



INFORMATION BULLETIN

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NOTE FROM THE CO-ORDINATOR

This issue contains two contributions on shellfish. Anna Tiraa-Passfield examines shellcraft production by women in Tuvalu and Akira Goto presents the results of his detailed study of shell money production by the Langalanga people of Malaita, Solomon Islands.

A second contribution by Akira Goto provides an outline reconstruction of some aspects of the now rapidly-changing fisheries tradition of the Langalanga.

With the permission of the author and the editor of the Senri Ethnological Studies, both of Dr. Goto's contributions have been abstracted from a larger study of Langalanga economic activities (see Publications section).

A note on grouper spawning aggregations at Tongareva, Cook Islands, by Kelvin Passfield concludes the contributions to this issue.

Please keep this bulletin in mind when you are writing up your reports and share your experiences with other members of this Special Interest Group. Any and all contributions are welcomed. We are interested in news, reports of recent progress (or lack thereof), formal announcements, recent publications, reviews or abstracts.

Kenneth Ruddle

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The uses of shells in traditional Tuvaluan handicrafts

by Anna Tiraa-Passfield

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This paper examines the collection and utilization of shells in handicraft production in Tuvalu. Of particular interest were those made by women living on the islands of Funafuti and Nukufetau (See Figure 1). These two islands were chosen for study because they are the major suppliers of shells and shell handicrafts.

Introduction

Shell handicrafts have a strong traditional significance for the people of the islands of Tuvalu. Shell jewelry used to be considered a prized possessions on Vaitupu (Koch, 1983). On special occasions the men of Niutao would wear a headband woven from women's hair decorated with six or seven cowrie shells. Excavations of ancient graves on Vaitupu and Nukufetau yielded necklaces and pendants made from motherof-pearl and cowrie shells, among other things (Koch, 1983). Today, shell handicrafts are given to relatives or friends departing Tuvalu. They are also given to guests at special functions, visiting high-ranking officials, and are worn by men and women when performing the fatele (a local dance).

Handicraft production has become a major-income generating activity for the women of Tuvalu. Several local women indicated that they earn up to AU\$40.00 per week by making shell handicrafts. Seventeen per cent of women over 15 years of age earn a significant income from handicraft production, averaging AU\$10.00 per week. Fifteen per cent of all income generated by women is derived from handicrafts (Tausi & Posselt, 1996).

Five main species of shell are used in handicraft production. They are two species of white cowrie (**pule kena**), *Cypraea obvelata*, the gold-ring cowrie, and *C. moneta*, money cowrie, and a black cowrie (**pule uli**), *C. caputserpentis*, commonly known as snakeshead cowrie. The money cowrie is the commonest and so the most widely-used of the species. Two species of land gastropod, both locally referred to as **misa** (*Melambus luteus* and *M. fasciatus*),

are the other shells used. Other species of shell are seldom used because they are too fragile.

At least 25 named handicrafts that utilise shells are made by women. Some items, such as necklaces, are made entirely of shells. Shells can also be used to decorate certain items, such as napkin rings, for example. The different types of shell handicrafts, their cost price and materials used in their manufacture are listed in Table 1 on page 4.



Figure 1: Map of Tuvalu

Collection and preparation of shells

Shells are collected mainly by women and children. The handicrafts using **misa** are usually made in Funafuti from shells collected locally. Although the three species of **pule** (cowries) are found in Funafuti, they are uncommon on the main islet, where most people live. I was told that they are fairly common on the uninhabited islets. However, a boat is needed to reach them, thus making it harder for women to harvest shells there. **Pule kena** and **pule uli** are the main shells harvested in Nukufetau. **Misa** is also collected, but is mainly used for decorating some handicrafts.

Misa

Misa collection was observed on Funafuti, where they are collected by women and children. These shells are found in shady moist areas under coral rubble and debris on land. Apparently the best times to collect them are when it is rainy or on nights with a new or first-quarter moon. At these times misa move to the surface of their shelter, making collection easier. Collection at other times involves sorting and turning over coral rubble.

Misa are usually collected into a plastic bottle with a lid (if there is no lid, rolled tree leaves are used as a stopper). A kerosene pressure lamp is used for night collecting.

After collection, some women kill **misa** by pouring hot water over them. They are then transferred to a 20 kg flour sack, which is put in a shady place out of the direct sunlight, to prevent the shells from losing their lustre. If **misa** are not killed immediately they are left in the sack to die. Some women bury them instead, and the meat is eaten by various insects. After about a week the shells are washed and cleaned in the sea. They are then rinsed in diluted bleach to remove any smell.

Holes are made in the shell with a nail attached to a piece of wood. A shell is secured firmly in a cavity in a piece of a coral rock, and then the nail is pushed gently but firmly through the shell. Depending on the type of handicraft to be made, one or two holes are made in particular parts of the shell. The shells are then threaded with either nylon fishing line or local material, such as taa (see glossary).

Pule kena and pule uli

I observed the collection and preparation of **pule kena** and **pule uli** on the island of Nukufetau. **Pule kena** is collected with bare hands at low tide. This shell occurs mostly under coral rocks in intertidal pools on the lagoon reef flat. The best times to collect **pule kena** is at low tide when it is rainy or at night. At these times the animals make their way to the surface of the rocks.

The mid-rib of an old pandanus leaf is used as a tool to remove the **pule kena** from holes in the coral. The live shells are collected in a can or a plastic container, such as a bowl. When collecting at night, a kerosene pressure lamp is used. Collectors normally stay out for 2–3 hours, during which time they can collect 500 or more shells.

When I observed the collection of **pule kena**, rocks were overturned to remove the animal from them. The rocks were not returned to their original position. I counted between 5 and 15 **pule kena** per rock of dinner-plate size.

Pule uli are normally collected on an outgoing tide on the outer reef. They are collected mainly by women. They are best sought when it is sunny, because the dark colouring of the shell reflects the light, making it easier to see them.

The preparation of **pule kena** and **pule uli** is very similar to that of **misa**. However, instead of being rinsed in diluted bleach they are soaked for a day in a bucket of fresh water.

Pule kena and **pule uli** are hard shells. I observed hole-making using a nail tapped with a pair of pliers.

Marketing

Few tourists visit Tuvalu. The major buyers of shell handicrafts are therefore Tuvaluans, with shell necklaces being the most popular items.

The major outlet for women's handicrafts is the Tuvalu Women's Handicraft Co-op. Ltd. (Handicraft Centre). The main centre is in Funafuti, with branches on most of the outer islands. The Funafuti centre buys handicrafts once a week from both women and men. There are about six private retailers who also buy handicrafts, mainly necklaces. They sell their goods mainly outside the airport, when the plane calls into Funafuti.

Table 1: Handicrafts made with shells in Tuvalu

Handicraft name	Description	Price AU\$	Materials used
Shell necklaces (Tui)			
Pule pepe ¹	Butterfly	1.90	pule kena, pule uli, plant seeds (fuaga uli) or misa for decoration; nylon fishing line
Tui fafetu ²	Star	2.60	as above
Tui fafetu tonga ³	Star	1.90	as above
Tui masela ⁴		1.90	misa uli or pule kena, lau kie (fine pandalus leaves) coloured using local or imported dyes, raffia (polypropylene film), wool, cardboard and nylon fishing line
Pule feitu tasi	Triangle	1.70	pule kena or misa, nylon fishing line, misa or plant seeds for decoration
Pule fakavasa	Double strand	1.90	pule kena and nylon fishing line
Tui misa tuatasi	Single strand	0.80	misa and nylon fishing line
Tui misa tualua Tui misa fakavasa Tui misa fuli ki loto/tua	Double strand Double strand Spiral	1.30 1.90	as above misa kena , misa uli , nylon fishing line
Pendants (Malele)	-		
Malele kena pule tasi	Single flower	2.00	pule kena, plant seeds, coloured or plain taa
Malele kena pule tolu	Three flowers	2.50	as above
Malele kena pule uli tasi	Single flower with black cowrie	2.00	pule kena, pule uli and taa
Malele paa ⁵	Bonito hook made of mother-of-pearl	3.00	Mother-of-pearl shell and kolokolo (coconut sennit)
Hair clasp (Pine ulu)			
Pine pule/misa		1.80	pule kena or misa, cardboard, taa or raffia or lau kie (fine pandanus leaf), togo (Rhizophora mangle) or gie (Pemphis acidula)
Brooch (Pine faka mau gatu)			
Pine faka mau gatu misa Pine faka mau gatu pule		0,80 0.80	misa, safety pin, taa or nylon fishing line pule kena, safety pin, taa or nylon fishing line
Headband (Fou)		1.70	woven lau fala (pandanus leaves and lau kie (fine pandanus leaf) usually coloured with local dyes), misa or pule or both, nylon fishing line or very fine kolokolo (coconut sennit) or taa , needle to thread taa or kolokolo
Earring (Ligi) pule/misa		2.00	earring hooks, pule kena or misa or both , or pule uli , nylon fishing line or taa
Door curtain (Pui mataloa)		30.00	pule or misa nylon fishing line
Belt (Fusi)			
Fusi pule		3.30	pule, lau fala, dyed lau kie, nylon fishing line or taa
Fusi misa		2.20	misa, lau fala, dyed lau kie, nylon fishing line or taa or fine kolokolo
Napkin rings (Mea fao sologutu pule)		3.00 per set	pule kena, lau fala, taa or nylon fishing line or fine kolokolo
Basket (Ato pukupuku pule)		5.00	pule kena, nylon fishing line
Vase (Teu pule)		12.00 big 3.00 small	pule kena , nylon fishing line and sometimes misa for decoration

¹ Twenty-four inches is the standard length of the strand. A strand consists of about 80 pule kena.

 $^{^{2}}$ Twenty-four inch strand. The star is made up of 65 small **pule kena** and 5 **pule uli**.

³ Star without the pointed tips, edge of star arms rounded.

⁴ Has its origin from the Marshall Islands.

⁵ Traditionally, the masterfisherman of Niutao wore a necklace of mother-of-pearl shell bonito hooks. Each hook represents an occasion when 100 or more tuna are caught by the masterfisherman at one time (pers. comm., Laisini).

Three times a year the Funafuti Centre orders cowrie necklaces through its branch in Nukufetau. Each order is usually for about 200 pieces. Each women is limited to no more than 20 necklaces, in order to be fair to the suppliers. However, it is not uncommon for the women of Nukufetau to send their goods on the inter-island ship to relatives in Funafuti for them to sell on their behalf. They are sold either to the Funafuti Centre or to private retailers. Table 1 lists the cost price of shell handicrafts. The retail price is determined by adding a 30 per cent mark up.

Unworked shells (**misa** and **pule kena**) are also sold either to the handicraft centre or to private retailers. They are bought by the center for \$5.00 per bag of 1,000 shells. The retail price for all bags of shells is \$7.20. **Pule uli** are sold individually depending on size. The price ranges from 6 to 10 cents each.

In Nukufetau, where most of the cowrie shells come from, the **pule kena** is sold by the 500 g 'Irish Cake' tobacco can, which holds about 1,400 shells. They are sold to the Handicraft Centre for \$5.00 per can or to private retailers for \$7.00. I was informed that it is easier for the women to sell the **pule kena** in a tobacco can than to count out the 1,000 shells required for bagged sales.

The **tui fafetu** and **tui pepe** are the most common shell handicrafts made in Nukufetau. They are also the most profitable. Approximately 150 **pule kena** and 5 **pule uli** are used in making the **tui fafetu**. About 10 **tui fafetu** (each worth \$2.60) can be made from one tobacco can full of **pule kena**. Each can of **pule kena** is therefore worth about \$26.00, compared to the \$5.00 or \$7.00 obtained for the unworked shells.

The export of shell handicrafts for sale overseas is limited, although most leave the country as gifts with departing friends and relatives. It is not unusual to see 10 or more necklaces around the necks of departing passengers. The Handicraft Centre exports some shell goods to 'Jack's Handicrafts', in Fiji. I was also informed by a handicraft producer that recently one of the private retailers has established a market in Western Samoa. Table 2 shows the value of handicrafts sold through the Handicraft Centre during the period 1990–1995.

These data most likely underestimate the sales of goods from Nukufetau, and overestimate those sold through the Handicraft Centre for Funafuti. This is because many of the necklaces and other items sold directly to the Centre by women on Funafuti may have come from relatives in Nukufetau, and would be misrepresented in the data as originating from Funafuti. Sales through the private retailers are also not accounted for.

Table 2: Value of handicrafts through the Women's Handicraft Centre, 1990–1995

Year	Total value in AU\$		
	Funafuti	Nukufetau	
1990	1564.55	416.40	
1991	5777.20	3364.58	
1992	7962.30	3413.52	
1993	9176.90	834.56	
1994	3535.59	2864.66	
1995	3216.10	1913.92	

Management

The National Government has no regulations covering the collection of shells. However, in 1994, the Nukufetau Maneapa ('Council of Elders') placed a verbal ban on the export of unworked pule and pule uli from Nukufetau. It did not include the export to Funafuti of handicrafts using these shells. Previously, large quantities of shells were collected for relatives in Funafuti to produce handicrafts for sale. The local economy missed out on revenue made from the sale of the goods. The ruling effectively encourages 'value adding' to the raw material on Nukufetau. Although no fines are imposed, an offender can expect to be called to the **Maneapa** to receive counselling from the elders.

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you to my main informant, Senitenati Taliu, the Island Council of Nukufetau, Faasi Sopoaga and the people of Nukufetau whose hospitality was given in true Pacific style. Shell identifications were done by Terry Lambert and Ed Saul, on Rarotonga. Lastly I thank my husband for his encouragement. *Fakafetai lasi*

Glossary of common local names

Misa: Melambus luteus and M. fasciatus.
Pule kena: Cypraea obvelata and C.
moneta.

Pule uli: Cypraea caputserpentis.

Taa: Processed pre-emergent coconut leaves, those tightly packed together in the coconut 'spike', known as '**rito**' in the Cook Islands.

Tui fafetu: A shell necklace made of **pule kena** and **pule uli**. The central pattern is a star.

Tui pepe: A shell necklace made from **pule kena** and **pule uli**. The central pattern is in the form of a butterfly.

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Shell money production in Langalanga, Malaita Province, Solomon Islands

by Akiro Goto1

Introduction

Shell money has been one of the most important cultural items in Melanesia. There are several types: cowrie shells, beads, rings and drum-shaped, among others. The cowrie-shell type also occurred in mainland South-East Asia and East Asia and has been an important item for exchange and accumulation in Papua New Guinea. Shell beads can be used both as ornamentation and as money. This type is widely distributed in Melanesia, occurring in Papua New Guinea, the Bismarck Archipelago, Solomon Islands, New Caledonia and Vanuatu. In Western Province (New Georgia) of Solomon Islands, ring-type shell money (poata) was used. Poata is a large 7-15 cm diameter ring made from giant clam shells, and used for bride price and exchanged for slaves, stones, bark cloth, shields, necklaces and bird eggs. In the Choiseul Islands of Solomon Islands a drum-shaped money (kisa) made of giant clam shells was used. It had different exchange rates according to size (Miller, 1978).

Langalanga, of Malaita Province, Solomon Islands, is among the few areas where shell money is still produced. The approximately 2,000 Langalanga people inhabit the Langalanga Lagoon area of the central west coast of Malaita Island, one of seven provinces that comprise Solomon Islands (Fig. 1). For the study of resource use and shell money production among the Langalanga, I stayed for about a total of three months in Abalolo village¹. Abalolo villagers subsist mainly by fishing, gardening or collecting. Their main marine resource zones are the sea beyond the reef, outer islands, reefs around outer islands or, in the lagoon, the lagoon itself and coastal reefs. Their terrestrial resource zones are the coastal plain, mangrove between villages, rivers, river terraces and mountain slopes.

Shell-money production in Langalanga

The Langalanga produce the shell-bead type of shell money, which occurs widely in Central Solomon Islands. Four species of shells are used: romu (*Chama* pacifica), ke'e (*Beguina semiorbiculata*), kakandu

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^{2 11} August - 12 September 1990, 30 July - 31 August 1992 and 25 April - 31 May 1994.

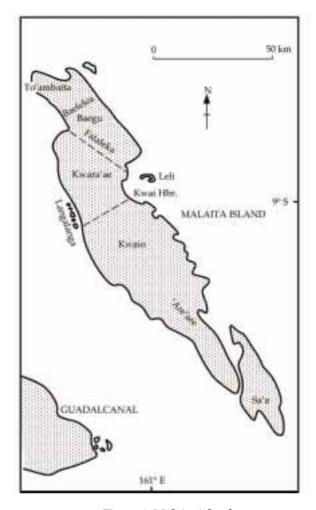


Figure 1: Malaita island

(Anadara granosa), and kurila (Atrina vexillum).

Shell beads are produced as follows. Shells are crushed with an iron hammer on a flat stone (fou-li-ui) to remove the hinges and other useless parts. Shell fragments (kwai fuloa) are then held with fingers and retouched with hammers, to make approximately 1 cm diameter round disks (didia suiro).

Disks of **romu** and **kakandu** shells, which retain a rough surface, are then smoothed on concave pieces of limestone (**fou-li-safa**). About 40–50 disks are placed on a half-cut smoothing stone (**ma'ai**), and are smoothed on the **fou-li-safa** by pushing down and moving the **ma'ai** with both hands. Water and crushed sandstone are used as grinding agents.

All disks are then drilled in the middle, from both sides. Traditionally, pump drills (futa) were used, but these have been replaced by more efficient store-bought

hand-drills. Drilled disks (kwakwa suiro) are then pierced and strung together, a process called urufia. At this stage the disks can be used as shell money, but usually they are polished into smaller beads.

To make beads, strings of shell disks some 3 m long are placed on an elongated wooden stand, and ground with polishing stones. This is the hardest work in the production process, and is often done by males. It yields round beads with diameters of 3–5 mm.

Beads of **ke'e** shell are then burned on an iron plate heated on a stove, to change their colour from dark purple to orange. This process, called **para**, and is one of the most important steps in shell money production.

If not heated enough, beads become improperly coloured; if heated too much they become too white, and so useless. The colour of **ke'e** shell is an important factor for the value and price of several types of shell money.

Shell money is produced in households by women. Children often help their mothers to reshape and drill the discs. But polishing strung shell beads is men's work, although women do it occasionally. Men and children also string shell beads. In 1990, only women were observed burning **ke'e** shell beads, but in 1992, I noted that men occasionally do this work.

Kinds of shell money

The Langalanga people make various kinds of shell money, both for themselves and for other tribes. Their indigenous shell money used for bride gift is **isae galia**, made only of white beads of **kakandu** shell.

Isae galia are made of ten strings (fula) of kakandu shell beads with a diameter of about 10 mm. Each string is folded twice in the middle before being bundled. Thus isae galia appears to be made of 40 strings that are about 50 cm long. Since isae galia is the proper shell money for the Langalanga people, they hesitate to sell it to outsiders.

The shell money produced in Langalanga and distributed widely throughout the island is **akwala afu**. **Akwala afu** means

'ten (strings) together' in the Langalanga language.³

Akwala afu is subdivided into several types according to length, measured by parts of the human body: awae-rarate ('tip of the chin'), obe-susu ('over the chest'), tari-bo'o ('reaching the navel'), gwae-uruuru ('reaching the knee'), and buigao ('standing in the middle'). The longer the akwala afu, the higher the price.

A special type of **akwala afu**, **maifuo** ('net of diamond shape') is the most valuable shell money made by the Langalanga. To make **maifuo**, ten strings are combined into a net shape in the middle. On each string white (**kakandu**), black (**kurila**) and red (**ke'e** or **romu**) beads are arranged according to strict rules.

In former times only **romu** shells seem to have been used for red beads, but **ke'e** beads are substituted nowadays. However, **romu** beads are preferred in the middle part of strings. In particular, the netted parts of **maifuo** must be made from **romu**. The Langalanga are especially careful of the quality of **romu** shell. The most valuable kind is called **firai** and has a salmon pink colour. **Romu** shell lacking enough colour for shell money is called **romu** ko. A **maifuo** made only of **firai** is called **bata firai**. Such **maifuo** has a legendary reputation.

Several parts of akwala afu are distinguished according to the kinds of shell beads used. From the middle to the end are the firai romu, lige bata ke'e, lige kurila, lige bata ke'e, and lige furu (lige = side). **Lige furu**, at both ends of each string, consists of white and black beads arranged alternately. But the diameter of the black beads is smaller than that of the white beads. This imbalance looks strange, since the diameter of beads on one akwala afu should be the same. This has arisen because the black **furu** beads were formerly made of plant seeds named **furu**, but black shell beads with a small diameter have been substituted for original materials that are no longer obtainable.

Except for the **furu part**, the beads in one **akwala afu** all have the same diameter. But the Langalanga distinguish between **bata baela** ('big money') and **bata wawade** ('small money'). The beads of the former have a larger diameter. Among the Langalanga both types have equal value, but the Lau people seem to prefer **bata baela** to **bata wawade**, because they believe that since the former is newly-made shell money, it becomes **bata wawade** after being used for generations and so worn down. (However, **bata wawade** requires more labor than **bata baela**, since it requires more polishing.)

The shell money made most frequently in Langalanga is safi, which consists of a single string of ke'e. Ke'e is used among Kwaio and 'Are'are people, in the south of the island. They obtain safi from the Langalanga and rearrange them into their own shell money. When finished, strings of safi are either taken to the Honiara market and sold, or exchanged locally with the Kwaio and 'Are'are people.

For the Kwaio tribe, Langalanga people make several types of shell money⁴. I observed the production of **fafa'a** and baniau. **Fafa'a** is made of small white snail shell (**soela** in Langalanga, and **mamalakwai** in Kwaio). **Bane au** has six strings of **ke'e**, **kakandu** and **kurila** beads. Unlike **akwala afu**, this shell money is not symmetrical: one side is **ke'e/kakandu**, and another side is **kurila/kakandu**. The former is called 'head' and the latter 'tail.'

For people on Guadalcanal, the Langalanga make yet another type of shell money, talina. This type has three strings of ke'e, kakandu and kurila. Unlike akwala afu, talina has kakandu with kurila beads in the middle.

Bride gift and functions of Langalanga shell money

Isae galia and **akwala afu** are used today as bride gift and for other purposes, like funerals. **Akwala afu** is also used to obtain important items, such as pigs, canoes and yams from other tribes.

³ It is known as tafulia'e among the Kwara'ae and Lau, a more widely-used name (e.g. in Solomon Islands National Museum exhibitions) than the Langalanga term.

In 1994, I observed shell money production in the Kwaio village of Kwa'a. There women were drilling and stringing white snail shells (mamalakwai) but men were responsible for arranging the shell money for bride gift. The kinds of shell money used among the Kwaio are: lakwalaka (one string of mamala kwai), genilabi (2 strings), sauoru (3 strings), fafa (4 strings), nima ae (5 strings), baniau (6 strings), ono galia safi afuafu (6 strings with red safi), and fiu galia (7 strings mixed with safi and mamal kwai).

In Langalanga, the boy's family has to pay engagement money (**galina**) to the girl's. **Galina** means 'to close (or taboo) the girl to other boys.' If the engagement is set, the boy's side starts accumulating shell money for bride gift (**kwatena**)⁵.

Traditionally, only isae galia was used for bride gift, but nowadays both akwala afu and isae galia are used. The Langalanga regard two isae galia as equal to one akwala afu, although the cash price of the latter is much higher than the former. They count the number of akwala afu by recalculating it by the number of isae galia. The amount of shell money paid for bride gift is negotiated beforehand between the two sides.

In addition to the bride gift, **wainuma** must be paid to the girl's mother, to express special thanks to her for having raised the girl⁶. A **maifuo** should be used for **wainuma**.

On the day of the engagement payment, the boy's relatives go together to the girl's village. Shell money is placed on the ground in front of the girl's house, where a specialist is usually employed to count it. After the engagement payment has been made, a refund (du'una), consisting either of shell money, strings of isae galia or cash, is paid by the boy's relatives to those of the girl.

Shell money production in transition

Cooper (1971) noted that shells for production of money were exhausted in the late 1960s, since the Langalanga were either buying shells from other areas or going elsewhere to collect them. The situation seems worse now. Although **ke'e** and **romu** can still be collected in Langalanga Lagoon, supplies are insufficient. During one month in Abalolo in 1990, I observed that village women went diving for these shells only once. In 1992, I noted that one villager paid a diving specialist to collect **romu** shells from deep beds near the mangrove.

Nowadays, people usually buy bagged shells in the Honiara market. Each bag is supposed to contain 25 kg. **Romu**, the most valuable shell, is sold by the piece. Shells are also sourced from Malaita and neighbouring islands, as well as from such distant islands as New Georgia.

Among the three basic elements for shell money (red, white and black), the red shells seem to be the most crucial. Traditionally, the fishing grounds of **romu** shell were strictly managed, and only men who observed proper rituals could dive for them. But **romu** is now too scarce and expensive, so **ke'e** shells are used for all except for the central part of **akwala afu** and **maifuo**. But recently **ke'e** shells also have become expensive.

The red elements of shell beads other than shell money tend to have been replaced by non-traditional shells, such as **se'ere**, small snail shells with a red interior part. For instance, I have collected **sau-sako** (chest band for ceremony) and modern necklaces made with red beads of **se'ere**. This process of replacement of materials appears to have begun with peripheral items or those for informal use and is proceeding toward central items or those for more formal use.

Modern necklaces and other ornaments that are either worn for personal adornment or sold as souvenirs seem to have the least strict rules for production. As a result products with totally new elements, such as a purple element made from sea snails, are now being produced. Technological change does not appear to occur simultaneously for all the products or parts. For shell money, production of which is under strict rules, the speed of change is slower than for other items.

Tools used to make shell money are also changing. Nowadays store-bought iron hammers are used to crack and shape shells. Traditionally long pebbles collected in the rivers were used. Traditionally, too, pump drills (futa) were used for drilling. They were made of wooden sticks with disks of turtle bone. A pointed flake of chert (ladi) was attached to the end of the stick. Polishing was traditionally done with sandstone from the rivers, but nowadays store-bought grinding stones have been substituted.

Shell money was produced either for marriage of families and relatives or for exchange of important items. Thus production labour was not evaluated in cash. But nowadays some villagers temporarily employ others, usually women, for shaping and drilling shell beads. Men are often

⁵ Kwatenah has been translated as 'bride price' by Westerners, but the villagers prefer to translate the term as 'bride gift'.

⁶ The same custom was reported among the Lau (Ivens, 1930: 95-96).

employed for polishing. The pay is \$1.50 to drill a 200 g fish can full of shell disks, and about \$3.00 to polish a string of safi.

Since 1990 drilled ke'e disks have been sold at the village store at \$0.20 for 30 disks. Villagers sell ke'e disks to the store, and then buy items with the money. Traditionally, shell beads obtained a value only after being properly arranged into shell money, but nowadays they constitute a form of cash among the Langalanga. For example, in 1992 one household killed a pig, and sold pieces of meat to other villagers, some of whom paid with strings of **ke'e**. In Gwa'edalo, one man buys shells for shell money, and distributes them to the other villagers. He then pays cash for drilled disks returned to him. Thus it is evident that a small-scale division of labour and a cottage industry are emerging as a new form of shell money production.

Economic efficiency of shell money production

By the 1960s Cooper (1971) had already observed that the shell-money production of the Langalanga was in transition. Shell money is one of a few ways that the Langalanga can obtain cash. My time-allocation (Goto, 1996) study demonstrated that people spent 2–5 hours a day at this work, and that both men and women devote most of their time to shell-money production. Thus it is by far the most important economic activity among the Langalanga, and the penetration of the cash economy must have had a profound social impact.

One of the most important changes is that shell money itself can now be sold for cash; each type has a specific price, so the value of shell money has come to be equated with cash. Shell money together with shell ornaments can be either sold locally or taken to the Honiara market for sale.

To estimate the economic efficiency of shellmoney production, I measured the time spent for each stage of **safi** production, except for polishing (which takes several hours), estimated the average number of shells contained in one rice bag, counted the number of tablets made from a half shell, and estimated the wastage rate during the production process. In this way I estimate that it takes about 14–15 hours to finish one string of **safi**, and that about 10 strings of **safi** can be made from one rice bag of **ke'e**.

(These estimates accord well with those made by villagers interviewed on the topic.)

Since one string of **safi** is sold for \$30.00, one hour of shell-money-production labour is worth \$2.75 (after the purchase price of the **ke'e** is deducted). But this is an estimate of ideal situations, since it assumes that the rice bag is full of shells, whereas they usually contain less than 25 kg, and that the wastage rate during production of shell tablets is only a minimal 10 per cent. But in reality other factors reduce the profitability of production labour. First, several tools must be purchased; rubbing stones (one stone for 6-10 strings of safi costs \$3.00-6.00), strings (40 yards for \$1.80), drills (\$20.00 each), and drill-needles (\$2.00 each). If the final product has to be taken for sale in Honiara, transportation costs and living expenses are incurred. Further, not all the purchased shells are made into shell money for sale. Some shell money is retained for traditional exchange or for gifts, and some shells are used to make ornaments for the maker's own use. Given these additional factors, the profit from shellmoney production is much lower, probably around \$1.00 per hour of labour input.

Conclusions

The Langalanga have retained a central role in the local Malaita economy (cf. Ross, 1978). In the exchange economy between the 'sea' and the 'bush' peoples, the Langalanga, together with the Lau, have traditionally supplied marine resources to the inland tribes. In particular, the Langalanga have been the sole supplier of the shell money that has been the keystone in social transactions.

The Langalanga make shell money (**isae** galia) for use among themselves. At the same time they also make shell money (akwala afu) both for exchange within their society and for trading with other peoples for a restricted range of items (e.g. pigs, canoes, yams). The Langalanga also make the shell money or string (e.g. **safi** for the Are'are and Kwaio and fafa'a for the Kwaio) purely for exchange. The penetration of the cash economy into this system has thus created a new cycle of exchange: 'shell money fi cash fi a wide range of items.' In addition, among the Langalanga shell beads (before being composed into shell money) have entered this new cycle as a kind of cash.

Unlike other areas, where shell money production has ceased (e.g. Belshaw, 1950), shell-bead craft (i.e., making shell money and ornaments) among the Langalanga has thus been accommodated within on-going socio-economic changes. Although shell money as 'bride gift' is still the basis for social bonds among the Langalanga, this craft has attained economic importance under the increased influence of the cash economy (Cooper, 1971). The availability of local raw materials for shell beads has diminished, so that shells must now be supplied from other areas. In addition, the introduction of new tools, such as drills and polishing stones, has increased productive efficiency.

Analyses of food consumption indicate that introduced foods, such as rice and canned fish, have become increasingly important in local diet. To purchase these requires cash, so more time is spent making shell beads. But even more cash is required to cover the increasing cost of shells and to purchase tools.

Analyses of time allocation (Goto, 1996) demonstrate that the time spent on shell-bead production competes with the time required for other productive activities, such as gardening and fishing. Since commercial fishing is still underdeveloped, the shell-bead-production craft is almost the only way of coping with the penetration of the cash economy.

The concentration of the younger generation, especially single women, on shell-bead craft could lead to a decrease in gardening and collecting. Young men tend to migrate to Honiara to seek wage labour. One of the serious effects of this is the declining interest in managing gardens and fishing grounds.

As elsewhere in Melanesia, Langalanga society is in transition. Although many societies have given up their indigenous technology, the Langalanga continue shell-bead production. Moreover, to cope with socio-economic changes they seem have become increasingly dependent on this traditional craft.

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Some aspects of fishing among the Langalanga of Malaita Province, Solomon Islands

by Akira Goto¹

Introduction

The Langalanga people, who inhabit the Langalanga Lagoon area of central-western Malaita island, Solomon Islands, have an extensive local fishing knowledge and technology. But under the pressure of recent cultural change much of this tradition gradually became lost. Abandoned fishing methods include the stone weir (afeafe and ere'ere), the fish-drive (*rarabu*) using coconut leaves, fish-poisoning, kite-fishing (kwaferao), and angling with a straight hook (lana). I attempted to reconstruct an outline of Langalanga fishing lore by interviewing skilled fishermen and examining remaining examples of fishing gear no longer used.

The daily gathering of marine resources provides the Langalanga with a stable food supply. Women go to mangrove zones to collect ko'a as well as such shellfish as ke'e (Beguina semiorbiculata) and **iloilo**. In the shallow reefs around the village and islands in the lagoon, women dive for such shellfish as wera (Conus sp.), nau (Millepes spp.) and ralili (Marmorostoma spp.). On the reef flats of the outer islands, a variety of crabs are caught. These shellfish and crabs are important supplements for the relatively unstable finfish catch.

Gear types

(1) Stone weirs

Formerly, the Langalanga constructed two types of stone weir, usually on the reefs of outer islands: the afeafe (with high walls) and the ere'ere (with low walls). The latter was used at low tide. Fishers removed part of the wall to release the fish, which were then caught in a round scoop net (atola) as they exited. The main catch comprised **uala** (sardine, Amblygaster spp.), dolala (mackerel, Rastrelliger kanagurta), mela (perch, Caesio spp.), alubala (rabbitfish, Oplegnathus spp. and Siganus spp.), and suru (emperor, Lethrinus spp.). Most stone weirs were damaged by cyclones and subsequently abandoned. Using aerial photographs I located two *ere'ere*, and visited one near Radefasu.

(2) Nets

The Langalanga used several kinds of nets (**fuo**). I observed two types of scoop net, one with a round frame (la'e) and another with a four-sided frame (scaff-net, *gale*). Both types were used in the shallow water. Four types of net are still used in the lagoon, an encircling net for *uala* in reef channels, the drive-in net, an encircling net for night-fishing at the river mouth, and 'blocking' nets. The blocking net is used in the river mouth at high tide. At low tide, several canoes go up the river and then drive the fish downstream into nets. In 1990 I observed that a few groups used encircling nets and a blocking net in the river mouth to catch fish for sale.

(3) Spearing

Spears (*fakarau*) with four iron points are used in the mangroves on the rising tide. Spears with short shanks or spear-guns are used for dive-fishing (mainly at night) to catch gwaile (parrotfish, Scarus spp.), bolo (surgeonfish, Acanthurus spp.), ume (unicornfish, Naso spp.), gome (mullet, Mugil spp.), and turtles. Some fishers use lamps (**iroiro**).

(4) Angling

The commonest fishing method is angling. Formerly it was done using lure hooks made of shell shanks, or with baited hooks made of bone, shell and metal. Lure hooks were mainly used for rau (bonito, Katsuwonus pelamis), and bait hooks were used, according to size, for either deep-sea fishing or for fishing in the lagoon. Baited hooks were traditionally attached to the end of the leader, below the sinker. Nowadays, influenced by the Japanese method, the iron sinker is placed at the bottom. **Uala** fish and **kokoro** shell are regarded as good bait (mamu). Fishhooks are now imported from Japan, and most are the U-shape type with barbs. The Langalanga distinguish two types of hooks,

oigege (bent point) and **oitoro** (straight point).

Small hooks, **filau wawade** (No. 9 hooks; shank length 2–3 cm) are used to catch **uala** and **mela** (fusiliers, *Caesio* spp.). Because they shine they also serve as a lure; fishers just pull up and down on the line and the **uala** are attracted. The same and longer types of hooks (No. 5 hooks) are used on bright nights for **buli** (squirrelfish, Holocentridae). Fishers attach two to five unbaited hooks, 50 cm apart, on the line. During the bright night and on the high tide they drift the line to catch **buli** and **duli mou** (Apogonidae).

For catching **baraulo** (barracuda, *Sphyraena* spp.), **karaona** (snapper, *Lutjanu*s spp.), and *mamalo* (threadfin-bream, *Pentapodus* spp.), medium hooks, **fanaruga** (No. 1-2 hooks; shank length 3–4 cm) are used, often with a wire leader. This type of fishing is done in water channels at night.

Large hooks (**lofo lae**) are used for deep-sea angling of such large fish as **ia bala** (emperors, Sparidae and *Paracaesio kusakarii*), **tori** (snappers, Lutjanidae) and **malifu** (snappers, *Lutjanus* spp.). Deep-sea fishing (**talamae kwalo**) with lure hooks with a white plastic shank has been done for several years. This method, known as **kura**, is said to have been introduced by Filipino fishers. The Langalanga have started to use round-shaped hooks that Japanese fishers use for tuna longlining.

Aspects of fishing activities in Abalolo Village

Of the fishing techniques described above, I observed in Abalolo Village angling in deep sea and the lagoon, spearing, netting, and collecting (including diving) for marine invertebrates. In 1990 no villager owned a net, but in 1992 one household had a seine net (cf. Laumani, 1989) used for fishing on the reef flats around the outer island.

Fishing is primarily for household subsistence, although casual exchange between villagers occurs. In 1990, one villager, using ice boxes provided by the Japanese Government, started to buy fish from other villagers and transported them to the Honiara market. However, by 1992 the enterprise had failed owing both to an insufficient supply of ice from the Division of Fisheries and the irregularity of transportation from Abalolo Village to the provincial capital of Auki, where there is a boat connection to Honiara.

In 1990 no beche-de-mer fishery existed in Langalanga Lagoon, but fishing so quickly developed subsequently that by 1992 the resource had already been overexploited near Abalolo village, and the fishery had already ceased. But in Ailau and Gwa'edalo villages some households catch and smoke beche-de-mer. Men catch them at night when the beche-de-mer move into shallow water. Dried beche-de-mer is sold in Honiara, the price varying by species and size. In 1994, one Langalanga man was exporting it to Australia.

Except for the daily collection of invertebrates by women, 60 of the 64 observed fishing trips were for angling, and 3 were for spearing. Hand-lining, pole-and-line, and deep-sea hand-lining were the methods used in angling. Women and two men often practise pole-and-line fishing in the lagoon, but the other men used only hand-lines (Table 1)

Fishing is usually done from a canoe. Abalolo villagers had 16 canoes and boats in use. Most canoes used for daily fishing were of the combined (2) and dugout (14) types. One household owned a motor-boat which was used for transportation. Two others owned motorised canoes, and one canoe was used for fishing and transport.

Table 1: Variation in fishing methods

	Deep-sea angling	Spearing	Angling	Pole- angling	Diving	Collecting	No. of individuals
Males	3 (3)1	3 (2)	10 (8)	(2)	1 (1)	0	13
Married females	0	0	12 (8)	(5)	13 (8)	15 (8)	16
Single females	0	0	6 (0)	(4)	8 (2)	9 (5)	10

¹ Numbers not in parentheses based on interviews, numbers in parentheses from actual observation.

The villagers identified a variety of fishing grounds, although some are no longer used (Fig.1). In particular, stone weirs and turtlehunting grounds near the outer islands have mostly been abandoned. Daily fishing activities are largely focused within a 5 km catchment, approximately a two-hour round trip paddling a canoe.

Most fishing grounds currently used are located in the southern half of Arabara Harbour, because small islands, including artificial islands like Ta'alulolo and Gwaefou, are mostly located there. The shallow reef flats around the island are the most productive grounds for catching finfish and shellfish. Angling grounds for mela and kulafu are also concentrated in this area, probably because of the distribution of reefs and channels.

The villagers' use of fishing zones is shown in Table 2. It demonstrates that angling grounds in the lagoon are by far the most important fishing areas for the Langalanga. Most fishing is done by single individuals (Table 3). Occasionally, two persons, usually husband and wife, do angling together. I once saw a group of three men doing deepsea angling, and the largest group I observed consisted of four men for turtle spearing at night.

Women frequently collect shellfish by walking on the beach or diving in front of the village and on reefs around the outer islands. Since such collecting activities are done during gardening or collecting of other coastal resources, I could not ascribe an exact frequency to them. But married women collect much more frequently than do single

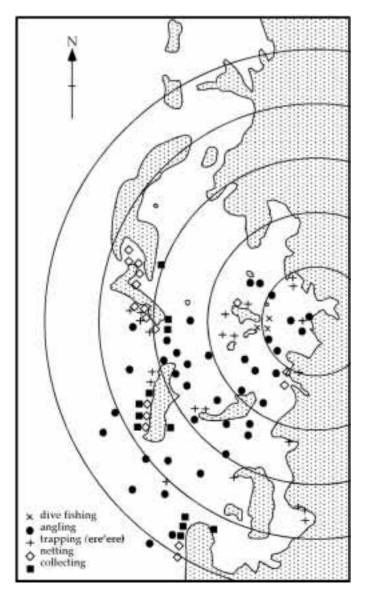


Figure 1: Fishing grounds close to Malaita Island

Table 2: Fishing trips by fishing grounds

Fishing ground	Number of trips	Males	Females
Near reef	9	5	4
Mangrove	1	1	0
Lagoon	43	40	3
Outer reef	8	7	1
Offshore	4	4	0
Total	65	57	8

Table 3: Fishing trips by number of people

No. of people	No. of trips	Males	Females	Males & females
1	56	49	7	_
2	5	2	1	2
3	3	2	1	0
4	1	1	0	0
Total	65	54	9	2

women. In particular, diving for shellfish is done by married women, although all the single women said that they could dive. Women often collected shellfish, crab and other invertebrates (e.g. takwai) when they went line-fishing.

The shellfish collected most often were **nau** (conch shell, Strombidae), abuli (giant clam, Tridacna spp.), abuli (cowrie, Cypraea spp.), and wera (cone shell, Conus spp.). Commonly caught crabs are ma'abua (Oziu guttatus), kuka-li-madama (Carpilus spp.) and upara (Geothelphusa dehaani). In contrast, men usually fish inside or outside the lagoon, but they often return without a catch.

Among the 60 angling trips observed, 19 were unsuccessful. In other words, nearly 30 per cent of fishing trips produced no catch. The average time spent for successful and unsuccessful trips was 4.39 hours (s.d.=2.55; n=35) and 2.56 hours (s.d.=2.04; n=21), respectively. The latter figure indicates that villagers may give up fishing after 2.5

The frequency of successful and unsuccessful trips in four weeks is indicated in Table 4. It is noteworthy that the ratio of successful to unsuccessful trips changed between the second and third weeks. The second week corresponded to a new moon period.

Table 4: Successful and unsuccessful fishing trips

Week	Successful	Unsuccessful	Total
1st	5	1	6
2nd	6	8	14
3rd	17	2	19
4th	13	10	23
Total	41	21	62

Fishing efficiency also changed by week (Table 5). The efficiency of successful trips did not change considerably, but if both successful and unsuccessful trips are combined, the actual efficiency fluctuated by the week. The energy expenditure for angling was about 156 kcal/hour (Kuchikura, 1988), and the yield of the successful fishing trips in Abalolo ranged mostly between 0.2 and 0.6 kg (Fig. 2). The energy efficiency of fishing is then estimated to range between 1.06 and 3.18 units. In the first week, most fishermen attempted to catch uala with unbaited hooks, and then to catch kulafu and other bottom-fish with uala-baited hooks. In the second week, it became difficult to catch **uala**, and therefore other fish as well.

Usually, fishers spent 2–3 hours searching for bait. If they were unsuccessful they would give up fishing for that day.

In the third week, before the full moon (fuli afola), mela entered the lagoon. This was when fishing trips were observed most frequently. I noticed that the men who did not go fishing in the other periods went fishing during this week. Fishers said that the best time to catch mela with unbaited hooks was either after rain or when it was cloudy, because mela could not see the hooks. In the third and fourth weeks it rained almost every afternoon, creating good conditions for mela fishing.

Table 5: Fishing efficiency

Only successful trips

Week	Time (hrs)	Man-hours	Catch (kg)	kg/hr	kg/mh	No. of trips
1st	8.8	8.8	2.4	0.28	0.28	4
2nd	9.0	12.0	4.4	0.49	0.36	4
3rd	78.4	81.9	37.1	0.47	0.45	14
4th	37.0	46.5	9.7	0.26	0.21	9

Including unsuccessful trips

Week	Time (hrs)	Man-hours	Catch (kg)	kg/hr	kg/mh	No. of trips
1st	9.8	9.8	2.4	0.25	0.25	5
2nd	28.3	33.3	4.4	0.16	0.13	12
3rd	81.4	84.9	37.1	0.46	0.44	16
4th	67.5	80.5	9.7	0.14	0.12	20

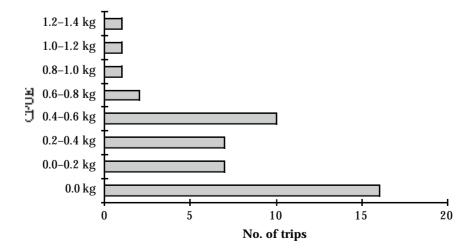


Figure 2: Number of trips in relation to the catch per unit of effort (CPUE) (kg/man/hour)

Around the full moon, from the end of the third week to the fourth week, one fisher started to catch **buli** (squirrelfish, Holocentridae spp.) during bright nights. **Buli** is a nocturnal carnivore and can be caught without bait. During the same bright nights other fishers caught **baraulo** and other fish in the lagoon channel using hooks baited with **uala**.

There is individual variation in the choice of fishing strategies. The angling strategies of six men are shown in Table 6. Three men (Nos. 1–3) seldom went fishing because they are the principal cultivator in their households. One man (No. 1) practised hand-lining only in front of the village and never went into the lagoon, No. 2 went fishing for mela only in the third week, and No. 3 did both pole-fishing and collecting shellfish and other invertebrates on each fishing trip.

The three men (Nos. 4–6) who were the most frequent fishers in the village all preferred hand-lining to pole-fishing. They also went deep-sea fishing outside the lagoon when weather conditions were favourable. They never collected marine invertebrates during the fishing trips. No. 5 did not own a

canoe and always borrowed one, either from his brother or an unrelated person. No. 6 did not own deep-sea fishing gear but usually borrowed it from his wife's brother who was away in Honiara. Thus there seems to be no rigid relationship between gear ownership and the frequency or intensity of fishing.

The choice of fishing strategies depends on several other factors, such as presence of other cultivators in the family, other methods for obtaining cash and personal preference.

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Table 6: Individual variation in angling by male fishers

Fisher	Age	Total days	Fishing trips¹	Trip frequency	Hours spent	Hours/ trip	Total catch	Catch/ hour			ing ınds	
							(kg)	(kg)	N	L	R	O
No. 1	60	25	3 (1)	8.3	3.00	1.00	1.34	0.44	3			
No. 2	60	25	2 (2)	12.5	9.50	4.75	3.25	0.34		2		
No. 3	50	25	6 (6)	4.1	19.75	3.29	5.52	0.28		4	2	
No. 4	40	13	9 (4)	1.4	25.25	2.80	4.82	0.19		9		
No. 5	30	20	8 (5)	2.5	38.20	4.78	18.05	0.47		7		1
No. 6	20	19	10 (8)	1.9	56.95	7.11	10.53	0.23		8		2

¹ Fishing trips: total trips (successful trips).

² Fishing grounds: N (near reef); L (lagoon); R (outer reefs); and O (offshore).

APPENDIX 1: Langalanga fish names

Langalanga name	Species/genus	Family
afana	Cheilinus trilobatus	Labridae
akono	Lutjanus rivulatus	Lutjanidae
ala'alauou	Monotaxis spp.	Lethrinidae
aloa alubala	Cetscarus bicolor Oplegnathus spp.	Scaridae
alubala	Siganus guttatus	Oplegnathidae Siganidae
amera	Scarus quoyi	Scaridae
arara	Sargocentron spp.	Holocentridae
arau melau asia	Elagatis bipinnulatus Lethrinus spp.	Carangidae Lethrinidae
asiasi	spp.	Mullidae
asiasi-ole	Lethrinus harak	Lethrinidae
ba'a baekwa	Acanthurus thompsoni	Acanthuridae Heterodontidae
baekwa baekwa		Scyliorhinidae
baekwa qwaulo		Sphyrnidae
baiko gwaulo	Rhina ancylostoma	Rhinobatidae
bairo balifila	Hemiramphus far Scarus sordidus	Hemiramphidae Scaridae
balubalu	Scar as sor areas	Balistidae
barabara	Pseudocheilinus hexataenia	Labridae
baraulo baumeo	Sphyraena spp. Siganus vulpinus	Sphyraenidae Siganidae
beau beau	Siganus vuipinus	Blenniidae
bebe		Chaetodontidae
bebe	Evistias acutirostris	Pentacerotidae
belafa bobola	Acanthurus lineatus Lethrinus nebulosus	Acanthuridae Lethrinidae
boe	Leaning Repulosus	Tetraodontidae
bolali gwau	Mugil cephalus	Mugilidae
bolo	Acanthurus spp. Thalassoma spp.	Acanthuridae Labridae
botabota bubu	Sufflamen fraenatus	Balistidae
bubu taba	Rhinecanthus aculeatus	Balistidae
bubusuli		Balistidae
buli buli arara	Sargocentron spp.	Holocentridae Holocentridae
buli fou	Sargocentron spp.	Holocentridae
buli kalame	Myripristis berndti	Holocentridae
buma	Trachurus japonicus Scomber australasicus	Carangidae Scombridae
bumarau burasi	Scarus sordidus	Scaridae Scaridae
daululu	Gymnothorax spp.	Muraenidae
diadia	Acanthocybium solandri	Scombridae
didime dolala	Amphiprion spp. Rastrelliger kanagurta	Pomacentridae Scombridae
doru	reastroniger namegurea	Exocoetidae
duli mou		Apogonidae
edaeda fafawai	Caranx melampygus	Carangidae Haemulidae
fakata	Plectorhinchus gaterinoides Acanthurus mata	Acanthuridae
fakuku	Plectropomus laevis	Serranidae
falata	Siganus vermiculatus	Siganidae
fali fali malu	Aetobatus narinari	Rhinobatidae Myliobatididae
fali malu	Rhinoptera javanica	Myliobatididae
farasifa	Lutianus ann	Haemulidae
fasura filafila mamala	Lutjanus spp. Zebrasoma spp.	Lutjanidae Acanthuridae
filafila mamala	-FF.	Zeidae
filalila mamala		Veliferidae
fisi folofolo	Sphyraena spp.	Pempheridae Sphyraenidae
fologalia	Scarus rubroviolaceus	Spnyraenidae Scaridae
foto	Abudefduf bengalensis	Pomacentridae
fou li fuo	Siganus spp. Amblyeleotris spp.	Siganidae
gafalu gafiu	Ambiyeieotris spp. Labrichthys unilineatus	Gobiidae Labridae
galani	Neoniphon spp.	Holocentridae
gale ido	Ophichthus bonaparti	Ophichthidae
gaso	Sphyraena spp. Centrophorus moluccensis	Sphyraenidae Centrophoridae
gefu gela	Centrophorus moluccensis Centropyge spp.	Pomacanthidae
gela		Pomacentridae
gela ufi	Chromis spp.	Pomacentridae
geru giga	Liza vaigiensis Amblyeotris spp.	Mugilidae Gobiidae
8-8"	7 · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	Gobildat

Langalanga	Species/genus	Family
name		
gome	Mugil cephalus	Mugilidae
gorigori amadi gorosisi	Selaroides leptolepis Lethrinus erythracanthus	Carangidae Lethrinidae
gulafu mumu	Aethaloperca rogaa	Serranidae
guma kwae	Lutjanus russellii	Lutjanidae
gumarano	Lutjanus monostigma	Lutjanidae
gwae rafalo gwae-rarate	Euleptorhamphus viridis	Plesiopidae Hemiramphidae
gwagwara	Thunnus spp.	Scombridae
gwagwari	Nemipterus spp.	Nemipteridae
gwaile	Scarus spp.	Scaridae
gwaili	Coomic coblegel:	Embiotocidae Scaridae
gwalugwalu gwara feto	Scarus schlegeli Tylosurus crocodilus	Belonidae
gwoufolo	Scarus dimidiatus	Scaridae
gwougwou asi	Scolopsis cancellatus	Nemipteridae
gwougwouru	Hexagrammos otakii	Hexagrammidae
gwougwouru ia a'alae	Lophiomus setigerus Nematalosa japonica	Lophiidae Drosomatidae
ia bala	Paracaesio kusakarii	Lutjanidae
ia bala		Sparidae
ia bola	Hemigymmus melapterus	Labridae
ia fili ia foula	Scarus spp. Ostraciontidae spp.	Scaridae Ostraciontidae
ia gwaua	Sphyraena spp.	Sphyraenidae
ia kui		Branchiostegidae
ia mela	Lutjanus argentimaculatus	Lutjanidae
ia rao ia toto	Aulostomus chinensis Pteroinae spp.	Aulostomidae Scorpaenidae
ia toto	тегопис зрр.	Siganidae
ia li buruburu	Lutjanus sebae	Lutjanidae
ia li buruburu	Macolor niger	Lutjanidae
ia li fou	Pterois spp.	Antennariidae
iladi imolo	Herklotsichthys quadrimaculatus	Scorpaenidae Dussumieridae
kakarai	Naso thynnoides	Acanthuridae
kakarau	Parupeneus bifasciatus	Mullidae
kakusae	Terapon jarbua	Teraponidae
kalikama kalita alu	Variola louti Balistoides conspicillum	Serranidae Balistidae
kaole	Mugil cephalus	Mugilidae
karaona	Lutjanus spp.	Lutjanidae
karaona kwae	Lutjanus russellii	Lutjanidae
kemo kokofe	Acanthurus triostegus Amblyeleotris spp.	Acanthuridae Gobiidae
kokofe	Entomacrodus spp.	Blenniidae
kokoto		Haemulidae
komaro		Aulopopidae
kota kowako	Saurida elongata	Hemiramphidae Synodontidae
kulafu	Sauriua ciongata	Serranidae
kulafu abularae	Anyperodon leucogrammicus	Serranidae
kulafu manare	Ephinephelus malabaricus	Serranidae
kulafu maranare kuluburo	Plectropomus leopardus Cephalopholis spp.	Serranidae Serranidae
kululu	Myripristis spp.	Holocentridae
kutu	Amblyglyphidodon curacao	Pomacentridae
kwakwa abu	Lethrinus chrysostomus	Lethrinidae
kwakwa terau kwalikwali	Scolopsis bilineatus	Centriscidae Nemipteridae
kwarakwara	Scarus dimidiatus	Scaridae
kwari	Caranx spp.	Carangidae
kwari gwoumoli	Caranx ignoblis	Carangidae
kwasi rodo kwatoa	Pristigenys spp. Lethrinus miniatus	Priacanthidae Lethrinidae
lagui	Lean mas miniatus	Kyphosidae
lakifa	Priacanthus spp.	Priacanthidae
lalakwaga	Trachinotus spp.	Carangidae
lasi	Scomberoides spp. Plectorhynchus goldmanni	Scombridae Pomadasyidae
lau laugwa	Plectorhynchus goldmanni Platax spp.	Pomadasyidae Ephippididae
lifokau	Liopropoma spp.	Serranidae
loba		Triglidae
lofu		Scorpaenidae
lolodo lologia	Sphyraena japonica Ophisurus macrorhynchus	Sphyraenidae Ophichthidae
ma'alia	Epinephelus quoyanus	Serranidae
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Langalanga	Species/genus	Family
name		
maga		Ephippidae
maga	Acanthurus spp.	Monodactylidae Acanthuridae
maito mala nare	Plectropomus areolatus	Serranidae
malifara	Carangoides bajad	Carangidae
malifu	Lutjanus spp.	Lutjanidae
malifu au	Lutjanus erythropterus	Lutjanidae
malifu gwaimara	Lutjanus sebae	Lutjanidae
malifu li bara mama	Lutjanus gibbus Ruvettus pretiosus	Lutjanidae Gempylidae
mamala tori	nuverus prenosus	Trachichthydae
mamalo	Pentapodus spp.	Nemipteridae
mamalo li boni	Scolopsis ciliatus	Nemipteridae
mamara kowa	Scarus spp.	Scaridae
mara marau	Scarus ghobban Scomberomorus spp.	Scaridae Scombridae
matasi	Parupeneus spp.	Mullidae
maua	Hipposcarus longiceps	Scaridae
meamea		Paralichthydae
meamea	Casaia	Pleuronectidae
mela mela alite	Caesio spp. Caesio erythrogaster	Caesionidae Caesionidae
mela gwaile	Caesio lunaris	Caesionidae
mela rau	Caesio pisang	Caesionidae
melukuli	Scarus niger	Scaridae
mimidi eria	Plectorhinchus chaetodontoides	Pomadasyidae
moko	Scarus spp.	Scaridae Mugiloididae
moro muli alaga	Siganus fuscescens	Siganidae
muli lau	Siganus argenteus	Siganidae
mumu	Hapalogenys nigripinnis	Pomadasyidae
musimusi	Naso thynnoides	Acanthuridae
nanasi	Student de la circa	Syngnathidae
nora o'oto	Strongylura incisa Zenarchopteerus dunckeri	Belonidae Hemiramphidae
oa	Symphorus nematophorus	Lutjanidae
odu	Xiphasia setifer	Blenniidae
ofuna	Upeneus spp.	Mullidae
ofuofu	Fistularia spp.	Fistulariidae
ogabolo ogolu	Caranx lugubris Grammatorcynus bilineatus	Carangidae Scombridae
oli	Parupeneus cyclostomus	Mullidae
oru	, ,	Pomacanthidae
osole	Albula vulpes	Albulidae
paopao	Caranx spp. Caranx spp.	Carangidae Carangidae
papawa parakidili	Cheilinus fasciatus	Labridae
rakwa	Polymixia japonica	Polymixidae
rakwa geli	Chanos chanos	Chanidae
rakwa wale	Elops hawaiensis	Elopidae
rala rarano	Siganus corallinus Lutjanus spp.	Siganidae Lutjanidae
rarano	Katsuwonus pelamis	Scombridae
rau gere	Euthynnus affinis	Scombridae
raurau	Epibulus insidiator	Labridae
rautofu		Carapodidae
rautofu saitana	Muraenesox cinereus Glyphisodontinae spp.	Muraenesocidae Pomacentridae
saitana	Grammistes sexlineatus	Grammistidae
sasagore		Monacanthidae
siko	Cheilinus diagrammus	Labridae
sio	Mulloidichthys flavolineatus	Mullidae
soba soke	Spratelloides gracillis	Clupeidae (sharks)
sopilo	(sharks) spp. Gymnosarda unicolor	Scombridae
suru	Lethrinus spp.	Lethrinidae
suru bobola	Lethrinus lentjan	Lethrinidae
susufi	Lethrinus semicinctus	Lethrinidae
susui tegue	Zanalus comuntus	Dasyatidae
susukelo tagafu	Zanclus cornutus Paracaesio spp.	Zanclidae Lutjanidae
tagafu	Pristipomoides sieboldii	Lutjanidae
tagili	Mola mola	Molidae
takolao	Naso spp.	Acanthuridae
takufe	Xyrichthys spp.	Labridae
tarasi tautu		Gerridae Diodontidae
tetebere	Scatophagus argus	Scatophagidae
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Langalanga	Species/genus	Family
name		
tori alite	Pinjalo microphthalmus	Lutjanidae
tori gwalo	Pristipomoides spp.	Lutjanidae
tori karao	Etelis & Tropidinius spp.	Lutjanidae
tori oka	Etelis coruscans	Lutjanidae
uala	Amblygaster spp.	Clupeidae
uala suli		Dussumieridae
uguai	Caranx sexfasciatus	Carangidae
uhu	Cetoscarus bicolor	Scaridae
ulasi	Kyphosus lembus	Kyphosidae
ulu meo	Lutjanus bohar	Lutjanidae
ume	Naso unicornis	Acanthuridae
unada	Leiognathus fasciatus	Leiognathidae
usu ole		Gobiidae
usuusu	Naso spp.	Acanthuridae
wagalu	Rachycentron canadum	Rachycentridae
waigela	Cirrhilabrus temmineckii	Labridae
wailau	Melichthys vidua	Balistidae
wairalo		Ophichthidae
wale ele		Syngnathidae
walele		Hippocampinae
walelo		Belonidae
walelo bokofu	Tylosurus crocodilus	Belonidae
walelo li dauna	Strongylura anastomella	Belonidae
wawali lau	Odonus niger	Balistidae
wawari	Coryphaena hippurus	Coryphaenidae

APPENDIX 11: Langalanga shellfish names

Langlanga	Species/genus	Family
0 0	Species/genus	raininy
name		
abuli	Tridacna crocea	Tridacnidae
abuli ime	Cypraea spp.	Cypraeidae
abuli lamo	Cypraea spp.	Cypraeidae
abuli laola fou	Cypraea spp.	Cypraeidae
abuli tatakawade	Cypraea spp.	Cypraeidae
buli lalamua	Ovula ovum	Ovulidae
bunu	Cassis cornuta	Cassidae
fara kwasi	Anadra antiquata	Arcidae
fitau	Siliquaria ponderosa	Siliquariidae
fodafoda	Gastridium geographus	Conidae
fufuole	Amphinerita polita antiquata	Neritidae
gwou rana	Angaria melanacantha	Angariidae
gwougwou	Vasum turbinellum	Galeoidae
ilmae	Ovinotis ovina	Haliotiidae
ilo	Saxostrea parasitica	Ostreidae
ime	Tridacna gigas	Tridacnidae
kairita	Vasum ceramicum	Vasidae
kakandu	Anadara granosa	Arcidae
ke'e	Beguina semiorbiculata	Crassatellidae
ke'e li fou	Barbatia decussata	Arcidae
kebora	Psammotaea togata	Asaphidae
kokobito	Cerithium nodulosum	Cerithiidae
kokori	Periglypta moniliferum	Veneridae
kokori	Scapharca globosa	Arcidae
kome	Conus spp.	Conidae
ku'u	Terebralia tenkatei	Potamidae
kurila	Atrina vexillum	Pinnidae
kwakwa teboto	Arca ventricosa	Arcidae
kwao	Lopha cristagalli	Ostreidae
kwarta fuli	Amusium japonicum formosum	Amusiidae
lauvi	Lunatica marmorata	Turbinidae
mabala	Spondylus ducalis	Spondylidae
mauli	Chama iostoma	Chamidae
momona	Euchelus atrata	Trochidae
nau	Millepes spp.	Strombidae
ralili	Marmorostoma spp.	Turbinidae
roa	Pinctada margaritifera	Pteriidae
roa gaula	Pteria penguin	Pteriidae
romu	Chama divaricata	Chamidae
romu	Chama pacifica	Chamidae
se'ere meto	Chrysostoma paradoxum	Trochidae
sifala	Turbo petholatus	Turbinidae
sisilaelamo	Hippopus hippopus	Tridacnidae
tatafi	Nodilittorina spp.	Littorinidae
walulu	Andontia edentula	Lucinidae
wawa elo	Gibberulus gibberulus	Strombidae
weda	Retina undata	Neritidae

Notes on grouper spawning aggregations in Tongareva, Cook Islands, June 1995

by Kelvin Passfield

Tongareva (also known as Penryhn) is situated at approximately 9°S and 158°W. Fishermen there target an annual spawning aggregation of Epinephelus polyphekadion, known locally as *hapuku*.

In 1995 the hapuku started their spawning aggregation in early June. It is possible that they were gathering in late May, but significant catches were being made on the weekend of 3 June. For 2–3 weeks leading up to the time of the main spawning aggregation, higher-than-normal numbers of *hapuku* are caught around coral heads inside the lagoon. The main aggregation appears to last for only about 2 weeks. A similar annual event further to the west, in Manihiki Atoll (10°S and 160°W), is reported to last from new moon to full moon, around the same time.

Fishing is usually conducted just inside the main passage, in depths of around 20 to 35 m. Boats anchor in shallower water, around a patch reef, and drift back on long anchor ropes so that they are over deep water.

The preferred bait is fish, with several informants regarding kaha (mullet, Liza vaigiensis) as best. A reasonable weight is required to sink the hook fast, as sharks can and do take the bait. Four-inch-long pieces of reinforcing rod or big bolts are commonly used. Sharks are a significant problem, often biting through the line, resulting in gear loss. Spare hooks, weights and traces must be carried. Steel traces are sometimes used to prevent losing gear, with no apparent reduction in *hapuku* catch.

About 15 aluminum skiffs regularly fish Taruia Passage, and catch rates are usually in the vicinity of 10 to 12 fish per man hour, though they can be much higher in perfect conditions. Fish average around 1.5 kg, and generally range from 1 to 2 kg. Fishermen return home with the approach of darkness, as the hapuku appear to stop biting at night-fall.

Either the aggregation is mainly females, or the males are not taking the baits. Of a sample of 33 fish, 31 were females, and only 2 were males. Other Epinephelus species, notably *Cephalopholis argus* (roi), also join the aggregation, but in much smaller numbers. Locals who have observed the fish say that they are all lined up on the bottom, pointing out through the passage.

Apparently **hapuku** aggregation also occurs at Tetautua, the other major passage in Tongareva lagoon. However, locals maintain that fish, especially **hapuku**, caught in this passage are poisonous (ciguatera), so they do not fish there.

A similar event is also

reported to occur

in passages on at least three of the atolls Tuvalu in further to the east (9°S, 179°E), and at about the same time. Nukufetau, Funafuti, and Nukulaelae all report spawning aggregations of gatala, most likely Epinephelus polyphekadion. Other *Epinephelus* species are also present. Informants indicate that these fish have also been observed to be lined up facing the

In all the above cases, the fishermen are in general only fishing for local consumption, with some minor exports to national urban centres. Anecdotal information does not reveal any perceived significant reduction in stocks caused by these fisheries to date.

same direction.



A case study of traditional marine management systems in Pukapuka Atoll, Cook Island

Munro, Dorothy M. (1996). A case study of traditional marine management systems in Pukapuka Atoll, Cook Islands. Field Report 96/2, Project RAS/92/TO5. Forum Fisheries Agency and FAO. Rome, FAO. 68 p. (no price given).

This report addresses the customary and formal legal framework for decision-making regarding fishing. Management measures, enforcement, conservation and an evaluation of impacts on resource use and management measures are discussed. Useful descriptions of fisheries, fishing methods and gear types, local marine knowledge, and the relationship between fisheries and belief systems are provided. Background material is provided on the social structure, political organisation, diet, economy, and division of labour, among other topics.

Man and crabs in Yaeyama folk song: Crab-species identification and folkzoological background

Takeda, Jun & Satoki Ohyama. (1994). Man and crabs in Yaeyama folk song: Crab-species identification and folkzoological background. Humans and Nature 4: 99–124.

The Yaeyama Islands of Okinawa Prefecture, Japan, are a treasury of ancient folklore, poetry and song that has long attracted the attention of scholars. The islands are particularly rich in folk songs that deal humorously or ironically with the small animals that live in close proximity with humans. There is a huge repertoire of folk songs dealing with crabs, among which the Amparunumidagama yunta song is the most popular. This song talks about the fifteen species of crabs that inhabit the Amparu mangrove near the Ishigaki City. It describes their morphological appearance and behavioural characteristics. The authors of this paper attempt to identify the species mentioned by studying the folkzoological context of the song around the Amparu mangrove.

(First author's address: Division of Ecology, Museum of Nature and Human Activities, Yayoigaoka 6, Sanda-shi, Hyogo-ken 669-13, Japan.)

Indigenous resource management and sustainable development: Case studies from Papua New Guinea and Indonesia.

AKIMICHI, TOMOYA. (1995). Indigenous resource management and sustainable development: Case studies from Papua New Guinea and Indonesia. Anthropological Science 103(4): 321 - 327.

Two cases, one from Manus, Papua New Guinea, and the other from Maluku, Eastern Indonesia, are examined to evaluate the roles of customary regulations for resources management under rapidly changing social and economic conditions. In the Manus case the resolution by either informal compromise or local courts of inter-clan disputes over reef ownership is examined to illustrate the important role of local government in modern resources management and social integration.

(Author's address: National Museum of Ethnology, Senri Expo Park, Suita, Osaka 565, Japan.)

Sea tenure and its transformation in the Lau of North Malaita, Solomon Island.

AKIMICHI, TOMOYA. (1991). Sea tenure and its transformation in the Lau of North Malaita, Solomon Island. South Pacific Study 12(1): 7–22.

This article examines the sea tenure system of the Lau, a fishing people who dwell on artificial islands off the north-east coast of Malaita Island. There the sea is divided into areas 'owned' by and inherited through patrilineal descent groups, and areas that are open access. The authors discusses the social and cultural functions of the Lau sea territories, and the regulations applied to them. The recent introduction of commercial fishing for beche-de-mer, reef fish and demersal fish is examined in terms of resource over-exploitation, social conflict and the transformation of Lau sea tenure practices.

(Author's address: National Museum of Ethnology, Senri Expo Park, Suita, Osaka 565, Japan.)

Coastal foragers in transition.

AKIMICHI, TOMOYA (ed.). (1996). Coastal foragers in transition. Senri ethnological studies No. 42. National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka. 227 p. (no price given).

This latest volume in the Senri Ethnological Series contains 10 papers by Japanese social scientists, in one case in collaboration with Indonesian researchers. Five of the contributions deal with Melanesia, and the remainder with South-East Asia.

The papers on Melanesia are: 'Lagoon life among the Langalanga, Malaita Island, Solomon Islands', by Akira Goto; two contributions by Daisuke Takekawa on dolphin hunting in Solomon Islands: 'Ecological knowledge of Fanalei villages about dolphins' and 'The method of dolphin hunting and the distribution of teeth and meat'; a paper by Masataka Tawa entitled 'Reef tenure of Western Province of Papua New Guinea'; and Kazuhiro Suda's paper 'Time allocation and food consumption among the Kiwai-speaking Papuan in Papua New Guinea'. The five papers on South-East Asia deal with marine resource use, sea tenure and small-scale fisheries in Indonesia and Peninsular Malaysia.

(For purchase information please contact the Publications Office, National Museum of Ethnology, Senri Expo Park, Suita, Osaka 565, Japan.)

Charting coastal resource development in Papua New Guinea: Lessons from a participatory workshop.

READ, TORY & LAFCADIO Cortesi. (1995). Charting coastal resource development in Papua New Guinea: Lessons from a participatory workshop. Tory Read Associates, Boulder, Colorado, USA. 65 p. (no price given).

(To obtain a copy of this report and related documents contact: Greenpeace, 568 Howard Street, San Francisco, CA 94105, USA.)

Related to the above is the following: Read, Tory. (1994). Coastal resource issues in Papua New Guinea: A phototext collection. Tory Read Associates, Boulder, Colorado, USA. 65 p. (no price given). (To obtain a copy of this report and related documents contact: Greenpeace, 568 Howard Street, San Francisco, CA 94105, USA.)

Update of coral reef researchers directory

The *Directory of Coral Reef Researchers of the Pacific* is being updated to become worldwide in scope. The International Coral Reef Initiative (ICRI) and the South Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP) are providing funds to support this effort.

All researchers previously contacted will receive a copy of the current entry for verification and e-mail address addition. Others will receive original questionnaires. It is planned to have this directory on Internet.

For further information contact: L.G. Eldredge, Pacific Science Association, P.O. Box 17801, Honolulu, Hawaii 96817, USA. Tel: 1-808-848-4139; fax: 1-808-847-8252; Internet: psa@bishop.bishop. hawaii.org



Useful information in electronic media

(1) Databases on CD-ROM

A very large number of library materials, especially abstracts of the scientific literature, are available on CD-ROM. Two good places to start finding out exactly what is available in North America are Silverplatter Information Inc., 100 River Ridge Drive, Norwood, MA 02062-5043, USA (fax: 1-617-769-8763), and National Information Services Corporation, Wyman Towers, 3100 St. Paul Street, Baltimore, MD 21218, USA (fax: 1-410-243-0982). Ask for their catalogues. Their offerings include: Aquatic sciences and fisheries abstracts; Water resources abstracts; Oceanographic and marine resources; and Fish and fisheries worldwide.

(2) Discussion groups

FISHFOLK: This is a fisheries social science network. Subscribe and then send your mail to: listserv@mitvma.mit.ed

ICAM-L: Is an integrated coast area management discussion group of the FAO. First subscribe to listserv@irmfao01.bitnet, and then send your mail to icam-l@irmfao01.bitnet (by way of clarification, please note that in the second address above, icam- is followed by a lower-case L, and not by a number 1).

AQUA-L: This is an aquaculture discussion list. First, subscribe to listserv@upei.ca, and then send your mail to aqua-l@upei.ca (again, please note that in the second address aqua- is followed by a lower-case L, and not by a number 1).

PIMRIS is a joint project of five international organisations concerned with fisheries and marine resource development in the Pacific Islands region. The project is executed by the Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC), the South Pacific Forum Fisheries Agency (FFA), the University of the South Pacific (USP), the South Pacific Applied Geoscience Commission (SOPAC), and the South Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP). This bulletin is produced by SPC as part of its commitment to PIMRIS. The aim of PIMRIS



Pacific Islands Marine Resources Information System

is to improve the availability of information on marine resources to users in the region, so as to support their rational development and management. PIMRIS activities include: the active collection, cataloguing and archiving of technical documents, especially ephemera ('grey literature'); evaluation, repackaging and dissemination of information; provision of literature searches, question-and-answer services and bibliographic support; and assistance with the development of in-country reference collections and databases on marine resources.