, sea water temperature, and wind directions are also used as references. The shapes of clouds are a secret, but those in Fr. Erdland’s “*Marshall Insulaner*”<sup>7</sup> will be described here without permission.

1. A reverse triangular black cloud situated on the stretching black clouds above the horizon indicates rain and moderate breeze during the day and night the next day.



2. Spotty small white clouds indicate fine weather and moderate breeze.



3. A rhomboid white cloud situated in the stretching black clouds above the horizon indicates drizzles during the summer and occasional storms during the winter.



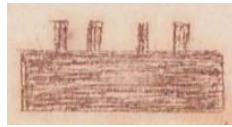
**{J5}**

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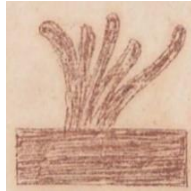
<sup>6</sup> Possibly Ep/Eip/Uap ‘a legendary island in the west,’ which appears in Marshallese folktales and is often identified to Yap in the Western Carolines (Tobin 2002:11fn).

<sup>7</sup> Erdland 1914.

4. Short column-like clouds situated on the stretching black clouds above the horizon indicate strong rains and winds for several days.



5. A palm-shaped black cloud situated on the stretching black clouds above the horizon is a sign of a typhoon.



6. If the fingers of the palm-shaped black cloud spread more widely than the above, it is a sign of a larger typhoon.



7. Serration-shaped black clouds situated on the stretching black clouds indicate one or two days of rain.



{J6}

8. A Japanese hand drum-shaped cloud laying down on the horizon indicates a day of the storm.



9. A triangular break at one end of the stretching black clouds is a sign of long-lasting strong winds and rains.

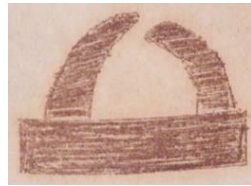


10. A horn-shaped cloud sticking from the stretching black clouds is a sign of long rains.





11. Two horn-shaped clouds, which face each other, sticking from the stretching black clouds is a sign of longer and stronger rains than the above case.



{J7}

12. A rainbow across thin clouds brown up by strong winds is a sign of weather getting worse.



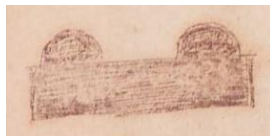
13. Many triangular breaks at one end of the stretching black clouds indicate rains during one day and night or occasionally strong winds during the summer.



14. A black cloud shaped like a coconut rib is a sign of rain.



15. Half circle-shaped black clouds situated on the stretching black clouds are a sign of winds and rains.



{J8}

16. Ventilator-shaped clouds sticking from the stretching black clouds are a sign of strong winds and rains.



17. A turret-shaped black cloud sticking from the stretching black clouds indicates strong winds without rain.



18. A basket-shaped black cloud is a sign of rain but is not one of rain in case that its color is livid.

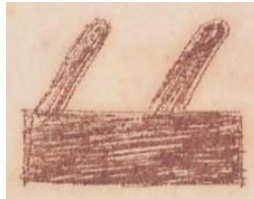


19. A fish-shaped white cloud situated in the stretching black clouds indicates strong rains.



{J9}

20. Many projecting clouds sticking out slantingly from the stretching black clouds are a sign of strong winds and rains.



21. Flying bird-shaped clouds indicate moderate winds.



22. A mushroom-shaped black cloud indicates thunders.



23. A rainbow's leg sticking from the stretching black clouds is a sign of approaching rain.



24. The sun surrounded by a circle of vapor is a sign of rain.



{J10}

25. Orange sunset is a sign of fine weather, but a reddish-purple one is one of approaching strong winds.

26. A rainbow in midair is a sign of fine weather.

The above is based on Fr. Erdland's pictures, which were drawn faithfully based on natives' original drawings. I have slightly added or shortened his explanations.

As for the records of voyages according to oral traditions, it seems that two hundred canoes manned by several hundred people had gone to attack not only within the island group but also Pingelap (Caroline Islands) and Kosrae. Indeed, this legend must be true, since Pingelap islanders sent tributes to the chiefs of the Ralik group every year, until the German colonial period.<sup>8</sup>

The people experienced serious starvation during their voyages. It is very surprising to observe how natives suffer from starvation even today. Lastly, I am presenting a song that they sing before setting sail for voyaging. This song is sung to pray for a safe voyage, and there are many legends that voyagers had a hard time drifting because they did not sing it before their departures. A drum called *aje* is used on the occasion of fighting. This is the song that they sing before they depart Jaluit in case of a voyage between Jaluit and Ailinglaplap.

Kolot al eo bwe jelin Eñ eo etak  
Kolot al eo bwe jelin Rak eo etak  
Kolot al eo bwe jelin lōñ eo etak  
Kolot al eo bwe jelin jet eo etak  
Kimjen likin kitak en em airok rej eilūjlūj  
ekōtare, ekōtare, ekōtare bwe ik e eik ion Metwan Al. *{JII}*

Free translation

Go! Go! The northern star is also shinning.  
Go! Go! The southern star is also shinning.  
Go! Go! The star in midair is also shinning.  
Go! Go! The swells are also undulating.  
Go! Go! Airok's nose, come closer to the coconuts on Boknake.<sup>9</sup>  
Come closer, come closer, come closer.  
As Metwan Al becomes shorter.

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<sup>8</sup> Pingelap and neighboring Mwoakilloa (Mokil) were heavily influenced by occasional Marshallese visitors (e.g., Hurd 1977:60-62, Riesenberg 1965, Tobin 2002:353-357, Weckler 1949:68-69) in their languages (e.g., Rehg and Bender 1990) and material cultures (e.g., Nagaoka 2014) throughout history. However, this claim is dubious, as there is no such oral tradition in Pingelap.

<sup>9</sup> This is an islet in Jaluit Atoll.

Note:

1. The northern and southern stars, the star in midair, and swells are known to be their important navigation markers.
2. Metwan Al is the name of a sea lane between Ailinglaplap and Jaluit.

### Warfare

First, weapon types are listed.

#### 1. *Rajaraj*

Two to three or six feet long four-ridged or cylindrical club made of coconut or pandanus trunk, on which shark teeth were woven on the ridges with pandanus leaves. It was a chiefly weapon and was usually stored in a bag woven with pandanus leaves since they abominated it being seen by people in peacetime. {J12} A flat board inlaid with shark teeth on both sides could be owned by high-ranking commoners.



#### 2. *Inimenrobuin*

Four to five-foot spear with a few barbs at the tip. It is said that if one pierced an enemy with this and pulled it, it would take out the enemy's internal organs.



3. *Kolinni*<sup>10</sup>

Four to five-foot spear with a few notches at the tip. If one pierced an enemy with this and twisted it, the tip would be broken and be left in the enemy's body.



4. *Bōbō*<sup>11</sup>

Two-foot spear with pointed tips at both ends. Commoners' weapon.



5. *Ñarkalap*

Six-foot spear of arm size.

6. *Buwat*

A palm-size net was attached with two ropes. A stone was placed on the net, and two ropes were held together and were whirled. When the centrifugal force became maximum and one rope was released, the stone would fly three or four times further than throwing it by a hand. A stone or shell was attached at the end of the other rope as a clasp. A sling stone of multi-ridges or one with holes whizzed, which is said to have raised morale.

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<sup>10</sup> Possibly related to *kwaḷinni* 'tiny coconut not fully grown' (Abo *et al.* 2009).

<sup>11</sup> It is possibly related with *bōbō* 'fishing method, with spear at reef edge' (Abo *et al.* 2009).



{J13}

7. *Aje*

A Japanese hand drum-shaped drum of two to three feet high, whose end was covered with a shark's bladder, was used to raise morale.

8. *Kur*

A drinking water container was made of a large coconut shell, whose surface was bleached and was covered with a net woven with coconut sennits.

Next, the usage method of these weapons and the situations of actual fighting will be described:

At least two to three hundred warriors participated in the battle. When they encountered enemies, they were directed by a chief who held a *rajaraj*. They proceeded, holding about eight *bōbō* under their left arms and a *ngarkalop* on their right arms. At their back, a group of women beat *aje* and sang a song of going into battle (a song of quick tempo). A man threw a stone with *buwat* as a sign of opening war. The stone whizzes, functioning as a *kabura-ya* (Japanese whistling arrow).<sup>12</sup> Slingshot is limited only once and they started to throw *bōbō*, while the *ngarkalop* was used for thrusting *bōbō* aside. Those who finished their *bōbō* received supplies of *bōbō* from the women's group and continued. When they went closer to enemies, they fought, brandishing *ngarkalop* over their heads. Those of high status fought with *inimenrobuin*, *kolinni* and *rajaraj*. When those warriors became thirsty, they could drink water from *kur*, which were kept by the women's group.

Once the fighting became intensified, the tempo of the women's songs became faster. They struggled as hard as the men and some women are said to have fainted.

The fighting ended when the directing chief was killed. Once their chief died, the commoners surrendered and became under the control of the enemy chief. The winning chief never used violence to defeated women and such behavior was shameful for warriors.

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<sup>12</sup> It was used to signal the start of battle.

Food for the preparation of war did not develop. This was probably because fighting generally finished within several hours. We can understand that they practiced such things as how to use a *ngarkalop* and how to throw a *bōbō* in peacetime since their forms remain today.

By analyzing legends, the followings were the reasons for battles:

1. To steal food. {J14}
2. To steal land.
3. Succession disputes within chiefly families.
4. To revenge.
5. To punish.

According to Colonel Matsuoka's "*Ethnography of Micronesia*," their purpose for war was mainly to punish, and their fighting was unmotivated, since it was sufficient to kill an enemy chief. He also describes how their weapons were passive and how their purposes were pure and good, and praises how their ending was humane. However, according to my analysis of legends, the chief's ambition to steal land and chiefly succession disputes seem to have been the main reasons for war in this island group. The style of houses was influenced by warfare, as discussed below, and their weapons such as *kolinni* and *inimenrobuin* were cruel and positive. I think that the reason that the fighting ended after killing an enemy chief was not that this fulfilled the purpose of punishment and there was no need to continue it uselessly, but that a battle was caused by a chief's ambition and was not of commoners. When the commoners were treated as goods by the chief, they did not need to take responsibility after their chief's death.

According to episodes in legends, commoners had to kill their babies and use them as bait for catching sharks to make *rajaraj* after trying different baits during bad catch. Thus, their notion toward their chief seems to have been not a compassionate relation of master and servant but one of possessing and being possessed,

What I like to emphasize here is that, concerning the landownership, Colonel Matsuoka argues that "land and superficies were previously shared by chiefs and commoners, but the German government made land as chiefs' possessions and superficies as commoners' ones, treating the two as landowners and tenants, which took commoners' happiness and made their life harder"; however, I think that this provided commoners with their individualities for the first time and they {J15} can have much happier life now, than at that time.

As I am finishing this chapter, I will present a song about going into battle.

I: Tikōtikañūm drejeñjeñoum :I Kojiminia Ke  
roj wie leo jelāi jar en beren in jar en lokab in  
jar en jemawin tūwe yuk, mawen lōnaj yūk, mawen  
drele yūk, mawen mawen, eje. mawen Kabran anje  
būen je iokeim eo eokelkel leo.

Free translation:

Cheer up, cheer up, cheer up, cheer up,  
Are you ready? Strong enemies, enemies of the first campaign,  
are raging to beat you, aren't they?  
Beat! Carry harshly! Knock down and move onward!  
Cheer up, cheer up, do not be afraid.  
Be strong, be strong, go through till the end.

Once a woman's group started singing this song, no man was not enchanted and did not tremble with excitement.

### **Social Organization {J16}**

Here, I will mainly describe the clan organization, and will briefly discuss its political and economic aspects. This is because the political and economic aspects are covered in Colonel Matsuoka's detailed report, which cites Fr. Erdland's descriptions. However, I will put effort into descriptions of the clan system, since his description is quite different from what I know.

In the Ralik Chain, a clan (*jowi*) is divided into lineages (*bwij*), and there are hierarchical relations among *jowi*. In addition, there are also hierarchical relations among *bwiji* in individual *jowi*. On ceremonial occasions, hierarchical orders need to be observed. Each *jowi* has a totem (*nakanukanu*<sup>13</sup> in Marshallese), and totems are mainly fish or trees. Taboos and obligations of individual *jowi* are as follows:

1. Sexual relations are not allowed in a *bwij*. Breaking this taboo is believed to cause a kind of serious illness. However, this shall not apply to chiefs.
2. Totems such as fish and trees are not violated. In addition, if other *jowi* members are possessed by such animals and plants, a *jowi* member of the totem is believed to cure it by giving medicine. Viewing the death of these animals and plants is believed to bring something extraordinary.
3. Members of the same *jowi* are obligated to help each other. The *jowi* transcends territorial lineages.
4. *Jowi* and *bwij* are matrilineal.

Fr. Erdland discusses totemism among the Marshallese people, while Colonel Matsuoka denies this (page 306). But I believe that the above totemic animals and plants are remarkable and that the *jowi*'s unwritten laws meet the criteria of totemism.

For example, if the beliefs described in the above paragraph 2 are not interpreted based on totemism, we must consider that they are simply signs of animals and plants, which were derived from single lineages, as Colonel Matsuoka discusses.

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<sup>13</sup> Probably related to *nakṇōk* 'wizard; genius; expert; specialist; shaman; witchdoctor; skillful' (Abo *et al.* 2009) or 'family tradition' (Erdland 1913).



Further, in Kiribati, there are clans called *au koraki*,<sup>14</sup> which are compatible with Marshallese *jowi* (Mr. Suga and {J17} Mr. Adachi, personal communications).

The classification of clans, which was obtained from four elders, will be described here since it is very different from those discussed by Fr. Erdland and Mr. Matsuoka.

### *Jowi* in the Ralik Chain

#### 1. Ijjidik

The name was derived from the origin place's name at the creation of the universe, and former paramount chiefs were originated from this clan. Currently, only a chief Jeimata and a chieftess Repuka<sup>15</sup> from the Ralik Chain belong to this clan. Its totem is a type of worm called *amuamu*. It is believed that seeing half of this worm living with the other half dead is a sign of a paramount chief's death. (According to Fr. Erdland's account, this is of a lineage of Jemāluut clan.)

Its lineages include Ijjidik, Ri-lujien Naṃo,<sup>16</sup> and Rūkipinaelōñin.<sup>17</sup> Paramount chiefs were originated from only the Ijjidik lineage, while there are many other lineages today, which are much inferior to it. Islanders of Ri-lujien Naṃo are famous as liars and thieves.

#### 2. Erroja

Its meaning is like a chief's advisor. Since it is the second high-ranking *jowi* after Ijjidik, chiefs mainly married to its clan members. For this, this clan includes many *bwirak*<sup>18</sup> (chiefs and their descendants, according to Colonel Matsuoka's words). As Ijjidik lineage of Ijjidik clan has been being exterminated today, this clan has been obtaining great power and has produced such a paramount chief as Laelañ. This was probably the reason that Fr. Erdland mistakenly considers it as the paramount one. Clan members mainly reside on such islands as Ebon and Ailinglaplap and their totem is fish called *mōjani*.<sup>19</sup>

Its lineages include Erroja,<sup>20</sup> Likinbilujo,<sup>21</sup> Ri-Mae,<sup>22</sup> and Rūbūkien Jōkjōk En.<sup>23</sup>

#### 3. Errūbra {J18}

Its meaning is like a warrior class, and its members mainly reside on Namdrik. Its totem is a bird named *kaḷo*.<sup>24</sup> Its lineages include Errūbra, Mōkauleej,<sup>25</sup> Ri-Meik,<sup>26</sup> and Rejurib.

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<sup>14</sup> Literally, 'my family' in Kiribati.

<sup>15</sup> Marshallese pronunciation of Rebecca.

<sup>16</sup> It is a clan according to Abo *et al.* (2009), Mote (2002:7), and Robert (199?:4).

<sup>17</sup> It is a clan according to Abo *et al.* (2009), Mote (2002:7), and Robert (199?:4).

<sup>18</sup> 'Nobleman, subordinate chief' (Erdland 1914:99).

<sup>19</sup> 'A fish, big-eye or burgy, *Monotaxis grandoculis*' (Abo *et al.* 2009).

<sup>20</sup> It is a clan according to Abo *et al.* (2009).

<sup>21</sup> Eroja Drik Likinbilujo according to Robert (199?:2).

<sup>22</sup> It is a clan according to Abo *et al.* (2009), Mote (2002:7), and Robert (199?:4).

<sup>23</sup> It is a clan according to Mote (2002:8).

<sup>24</sup> 'Brown booby, *Sula leucogaster*' (Abo *et al.* 2009).

<sup>25</sup> It is a clan according to Abo *et al.* (2009) and Robert (199?:7).

<sup>26</sup> It is a clan according to Abo *et al.* (2009).

4. Ri-Lobaren

Its totem is a rock on Jaluit.

5. Erröbra

Its totem is a fish called *imen*.<sup>27</sup>

6. Ri-Kuwajleen

Its totem is a tree named *keijin*<sup>28</sup> and its lineages are Ri-Kuwajleen and Ri-likijjine.<sup>29</sup>

7. Jemāluut

Its totem is a tree named *jemāluut*,<sup>30</sup> and is comprised of two lineages, Jemāluut and Tilañ.<sup>31</sup>

8. Jo!

Its totem is a vine named *atat*.<sup>32</sup>

9. Menokenaani

Its totem is unknown.

In the Ratak Chain, the *jowi* organization is unclear. In general, sexual relation is not allowed in a *jowi*, although some people are said to not care about it today. Their totems are not known. However, since a *jowi* named Rebrib is said to be a root of all other *jowi* according to a legend, there was originally only Rebrib while the others were its lineages. As for totems, Rebrib's one is known to be a tree, while the others' ones are unknown. This seems to support the assumption. Thus, we will wait for future studies on the Ratak Chain and only list up their names here:

- |               |                |                 |
|---------------|----------------|-----------------|
| 1. Rebrib     | 2. Ri-Mwejoor  | 3. Raarņo {J19} |
| 4. Raur       | 5. Ri-Pikaarej | 6. Jibuklik     |
| 7. Ri-Matoļen | 8. Ri-pako     | 9. Raej         |
| 10. Look      | 11. Jeļapļap   |                 |

However, since some members of the above Ratak *jowi* also reside in the Ralik Chain, Fr. Erdland records them as Ralik *jowi*. But I list up them as the Ratak's ones since legends indicate their origins in the Ratak Chain and more *jowi* members reside in the Ratak Chain than in the Ralik Chain.

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<sup>27</sup> 'A fish, spotted eagle ray fish, poisonous, *Aetobatus narinari* (Abo *et al.* 2009).

<sup>28</sup> Possibly *kiej* 'a plant, *Pemphis acidula* Forst' (Abo *et al.* 2009).

<sup>29</sup> It is a clan according to Abo *et al.* (2009) and Robert (199?:8).

<sup>30</sup> This is probably Isoda's misunderstanding. In the Marshallese-English dictionary (Abo *et al.* 2009), there is no tree named *jemāluut* or a similar name but *jemāluut* refers to a rainbow.

<sup>31</sup> It is a clan according to Abo *et al.* (2009) and Mote (2002:11).

<sup>32</sup> 'A plant, vine, *Triumfetta procumbens* Forst. f. (Tiliaceae)' (Abo *et al.* 2009).

Since Colonel Matsuoka describes marriages, inheritance, and unwritten laws in detail accurately, I will omit them and will only add an interesting relation between the chiefly authority and social tranquility here.

Colonel Matsuoka was cautious that Fr. Erdland's descriptions were too extreme, claiming "Fr. Erdland only describes many examples about chiefs' tyranny but since controlling ignorant people, as long as they are flowing of blood, only by oppressing them was not allowed, there must be a way to restrain this based on the divine power or the majority's force once situation went beyond the limits" (page 298). However, as discussed in the above section on warfare, the commoners were completely "commodities" owned by chiefs. In addition, many stories about chiefs' killing of commoners due to their minor faults, fishing for sharks with commoner infants as baits, their right of the first night, and making commoners' wives as their mistresses, seem to support chiefs' brutality.

However, there was only one way to resist the chief's tyranny. It was a very simple one. A commoner went in front of a chief wearing a necklace called *marmar* if this person expected to encounter the chief's anger. If this was done in time, the chief's anger would immediately cool down and the commoner would not be punished. This necklace was made of such materials as *karaasa*'s bark and shells and was charged with prayer. It was believed to be lodged by a god and those who harmed the person wearing it would be visited with divine punishment even if it was a chief. Erdland also includes its drawing in his publication. {J20}

The above-mentioned chief's power and *jowi*'s unwritten laws controlled the Marshallese people at that time. They were, for better or worse, the most prominent social orders at any rate. Today, Christian precepts and our Empire's mandate are added to these.

Even though the chief's power and *jowi*'s control have slightly declined, I feel sympathy with them, since being admonished from the above-mentioned four sides is troublesome and is occasionally very confusing.

Before closing this chapter, I like to remark on their economic thoughts.

In the former pre-civilization economic organization, there seems to have been no notion of "ownership." For example, a man A made a canoe and if another man B liked to use it, B could say to A, "Prepare to put our canoe (*wa e arro*) to sea." Then A willingly helped B to put the canoe to sea. Alternatively, A ate B's fish, saying it was "our food" (*kijeerro*), and did not thank him for the other day.

At the time of some large production, for example, bringing a large catch to a chief should not be interpreted as tribute. This means that the distribution of that food was requested to the chief, and he took his share and it was his responsibility to distribute the rest equally to commoners. Recently, a chief does not do this work but lets his wife or children do it. Around when the civilization shed light on the Marshalls, the chief tended to start interpreting this as tribute and commoners began to bring only a portion of their product to the chief instead of all the product.

However, since this thought of sharing goods remains in islanders' minds deeply, many of them do not distinguish between public money and private money. This does not result from

ill will at all but is originated from the former economic thoughts. By considering this, it is an inevitable result that islanders' economic associations, which are promoted by the current South Sea Government, tend to fail due to their officials' mistakes, and the pains of the persons concerned are comprehensible. {J21}

The word for trade, *wia* is a new word, and *bōk* 'take' seems to be used for that.

### Tools

Colonel Matsuoka describes tools of this island group very briefly, but mainly of the Palau region. Since the ones in this island group are slightly different from Palauan ones, it is not useless to include this chapter as an addition.

#### 1. Shell adzes (*māāl*<sup>33</sup>)

The materials are mainly giant clam shells, including both fresh shells and dead ones, although the latter is fragile. An adze is produced by breaking, reducing, and grinding. Grinding was done with shells of similar quality or hard coral and took many days. When one uses it, it always requires sharpening, and times for using it and sharpening it are said to have been similar. To make rough shaping efficiently, wood was burned and carbonized parts were worked with shell adzes. This process was repeated.

Thus, since making shell adzes required a large amount of labor, it is said that they were very important for them and were hid underground to avoid chiefs from taking them away. When I excavated on an outer island, I occasionally found them put in between two small giant clam shells two feet deep underground (I also found them on the ground).

The size of my specimens varies 7-20 cm long, 3-8 cm wide, 1-3 cm thick, and 40-400 g. The cross-sections include flat, triangular, semicircular, and oval. The shapes of the blade are straight, curved, and pointed. Their names vary depending on their shapes. Their handles are of much more obtuse angle than Palauan ones.

There is a distinction between shell adzes for chiefs and commoners, depending on their quality. The one for chiefs is called *ajaj*,<sup>34</sup> while the one for commoners is called *māāl al*.<sup>35</sup> My specimens are of all commoners.

Since a photograph cannot be included in this journal, sketches are included below.

{J22}

These shell adzes seem to have been used until about 30 years ago. Those found on the ground are probably relatively new ones like these.

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<sup>33</sup> This word also refers to 'iron; steel; metal' (Abo *et al.* 2009).

<sup>34</sup> 'Calf of leg; substance of clam shell; hard rock; marble' according to the Marshallese-English dictionary (Abo *et al.* 2009).

<sup>35</sup> The first syllable means 'adze' and the second syllable is possibly *āl* 'shave' (Abo *et al.* 2009).

The following specimens are all ground. They are equivalent to polished stone tools (Neolithic era) in ancient times, and I have never found shell adzes equivalent to chipped stone tools.

Māāl in wai

For making the tip of a canoe



*Enneok*<sup>36</sup>

For making inner planks.



*Māāl in iak*<sup>37</sup>

For making outer planks.



{J23}

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<sup>36</sup> ‘Twine for sewing up the mouth of a bag’ (Abo *et al.* 2009).

<sup>37</sup> Literally, ‘an adze for shaving.’

*Māāl in ekkal*<sup>38</sup>

For finishing the end of planks.

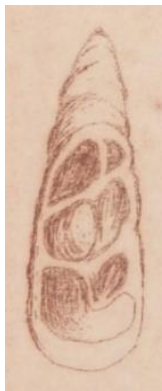


*Enneok*



## 2. Shell chisels (*mele*<sup>39</sup>)

Produced by grinding a spiral shell<sup>40</sup> or occasionally made from a piece of a giant clam shell. They measure 9 cm long and 2 cm wide and were attached to straight handles. The one made of a spiral shell is also used as *māāl in wai*.



## 3. Shell drill (*kein eddeil*) {J24}

Such materials as the tip of a spiral shell, a sharp spine of a porcupinefish, and a piece of giant clam shell are used. More advanced ones with a spindle and an arrow are also used.

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<sup>38</sup> Literally, ‘an adze for building.’

<sup>39</sup> Possibly *mede* ‘chisel’ (Abo *et al.* 2009).

<sup>40</sup> More particularly auger shell (*Terebra* sp.) and mitre shell (*Mitra* sp.).

4. Shell peeler (*kabaio*)

A cowrie shell named *libbukwe*<sup>41</sup> is chipped. It is used for soft things (such as peeling breadfruits).

5. Shell pounder (*deka in nin*)

Made of a giant clam shell. The weight is around 2 to 3 pounds. Ground fully. Used for softening pandanus leaves.

6. Bone tools

Those made of large fish bones include needles (*iie in aj*<sup>42</sup>) for pandanus leaf handicrafts, pounders (*regren*) for washing clothes, stick (*doon*) for husking the outer skin of coconuts, and combs.

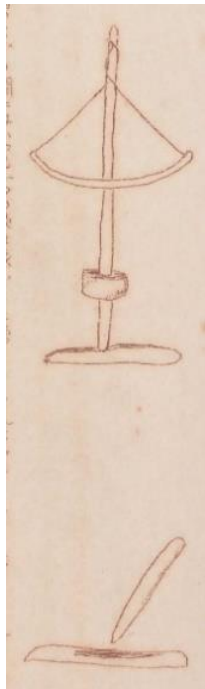
According to a folk tale, when a Catholic missionary arrived on Arno on board a sailing boat for the first time to look for water, islanders killed all and made needles using their bones.

A comb was made by drying a turtle's lower jaw bone with teeth. This was only allowed to be used by chiefly family members, while commoners used fingers for that.

7. Wooden tools

Including boat-shaped bowls for mixing food and fire-making tools. Since natural shells were used as plates and small dishes, wood was not used for them (this plate was perforated and people always walked, hanging it on their shoulders).

There are two types of fire-making tools, two pieces of dried light wood and a stick with a spindle and an arrow. The latter was used by females. {J25}



While waiting for firing, they always sing one song. This is a song that supplication is included.

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<sup>41</sup> 'Cypraeidae' (Abo *et al.* 2009).

<sup>42</sup> 'Needle for sewing thatch' (Abo *et al.* 2009).

kwo boktok kojit ne. mejit kañon ne.  
jite it ie boktok jen elikin “ \_\_\_\_\_,”  
likti aera.

(Free translation)

Bring dry branches, bring kindling, rub, rub.  
From “ \_\_\_\_\_ ’s” shoulder to my shoulder, bring the power of making fire.

Note: As for the “ \_\_\_\_\_ ” part, the name of a deceased strong person is freely inserted.

Once firing begins, kindling dried coconut husks is a considerable task. They sing a song during this work.

Drel a jibro jinroj o. jinedrikum ne  
ilo kijek ne jemeriküm ne ilo. kijek ne,  
jijet drele jutak bokwe bobokwe, jijet  
drele jütak bōkwe, jejo melle. {J26}

(Free translation)

Flap, flap, aunty is at the fire, uncle is at the fire,  
Stand and flap, sit down and blow, stand and flap, sit down and blow.  
Now catching fire.

Note:

1. The parts, aunty and uncle, are more precisely mother’s younger sister and father’s younger brother respectively. It is a custom that these aunties and uncles cannot reject any unreasonable demands. Here, please look at the above translation again.
2. Regarding terms and writing style, it needs to be noted that a female precedes a male.

## 8. Fishing gear

Fishhooks are made of such materials as thick bivalves, turban shells’ lids, or ironwood, and their size varies. Fishing lines are made of *karaasa*’s bark.<sup>43</sup>

Nets include stake nets and scoop nets and are made of coconut sennits.

In addition, others include spears made of ironwood and basketry fish traps, but are omitted here since there are detailed descriptions in “*Ethnography of Micronesia*.”

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<sup>43</sup> This is a Japanese word, which consists of *kara* ‘Chinese/Korean’ and *asa* ‘hemp.’ It is possibly ramie (*Boehmeria nivea*), which is called “*karamushi*” in Japanese, since its fibers were used to make fishing lines in the Marshalls according to Kramer and Nevermann (1938:120).



## Food, Clothing, and Housing

### 1. Clothes and Tattoos

Ordinarily, mats woven with pandanus leaves cover the nether region. Women wear them as a lavalava, while men wear them as a loincloth. Even today people wear them on such occasions as fishing.

Grass skirts (*in*) are used as ceremonial dresses and are made of barks of *karaasa* or *atat* vines.<sup>44</sup> Commoners wear thin ones, while chiefs wear thick ones. {J27}

Personal ornaments and tattoos are omitted here, as described fully in “*Ethnography of Micronesia*.”

### 2. Food

The islanders’ food sources include the sea, coconuts, breadfruits, pandanus, and root crops called *makmōk*.<sup>45</sup> The three foods, coconuts, breadfruits, and pandanus, provide them with materials for all clothing, food, and housing. Thus, their notion toward them is similar to Japanese farmers’ one toward their immovable property.

Their cooking method is to cook food on burnt stones and to cook it with steam in a pit. Two to three methods to preserve food were invented, including dried fish, dried starch extracted from fruits and root crops (*mōnakjān*<sup>46</sup> and *makmōk*), and their wet food (*bwiro*<sup>47</sup> and *jāānkun*<sup>48</sup>).

### 3. Housing

Today’s houses are huts without floors, which consist of posts of such trees as breadfruit and pandanus, roofs and walls of their leaves, and coconut strings used for tying. But a style, which modern people call *im an kijdik* (‘house of rat’), was used until 40 to 50 years ago.

The same material as the above was used for this style. But the ceiling was built strongly and the roof-space was used for living at night, by climbing up a ladder. It was difficult for me to think why this style was necessary in this island group. At first, I thought that people liked the coolness when they slept at night. But this is unlikely, as, in a coconut grove, winds are blocked by coconut leaves at a high place. Although this style could have been created to avoid fierce animals, there was no need for that in this island group.

Later, I asked one elder about this. This style was prepared for foreign enemies according to him. Males slept in the roof-space, while females slept under the ceiling. Matured women were not allowed to go to the roof-space and could be occasionally protected by guard men overnight. {J28}

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<sup>44</sup> ‘A plant, vine, *Triumfetta procumbens* Forst. f. (Tiliaceae)’ (Abo *et al.* 2009).

<sup>45</sup> ‘Arrowroot, *Tacca leontopetaloides* (L.) ktze., the Polynesian arrowroot (Taccaceae)’ (Abo *et al.* 2009).

<sup>46</sup> ‘Preserved dried breadfruit’ (Abo *et al.* 2009).

<sup>47</sup> ‘Preserved breadfruit’ (Abo *et al.* 2009).

<sup>48</sup> ‘A food, dried overripe breadfruit; in Ralik Chain, dried pandanus paste’ (Abo *et al.* 2009).

## Art

There are very few things that could be called art in this island group.

Pictures seem to have not been related to former people. Carvings were only found at fish tail-shaped ones on the canoe prows/bows and limited geometric patterns on the gunwales.

Except for stick dances, imitating the movements of fighting, there are only sitting dances, in which hands are moved. Modern dances imitate western dances, and they only perform group dances, beating oil tins in some dances, which are tasteless. It was probably this horseplay that once Professor Kramer knitted his brow.

It is possible to say there is no song. Such songs as the above song of the voyage are a melody just like Japanese Shinto prayers. Oral traditions were passed down, by memorizing them in those songs of Shinto prayer-like melody, since certainly letters and code of signals (using knots of a string) were not developed in this island group.

Musical instruments are only a stem of a coconut frond, which is tied at one end and is swung [middle in the picture below], a *makmōk*'s vine, to which a coconut leaf is attached as a reed [top], and percussion instruments such as the forementioned drum (*aje*) [bottom].



{J29}

However, if I recently look at elementary school students' drawings, I do not think they are not given that talent at all. Due to the spread of Christianity, which began around 70 years ago, a singing method is taught and almost no one cannot sing by looking at a musical score.

They can do a chorus of three parts smartly and can play such musical instruments as an organ. There is a small band of wind instruments on Ebon. But they have not understood an andante and a serenade and cannot play soft musical instruments such as stringed instruments.

As discussed above, artistic entertainments were not given to them previously. How this made their life on atolls in the ocean desolate? I found this as one of the reasons for a disordered sexual moral.

### **Signs of Ethnical Migrations and Settlement History**

The settlement history of this island group has not been shed light on yet. Colonel Matsuoka discusses other scholars' hypotheses and asserts that they were migrated from the west. However, we cannot know, not only absolute dates, but also mantissa dates in that period. Moreover, according to the reasons I will discuss below, many cases do not support the migration from the west but tend to indicate the movements from the east. I would like to discuss this here, but since I am finishing the space given to me, I must describe it briefly.

#### 1. The body

There are some features that the Marshallese islanders' bodies are different from Kiribati, Kosrae, and other Micronesians westward. Their body length and weight are both smaller. Their skin color is slightly lighter and curly hair is rare.

#### 2. Character

Islanders' nature also differs and does not have dauntless courage like other island groups.

#### 3. Houses {J30}

The aforementioned houses seem to not be reported in other parts of Micronesia (westward).

#### 4. Artistic aspect

There are outstanding carvings, etc. in Palau, while they do not exist in this island group. Musical instruments also did not develop.

#### 5. Drums are only used in the Marshalls and Pohnpei.

#### 6. Clan system

Many family names seem to suggest many migrations. Mariana islanders put their family names before given names, while this is not the case for this island group. This seems to not be practiced in Polynesia (east).

#### 7. Navigational tools and navigation techniques

There seems to be no trace in the west that connects to canoes and navigation technology in this island group. In the Marquesas Islands in Polynesia, deep canoes of 50 feet long developed, and navigational technology also developed early. Since its population was large, there said to be some legends that fleets of many canoes sailed around, which was called "island searching."

Regrettably, I have not got to know about the situation in Hawaii.

## 8. Currents and trade winds

The southern half of this island group is located in the Equatorial Countercurrent, while the northern half is situated in the Equatorial Current. Therefore, it is probable to assume that drifting from the west was done by the Equatorial Countercurrent while drifting from the east was done by the Equatorial Current.

However, since the Equatorial Countercurrent at the western side is narrower and the wind directions are dominantly northeast, an object floating on the Countercurrent was pushed toward the south and was finally pushed into the Equatorial Current. Once it went in the Equatorial Current, it must have reversely drifted to the west. So if it was not from a nearby place such as Pohnpei, the drift from the west to this island group on the Equatorial Countercurrent hardly occurred. Especially, if one understands that this island group is located on the northern edge of the Equatorial Countercurrent, the person would understand this.

Looking from this point, it seems that the eastern migration is rather more plausible than the western migration. In other words, *{J31}* drifting from Polynesian islands seems to be probable.

However, since there was a case that a current observation bottle, departing around Palau, was conveyed on the fast Equatorial Countercurrent, which moves 30 nautical miles in 24 hours, and reached the northern tip of Kiribati after a whole day and night, there must have been western migration. This is shown in the languages.

Now as for drifting from Polynesia in the southern hemisphere, there are one current of the Equatorial Current and two currents of the Equatorial Countercurrent between the two regions. However, since the wind direction is southeast, it is possible to connect secondly and thirdly. However, it is impossible to connect from Melanesia to this island group without going through in the west of Micronesia.

In other words, the currents and the trade winds seem to suggest that drifting from the east is the most plausible, from the west is next, from the southeast is the third, and from the southwest is least possible.

(The history of Kiribati shows migrations from the south and southeast. In the Marshall Islands, migration from the southeast is also possible.)

## 9. Possible legends related to different ethnic groups

There is a kind of people called “*Ep*,”<sup>49</sup> who live in the bush. Their voices could be occasionally heard in such places as remote coconut groves in villages. They sometimes kidnap islanders and there is a legend that those kidnappees who returned after two or three weeks became very knowledgeable. Today, many people still believe this. Their bodies are the same as ordinary islanders. It is not clear which ethnic group this indicates.

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<sup>49</sup> The first syllabus consists of two letters in the Japanese original. The first letter is illegible, while the second one is probably “n.” The second syllabus is *Ep*, a legendary island in the west (Tobin 2002:11fn).

In addition, there is another kind of people called *rimmenanuwe*. They are short, dark skin, and long beards, and are said to ride a wooden piece on the sea.

This seems to be similar to Polynesian *menehune*. Further, there are similar legends in such islands as Kiribati and Pohnpei. It is interesting to remember Ainu's legends on *korpokkur*.

Skulls found at archaeological sites in Pohnpei were proved to be identical to Negrito's ones during the Spanish period (according to Fr. Pajaro<sup>50</sup>). Further, Christian<sup>51</sup> also recognizes traits of Negrito's descendants among today's Pohnpeian people. As Negrito still live in such places as the Philippines and New Guinea, it is possible to assume that *{J32}* they used to live in the Pacific Islands.

#### 10. Place names

A few place names of this island group, such as Piñlep<sup>52</sup> and ȼõñar,<sup>53</sup> are identical to those in Pohnpei District. In addition, a few place names in Kiribati and Pohnpei are also identical, such as Mokil<sup>54</sup> and Magil.<sup>55</sup>

#### 11. Language

I selected ten words that are the most deeply related to the islanders. The following compares them in those languages in Micronesia, Malay, and the Marquesas Islands at the eastern end of Polynesia. Their differences with Yapese and Palauan are remarkable, and the noun for a canoe is more similar to Polynesians than Malay.

Numerals for 'five' are interesting. Except for Palauan and Kiribatese, the rest are similar to the one in Malay and seem to be originated the Malay word for 'hand,' *lima*.

Further, numerals are different depending on objects in this island group like Japanese and Malay. Regrettably, we cannot show numerals in Hawaiian and Polynesian languages here. I am planning to contribute an article on the relationship between Malay and Marshallese in the future.

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<sup>50</sup> Catholic priest, Fr. Jose Pajaro (Hezel 1991).

<sup>51</sup> Christian 1899.

<sup>52</sup> 'Aelõñlaplap tract and Jālwōj islet. Pingelap Atoll in the Eastern Caroline Islands' (Abo *et al.* 2009).

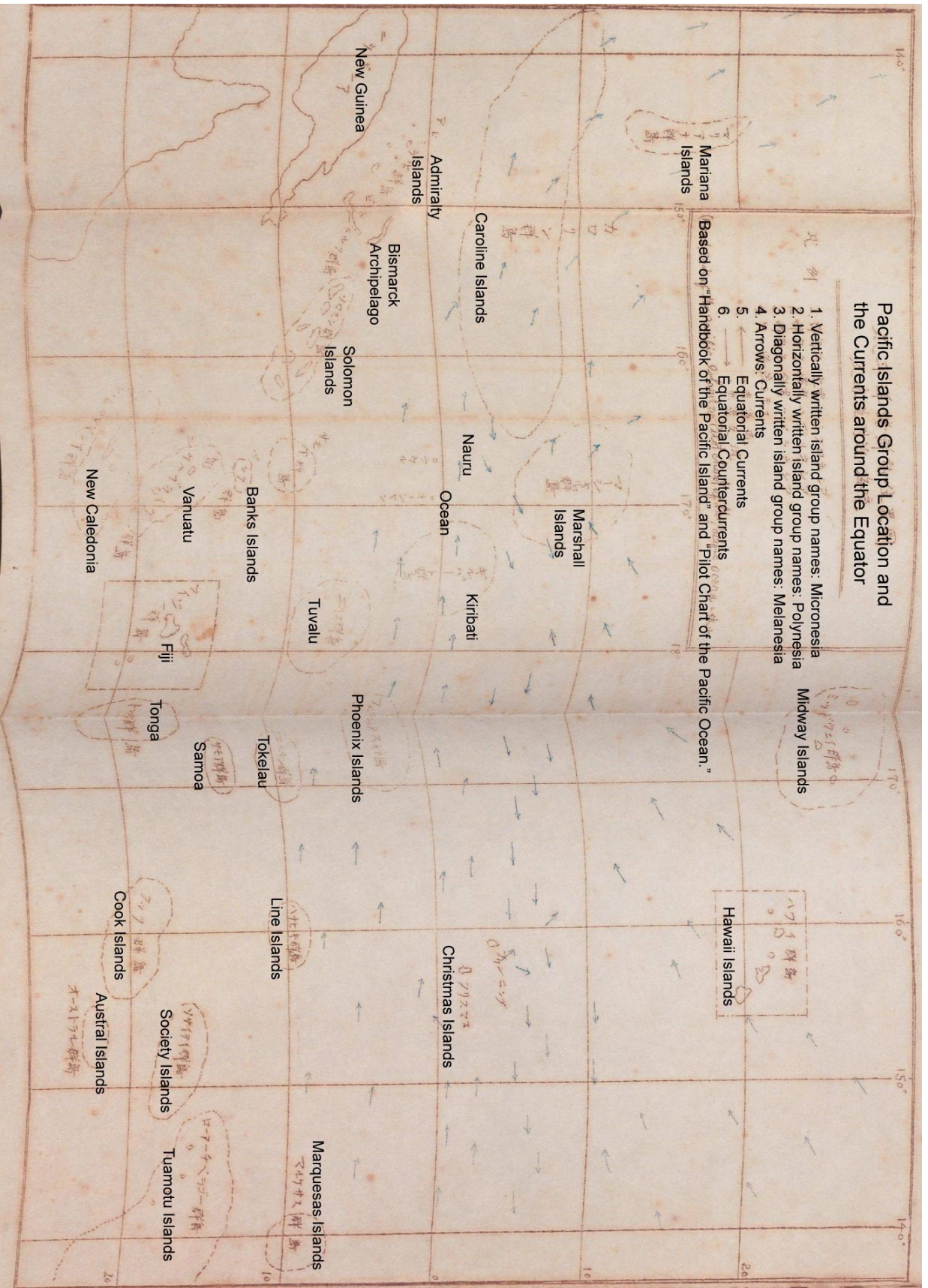
<sup>53</sup> 'Mājej tract; Arņo district; Arņo islet' (Abo *et al.* 2009). It also refers to Lenger Island in Pohnpei.

<sup>54</sup> Mwoakilloa Atoll in the Eastern Caroline Islands.

<sup>55</sup> Possibly Makin Atoll in Kiribati.

Comparison table of important vocabularies. {J32-34}

	Canoe	Sea	Island	Coconut	Person	Fish	Sun	Moon	Star	Chief	1	2	3	4	5
Marshall	<u>wa</u>	<u>lojit</u>	<u>ailiñ</u>	<u>ni</u>	<u>armij</u>	<u>iik</u>	<u>al</u>	<u>aliñ</u>	<u>ijū</u>	<u>iroij</u>	<u>juō n</u>	<u>rūo</u>	<u>jilū</u>	<u>emen</u>	<u>lalim</u>
Kosrae	<u>oak</u>	<u>mkab</u>	<u>tuai</u>	<u>nū</u>	<u>met</u>	<u>iik</u>	<u>twāt</u>	<u>malem</u>	<u>itū</u>	<u>leūm</u>	<u>sra</u>	<u>lo</u>	<u>tol</u>	<u>an</u>	<u>lom</u>
Pohnpei	<u>war</u>	<u>jet</u>	<u>jampa</u>	<u>ni</u>	<u>aremaj</u>	<u>mam</u>	<u>kajiben</u>	<u>jonbn</u>	<u>ijū</u>	<u>nanmariki</u>	<u>euo</u>	<u>rao</u>	<u>jilū</u>	<u>paio</u>	<u>limao</u>
Kiribati	<u>war</u>	<u>tari</u>	<u>aba</u>	<u>ni</u>	<u>aomata</u>	<u>ika</u>	<u>tai</u>	<u>namakina</u>	<u>itai</u>	<u>uea</u>	<u>teūana</u>	<u>uoūa</u>	<u>tenū</u>	<u>aūa</u>	<u>nimaūa</u>
Chuuk	<u>werwa</u>	<u>jet</u>	<u>falūi</u>	<u>lū</u>	<u>armaj</u>	<u>iik</u>	<u>jol</u>	<u>meram</u>	<u>fūs</u>	<u>jamol</u>	<u>eiū</u>	<u>rūo</u>	<u>jilū</u>	<u>emen</u>	<u>lalum</u>
Saipan	<u>werub</u>	<u>jet</u>	<u>falūi</u>	<u>lū</u>	<u>armaj</u>	<u>iik</u>	<u>jol</u>	<u>meram</u>	<u>fūs</u>	<u>jamol</u>	<u>jot</u>	<u>rurū</u>	<u>eel</u>	<u>tañ</u>	<u>lim</u>
Chamorro	<u>galaite</u>	<u>tasi</u>	<u>tano; isla</u>	<u>semente- ra cocál</u>	<u>taūtan</u>	<u>gūihan</u>	<u>etolaū</u>	<u>pulan</u>	<u>estreyas; pution</u>	<u>kenerál</u>	<u>un</u>	<u>dos</u>	<u>tres</u>	<u>cūatro</u>	<u>sineo</u>
Yap	<u>mou</u>	<u>tai</u>	<u>ribobnao</u>	<u>utūb</u>	<u>kiti</u>	<u>nik</u>	<u>jal</u>	<u>būl</u>	<u>tūb</u>	<u>bilūm</u>	<u>rob</u>	<u>rū</u>	<u>tabib</u>	<u>aniñek</u>	<u>lal</u>
Palau	<u>tabi</u>	<u>taub</u>	<u>kūkta- rablū</u>	<u>moñūr</u>	<u>rokat</u>	<u>ñekāl</u>	<u>jilis</u>	<u>poil</u>	<u>tūb</u>	<u>meretir</u>	<u>kaimoñ</u>	<u>terañ</u>	<u>tetei</u>	<u>tawañ</u>	<u>teim</u>
Malay	<u>galūr</u>	<u>laūtan</u>	<u>pūlañ</u>	<u>nyūūr</u>	<u>arang</u>	<u>ikan</u>	<u>matahari</u>	<u>būlan</u>	<u>bintang</u>	<u>pen-ghūlū</u>	<u>satū</u>	<u>dūa</u>	<u>tiga</u>	<u>ampat</u>	<u>lima</u>
Marquesas, Polynesia	<u>vaka</u>	<u>tai</u>	<u>motū</u>	-	<u>póí</u>	<u>ika, ova</u>	-	<u>makina</u>	-	<u>lakaiki</u>	-	-	-	-	-
Nauru	<u>temanū</u>	<u>ñijet</u>	<u>eb</u>	<u>Jni</u>	<u>eñame</u>	<u>jiō</u>	<u>ekūan</u>	<u>maramen</u>	<u>ettan</u>	<u>temoniba</u>	<u>aikuor</u>	<u>aro</u>	<u>eitū</u>	<u>aeok</u>	<u>Eimū</u>



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The above sections are certainly insufficient materials to draw a conclusion but make us think that the settlement history was not simple.

I can make the following outline based on these, (1) possible original inhabitants, perhaps Negrito, (2) migration from the west (Micronesia), and (3) migration from the east and the southeast (Polynesia), which seem to be reasonable ones.

The islanders' physical characteristics vary significantly among them. However, this variability should not be dealt with as only "average" in physical anthropological measurements. The most evident example could be that if one flips a blue brush from the west coast to the east in a Pacific map and flips a red brush from the east coast to the west, the area of the Marshall Islands will become purple.

Further, some scholars discuss Native American people's influence on Polynesian culture. If this is the case, this island group's culture cannot be simply treated as Malay culture. In addition, slingshots in Palau, the Marshalls, and the Marquesas are nearly identical to each other. The Marquesas language and the Marshallese language share similar vocabularies (e.g., *waka*, *ika*). That is, looking at the interactions and the spread of the Pacific ethnic cultures, it is possible to assume that its settlement was not completed in a short time such as a thousand years.

#### **Upon putting down my pen**

I must put down my pen here since I am finishing the given space. According to my initial plan, I was going to list up those legends that I used as grounds for argument, but need to give up this.

Additionally, I did not collect legends from one elder but tried to verify them with others many times. This is because I know islanders often tell a lie.