

Annotations to The Book of Luelen

*translated and edited by
John L. Fischer,
Saul H. Riesenberg and
Marjorie G. Whiting*



This book was published by ANU Press between 1965–1991.

This republication is part of the digitisation project being carried out by Scholarly Information Services/Library and ANU Press.

This project aims to make past scholarly works published by The Australian National University available to a global audience under its open-access policy.



Annotations to
The Book of Luelen

*translated and edited by
John L. Fischer,
Saul H. Riesenberg and
Marjorie G. Whiting*



Australian National University Press
Canberra

First published in Australia 1977

Printed in Australia for the Australian National University
Press, Canberra

© John L. Fischer, Saul H. Riesenberg and Marjorie G. Whiting
1977

This book is copyright. Apart from any fair dealing for the
purpose of private study, research, criticism, or review, as
permitted under the Copyright Act, no part may be reproduced
by any process without written permission. Inquiries should be
made to the publisher.

National Library of Australia
Cataloguing-in-Publication entry

Annotations to The Book of Luellen.

(Pacific history series ; no. 9).

Index.

Simultaneously published, University of Hawaii.

ISBN 0 7081 0649 8.

- I. Ponape — Social life and customs. I. Fischer,
John Lyle. II. Riesenberg, Saul Herbert.
III. Whiting, Marjorie Grant. IV. Title: The
Book of Luellen.

996.6

Annotations to The Book of Luelen

Chapter 1

1 A total of thirteen versions of this story of the discovery and construction of Ponape are available for comparison, including the one by Luelen presented here. Considerable variation occurs among them, particularly in respect to the parts of the account that are presented or omitted. The present version is the most detailed in respect to the names of the voyagers and the voyage of discovery. Ten of the thirteen variants fall into two groups. One group is made up of seven variants, including the present version, all of them from Kiti except one taken by F from an U manuscript. The other group consists of three variants from Net and Jokaj. Three more versions, from U and Matolenim, appear fragmentary and intermediate.

According to the Kiti variants the discoverers of Ponape first find a reef which is barely awash. They build land there and leave a woman to populate it. The woman, if identified, is Limuetu. She is the Creature Clan ancestress. The leader of the party, if mentioned, is Japkini, who leaves and does not return. The Net-Jokaj versions are less consistent with each other and are shorter. All involve a large rock sprouting up out of the sea and impeding the discoverers' canoe. The discoverers then break up this rock into varying numbers of parts (six and eight are specifically mentioned). From some of these pieces Ponape is formed, while other pieces are sent to other islands in the Carolines or to Heaven.

Of Hambruch's published texts, two versions are of the Kiti type (text 1, I:333 and text 211, III:218), one is intermediate (text D 24, II:163) and two are Net-Jokaj variants (text 262, II:163 and text D 26, II:162). There is also a Kiti-type song text in Girschner (1909:

237) which is reproduced in Hambruch (II:165, III:313), and Luellen gives us another in Ch. 85. The linguist Paul Garvin collected a Net-Jokaj variant and F recalls hearing this variant without taking notes on it. A manuscript by a Ponapean named Silten, studied in the field and translated by both R and F, contains an intermediate version. The other accounts mentioned above were obtained by F from manuscripts and informants.

Of the different versions it is likely that the one by Luellen presented here would command the greatest prestige today on Ponape, and has commanded it in recent times. F attempted to transcribe a version of the Net-Jokaj type while on Ponape but did not succeed, apparently because few informants knew it, and those who did were reluctant to give it to a stranger for fear of being criticised as 'lying' for giving a deviant version. The defeat of Jokaj in the rebellion of 1910 against the German administration and the consequent exile and dispersion of the Jokaj people may have something to do with the lower prestige of these versions, but even more important may be the facts that Kiti and Matolenim, which seem to accept the Kiti type, are the two most populous states, and Matolenim is the highest ranking of the five states for protocol at feasts and meetings, Kiti and U following, and Net and Jokaj being the lowest. (Before the rebellion of 1910 Jokaj was fourth and Net fifth; that order was later reversed, Jokaj having been completely obliterated by the Germans and not re-constituted until the Japanese period.)

2 This is a questionable translation of uaii ala. It may be related to the word *wai*, usually occurring in the reduplicated form *wawai*, to 'go secretly or stealthily', or it may have to do with the word *wai* meaning 'abroad', 'foreign', or 'European'.

3 See n. 37.28.

4 A dance song included in a manuscript by a man named Ersin and containing a number of these names was translated by F. The song was essentially consonant with the Luellen version.

This whole account of sixteen people in a canoe of discovery is very likely connected with a certain method of divination practised widely in the Caroline Islands. The method consists of tying knots in coconut leaflets and counting them in certain prescribed ways. There are sixteen possible combinations of pairs of numbers, each one connected with an augury, each of them named, and each name is also the name of one of sixteen spirits. These spirits, who originally taught man how to divine by this system and who control events to come, are seated in a certain order in a 'canoe of destiny'.

The method of divination just described and the canoe associated with it are apparently characteristic of the central Carolines (Lessa, 1959). We have found no record of it at Ponape, where other

methods occur (see n. 56.23), but the connection with the Japkini voyage seems apparent; thus the man Langperen, who is listed here as one of the sixteen crew members, is given again as one of the oracle-knot spirits at Lukunor (Krämer, 1935:110, 128), as Langa-paral at Woleai (Alkire, 1970:14), as Langberan at Ngatik (Eilers, 1934:338), etc. In Girschner's song text (1909:237) concerning the voyage of discovery there is mention of a leaf-oracle.

5 Girschner (1909:237) describes functions of other members of the crew, including the information that the Jaulik of Jamai gave R in 1947, that Lipuektakalang was the woman who raised the sail; this is also told in Hambruch (III:218) and in the present manuscript by Luelen in the first dance song of Ch. 85. Jaulik also said that Jaupeleti sat aft and Jaupeleta sat forward, a fixed seating arrangement that increases the resemblance to the 'canoe of destiny' of the last note.

6 Presumably the wind was secured by magic. According to R's notes, to produce wind a stick or paddle is thrust into the triangular space formed by three spars of the outrigger of the canoe and churned up and down while a spell is said. The triangle is called *ekekk*, possibly a reduplicated form of the verb *eker*, 'to call'. (A canoe is often moored by sticking a pole down through the triangle into the muddy bottom.)

7 Text *kijj* (*kis*). The cognate word in Trukese can mean either 'squid' or 'octopus' according to Elbert (1947:292). The same may also be true of the Ponapean word. All three editors recorded the translation as 'octopus'. Hambruch translates *kis* as squid (Tintenfisch; I:359). However, another word, *nuhd*, is used to refer specifically to squid, as two informants used it to identify a picture of a squid to R, and Bascom also gives this word specifically as 'squid'.

8 Text *joupei* (*soupei*). Translation as 'level place' by F. R translates as 'altar' after Oliver Nanpei, here and below. The missionaries translated the English word 'altar' and European equivalents into Ponapean as *pehi*, which is presumably the second morpheme in *sou-pe-i*. As a verb *soupei* means 'to face', e.g. *sou-pe-i-do*, 'face this way'; *sou-pe-i-di* 'to face down', 'nobles' (i.e. those who sit in the high places 'facing down' in the feast house). *Pehi* by itself originally meant a stone structure larger than what we would think of as an altar, where religious specialists performed certain ceremonies. At least some *pehi* were evidently burial sites. The word *pehi* may be cognate, however, with the Trukese *faaw*, the ordinary word for 'rock' or 'stone' in that language.

9 Katengenior is apparently personified as a minor god (cf. Hambruch, II:99, 'Gatin en nuor'). The origin of the name Aak is unclear. Ponapeans do not now normally say *ahk!* as an exclamation,

although Trukese do say *ök!* *Ahk* sounds suspiciously like the German *ach*, especially since the *k* phoneme in Ponapean was sometimes pronounced in final positions like German *ch* in the time of the German ethnographer Hambruch (see numerous examples in his texts). The Silten MS. gives a similar story of the naming of the tree after an exclamation, although according to Silten *ahk* was a sigh of relief rather than an exclamation of surprise.

10 A mast with three sails sounds European or perhaps Asian. On the other hand, one informant says that the tradition is that it was a double canoe, which is non-Micronesian and suggests Polynesia. A mast with three sails occurs again in Ch. 22.1.

11 The account of plants being cultivated for their fruit on the vessel is clearly fantasy, but conceivably the ocean-going vessels that once visited Ponape may have carried new varieties of plants for planting and the more recent chiefs' canoes may have had an earth box for a small fireplace, as do the canoes of the central Carolines, for preparing fish.

12 Her husband was the Perenu of Paragraph 2, according to one informant.

13 The word *Katau*, unmodified, is generally considered by the Ponapeans to be an old name for *Kusaie*. It is cognate with Trukese *Kacaw*, *Acaw*, meaning *Kusaie* and also 'cliff', 'basalt'. In Ponapean mythology the word *Katau* with various modifiers appears to be used to indicate almost any high island.

14 In the Sahrihna MS., above the name *Meteriap*, what appears to be another hand has written in pencil the word *Latak* (*Ledek*) which is the name of a Ponapean clan; presumably *Meteriap* was a member of that clan.

15 Hambruch records a more elaborate account of the importation of the ivory nut palm (text 219, III:320). According to his Kiti informant, *Kirau Mair* went to *Kusaie* to get seeds and when the *Kusaieans* refused him, sent two nuts flying magically through the air to Ponape. *Christian* (1899:156) also says that the Ponapean tradition is of an introduction of the tree from *Kusaie*. At present many ivory nut palms are found on Ponape in the large uninhabited valley of Kiti known as *Nanmair*. But on *Kusaie* the tree is very rare. It may be that the word *Katau*, which ordinarily means *Kusaie* and is so translated by Hambruch in his text, is meant as *Kataupaiti*, or Downwind *Katau*, in which case it would refer to some island to the west of Ponape, as in Ch. 5. *Moore and Fosberg* (1956:443) state that 'this palm is native only on Ponape and Truk'. It is therefore strongly indicated that Truk is meant. *Elbert* (1947:299, 325) gives the Trukese for ivory nut palm as *rupung*, for thatch as *os*; the latter is cognate to Ponapean *oj* (*oahs*), which means both the tree and

thatch, and there is an implication here that the tree was indeed introduced from Truk.

16 See earlier Paragraph 9 for a fuller explanation.

Chapter 2

1 Text *pokepoke (poakopoake)*. Various translatable as 'love', 'pity', 'feel sympathy with' etc.

2 Text *rotorot*, literally 'dark', i.e. 'unenlightened'.

3 Text *atiatpari la (edied-pehrih-la)*, an honorific form for 'blindness'.

4 This might also be translated as the 'Insect Clan' or the 'Bird Clan'.

5 Also translatable as 'Clan of the South'.

6 Literally, 'In the Interior'. Two places in Ponape bear this name; a Kiti informant says that what is meant here is the place of this name in inland Ronkiti, but the people of Net claim it is the one in their district. The Nanmair of Kiti is a large and fertile valley in the mountains, remote from the sea, with many ivory nut palms; it is now uninhabited.

Chapter 3

1 A belief in the presence of cannibals (*liat, liet*) on Ponape in early times appears to be general on the island. L. and R. Kehoe refer to it in Hambruch (I:336). The Silten MS. translated by R and F also mentions it. The cannibals appear to be regarded as mutants, of ferocious appearance and temperament, who were sometimes born to normal parents. Some of the Lords of Teleur, the legendary rulers of all Ponape, are also said to have been cannibals. However, there is also a tradition that one of these Lords exiled the cannibals from the island.

The implication below that the cannibals were entirely or mostly women is interesting. In other versions the cannibals are simply spoken of as people, implicitly of either sex. Luellen apparently chooses not to use the form *jiat (siet)*, a rather rare form meaning specifically male cannibal, although he does use it in Ch. 85. In Ponapean folktales a female ogre is generally spoken of as a *liat*, which we are translating as cannibal, while a male ogre is called either *koton (kodon)*, giant, or *ani (eni)*, spirit (see ns. 34.9 and 58.2). Ogres of either sex may be cannibalistic (cf. Ch. 34 for a cannibalistic male ogre). The word *liat* apparently contains a prefix

li-, woman, which is generally found in women's names but is also used to combine with a verb or verb phrase to indicate the agent, irrespective of sex, often of a derogated activity (e.g. *mwoan-i-pil*, 'spying at the water'; *li-mwoanoamwoan-i-pil*, a 'peeping Tom' — an activity, so far as known, exclusively male in Ponape). If *liat* is a compound word, however, the meaning of the second component, *-at (-et)*, is not known to us. In spite of the use of the word in tales, where it refers normally to women, Ponapeans today in conversation use it to mean cannibals of either sex, such as the 'people of New Guinea', whose cannibalistic propensities are a favourite subject of smug humour. The word *liat* also occurs in the name *Soun Liet* of a subclan of the Foreign Clan. This subclan in one tale is made out to be related to the cannibals, but its members prefer another meaning of the word, sugar-cane flower. The word can also mean the shaking by a puppy or piglet of its mother's teat when it suckles.

2 The sentence about killing close relatives may refer to the tale of the cannibal daughter of one of the Lords of Teleur, who ate her brother or half-brother, named Maka. Hambruch gives two versions of this tale (text 80b, III:271 and text 51, III:379). The Silten MS. contains a brief version and F also transcribed an oral version from Paul, Jaumatau of Jalatak, in U. According to the Silten version this crime inspired the Lord of Teleur to exile all cannibals from Ponape. According to the other three versions he simply set fire to his offending daughter's house and burned her to death. Hambruch's informants, however, mention separately the exile of the cannibals by one of the Lords of Teleur, without giving any specific provocation (text 1, I:336; text 53, II:123).

Chapter 4

1 This article of dress was a small poncho which covered the shoulders and some of the chest. Hambruch (II:284-5) calls it both a rectangular poncho-like upper garment and a mantle, and illustrates one (Fig. 65). In early times it was made of barkcloth, like the woman's lavalava, the blanket, the mosquito net, and the headband; the material was not the paper mulberry tree as in Polynesia but primarily the bast of the breadfruit tree, secondarily that of the banyan, *Ficus tinctoria*. But it is unlikely that Luelen is referring to a barkcloth garment here, since the material he mentions, hibiscus, is quite unsuitable. A hibiscus bark poncho is mentioned again in Ch. 47.1, and there, Kesner says, it means specifically not barkcloth but strips of bark suspended from a cord, like the fibre kilt, but hung from the neck instead of the waist. Kesner says the term *paian*, or *peien*, applies to such an article too, as it does to any clothing worn

suspended from the shoulders. From his description it sounds very much like the rain-mantle worn in the central Caroline Islands.

It may also be that Luellen means the loom-woven article of a type made for high-ranking women which Kesner says was manufactured of hibiscus bast fibre. The loom of historic times, defunct since about 1900, was a narrow loom and was used mainly to produce the men's loincloths, sashes, and woven headbands, the material being exclusively banana fibre. Similar narrow strips of cloth, but made of hibiscus fibres (as the loom products of the central Carolines are to this day) were apparently sewed edge-to-edge to produce this type of paian; but it is said also to have been made on a wider loom (again like those of the central Carolines) which has never been reported ethnographically for Ponape.

In early post-contact times the term paian was extended to large handkerchiefs of European manufacture in which slits were made so they could be slipped over the head and used as ponchos. Still later the word came to be applied to any sort of handkerchief, whatever its use.

2 This is the chignon, reported for most of the Carolines. The earliest sketches of Ponapeans illustrate it, but also show some men with long hair hanging loose, and there are some indications that priests, and perhaps some other classes, were distinguished in this way. See also Ch. 17.1.

3 Text *belik* (*pelik*). This is some kind of cutting-tool, made of shell. Modern informants give various definitions, some of them conflicting, which is not surprising in view of the fact that metal had replaced the aboriginal shell tools by 1840. The earliest definition of the word, in L. H. Gulick's dictionary, written in the 1850s, is 'a small bivalve having serrated edges, formerly used for scraping coconut meat; hence applied to iron cocoa-nut scrapers'. Nowadays the term is used for a grater consisting of a stool to which is attached the iron scraper, often made from a plane blade, with the edge serrated. The scraper is fastened to a tongue of wood projecting from the stool between the worker's knees. One informant told R in 1947 that the *pelik* was made by sharpening the shell of the lipuai (*lipwei*), *Anadara antiquata scapha*, or perhaps a similar species of small clam; that there were two kinds of *pelik*, consisting of the two valves, one for the right hand, the other for the left; that they were used in cutting wood; that the simple *pelik*, also called *likin suan*, was used to cut grass, and a larger, more rounded form called *pelik-en-na* or *nan-suan* was used to shovel earth. The *poh-n pelik* ('shell-of *pelik*') was a knife carried suspended from the neck and used for hair-cutting; the reference to 'shell-of' suggests that *pelik* was the name of the mollusc, not just the tool. A later informant agrees that the

pelik means the empty shell of the dead lipuai clam, and that *pelik-en-na* is the name of a different species of clam. See ns. 17.4 and 33.4.

Chapter 5

1 This passage appears to imply that Aramaj (*Aramas*) is supposed to be a sort of plural or intensive of Arem. However, Ponapean nouns lack indication of plurality, except by the enclitic demonstratives or numerals or quantifiers. A suffix *-aj* (*as*) does not fall into any of these categories. Possibly this is a false etymology derived from an analogy to English where *-s* or *-es* indicates a plural. Luelen does not use the letter *-s* in his orthography but would be likely to have known that English *-s* is represented in his orthography by *-j*. F suggests that the word Arem-Aramas is perhaps related to the word Arapesh which Mead and Fortune have used as the name for a Papuan tribe. Arapesh also means 'people' or 'human beings' and exists in a number of inflected forms, some phonetically close to the Ponapean Arem-Aramas.

2 In other manuscripts Luelen writes this Peiro. Ponapean has no phonemic distinction between voiced and unvoiced consonants. Luelen sometimes uses the voiced consonants in initial positions as capital letters to replace the unvoiced. The intent is probably purely decorative, not phonetic.

3 This is a very inferior variety of yam with a red skin and white interior. The white flesh quickly oxidises to brown when cut, which is regarded as a bad feature.

4 A brief text collected by Hambruch also mentions this stone (text 212, I:327), and puts it, as Luelen does, in Puaipuai. According to Hambruch's informant the stone was burning and people were afraid it would burn up the island, so a man from Kipar section of Kiti extinguished the flame with some *letepwel* fish (*Hepatus triostegus*, a reef fish according to Bascom). Hambruch interpreted this account as a tradition of an earlier volcanic eruption on the island, but this seems unlikely in view of the absence of signs of recent volcanic activity. The idea of dazzling brightness appears fairly frequently in Ponapean tales and songs. The common word for 'beautiful', *ling-an*, means literally 'bright' or 'possessing brightness'.

5 The prefix *jau-* in *jaurakim* can mean either clan or master. The full word translates as 'the fortune of the Rakim clan' or 'the fortune of the Masters of Rakim'. See n. 21.6. Christian (1899:381) gives Rakim as the 'God of house building and carpentry. According

to Dr Gulick the god of evil, disease, death, and famine.' But in Gulick (1872) the entry under Rakim reads: 'the name of a wicked deity, much feared, who is the great promoter of war and all mischief'. Gulick also gives Jourakim as 'a sorcerer'. An account in Hambruch (II:131) would make it mean a priest who knew the whole of the secret teachings; in another place (III:330) it means 'master story teller', in a third place (III:336) 'star-gazer', and finally (II:229) Rakim is given as the tail of a comet, regarded as a spirit. R's informants told him that Rakim was the brother of the two sisters of Ch. 5; he is the boy over whom the spell was said and the spell is apparently named for him. The name was variously explained to R as a rainbow, comet, or god; as a god he belonged to the clan called Masters of the Side of the Water, whose legend today is that they split off from the Masters of Pok by moving across a stream. But according to W, her informant Daisy Nanpei told her that the spell, which is for safety in travel, belonged to the Luk Clan. The word Rakim is probably cognate with Trukese *resimw*, meaning rainbow. However, the current Ponapean word for rainbow is *ahia* or *iahia* (dialectal variants) and Rakim does not now to our knowledge occur in Ponapean outside of this phrase.

6 This is *Ischaemum chordatum* according to Glassman (1952: 130). The literal translation of the Ponapean name is 'paddle grass'. This variety of grass reproduces almost entirely by vegetative means. Flowers and seeds are quite rare. The same word, *wah*, means both flower and fruit seed in Ponapean. The precise meaning is unclear here: for many species the word means either flower or fruit but not both; flower seems best here, since it is worn in the ear. The grass is a vigorous weed on cleared land. The flat-lying wiry stems pile up to a depth of several feet and burning in the dry season is the only practical way of clearing it out with hand labour. It has no non-magical economic use in traditional Ponapean culture as far as we know. At present it forms food for a few carabaos.

7 A section of Kiti, where the 'paddle grass' is more abundant than elsewhere.

Chapter 6

1 See also Ch. 21, which continues this story.

2 MS. 5 transcribed by F says in one place that it was the other sister, Lijoumokaiaap, who returned to Yap, but in another place agrees with the present version that it was Lijoumokalang. It would seem more logical for Lijoumokaiaap, whose name evidently means Lijoumok of Yap, to return to Yap, but this might be the cause of a

mistake in the recording by either the writer or the copyist if the tradition was different.

3 In the section of Kiti called Tiati. See Ch. 43.1 and n. 43.1. There are some pre-European stone fortifications at this place.

4 Mayr (1945:297-8) lists two birds, presumably these, as 'Micronesian starling' (*Aplonis opacus ponapensis*) and 'Ponape mountain starling' (*Aplonis pelzelni*). In the glossary we define Jiok (*sioahk*) as the first of these, Jie (*sie*) as the second, but Luellen seems to regard Jiok as not only having the specific meaning but as a term which includes both species.

According to other versions collected by F, one of the birds flew with short, rapid strokes and soon exhausted itself, the other flew with deliberate, spaced strokes and went all the way. Ponapeans describe the two species as distinguished by these respective flying habits.

5 Presumably from *paka* (splash?) + *-en* of + *uht* banana. On a map issued by the Ponape District Office some time in the 1950s there is a mountain peak in inland Palang marked Pekenuht. In the same position on AMS W856, sheet 5842 I S W is the peak Bakanoutsu (a Japanese spelling), 705 metres high. This would appear to be the highest peak in western Ponape and therefore fits the description given Tangaukuk in Paragraph 2; perhaps the two places are the same.

6 Or 'mouth'. Ponapean uses the word for 'mouth' to signify birds' beaks.

7 The incident of the two starlings flying to fetch the Yap banana is also told as a part of the Lajialap eel cycle, which is given in fragmentary form in Chs. 44 and 45. When it is told as part of the eel cycle it is said that a kind of banana and other plants sprouted from the corpse of a male eel who was killed and eaten by a couple who were his foster parents and potential parents-in-law. The eel is said to have lived on Yap, and the starlings on Ponape looking downwind saw the gleam of the ripening fruit and sought it on their own initiative. The successful starling then defecated a seed from the banana into the sea where it was caught by a fisherwoman off Kiti, and hatched into another eel. The remainder of the myth is then given as in Ch. 44. Two versions of the eel myth incorporating the fetching of the Yap banana are given by Hambruch (text 33, II:124 and text 81, III:146). F also collected an oral and a written version of this sort in U (Kurekohr of Soune, and the Riting MS., F field notes).

The Lajialap or Great Eel clan is one of the largest on Ponape and their myth is widely known. Because of this it might be more usual to accept their claim to the origin of the Yap banana, but Luellen seems to have consciously rejected it (cf. Ch. 45.3).

Chapter 7

1 Text *tor* (*dohr*). Translated here as strip of cloth.

2 This word, used again in Ch. 17.1, was analysed by one Pona-pean as 'little drying pattern', referring to the drying in the sun of newly-dyed threads of different colours.

3 Text *kiot* *ata*. Untranslated by R and W. *Lakiot* (*la*, to give; *kiot*, receive) seems to refer to the kind of *tor* that was elaborately beaded. R notes: 'a *lakiot* was exchangeable for a canoe'. Canoes were highly valued property.

4 The word for title, *mwar*, is very likely related to the word for wearing a headband or garland, *mwar-e*. Compare also the Trukese *mwarumwar*, meaning head garland.

5 Text *tor*, as above in n. 1, but translated here and later as loin-cloth. As the next sentence indicates, the word *tor* (*dohr*) is related to the verb *dor-ung*, 'to weave'. Perhaps the original meaning of *tor* is simply 'something woven', i.e. a strip of cloth. R believes the term is used only for loom-woven sashes, worn by men around the waist, narrower ones serving as headbands, the *lakiot* being a more elaborate and beaded sash. But F thinks that *tor* can apply to loom-woven loincloths, headbands, or any woven strips, and in the present context may refer to loincloths.

6 The same root, *tor*, is used for the words here translated as 'loincloth' and 'weaving'.

Chapter 8

1 Presumably this sentence means the outer bark would be stripped off and the inner bark pounded in the standard technique of *tapa* manufacture. The 'thing for pounding' must be the usual club-like wooden pounder.

2 Text *uei* (*wehi*). At the time of first intensive Western contact Ponape was divided into five independent petty states or *wehi*. Here the author conceives of an earlier time when there was no elaborate political organisation or large organised territories.

3 Text *kieuek* (*kiewek*). This term is perhaps used most commonly to refer to mutant varieties of yams, for which every Pona-pean gardener is on the lookout. It is also used sometimes to refer to congenitally deformed people, whether the deformation is developmental or hereditary.

4 Compare the discussion of cannibals in Chs. 3 and 19.2-3.

5 This is today an inland, mountainous section of Kiti and presumably has been since human occupation of Ponape. However,

in later chapters Luellen indicates that Jalapuk once included within its borders what are now independent coastal sections.

6 The only quadrupeds on Ponape would have been domestic dogs, rats, mice, and lizards.

Chapter 9

1 Text nanjap (*nan-sapw*) — cultivated, settled, or arable land — is contrasted with *nan-i-wel*, forest. The distinction is not absolute, since yam and kava gardens are often made by preference in 'forest' land while considerable natural vegetation is left on some 'cultivated' land. Alternate translation for *nan-sapw* and *nan-i-wel* would be the 'flat land' and the 'mountains', or 'residential land' and 'country'.

Identification of the plants (Chs. 9-16) is mainly from Glassman (1952), sometimes from Moore and Fosberg (1956) and from Riesenbergh (1949). Nearly all the scientific names are from these sources. All material in brackets has been added by the editors. For some plants no use is listed. MS. 4 includes uses for more plants than MS. 2, but MS. 2 includes a few extra species as noted. Glassman often gives details of medicinal uses, e.g. relieving pain after childbirth, stopping menstrual flow, improving children's appetites. These have not been repeated here. The plants Luellen lists in this chapter and in those that follow through Ch. 16 we do not list again in the biological glossary.

2 Hambruch (I:351) gives *kālak* as a high tree, with a question mark.

3 Hambruch (I:351) gives *kora* as a high forest tree with hard, white wood, turning red quickly when exposed. Possibly the same.

4 Some Ponapeans assert that both *nin* and breadfruit were used to make barkcloth and others say that only breadfruit was used for the body of the cloth and that strips of *nin* bark might be sewed through it to strengthen it. A specimen of Ponapean barkcloth at the Bishop Museum, Honolulu, is constructed in this fashion. But headbands at the Peabody Museum of Salem, Massachusetts, also of barkcloth, are strengthened by an unidentified red thread.

5 This tree is associated with the Papa-Tree Clan, the clan name being derived from it. A man of this clan in Kiti, with great reluctance, after sending his wife and children away, went and fetched R a branch of the tree to show him his *eni* (god or totem), refusing to allow R to accompany him to the tree.

6 The word *paar* also means the winter or dry season when the breadfruit is not bearing. From this is supposedly derived the word *soun-par*, 'year'. Possibly the tree is named after the season or vice versa.

7 In MSS. 1 and 2 there are listed two more plants after No. 44, Makiaj and Kamal, after which comes No. 47, Jakan, which is No. 45 here. Both Makiaj and Kamal are given in MSS. 3 and 4 in Ch. 16, with peculiar numbering. Perhaps in the original they were on a separate page which became loose and was put back in the wrong place, before the later copies were made.

Chapter 10

1 Some of these plants are sizable shrubs; 'small plants' does not necessarily mean 'herbaceous plants' here.

2 According to a couple of informants, kijetik means 'rat'. Possibly this is a false etymology based on the phonetic similarity to the common word for 'rat', which is kitik. 'Rat' would not appear to make much sense as the head morpheme in a plant name, since this would mean that the plant is being categorised as a kind of rat. See also n. 26.6.

3 MS. 1 includes three more plants following this one, numbered 13, 14 and 15. They are given as Oramai (which Hambruch, I:352, identifies as a kind of *Kleinhovia* or *Ramia*), Kijetiklang, and Koio. The last of these is said to have a valuable, fragrant flower and is used in garlands; but according to Hambruch (I:351) it is a dye-mangrove with white, tough wood.

Chapter 11

1 In MS. 1 this species is listed as Piten ual en Lieumesilon (*pit-en wal-in Li-eu-mesi-leng*). The translation is the same except that *moang-en* 'head of' is the normal word, while *walin* 'head of' is a derogatory or intimate form.

2 MSS. 1 and 2 list a No. 22, Katokot (*Pipturus repandus*), and MS. 2 has also a No. 23, Likotokotajau, which in MSS. 3 and 4 is included in Ch. 16.2. Likotokotajau is presumably the same as the Kotokotajau of Ch. 64.3.4.d and as the Kohtokot-shau of Glassman (1952:53), where it is identified as *Cassya filiformis*.

Chapter 12

1 Two different Ponapean words are both translated as 'grass' here. The first, ree (*reh*), is less common and occurs mainly in compounds in the names of certain kinds of grass. Possibly the term

ree is only applied to grasses and other plants with straight elongated leaves and long stems or runners. The second, tip (*dihpw*), is the common word for grass but is also at times used more loosely to refer to other small herbaceous plants. A Ponapean, Kesner, defines ree as grass plants, and tip as the plants plus woody particles, humus, and similar matter in the grass; perhaps turf is the best translation. The following list is not restricted to true grasses botanically speaking.

2 Glassman gives the same native term for both these species of grass. Likewise for the two species in No. 5.

3 The *nl* is obviously intended by the Ponapean writer to represent the double *l* sound. Double *l* is most commonly found in compound verbs with a root ending in *-n-* and a suffix beginning in *-l-*, *-la* or *-long*. It is also found in noun compounds in which the second noun begins with *l-*, e.g. *-leng*, the combining form of *lahng*, meaning 'Heaven'. In such compounds the cluster *-nl* always becomes *-ll-* in ordinary conversation. The morpheme *-mall* refers to an open, barren spot, unsuited for cultivation.

4 Hambruch (I:352) gives matil as a kind of fern.

5 Listed in all copies except MS. 4.

Chapter 13

1 Text jon en tuka inen ta kan (*soangen tuhke inendah-kan*). The translation of inen ta is questionable. The first four species have straight trunks with no branches, but the fifth, the Pandanus, has many branches and aerial roots. The third is a tree fern while the other four are palms of one sort or another. The second and fifth are both used for thatch.

Chapter 14

1 There is an obvious copyist's omission in this chapter. All copies of the Luellen manuscript we have seen except MS. 3 have Itanual (*iden-i-wel*, *Flagellaria indica*) as No. 5 in the list given below.

2 Hambruch (I:352) identifies both this and the preceding as kinds of ferns meaning gods' hair and human hair. The root *peipei* is also found in the compound *pwili-peipei*, meaning 'long tresses'.

3 Hambruch (I:352) gives pai as the name of a tree fern. Possibly paiuat is a compound based on this. Glassman gives both species mentioned here under the native name.

Chapter 15

1 Text *renjet* (*rehnsed*). This term probably refers to water with any detectable amount of sea salt in it, from pure sea water to nearly fresh. It may possibly mean salt spray instead of salt water. Some of the plants are strand trees while others are actually trees of the brackish mangrove swamps.

2 Hambruch (I:352) gives *pinipin* as the name for a kind of gourd, but this would not appear to be intended here as gourds would not be used for canoes and would probably not flourish in salty places. The entry in Ch. 11.18, *pinipin*, is possibly the same as this *pinipin*.

3 One would expect more uses of the coconut to be listed, but Luellen later devotes three chapters (79-81) to this tree.

4 According to Hambruch (I:351) this tree has brownish-red wood and scarlet flowers.

Chapter 16

1 See n. 11.2.

2 See n. 9.7.

Chapter 17

1 See n. 7.2.

2 Text *tor*. Cf. ns. 7.1, 7.5, and 7.6 on the meaning of this word. Here it is used by Luellen for the headband.

3 See n. 4.2.

4 See ns. 4.3 and 33.4. The blade referred to here was worn suspended by a cord from the neck. The text clearly refers to *pelik-en-na* as a kind of shellfish, not the tool made from the shell; it is of course possible that the same word could apply to both animal and tool. *Pelik-en-na* is literally 'shell blade of Na Island'. Na is the name of a reef island off Matolenim, but apparently at one time it was a general term for any small, outlying coral islet. This might therefore also be translated 'knife of the reef islands'.

Chapter 20

1 Text *totok laut* (*doadoahk laud*). Probably this refers to ceremonies, feasts, building large structures, etc. An informant's

interpretation is that not having much work or variety of work, in which category he includes feasts, they also had few words, for words come from work.

2 At the time of the beginning of intensive Western contact Ponapeans used barkcloth sheets to cover themselves with at night.

Chapter 21

1 The story which Luellen tells in Chs. 5 and 6 is continued now in this chapter. Part of the story is also told in Ch. 70 in the 'Song of a Barracuda'.

2 This place is identified by informants as possibly the section of Kiti now known as Ronkiti. See n. 60.11.

3 The now dead Nanmariki to Kiti, Benito, told R in 1947 that these two women were named Lipwopweroi and Lisaperoi (meaning, presumably, 'Woman Falling at Roi' and 'Woman Facing Roi' respectively). These names occur in Ch. 70[E] 2.

4 The present manuscript has the word jarau at this point, which would be the barracuda. (And, indeed, *naliām* is the word for the young barracuda.) But other written versions of the story apparently use the word jarau, sacred, as an adjective for the fish. Both meanings would apply, for the barracuda is the totem animal of the Masters of the Side of the Water clan, which is mentioned in Paragraph 2 of this chapter and earlier, in connection with Rakim, in n. 5.5.

5 Hambruch generally wrote the name of Ronkiti section as Roienkiti. It is never pronounced that way, and there is a native etymology of the name as the 'carrying pole (*roh*) of Kiti', which would exclude such a pronunciation. There is a Roi section in Uone, Kiti, and Roienkiti may simply mean the 'Roi of Kiti', to distinguish it from the section of the same name in U. This interpretation is strengthened by the fact mentioned in the next paragraph that one of the branches of the Rakim clan took the name of Jaunroi, i.e., 'Clan of Roi' or 'Masters of Roi'. There is a further connection with Roi in the names of the two women in ns. 21.3 and 70.27, and in the title of the Kirauroi, all involved with *Naliām* in Ch. 70[E] 2 and 3. On the other hand, Roi is not in Kiti-proper but in Uone; whenever Luellen refers to Roi again, or to Roiniap (Roi of Yap), it is clear that he means either the section of Uone known nowadays as Roi (Chs. 60.1, 83.6, 84.9) or the one in U (Ch. 52) of the same name. Also, there is the possible equation (made in n. 21.2 above) between Palienlikitat and Ronkiti, and this paragraph seems to equate upper Palienlikitat with upper Roienkiti, which would suggest that Ronkiti and Roienkiti are the same.

6 While n. 5.5 has the Masters of the Side of the Water splitting off from the Masters of Pok (both of which clans exist today), this paragraph derives them, and also the Masters of Roi, from the Masters of Rakim (no clan of that name occurring nowadays in Ponape). This would tend to agree in part with the account that the Nanmariki of Kiti gave R, that the Masters of Roi branched off from the Masters of the Side of the Water, the latter themselves being the Masters of Rakim. At the same time he said that both were branches of the Creature Clan. Some Ponapeans today deny that there was ever a Rakim clan; others equate them with one or another existing clans, those mentioned being Masters of the Side of the Water, Masters of Roi, Masters of Jamaki, and the Creature Clan. One account, in which the Masters of Rakim are regarded as equivalent to the Creature Clan, relates that those of its members who had settled at Pok section, in Kiti, began to be called the Masters of Pok, and those who lived across the river from them were called the Masters of the Side of the Water (their name describing their residence); these latter then budded off the Masters of Jamaki, who also took their name from the place where they lived.

One informant who knew Luelen says that Luelen told him that the Masters of Rakim were not a clan at all, the prefix Jau in Jaunrakim referring to their profession, they being the people who could chase away comets, regarded as dangerous, by magical means. Luelen is also reported to have said that Naliam later became a rock in the section of Majijau in Matolenim.

The section Puaipuai referred to here has a connection with the story which Luelen brings out in Ch. 5 but not here. It actually lies not on the shore but some distance inland in Kiti.

Chapter 22

1 This and the following chapter tell of the construction of the artificial islands of Nanmatol. They may be regarded as the beginning of a long cycle of myths which describe the rise of the Lords of Teleur and their eventual fall due to supernatural punishment for their tyrannies.

The story of the two men, Oljipa and Oljopa, is well known on Ponape. Other versions are contained in MS. 5, copied by F; in the Silten MS., translated by R and F; and in the published work of Paul Hambruch (text 5, III:61). There are briefer references in Christian (1899:81 *et passim*); Wood (1921:611), and other travellers' accounts. F also recorded an oral version from Warren Kehoe, a half-caste American and younger brother of Hambruch's informant Lewis

Kehoe, both highly respected as authorities on Ponapean tradition; and R obtained an oral version from Oliver Nanpei.

All versions agree that Oljipa and Oljopa came to Ponape from abroad (generally from the west or 'downwind', i.e., Yap or Kataupaiti, 'Downwind Katau', which are said by some to be identical). All agree that their object was to find a suitable place to use as a ceremonial place and that they first tried several other places (Jokaj is usually named as one) before settling on Nanmatol. The shelter from the waves is mentioned by Hambruch's informant and also some modern informants as a good feature of the final site. Possibly the shelter was desired especially to facilitate paddle dances, performed traditionally on floating platforms supported in canoes.

According to the Silten MS. the town of Nanmatol had already been started by a colony of immigrants when Oljipa and Oljopa arrived with their religious ceremonies and expanded it. The other versions, however, state or imply that the two men founded the town as a religious centre.

The career of these men is further described in Ch. 25, according to which it would seem that Oljopa was the first Lord of Teleur.

2 This is a reference to the people of the 'sixth voyage' of Chs. 5, 6 and 21. The word Katau by itself in myths is regarded by Ponapeans as referring to Kusaie, but Kataupaiti (*Katau-pei-di*, 'Downwind Katau') is thought to refer to a land to the west, possibly Yap, as mentioned in the previous footnote. Note that at the end of the paragraph the writer speaks of Yap as though it might be equivalent to 'Downwind Katau', as also the heading of Ch. 21 and its final paragraph suggest.

3 See Ch. 1.10, for another large canoe with one mast and three sails. One informant says that both of these were double canoes.

4 S.O., *Sou Paip*. As explained later, this is a name for Jokaj Island. Paip means an exposed basaltic bedrock or cliff. Jaupaip could be interpreted as 'Master of the Basalt Cliffs'.

5 This passage is obscure and may be in special traditional phraseology, as is suggested by the next sentence: 'Here is the meaning of this.' Oliver Nanpei was unable fully to explain to R the phrase majoor en jap, here translated as 'the circumference of the land'. He did, however, say that majoor means 'moving about'. A more recent informant translates majoor as 'face of the shore', literally, and says it means that the two young men put their canoe at the face of, or alongside the island (not 'surrounded' it) in order to unload the soil that they carried. The word translated as 'their vessel', tak parail (*dakaparail*), means literally 'what they rode on'. As such it might possibly be taken to refer to the soil carried in the vessel rather than the vessel itself.

6 S.O., *Sokehs* (Main Dialect), *Soakoahs* (Kiti), often spelled *Sokas* nowadays. Presumably the name has some reference to the place of their lack of success but this is unclear to us; literally it may mean 'not hooked' and perhaps this refers to the alleged lack of stability of the place.

7 S.O., *Lik-in Mveli*, 'Off the Boulder Stretch'. This is an old name for U, more specifically for the part of U known as Nan U. By some definitions it also includes Tian and Jauna. See Ch. 46.3.

8 This refers to the site of the famous ruins of Nanmatol. There actually are remnants of similar structures built on a smaller scale at various other places along the coast from Jokaj eastward to Nanmatol, supposed to be the places where unsuccessful attempts were made to build and which were abandoned. Luelen omits from his list of abandoned places one which is sometimes mentioned by other Ponapeans, at *Nankoapoaremen* in Alokap section of northern Matolenim, built after the attempt at Likinmoli.

9 Meaning the construction of Nanmatol.

10 Text *parmajapong* (*par-mas-epeng*), literally 'cut-faces-four', as with a beam square in cross-section. The reference is to the shape of the artificial islets of Nanmatol, which are constructed of coral fill, piled on the shallow lagoon floor up to above high tide level, the sides protected with basalt prisms which are sometimes built up into walls. Houses and other buildings of perishable materials were built on these islands but no longer exist.

11 The word here is in Luelen's spelling *pei*; this could be *pehi*, which we have translated variously as sacred rock, sacred structure, altar, etc., but it could also be *peii*, to fight, which would make this mean battlements, as one informant insists it does.

12 The most spectacular structure among the ruins, with the highest walls.

13 This place in part consists of basalt walls which nearly enclose a small body of water, with an opening to the sea in one wall, presumably for access by canoes as here described.

14 The 'holy man' is the architect of the next chapter, Ch. 23.3-5, and the spell is mentioned again in Ch. 23.5.

Chapter 23

1 Pankatira (*Pahn Kedira*) is the L-shaped artificial islet in Nanmatol where the successive Lords of Teleur lived. The word *kedira* has no meaning in modern Ponapean, but on Pingelap, the atoll lying between Ponape and Kusaie, it refers to the bachelor house. Ponape does not have the formal institution implied by the

term bachelor house (it does have some manifestations of the phenomena associated with it) but perhaps the name is a relic of a time when it did. If so Pankatira would mean 'Below' or 'Downwind of the Bachelor House'. Christian (1899:95) translates as 'the place of proclamation' or 'sending forth of messengers', Hambruch (III:25) as 'below the steps'.

2 S.O. *Katau Peidak*, 'Upwind Katau'. This is clearly Kusaie, as Kusaie was the only high island upwind (east) of which the Ponapeans could have had any reliable knowledge before European contact.

3 Literally, 'guest woman', i.e., a non-Ponapean.

4 Ririn is a word occurring in modern titles and perhaps in origin is an honorific word for 'gate' or 'entry'. R, however, was told that it meant the ladder-like affair by means of which the passengers aboard a canoe visiting Pankatira mounted to the entrance of the walled area of the island, and he was shown the place where it is said to have stood. The word ririn is used again in a version of the story given in Ch. 50; in 50.6, where Luelen has the two people concerned jumping up into the Canoe of Heaven, the other version has them climbing up a ririn. In a tale about the origin of Janipan (Hambruch III:138) there is a ladder called Take en Ririn.

5 S.O. *Kous* or *Keus*. This word is now obsolescent but it occurs in stories as an interrogative meaning 'Who goes there?' or 'Who are you?' It may be a shortened form of *koh*, 'thou' (familiar) plus *ihs*, 'who'. Normal modern Ponapean order puts the interrogative first: *ihs kowe?* 'Who art thou?' The related language of Truk, however, has the opposite order of the words.

6 According to W, Kiteu (*kideu-*) is the name of a fern (possibly that which Glassman identifies as *Microsorium scolopendria*) which grows as a vine on the trunks of breadfruit trees, while *-manien* (phonemicising unclear) means 'a slow worker'. The latter word is not common.

7 Probably not meant literally, but a reference to rafting the prism-like lengths of stone from Jokaj, whence a large part or most of the building material no doubt came.

8 Kesner says Kiteumanien was imprisoned in the burial chamber on the north side of Nantauaj (see Ch. 80), which was roofed over with prisms of basalt; he escaped, carrying with him one of the prisms, which is missing today, and used it to begin the construction at Japtakai in Kiti.

9 This is a large ruin in the interior of Kiti. According to a brief oral version collected by F, Oljipa and Oljopa went on to Kiti after constructing Nanmatol and tried to repeat their feat (at Japtakai?) but did not succeed well because they had exhausted their magical powers.

10 The last syllable, -tak (-dak), is an old form of the modern verbal suffix -da, meaning 'up', 'upwind', etc.

11 Lampuai (*Lempwei*) occurs as a designation of status in some modern titles; its precise meaning is unclear to us. One informant, Pensile, defined *Lempwei* as 'successful side' (in a contest). Jok (*sok*) appears to be the verb 'to alight' and refers to his final settling down. R was told in Kiti that the architect of Japtakai was Lampuajapal, 'walking Lampuai', another title for this man of many names.

Note that while this last appellation is said to be a title (*mwar*) the others are referred to as names (*ahd*). Very likely all these names are to be understood as nicknames given to the hero and not as formally bestowed titles.

12 Hambruch took pictures of 'the beautiful Corner of Jokaj' intact on his visit just before the rebellion (III:Plate 9). However, according to modern Ponapeans, just about this time the Corner of Jokaj collapsed and the rebellion which followed ended in defeat with the leaders executed and the people exiled to Yap and Palau. (See Ch. 73.)

Chapter 24

1 The parenthetical part of this chapter heading is a reference to the heading of Ch. 5. There is a cycle of several tales involving the sons of this woman, Lienlama, which is only partly given in the present MS. In MS. 5 the cycle is given more fully: after the boys bring about the end of the sorcerer Laponge they take a trip to a foreign land where they find a pool of inexhaustible fish with inexhaustible taro plants; they then come to a demons' dance house and steal the demons' light, but an old woman tells them they are all relatives and has them return it. The reason for Luellen's omission of these later incidents is unclear; perhaps he considered their validity suspect or perhaps he simply was not interested enough to transcribe them again a second time.

The trip of exploration is also reported with little difference by Hambruch from two Uone informants (text 236, II:56), and in the Song of Lienlama in Ch. 70 of this manuscript. Hambruch also gives a song, transcribed by him in U, which commemorates this myth (text 331, II:196-8); the song essentially agrees with the other versions of the myth, although it is somewhat elliptical.

The story about the two boys and Laponge is probably the most popular part of the cycle, and is often told or alluded to by modern Ponapeans in explaining two prominent landmarks in Matolenim: the rock Takaieu or 'Sugar-Loaf' and the Letau Channel. In addition

to the versions by Luelen, F collected two oral versions from U informants, R obtained Kiti and Matolenim accounts, and Hambruch published one obtained from Lewis Kehoe (text 30, III:210). All are similar to the one presented here except that in some it appears that Laponge completely escaped the tree fern stakes and was killed entirely by the stones which the boys threw on him in the water. Addison Gulick (1932:88) gives an 1852 version of this myth in which there remain on Ponape three survivors of a race of giants that built the stone structures of Nanmatol, a man and his two sons; the sons rather than the giant father dig the channel; the father shoves a mountain down on them and crushes them. De la Gravière (1854, II: 306-7) has a similar story of the three last survivors of a race of giants; the father digs his channel through the mountain that his sons have erected, a bitter struggle follows and they destroy each other.

In the papers of the missionary Albert Sturges at the Houghton Library there is a similar account (No. 268) from the same year, 1854; two canoes arrive at Ponape, carrying the ancestors of the present inhabitants; they find the island in possession of three giants, a father and two sons, the father at work building Takaieu, the sons digging a channel across the island; Takaieu is in the way of the channel, a quarrel ensues, the father is killed, and the sons die of grief.

2 According to MS. 5 the woman's name meant 'a woman who could prophesy what was before us'. This suggests the reading Lienleme or 'Woman of Thinking'.

Hambruch (III:141) in recording one version of this tale gives the woman's name as Li en Nama. He may have been misled into transcribing it thus by a desire to find a connection with the low island Nama, near Losap atoll southeast of Truk. He mentions in a footnote that the 'Stone of Losap' lies near one of the places mentioned in the story.

3 Japalang (*sepeleng*) is a kind of reed, identified by Glassman as *Miscanthus floridulus*. The name given to the stick, Jarapuau, as one of the parts of the loom, is the same as the name of one of the boys. Another connection with the loom is the possible translation of the other boy's name, Monimur, as 'Before-After', which is suggestive of the forward-and-backward action of the shuttle or of the alternate lifting and dropping of the heddle.

4 This seems to be the same place as the Jauar mentioned in Ch. 5.1, where it is said to be in Puaipuai section of Kiti. Here it is located in Jalapuk section, but the two sections are immediately adjacent to each other in inland Kiti.

5 Text, jape ta takain japei eu (*sapehda takain sapei ieu*). one of R's informants makes *sapehda* to mean 'carry in the palms', not

'turn up'. W's notes apparently translate japei as 'basin' but also mention the woman's seated dance known as japei, which is what R's informants said the word referred to. They also thought that the 'japei stone' has to do with a very large flat rock which is indeed at Pontanmai as is here stated, in Majijau section, Matolenim, where the japei dance may have been done.

6 This is a place with walls around it in Alokap section, Matolenim.

7 Uanik (*Wenik*) is an old name for U. At this time, having returned from Yap, the names of the boys are said to have been different; Luelen or his daughter Sahrihna has written in pencil above paragraph 5 'Jenia [meaning Monimur, who is later Puilitak] and Monia [meaning Jarapuau, who is later Lejtak] when they came back from Yap'. In Hambruch (II:56 and 196) where the earlier part of the cycle is given, the boys are indeed called Senia and Monia.

8 There are two places called Takaieu (or Takaiieu) in Ponape. One is an island which constitutes a section of U; the name means One Stone. The other is a steep rock on the north side of Matolenim Harbour, known to nineteenth-century European visitors as the Sugar Loaf; its name (which should possibly be spelled in S.O. *Takai Uh*) is translated by many Ponapeans as Standing Stone. It is the place in U which is meant here.

9 Of perhaps 200 varieties of yams on Ponape, a very few, known as Southern Yams, are regarded as pre-European. They are considered to be a different plant from other yams, grow both wild and cultivated, are quite small, and do not enter into the prestige competition.

10 These are two sections of Matolenim, the first-named one (see n. 6 above) lying on the U border.

11 A hill on the shore at Kapine, a section of Matolenim.

12 This is the Takaieu on the shore of Matolenim Harbour.

13 Text, pan pueten lang (*pahn pweten-leng*). R's notes variously translate this as 'under the sky' and 'under the white sky'. An alternate translation by F, equally literal, might be 'the underside of the white Heaven'. Ponapeans traditionally conceived of Heaven as containing a number of layers. The visible sky appears to have been regarded as the underside of the lowest of these layers. The Ponapean can be interpreted therefore as 'up to the sky'.

14 Text, palian japat pali (*palien sapwat pali?*). Translation unclear. F and W do not translate. Oliver Nanpei translated to R as 'spear', but pali, literally 'side', seems an unusual numerical classifier to use with a long object such as a spear. Other informants told R they thought it referred to a flat rock.

15 There is a mass of rock on one side of the mountain and

more in the channel below; these are pointed out as two of the six pieces which Laponge is said to have knocked off the mountain.

16 A place in Letau section, Matolenim.

17 Luelen here calls this place a pillap (literally 'large water'), which is usually translated as 'river', as we do here. Actually it consists of a wide place in the Letau River near the abovementioned Likej. In Ch. 24.6 Luelen refers to it twice again as lee, 'pond', instead of 'river'. Leenkajame is literally 'Pond of throw-here', referring to the throwing of the stones by the boys.

Chapter 25

1 See also Ch. 22. Only the first sentence of Ch. 25 is apparently included in the meaning of the words 'this story', which refers to Limuetu and her descendants (the Creature Clan), and 'close together' means that the Limuetu story slightly preceded the Oljipa-Oljopa story.

2 S.O. *Nan Moadol*, 'In the Intervals', the cluster of 80 or 90 artificial islets built off Tamon Island, supposedly by Oljipa and Oljopa. According to the Silten MS. copied by F and R, a settlement was established at the site of Nanmatol somewhat before these two men, but it lacked political power. After Oljipa and Oljopa built their ceremonial centre here the people of this settlement became more powerful and embarked on a program of conquest of Ponape, beginning with the neighbouring district of Teleur.

3 Text *atalap en* (*ad-a-lap-en*). *Atalap*, literally 'great name', usually means 'general term' but possibly it means here 'respectful name' or 'esoteric name'. Normally the word *mwar* ('title') would be used in these latter senses.

4 Luelen condenses into these last three sentences some span of history. Teleur seems first to have been the name of Tamon Island, and perhaps also the nearby reef islands. Then, with political expansion, it came to include more and more. The 'three parts' of Teleur are probably the three areas numbered 2, 4, and 5 in the first column of Ch. 26.

Chapter 26

1 In the various lists of this chapter an English translation in brackets is given following the first appearance of each native name. They are also given in Standard Orthography in the glossary.

What is described in this chapter is presumably the political

arrangements in Ponape at some time after the subjugation of the whole island by the Lords of Teleur. The State or Island of Teleur was apparently equivalent to modern Tamon Island. It was earlier called Jaunalang (see Ch. 51.1), although some informants say that before the word Teleur was applied the word Jaunalang was used not only for Tamon but for Jauna (just north of Tamon) and the reef extending from Jauna east through Na Island and beyond to a reef in the ocean called the Reef of Kijetik. But in Ch. 74.2 it seems to be equivalent to Matolenim.

The places in the left-hand column numbered 2, 4, and 5 (there is an obvious mistake in the numbering, which also occurs in MS. 4 but not in the other versions we have seen) make up all the rest of Ponape. With the creation of the seat of the Lord of Teleur at Nanmatol (the artificial islands off Tamon) the name Jaunalang was apparently transferred (or extended) to the mainland of Ponape. Of the two parts of Jaunalang shown in the second column, Janipan is evidently used as the equivalent of all of modern Matolenim (although, as we will see, it was later more restricted in extent). The other part of Jaunalang, Uanik, was anciently all of modern U and an area called Tipuantongalap, the part of modern Net east of the Jokala estuary. (This area is sometimes called Uanikpeitak (*Wenik-peidak*, 'Upwind Wenik'). It is given with the same boundaries in Ch. 51.1.) However, the state of affairs represented in this chapter is apparently of a somewhat later time, since Tipuantongalap is shown under No. 5 instead of No. 2, which could mean that the Masters of Kauat clan had already captured this area (as well as all of what is now Jokaj and Net) in a certain war described in Hambruch (II:41-5). On the other hand Leulen may have reference to a place, also named Tipuantongalap, that lies in the very heart of Ponape, next to Nankauat at the source of the Kauat River. This region and Nanmair (see n. 2.6), which is also in the interior, are the traditional home of the Masters of Kauat, who are supposed to have been a group of immigrants from Marakei in the Gilbert Islands. If this interior Tipuantongalap is what Luelen means, the period of time would be that preceding the military expansion of the Masters of Kauat to Net and Jokaj; the name Tipuantongalap may have been transferred to eastern Net after the conquest.

No. 4, Ononlang, here corresponds exactly to modern Kiti, with Uone comprising its southern and eastern part, as it still does, and Kiti-proper being the northern part. This would be from Paiej section to Lot section, which is how modern Kiti is defined in Ch. 51.2. But elsewhere, e.g. Chs. 59.1 and 60.1, Luelen equates Ononlang only with Uone. 'Kiti', in the second column, is not modern Kiti but only 'the group of sections which begins with Putoi'

(see Ch. 83.5 and n. 83.4). We call this Kiti-proper. It is synonymous with Kapilang, as given in Ch. 27[B]. Leenpuel, which is given as the third part of Ononlang, is the old name for modern Palang and the next two sections to the north (Tian and Paiej) as far as the Jokaj border; nowadays these are reduced to three sections within Kiti, but they once had a much greater importance as described in later chapters. But at various times Leenpuel seems to have been part of Kiti-proper; thus in Ch. 38.3 the section of Paiej is included with Kapilang. The atoll of Ant is shown in the second column following Leenpuel, but it does not appear in all copies of the Luelen manuscript. Ant became the property of the Nanpei family about the time Luelen was born. Today it is regarded as part of Ronkiti section of Kiti, where the Nanpeis hold other property, and perhaps this influenced Luelen, who was a great admirer of Henry Nanpei, as Ch. 66 tells us, and caused him to include Ant in this ancient organisation.

Two place-names are given for No. 5 in the first column, No. 5 evidently being the equivalent of modern Jokaj. Some informants say that Pikeniap was the later name, Jaupaip the earlier one (see Ch. 53). The name Uanikpaiti (*Wenik-pei-di*, 'Downwind *Wenik*') also is sometimes used as an equivalent. At one time Jaupaip included all of modern Jokaj and that part of Net west of the Jokala estuary, as Ch. 51.2 tells us. At a later time Jaupaip apparently meant Jokaj Island alone.

Likinlalam corresponds to modern Palikir, which together with Jokaj Island makes up the present-day state of Jokaj. Tipuantongalap, as already explained, usually means that part of modern Net which lies east of the Jokala estuary. It is not evident why two titles are given in the third column as the rulers of this area, and the meaning of the conjunction 'or' is obscure. Lapannot is the traditional ruler of Net while Jaukong is supposedly only the third title in Lapannot's line. In Ch. 27[C] 3 Luelen records no title at all for the rule of Tipuantongalap (although Jaukong is entered in some of the other MSS.); perhaps he is uncertain, and perhaps that is what the 'or' means. It may be that the title Jaukong belonged to the ruler of Tipuantongalap when it was part of Uanikpeitak and became subordinated to Lapannot after the Masters of Kauat conquest already mentioned. The peculiar numbering of Nanmair (here and in Ch. 27 [D]) is perhaps also connected with this war. As already explained, Nanmair, in the interior of Ponape, was a homeland of the Masters of Kauat after they arrived in Ponape from the Gilbert Islands. When they began their expansion under their chief, Kirau Mair, they first conquered Kamar, into which Nanmair was incorporated, and the numbering apparently reflects this subordination. (Kamar itself is today only a section within Net.) All of Net is here subsumed under

Jokaj, as it once actually was (e.g. at the time represented in Chs. 51.5 and 59.1). Pakein is the atoll off Ponape which in historical times has been regarded as a section of Jokaj.

The significance of the entries under No. 6 of the first column, with all the repetitions, is not at all clear. Ponapean informants speculate that this 'further district' is only a geographical classification of the three islands named, as against the political classifications of the earlier part of the chapter. Or it could be that another period of time is involved here.

2 If one inserts a comma in Luelen's text between the Ponapean word for 'island' and the place named Teleur, this could also be read 'the islands (i.e., those of Nanmatol and Matolenim Harbour, both artificial and natural) and Teleur'. If the latter reading is correct then Teleur must be the area on the mainland around the harbour. If the first reading is correct then Teleur must be another name for Tamon Island.

3 The statement that Lampuajok was the chief of Jokaj suggests an alternative etymology for this title, from the word Jokaj. Cf. the etymology suggested earlier in n. 23.11.

4 Likinlamalam appears to mean 'Beyond Thought', 'Beyond Religion', 'Outside Proper Ways'. The word lamalam is the common word for 'thought' and 'religion' in the sense of Christianity. Evidently the missionaries assigned it the latter meaning because of its connotations of correct thinking. The name Likinlamalam would suggest to a modern Ponapean a barbarous place beyond the pale of civilisation.

5 Palikir as a verb means 'to carry on one's back'. Many Ponapean place-names compare places to people or parts of the body. The precise significance of assigning a district this name is not known to us, however.

6 Text kakan kijetik, phonemicising unclear. One informant translates it as Reef of Kisetik, which he says runs southeast from Na Island (see n. 26.1). Hambruch (II:61) refers to the same place as Koko en Kisetik, calling it a reef reaching from Kusaie (sic!) to the southwards of Na. Kijetikmai is the name of a plant mentioned in Ch. 10, and there is another species called kijetiklang listed in the same chapter but only in MS. 1, so perhaps kijetik alone is also a plant name. (See also n. 10.2). However, Hambruch translates Koko en Kisetik as 'Reef of the Small Rats', and several Ponapeans, while they hesitate to accept the translation as 'rat' (kitik being the proper word) feel that there is some connection. One of them points out that in Pingelap the name for rat is 'kišesik'. (This word transliterates into Ponapean as kisetik, Pingelap $\frac{1}{2}$ corresponding to Ponapean s and Pingelap s to Ponapean t.) Oliver Nanpei in 1947 translated the name

of the plant kijetikmai to R as 'rat breadfruit'. R collected a fragmentary story in Kiti which recounts an invasion of rats who followed a reef all the way from Kusaie to the place kakan kijetik, and there is a fuller account in Hambruch (III:162) of what is evidently the same story, although only two rats are there involved; they run along a reef named keke en kitsik tik which stretches from Kusaie to Na.

Further in this connection, a Papa-Tree Clan member, Kasimiro by name, a resident of Upper Anipein in Kiti, told R in 1947 that a branch of his clan, called the Masters of Kijetik, had the rat for its totem animal; and a member of that branch, named Pineas, living in the section of Kiti called Uanik, actually translated the name as 'rat clan', saying that one totem of all branches of the Papa-Tree Clan was the rat.

Chapter 27

1 The names and titles of this chapter in part repeat those given in Ch. 26. Translations are given for names not occurring in Ch. 26.

It is unclear what the difference in the two chapters is intended to be. To judge from the chapter heading, the first column seems intended to represent the district name, the second the name of the principal settlement, and the third the settlement ruler. But the settlement and district names are the same in nearly all cases. The names of the major areas (Jaunalang, Ononlang, Pikeniap) of the first column in Ch. 26 are omitted in this chapter; instead the subdivisions of these areas occupy two columns, with only slight differences between the two; perhaps it is intended by this to show that the subdivisions at the time being represented had achieved greater independence, though they are still grouped in the same way. Informants did indeed say that Luelen intended Ch. 27 to show the state of affairs at a later time than that of the earlier chapter. Or possibly the list in Ch. 26 is intended to give esoteric names for the major divisions and that of Ch. 27 to give only ordinary names of settlements.

One difference between the two chapters is in the addition of four more subdivisions to the two (Janipan and Uanik) named under Jaunalang in Ch. 26. The geographical extent of these additions is shown in Ch. 52. They seem to have emerged at the expense of Janipan, which Ch. 52 shows reduced to three sections. One of the subdivisions, Animuan, is shown in Ch. 52 as made up of eight sections, constituting all of northern Matolenim, although in Ch. 40.4-5 it seems to be of smaller extent. Teleur, so prominent in Ch.

26, disappears as a place name in Ch. 27; instead the name Matolenim heads a group of seven names, that group being separated by spaces and numbering from other groups, perhaps suggesting that the authority of the Lord of Teleur had become limited to Matolenim at this time and that independent, or at least semi-independent states had emerged. Or perhaps it means that the town of Nanmatol and the surrounding area were directly under the Lord of Teleur while the other areas were ruled by feudal underlings.

In the third column of this chapter, where titles or rulers are entered, it will be noted that there are four omissions. The absence of entries for Tipuantongalap and Uanik kariau (or Uanik paiti) may mean that Luelen was uncertain as to whether the Masters of Kauat conquest (described in n. 26.1) had yet taken place at this time, the victory having overthrown the old chiefs of these two areas, and therefore did not know whether to enter the old or new titles. As for Animuan and Lapinjet, there are two titles nowadays which correspond to these areas, Lapan Animuan and Lapan Jet, but they are said to be recently created (or perhaps revivals of ancient lapsed titles) by Moses, the Nanmariki of Matolenim who died in 1966. At least Lapinjet had an ancient title, Jaujet, but that too has lapsed. But in Ch. 54[C] 1 Animuan is shown as ruled by Lapan Animuan.

The order of the second and third columns for the second section of the list, Uone to Ant, has been interchanged. This is an obvious error. In MS. 4 there are only two columns for the third section, Jokaj to Nanmair. In MSS. 1 and 2 there are three columns but the second and third columns are exactly the same. This is also true of the fourth section, Na to Pakein, which is found only in MS. 1, being absent in MSS. 2 and 4. MS. 3, in the Sahrihna version given here, is apparently the only complete one.

2 R has also heard this as *Kopihleng*, which was translated to him as 'Box of Heaven'.

Chapter 28

1 S.O. Sahu as an independent word, meaning 'lord' or 'master'. In combination with place names to form a title it is usually shortened to *Sou* or even sometimes *Seu*, except in the title Jauteleur (*Sau Deleur*), the 'Lord of Teleur'. The retention of the unmodified *a* in this title may be the result of more careful pronunciation of the title due to the great respect once accorded its bearers. Even today honorific language is commonly used in legends in referring to the Lords of Teleur.

2 Presumably refers to Oljopa (see Ch. 25.2).

3 Text *kaujap* (*kou-sapw*). Possibly *kou-* is derived from the causative prefix *ka-* plus the verb to 'stand', *u*. The term *kousapw* would then originally mean 'making land stand' or 'building land' (cf. *ka-u-a-da* to 'build', *ke-ke-u-da*, to 'be built' or 'established').

Chapter 29

1 The Ponapean text implies that this is not a complete list.

2 'Tyrannising the Age' may be too strong a translation of this term. *Jakon* (*soakon*) is a word which can have good connotations as well as bad. It is considered admirable for a male of high rank to be somewhat *jakon*, i.e., 'forceful', 'bold', 'aggressive'.

3 The final *-o* is found in MSS. 2, 3, and 4 but in a legend about this man published by the Ponape Education Department (1954:2) the *-o* is omitted and his name is spelled *Raipwunlok*. The meaning is in either case unclear to us.

4 Text *tamp la*, phonemicising uncertain. The reference to sinking is to the fate of the last Lord of Teleur after his defeat by the invader *Ijokelekel* from Kusaie. The conquered ruler is said to have leaped into a stream and turned into a small shining fish (by some accounts a blue fish). See ns. 48.24-25.

Chapter 30

1 Probably meaning the *Jaunalang*, *Ononlang*, and *Pikeniap* of Ch. 26. But in Ch. 53 a *Jaujet* of *Lapinjet* is listed. See also n. 27.1.

Chapter 32

1 This chapter and the next tell of punishments, in the form of assigned quests of great difficulty, inflicted upon those who arouse the wrath of the Lord of Teleur. In these two stories the tasks are imposed because of the eating of what should rightfully have been rendered up in tribute to the ruler. These examples of the tyranny of the Lords of Teleur are not told in criticism of the institution of tribute-giving, which continues even today, but of the excessive demands made by them and of the harsh punishments meted out to offenders. So greedy were the Lords of Teleur that it is said, only half in jest, that a man in those times could not so much as find a louse on his head without having to offer it as tribute. The reputation of these rulers as tyrants is brought out repeatedly in *Hambruch* (see

for example, the tales in II:1 and III:385). Luelen gives additional examples in Chs. 46.6 and 84.3. In the Silten MS. these and other stories are told in an atmosphere of impending doom for the Lords of Teleur and there is a forecast of divine retribution which is to befall the despots, fulfilled when they are overthrown by the invader Ijokelekel, as told in Ch. 48.

In addition to this version of the tale there are two others by Luelen in MS. 5. Hambruch collected two more (III:86 and III:351), the first being from Lewis Kehoe. R also obtained a version from Warren Kehoe, younger brother of Lewis. All are essentially similar, although they vary somewhat in wording and amount of detail. A quite deviant account is given in Hambruch III:380-2.

2 One of the larger artificial islets of the Nanmatol cluster.

3 This is a gap between two of the artificial islets of Nanmatol, Panui and Kapenot, not far from Pankatira. It is referred to again in Ch. 70.4.

4 Text *pei* (*pehi*). On Peilapalap there occur both house platforms and burial chambers, to either of which the word *pei* could apply.

5 Very large fishes being reserved for chiefs.

6 Text *monjap* (*mwohnsapw*), 'First of the Land', meaning chiefs of the first line of titles, here referring specifically to the Lord of Teleur.

7 Phonemicising and meaning of the final part of this word unclear. The first part, Aun- (*Oun* or *Eun*), occurs in some titles and means something like 'watchman'. Probably the dog's name is intended to be a title. R recorded a word similar to this in Kiti in 1947 as meaning 'hard as stone', specifically applied to the relationship between brothers-in-law, which is supposed to be fast and enduring.

8 Text *puetenmalpur* (*pwet-en malipwur*). The *malpur* is a legendary sea creature which no one has ever seen. *Puet* means basically 'scale'. It is used with reference to fish scales and pieces of tortoiseshell, which physiologically are modified scales and are classified appropriately by the Ponapeans.

9 This is the channel between two of the islands on the outer reef off Matolenim, Mall and Naningi.

10 MS. 4 omits the flowing sea and the sinking sea but all the other versions of the Luelen MS. include them. The translation of *jet en kir* (*sed-in kibr*) as sinking sea is questionable; however, the word *kir* is a common verb meaning to sink, and a sea of sinking would balance the 'medicine for having long breath under water' mentioned above, which might be translated more literally as 'medicine not to let oneself drown'.

11 Standard orthography for the names of the two fishes is *Idang-en Sar-a-lap* and *Idang-en Sar-i-tik*. Meaning unclear except for the last morphemes, -lap, great, and -tik, small. One of Hambruch's texts (III:351) describes them as sharks, and another (III:86) calls the first character a man in the form of a shark. The explanation about getting old and blind is in four of the five manuscripts but is omitted from MS. 4.

12 A level of priests ranked below the jamarau (*samworou*) level and more numerous.

13 I.e., some cooked breadfruit, yam, or taro to eat along with the fish. Larger catches of fish are customarily shared on Ponape with other people on the understanding that the people who have stayed on land will prepare starchy food of some kind.

14 The phrases about donning the ornaments and kicking the fish are missing from MS. 4. Kicking the fish is not mentioned in the R notes, nor is it in the abbreviated Hambruch version (III:87) but it is in both versions of the myth in MS. 5.

15 Text *nanput ki*. Translation and phonemicising doubtful; possibly *nenepwuhd*. It seems to mean to acquire something rare. W translates this as 'grateful', which does not seem to fit. Possibly an obsolescent honorific word.

16 Oliver Nanpei commented to R that the hero did this so that no more difficult tasks would be given him, which is also what the Hambruch texts say.

17 In 1947 R was shown the malpur by the sister of the Naniken of Kiti, a Lipitan woman, who regarded it as a precious possession and preserved it carefully. The Lipitan Clan is the clan to which the titled men of the second line of chiefs of Kiti belong; the Naniken heads that line. The shell looks like a smooth, flat piece of turtle shell, amber-coloured, translucent, oval in shape, two and three-quarter inches long, one inch across, and perhaps an eighth of an inch in thickness. It has a small perforation at one end, by means of which it is worn suspended from the neck of every infant of this family for a period of time. In 1963 R was informed that the Naniken's sister still had it and that her eldest daughter, who was the wife of the then Uajai (the second chief in the Nanmariki line) would inherit it, thus keeping it in the Lipitan Clan.

R's 1947 notes from Oliver Nanpei add, 'When the last Lord of Teleur was killed his wife, who was a member of the Below-the-Breadfruit Clan, escaped to Uone with the shell and with the dog. She met a Lipitan man and asked him to assist her, and he offered to take her home to his wife. She asked him if he had a sister, saying, "Let us go to your sister first", and she gave him the shell to give to his sister. The king's wife wanted the women of Lipitan to keep the

shell in their clan (it is not explained why) instead of letting him give it to his wife. This was how the Lipitan got the shell.' However, Luclen's daughter, Sahrihna, told R in 1963 that the woman gave it to her new husband (or perhaps lover) in Uone; he was a member of the Creature Clan, which ruled Uone (and rules all Kiti still) and which is 'father' to the Lipitan Clan; the Lipitan inherited the shell from their 'fathers' in later times.

Chapter 33

1 S.O. *La-mwakk*. Meaning unclear except the *la-* is a common prefix to male names in the Marshalls, and in some mythical Ponapean names.

The bulk of this chapter is devoted to the story of the quest for the Tiripeijo feather by Lapanmor and his helpers. The incidents involving Lamuak at the beginning are introductory to this. The story is told again in Ch. 84.3-4. Hambruch published three versions (text 12, III:382; text 22, III:348; and text 97, III:346), two of them from Lewis Kehoe. The first of these appears to be a consciously distorted and abbreviated version given before Hambruch had gained the informant's confidence.

Another version appears in the Silten MS. translated by R and F. F also collected a brief account from an U informant. R obtained a version from Warren Kehoe and a fragment of the myth from Sahle, the Naniken of Matolenim. Hambruch gives two song texts dealing with the myth or parts of it (text 98, II:219 and text 330, II:198). The first of these is the fuller. F also collected a version of this same song in 1950.

The story of the Tiripeijo quest is widely known on Ponape to this day. All versions of the main part of the story are rather similar. However, variability occurs in the circumstances under which the Lord of Teleur finds out about the banana stalk, and in the fate of the ruler after receiving the feather.

According to the Silten MS. the Lord of Teleur appears to discover through his own ingenuity that Lapanmor has eaten the bananas secretly. The Lords of Teleur had a reputation for finding such things out. In most of the versions, however, the gardener, Lamuak, intentionally causes the end of the banana stalk to float to the Lord of Teleur's palace in order to get Lapanmor in trouble. Some versions say that he does this out of sheer meanness, but one of Hambruch's texts (text 97, III:346) says that it was because Lapanmor selfishly kept all the bananas for himself, and did not return any to the donor as a good chief should. In Ch. 84.3-4 Luclen clearly

implies that the god Jangiro deliberately created trouble for Lapanmor: Jangiro has had a role in freeing the god Nanjapue from the Lord of Teleur's oppression (see n. 84.6); the Lord of Teleur has thereby incurred his displeasure; Jangiro sees that Lapanmor is favoured by the Lord of Teleur and that his clan goddess, Inaj, has not yet joined in the planning of the gods for the doom of the Lords of Teleur; he therefore sends Lamuak, a member of his own clan, with a plan to get Lapanmor in trouble with the Lord of Teleur. In consequence Lapanmor later joins in the anti-Teleur movement.

The Jaulik of Jamai, the Naniken of Matolenim (Sahle), and Kesner agree that Jangiro and Lamuak belonged to the Foreign Clan, Inaj and Lapanmor to the Masters of Kauat.

The variations in the conclusions are in the fate of the Lord of Teleur. According to Luelen's two versions (Chs. 33 and 84) the ruler is simply deceived into believing in Lapanmor's loyalty. Warren Kehoe gives a similar account. In the Silten MS. the success of the quest is one of a series of incidents involved in the progressive accumulation of doom by the Teleur dynasty, but with no serious consequences. According to Hambruch's two informants and to F's informant from U the Lord of Teleur died upon receipt of the feather, having failed in his expectation that Lapanmor would be killed in the course of his quest.

2 S.O. probably *Nan Pahniep*, meaning unclear. According to R's notes this place is in Palikir. In Ch. 57.3 it apparently lies between Jokala and Palikir. In Hambruch (III:348) Lamuak comes from Nankap, near Jokaj. In Sahle's 1947 account to R it is Lenger, Net, that is the birthplace of Lamuak; he is the son of Luaputoi, the eldest of the three sisters who founded the Foreign Clan.

3 According to the fuller of the two texts that Hambruch obtained from Lewis Kehoe, Lamuak was also a treacherous or vicious person. Lewis does not mention any special agricultural ability. Luelen calls Lamuak tricky in Ch. 84.3. In a variant collected by Hambruch (III:346) Lamuak's character is not discredited; he is presented as the victim of mistreatment by Lapanmor.

Differences such as these, and those mentioned in n. 33.1, may well be dependent on the clan and local affiliations of the narrator. Traditionally certain titles were held by certain clans and certain places were also the ancestral homes of certain clans. The clan membership of characters in myths is generally known, and a narrator would tend to present members of his own or related clans, or of his own political unit, in a more favourable light than others. Alterations would be especially common in preliminary explanations and asides, but less so in the central plot, which would be generally known. Unfortunately, we do not have consistent data on the clan affiliation of characters and narrators.

4 Text kapuan totok (*kepwehn doadoahk*), literally 'equipment for work'. R's English notes add in parentheses 'prayers', and they also say, 'They made these prayers before they used the tools, before they worked at cutting or cultivating'. Very possibly the tools listed here were ceremonial knives or adzes and the names are esoteric or religious. But in Hambruch (III:346) two of them, Nanjuan and Likinjuan, are the names of Lamuak's sons. In another place (II:56) the three are pelik shells and they are brought from Kusaie by the two Lipitan boys, Jenia and Monia, whom we have already encountered under different names in Ch. 24 (see n. 24.7). Meanings of the names of the three tools are unknown except nan is 'in' or 'inner part of' and likin is 'outside of' or 'outer part of'. William of Kinakap said that this meant the two unequal valves of the bivalve pelik. Kesner says that 'sank' is not to be taken literally and gives as the correct meaning 'lost' or 'disappeared'.

5 See also ns. 4.3 and 17.4. According to both of Hambruch's versions of this myth Lamuak magically brought about the rainstorm which washed away the evidence to the Lord of Teleur (III:346,348). However, one version has it that Lamuak did it because he was angry at not receiving a share in the first fruits he had just presented (a typical Ponapean complaint), while the other states that Lamuak was a treacherous man and no provocation is mentioned. Our informant Kesner says that it was not a stalk but a banana skin, and that it was washed ashore not at Pankatira but at another islet of Nanmatol, Pein Ut (Stone Structure of the Banana).

6 The variant versions of this myth available to us are not explicit as to whether Lapanmor had violated custom by not passing on to the Lord of Teleur the first fruits he had received. However, the Lords of Teleur have the general reputation of having been excessively greedy and demanding more than that to which they were entitled. (Kesner says, incidentally, that this Lord of Teleur was the same one that married a Papa-Tree Clan woman from Letau who could assume the form of a rat. A version of this story is given in Hambruch [III:162].)

7 Oliver Nanpei told R that this was a cockatoo, and Warren Kehoe said it was a red parakeet. Neither bird is native to Ponape. None of the Luelen manuscripts identify the bird. S.O. *Derepeiso* or *Diripeiso*. Possibly derived from *derepe-iso*, 'royal errand'. See also n. 84.13 for other mentions of the bird.

8 In other versions this paragraph ends with the words 'as crown property'.

9 The first errand being related in Ch. 32.

10 'Land' here referring to a place where at the low tide the bottom is exposed.

11 The word Luelen writes for Kusaie, koto, could be interpreted as *koatoa*, which is the tree *Sonneratia* that grows in mangrove swamps, but Kesner denies it and says it refers to the island of Kusaie. The reference to eel basket (written puatenlaji and patenlaji by Luelen) is to a container carried by women gathering marine fauna on the reef; an example is illustrated in Hambruch (II:374, Fig. 162). There is a Lajialap Clan story, partially told in Ch. 44, of two women who found a stone in Ronkiti and put it in such a basket; when they got home they discovered that an eel had come out of the rock, hence the name of the container. Kemeui (*kemewi*) is much like the eel basket except that it is plaited so that the ends of the weft elements stick out all around.

12 There is a version of this story which tells that when the Ponapean group approached the tree they found the natives of the place sitting under it with their heads bowed in an attitude of worship, enabling the Ponapeans to approach without detection.

13 According to two versions of this tale recorded by Hambruch (III:347, 349) the Lord of Teleur died on receiving the feather. One version does not say why he died. The other, by Lewis Kehoe, says it was because of disappointment at not receiving the whole bird. An earlier, more abridged account, also recorded by Hambruch from Lewis Kehoe, says that the Lord of Teleur 'rejoiced greatly' at receiving the feather (III:383). This version appears to have been obtained before Hambruch gained the informant's confidence. According to the Silten MS. the commission to get the Tiripeijo bird or feather was one of the tyrannical acts of the Lords of Teleur which prompted Lapanmor and others to put a curse on them, leading to their eventual defeat by Kusaican invaders. It may be that the death of the Lord of Teleur in some versions is considered to be the result of his mortification because of Lapanmor's success in accomplishing what he had supposed was an impossible task.

Chapter 34

1 This tale is also represented in MS. 5. Hambruch gives a published version (text 263, III:246), and F collected a full oral relation in U. All versions are essentially similar, differing mainly in amount of detail.

Two minor differences relate to the demon's name and the identity of the girl's helpers. In F's oral version Taimuan is given as Tai, while in Hambruch it becomes Tai-le. (Luelen also writes it variously as Taeman and Taiman.) Luelen's versions say that the helpers who killed the demon were worms, while the other two say they were

women. However, Luellen's names for the worms suggest women's names, since they contain the prefix Li- which is commonly found in such names (see n. 43.15).

2 Malek is the word for chicken, possibly the name Namalek (*Nahmalek*) comes from Nan-malek meaning 'The Place of Chickens'. (Alternatively the *Nah-* could be the word for 'reef island' applied to an interior location.) In the version recorded by Hambruch the heroine in her flight ties some chickens together and holds on to them as they fly away with her. This incident is omitted in the present version and in MS. 5. Nanjokala is the main interior valley of the Jokala River in Net and is separated by a mountain range from the Letau valley of Matolenim. Presumably Namalek, being a rock shelter, is on the Net side of the mountains up near the Matolenim border.

3 Text *im takai* (*ihmw takai*), literally a 'rock house'. As far as is known, Ponapeans built no house walls from stone. They used rocks and coral masses in construction principally for foundations, retaining walls, and open enclosures. *Ihmw takai* is the common term applied to natural rock shelters or caves, which occur on Ponape mainly in the mountains. However, Christian (1899:141) does say that the large, community houses (*nahs*) are sometimes called *im-entakai* from the presence in them of the basalt slabs on which kava is pounded; we ourselves have not encountered this expression.

4 Literally, 'Woman of the Base of Malekelek'. Malekelek is the word for chicken, malek, with the final syllable reduplicated. Sometimes nouns are made into adjectives by this process, e.g., *kepwe*, 'goods', *kepwehpwe*, 'rich' or 'propertied'. Possibly malekelek refers to the rock under which the woman lived.

5 Text *joumau* (*sou-mwau*). *Soumwau*, literally 'not good', is the common word for 'sickness'. Here, however, a translation as 'defects' or 'deformities' seems more consistent with the conditions referred to.

6 Text *liangmat*, *lijongopo* (*li-ang-mat*, *li-soang-o-pwo*), meaning 'swollen legs' and 'enlarged testicles'. These are both forms of elephantiasis. The third condition, *likaruaite* (*li-ker-weite?*) is a condition in which the lower eyelids sag, exposing the red membrane, probably to be explained as an ectropion. The word is also a term of abuse, and was particularly used in Kiti in former times to refer in certain conditions to the male members of the Nanmariki's clan; these men might not look upon the Nanmariki's wife but were required to retire hastily from the feast house if she approached, being warned to do so by means of the epithet.

7 S.O. *kisin-nta-mwau*. The missionaries in devising the Ponapean writing system that Luellen uses did not recognise the possibility

of initial nasal-stop consonant clusters and wrote a vowel before them, usually *i* or *u*. Thus *nta*, blood, is often written *inta*, as here in the text.

8 Ponapean has a special term, *saulap*, for son-in-law (woman speaking) and mother-in-law (man speaking). Other parents-in-law are assimilated with the term for parent of the same sex, and other children-in-law with the term for child. The Ponapean expression used here for 'their father' is *ara pahpa*. *Pahpa* is apparently not derived from any European language, despite the similarity, since it is recorded by O'Connell (1836) at the very beginning of European contact. A more formal term for father, *sahm*, is now nearly obsolete.

9 Text *ani (eni)*, which we translate variously as 'god', 'spirit', 'demon', 'ghost', depending on context. Generally male unless otherwise specified by the speaker. See n. 3.1.

10 Text *poopalipal (pwoh-pelipel)*. This appears to be the smell of meat, especially pork or dog, but also fish.

11 Ponapeans when asked who they are commonly say simply, 'It is I', and do not give their names. This can be confusing at night or over the telephone.

12 Text *tuka (tuhke)*. It means wood, tree, or plant generally. Possibly here it is intended to include only trees and woody shrubs rather than all plants.

13 Text *kajomojom (koasomwosomw)*. Actually this means to speak humbly of oneself or one's work, not simply to greet.

14 This shrub, *Kampanial*, is often given to babies to hasten their talking. The logic is based on this myth of Taimuan, in which the plant has the power of speech.

15 Although Luellen describes these two creatures as little worms, they are actually insects. Ponapean has no generic term equivalent to English 'insect'. The first name is said to be that of an ash-coloured crawling insect, the second resembles a cockroach and flies; both are small, both are often found in ashes.

16 Text *paj (pehs)*. Normally this means ashes, but the context here would make dust seem a more reasonable translation. There is no common Ponapean word meaning dust, although *pwelipar* is increasingly heard nowadays. Possibly *pehs* is sometimes used in this sense.

17 Text *lapin kaj (lepin kahs)*, a term including proverbs, proverbial sayings, metaphors, mythical quotations, etc.

18 The insult of *Jokala* is 'Your vagina, my penis'. To say this to a sister, as Taimuan did, is particularly reprehensible.

Chapter 35

1 A version of this myth is included in MS. 5. Hambruch gives three versions (text 66, III:185; text 196, II:132; and text 239c, III:183), each from a different informant. They are not necessarily contradictory but there are different emphases in each and incidents which do not overlap with the others. The travels of the crab and her various names are given in greatest detail by Luellen while the crab is not even mentioned in Hambruch's text 196. The latter relates that the hero's parents were killed by some Net people while the others indicate that a sizable party of Kiti people were killed in Net or Jokaj. (Both states were under the rule of the Masters of Kauat in recent times so the discrepancy of name is understandable.) All versions concur in the miraculous escape of the Kiti boy with supernatural aid. The present account is the only one which states that the sea spirit appeared in the form of an eel. The others, including MS. 5, all imply that the spirit had a human-like form. Hambruch's text 196 and Luellen's MS. 5 say that the spirit appeared in response to the boy's sacrifice of fish.

Two of Hambruch's versions (texts 66 and 239c) add an account of the rescuing spirit, a female, getting married to a male spirit and bearing a monstrous child which they abandon because it swells up so rapidly. In text 66 the husband is the god Taukatau while in text 239c the union is incestuous.

2 Ngatik and Ant are separate atolls some distance from Ponape. Kepara is an inlet on the barrier reef of Ponape, at its most south-westerly point. Na is a reef island off the east coast.

3 Likop is a section on the mainland of northern Matolenim. Uanikpaiti corresponds to modern Net and Jokaj, its border with Uanikpeitak (Upwind Uanik) being the Jokala channel (see n. 26.1).

4 Ilake is the ancestral spirit of the subclan of the Creature Clan known as Liajanpal, whose history is related in Chs. 60.12-13 and 84.7-10. She was the central goddess of a special cult which existed in Uone, as Hambruch tells in II:132 ff., where her chief priest was the Jaumatonponta, the title which in this story she gives to the boy; the holder of this title was not only high priest but his political position was equivalent to the Naniken of today, the latter being the title he took when Uone conquered Kiti, as Ch. 60.10 tells.

Chapter 36

1 Hambruch also recorded a version of this tale or myth from Lewis Kehoe (text 45, III:350), and another version is included in

Luelen's MS. 5, copied by F. The Hambruch relation is similar in many respects to the two Luelen versions except that the first helper is a leaf oracle rather than a pair of tongs, while the second helper at the Letau River is given the name of Kiroun Menikior rather than Jau-kior as here. (A stream named Menikior joins the Letau River near its mouth.) Hambruch's informant also says that the eel was sent by the Lord of Teleur to punish the Master of Areu for laxity in bringing tribute, a characteristically Ponapean touch.

2 A freshwater eel in a fish trap in the sea seems anomalous, but the species, which normally inhabits ponds and streams, returns to the sea to spawn.

3 Text *kajjar*, phonemicising uncertain. Originally the word meant stone-boiling, that is, cooking with hot stones dropped into a wooden vessel, coconut shell, or seashell containing food. Nowadays extended to cooking over a fire or in a stone oven when the food is wrapped in leaves.

4 Text *tip (tihpw)*. This is simply a pair of sticks used to handle rocks, food, and the covering of stone ovens.

5 Note that the eel is treated here as something very like a person who does not want to get his feet wet, not like a fish.

6 Meaning and phonemicising unclear. This place is on the shore of Tamon Island, between two artificial islets called Reitipup and Palil (Nos. 21 and 22 in Luelen's list, Ch. 70) or Reitibob and Puilel (Nos. 58 and 59 on Hambruch's map of Nanmatol, III:20). Hambruch marks the spot as a spring.

7 This expression, still current, refers to pairs of coconuts tied together by means of strands of husk which have been loosened and torn back part way from the bottom ends of the nuts. Such pairs of coconuts are often placed under the arms of little children for buoyancy while they learn to swim, in the same way the eel uses them in the next paragraph.

8 A traditional epithet for Ant Atoll.

Chapter 37

1 This chapter and Chs. 38 and 40 consist of stories about the god Luk (*Luhk*) and other individuals connected with him in one way or another. Evidently at one time these formed an important cycle in Ponapean mythology. While still known by older people it is our impression that they are now told rather infrequently because of the connection with the aboriginal religion, or when told are told more as simple tales for entertainment. An exception may be the story of Kereejang at the end of the cycle, since this is the charter (in Malinowski's sense) for a kind of medicine known as *Jaupeiajaj*.

A variety of texts are available for certain parts of this cycle. The earlier MS. 5 by Luelen in general closely parallels the version given here.

The story of the capture of a flying man from Heaven, his marriage to Kirau Mair's daughter and the subsequent birth of Luk is also given in an early text of Hambruch's (text 13, III:194). Of the two accounts Luelen's should be given more weight, since some of Hambruch's early texts from the informant involved here, Lewis Kehoe, show signs of reticence and possibly conscious distortion.

The story of Luk's second wife, an earth woman, is reported briefly in another MS. from Kiti collected by F. This story and the ensuing troubles involving two other women coveted by Luk are also recorded in two versions given by Hambruch (text 17, III:198 and text D 2, III:200). Part of the cycle is recapitulated in the 'Song of the Woman named Liatijap' in Ch. 70 of the present manuscript. Hambruch (II:191) published a similar song. F obtained part of this song also, as well as an oral version of the story of Luk's wives and lovers from Warren Kehoe.

2 The place where the hero of the Malpur quest also lived; see n. 32.2.

3 Puaja (as it is spelled here) is an antique name for the sections of Kiti now known as Jamai and Upper Anipein. The name occurs again in Ch. 55 [A] as Puajau, where the chief of the section is given as Jaupuaja; in Ch. 53 it is Pajau, as it is again in Ch. 57.4; and in Ch. 60.8 the names Pajaulap (Great Pajau) and Pajautik (Little Pajau) are given.

4 Text jaunkoa, someone given a responsibility, as a church elder nowadays.

5 This chief was the leader of the Masters of Kauat in their military expansion from Nanmair as described in n. 26.1.

6 S.O. *karat*. A short, thick cooking banana with soft, orange-yellow flesh. Probably the most valued variety of banana in former times.

7 Normally Ponapeans cut bananas when the fruit has reached full size but before they are actually ripe. If they are left to ripen on the trees the skin splits and the fruit quickly spoils.

8 When a *karat* banana is eaten raw a small hole is made in the end and the soft flesh squeezed into the mouth with the fingers. The flying people had done so and left the empty skins still attached to the stalk.

9 Text nan uaua (*nan wehwe*). *Wehwe* means basically a horizontal interval or space, like the cracks between horizontally laid boards in a wall. The implication is that this land is between two layers, perhaps earth and a layer of Heaven.

10 Text *iangangijo kan (iangahng-isoh-kan?)*, more literally the 'royal companions'.

11 Standard orthography may be *Iap-e-du*, meaning 'Diving Yap', that is, a land which submerges under the sea at times. This would be consonant with the nature of its inhabitants as described in the next sentence.

12 Kesner told R that Jaupualu did not want to go, both because of his wife's pregnancy and his lack of wings, so Kanikiniapatang went back to Iapatang and returned with wings for him.

13 Ponapean uses the same word, *mahs*, for both 'eye' and 'face'. The context here seems to be ambiguous and either meaning might be intended.

14 A place in the aforementioned Puaja (n. 37.3), near the border of Jamai section.

15 This might also reasonably be translated as 'Watchman of Under-the-Giant-Taro'. Either interpretation would be consonant with the story and with other Ponapean names and titles, and no phonemic difference is involved. However, Pensile denied to R that 'under' could apply here.

16 Text *panati (pahnedi?)*, literally to bait, as a fish.

17 Text *lee jet (leh sed)*, which would mean a saltwater pond, located on the reef. Nevertheless, according to Pensile, this pond is about a mile inland, at the locality called Tanimuek, and it contains no fish.

18 Text *potokan (or kotokan) mam*. Handwriting, exact meaning and phonemicising unclear. Kesner translates as 'best' or 'biggest fish', Oliver as 'the most sacred fish', W as 'the chief fish'.

19 God of fishing and the sea, according to R. New fishing nets are dedicated to him. Ullap alone means 'mother's brother', real or classificatory, and Nanullap was apparently Luk's mother's brother. The word Ullap is possibly derived from *ol-lap*, meaning 'great man'.

20 Kesner notes that these were all fishes in human form.

21 Text *loj aramja (lohs-arames-e)*, literally 'human mats', with an active verbal suffix, hence probably to be translated as 'formed human mats'. That is to say, he was lying on them or at least on their hands, as was often the practice when a ruling chief lay ill.

22 Most medicines on Ponape are prepared from leaves, roots, and other parts of various plants, which are laid on a flat stone in running water and pounded to a pulp with a hammerstone. The pulp is then placed on a square cut from the natural cloth at the base of the coconut leaf, the cloth is folded into a pouch which is squeezed, and the liquid infusion which is strained out by this process is drunk.

23 The first of the two fishes mentioned is a kind of goatfish, perhaps *Mulloidichthys*; the second is a squirrelfish, *Holocentrus*

leò. The first is a totem of the Luk Clan, the second of the Creature Clan, the Masters of Pok, and the Lipitan. The boy Monimur is said to be a Lipitan Clan member. (The same name is given to the boy of Ch. 24, who, however, cannot be the same person.) Oliver Nanpei said to R in 1947: 'These are the fishes who had the power to remove the spear and cure Nanullap. The blood that had fallen from the boy's mother as she flew through the air fell into the sea and made these two fishes. Because of this the boy got another name, Monimur.'

24 Text *Latu* and *Litu* (*La-du* and *Li-du*). Obsolescent terms which now appear mainly in the Ponapean Bible as translations of English 'man servant' and 'maid servant'.

25 The people shouted in anger because of the apparent violation of a strict taboo. The building where this action takes place is evidently a feast house, or community house, a structure built so that it is open in front, has two platforms, one on each side, and a third, higher platform at the rear. The third platform is where the high chiefs sit. It is forbidden for commoners and certain chiefs to enter except at the ground-level open front, while the boy evidently entered at the front end of one of the side platforms. Also a commoner may not step on the beam which forms the inner edge of a side platform, a taboo which the boy broke. But certain high-ranking men may do these things and when the boy was revealed as Luk the people were satisfied. In some versions of the story of Ijokekel the son of that hero is recognised by his violation of the same taboos, among other similar violations, although in the version given by Luelen in Ch. 54.8-10 these particular offences are not mentioned.

26 Talking tongs occur also in Ch. 36.3-4.

27 Actually his mother's mother's sister. The word *nono* (mother) is used twice again for his grandmother's other sister in the next few sentences, in keeping with the Ponapean kinship terminology.

28 Literally the 'Eaves of Heaven', the place where the Ponapeans thought the underside of Heaven came down to earth like the eaves of a house, as Ch. 1.4 tells. The eaves of the native Ponapean house were only a foot or so above the ground.

29 Text *konele*, meaning and phonemicising unclear. Kesner suggests it possibly means to 'catch'.

30 Standard orthography *ros*, meaning 'completed', 'exhausted', i.e., they had eaten the pandanus fruit up. *Roj* (*Ros*) is an islet off Anipein in Kiti. It gave its name to 'Roach' Harbour, as the whalers called it a century ago (see n. 63.2).

31 Other versions name these places, all in Kiti.

32 Paragraphs 36 to 47 and parts of the following Ch. 38 parallel a text of Hambruch's from Lewis Kehoe (III:198-200); it is generally less detailed but checks rather well with the version given here. This text from Kehoe was given to Hambruch slightly later than the one, also from Kehoe, which parallels the earlier portions of this chapter.

33 Text here *katipar en*; meaning and phonemicisation unclear. Translation is from R. W translates as 'see', perhaps in the sense of 'visit'. F leaves untranslated. Perhaps it means they became estranged.

34 Oliver and Kesner both explained to R that Jaunlang (*Soun-leng*), Masters or Clan of Heaven, meant Luk's mother, grandmother, and grandmother's sisters, while the Jaun Luk people could be the descendants of his sister. The clan called Jaun Luk here is much more commonly known as Tipuinluk, which is also what Luelen calls it elsewhere in the manuscript. The word *Sou-leng* is now the common word for Christian. Possibly the standard orthography for the name of the clan in question here is *Soun-leng*. In pronunciation the *nl* cluster would be assimilated to *ll*. In the old orthography double consonants are often written as single letters, so the spelling Jaulang in MS. 2, as against Jaunlang in the present (MS. 3) version, would not be inconsistent with standard orthography *Soun-leng*.

35 Mall (from Eng. 'Small') Island, on the barrier reef south of Tamon Island; probably same as Pompokalap in Ch. 70 [VI] 1.

36 Text *pelikit pan a puilipaipai mia*. Standard orthography perhaps *pe-likid-pen e pwil-i-peipei mie*. R's and W's notes both indicate this means 'She had a carrier for her hair'. In a song text (Hambruch II:191) she is described as keeping her hair in a basket. Elsewhere Hambruch (III:198) translates the word *likitiki* (*likid-eki?*), which is evidently closely related to *pe-likid-pen*, as 'open and let fall'.

37 According to Hambruch's informant (III:198), Laimipei confessed to the presence of Liatijap, who then freely came forth.

38 Text *lao mau la* (*lao mwahu-la*); literally 'until good' or 'until become good'. The subject is unclear; it may be Liatijap's hair or it may be Katinlang's temper. Kesner says the first meaning is better. According to Hambruch's informant no one was allowed to have long hair in Heaven except Katinlan (III:198-9). In a version obtained by R from Oliver Nanpei, Liatijap was brought by Luk to earth at Tanimuek (see n. 37.14) where one of his grandmother's sisters lives, and it is there that Luk's wife cuts off her hair.

39 Text *ira ari pakai ki pana Luk* (*ira eri pekei-ki-pene Luhk*). *Pekei* is the word for 'co-wife' or 'second wife', and according to some contemporary informants means 'concubine'. In the usage here *pekei* is made into a verb applying equally to both first and second wife.

40 According to Hambruch's informant there were only five fish but there were supposed to be six (III:199).

41 Passive forms *kamakam er* (*kamakam-ehr*) and *pejiken tito* (*pi-siken-dih-do*). It is not clear who did the beating and shoving. Perhaps Katinlang ordered some of her subjects to do it, although Hambruch's informant says she shoved the two women herself. Possibly the use of the passive here is honorific of Katinlang, with the idea that such an exalted being should not have to exert herself. Passive forms are, however, rarely used with honorific significance in Ponapean and verbs are usually made honorific by replacing the morpheme or adding the honorific auxiliary *ket-in*.

Chapter 38

1 This chapter is a continuation of the Luk cycle. It includes the episodes also given by Hambruch in his texts D2 and 373 (III:200 and II:192).

2 According to R's 1947 notes, an informant Abner says that Lipalapanlang came down at Likin-takai (Outside the Rock) off the lower part of Lower Lot section of Matolenim, near Nantiati, and Lipaieret fell at Paliaij in Net. Both Luellen and Hambruch's 1910 informant, Lewis Kehoe, agree with this version (III:199). The rock where Lipalapanlang stayed, mentioned in the next sentence of the text, is a prominent one with a large cleft in it. In MS. 5, seen by F, Lipaieret falls at a place named Popononiaij, whereas here it is Poniaij, which is in Paliaij section of Net. In the song text (Hambruch II:192) the place is called Iaias.

3 Text *kirekirau*. F translates as summon, R as ration, this last referring to the selections made among canoe passengers in the next paragraph. The word occurs again in Ch. 44.16 in very similar circumstances. It is probably from the same root as the political title *Kirau* (as in *Kirau Mair*), which we have sometimes translated as Lord but which would probably be better as Husbander or Keeper.

4 *Paiej* is the northernmost section of modern Kiti, at the border of Palikir, Jokaj. Luellen here puts it in *Kapilang*, which is sometimes defined as modern Kiti minus *Uone*, but sometimes as modern Kiti minus both *Uone* and *Leenpuel*, the latter of which includes *Paiej*. See n. 26.1 and Ch. 27.

5 In 1947 R recorded the traditional title of the section chief of *Paiej* as *Soukoahng en Paies*. It is questionable that this is the same as the title Luellen gives here. The section chief title was vacant in 1947, for *Paiej* was uninhabited.

6 Text *kaijar*, see n. 36.3. Refers here to grated coconut prepared

by stone boiling. It serves as food, bait for coconut crabs and chickens, and as ointment (when perfume may be added); it is the last of these uses which is concerned here and in the next paragraph, where the gratings are squeezed with the hands to obtain oil for anointing the body.

7 Text *kakilej* (*kakiles*) and *kat-tik* (*kat-i-tik*). Ponapean has two basic terms for varieties of ants: *kakiles*, a large black, stinging ant; and *kaht*, a much smaller kind. The reference to bundles is to leaf bundles of live ants.

8 Text *limuatak* (*limwahdek*). This is the word used to describe the crawling of lizards and eels. According to F her name, *Lipalapanlang*, is used in some parts of the island for a kind of lizard.

9 Text *pain um o*, full meaning and phonemicising uncertain.

10 Text *paliao*, usually used by Kiti people to mean the area around the present town of Kolonia; *Lipaieret* lived at *Poniaij* according to Ch. 38.1, but both places are in Net.

11 That is, they did not beg pardon and ask him to join them, as they should have done.

12 The place of the dancers is not named here, but R's informants say it is at the peak of *Paiej* (called *Pwise-hn Malek*, Chicken Faeces, from a story that it was defecated by a chicken). In Hambruch (III:200) the place is called *Malolap*. The rocks into which the dancers were transformed are said to be still there. The second place mentioned in this paragraph, where the net was changed into cane, is near the stream *Kiriedeleng*, which forms part of the boundary between Kiti and *Jokaj*; its name was given to it by the boy, who, it is told, looked into it and could not see the bottom but saw only the reflection of the sky, hence called it *kiried* (unclear) *leng* (sky). Hambruch (III:202) also mentions the stream and the netmakers.

13 This place is somewhere near the *Jokaj-Net* border. Hambruch (II:193, III:203) calls it *Tip en tser* and *Tep en ser*.

14 *Pensile* told R that there was a more extended version of this incident in a notebook that *Luelen* wrote and gave to *Oliver Nanpei's* mother, *Caroline*. That notebook, which contained some stories selected from MS. 3 told in greater detail, is now lost; it may have been the manuscript R studied when it was in *Oliver Nanpei's* possession in 1947, which is also said to have disappeared, or it may have been the manuscript W used, allegedly copied by *Caroline*. As *Pensile* tells it, the more extended version closely parallels Hambruch (III:203): two of the canoe-makers chase after the boy, carrying *kava* to offer to him; they come up with him on the coast of *Nanponmal* and there make an apology ceremony to him, pounding the *kava*; they have no cups so the boy takes off one of his knee caps and they use it; they have no water for the *kava* so he grinds his heel

into the earth and makes a pool, which is called *Pil en Kaimw en Neh*, Water of the Heel (Corner of the Foot, literally). Other wonders are described in Hambruch's song text.

15 According to Kesner, after this the boy heard singing from Dolonier and stopped to listen. He then said that from then on the people of this section would have the sweetest voices in Ponape, which Kesner says they indeed do.

16 Text kameng and kamue. Meaning and phonemicising unclear. The first is in all texts available to us, but it is crossed out in the present text and replaced by kamue. It is here translated as 'stone structure', which is what we have been using for the translation of 'pehi' till now, but the word may actually refer to the building out of the land along the shore or to a stone fish pond. There is now a stone structure a little inland at this place on Net point; possibly this was intended.

17 A place at Net Point, where piers built during the Japanese period now stand.

18 S.O. *Soanop*. 'Earth'? An apparently identical word in Truk and the Mortlocks means earth as opposed to the Underworld or Heaven. Janop is a locality near the northern extremity of Net Peninsula.

19 The text says 'hands' but Pensile says 'fingers' is meant and is used in Ch. 38.18 and in other versions of the story. But a charm, supposedly said to revive the boy (given in Hambruch II:90), also says 'hands'.

20 'Small coconuts' is the name of the special variety of coconut which cannot easily be husked with the ordinary stick-husker, hence the biting and tearing.

Chapter 39

1 MS. 5, seen by F, also contains a text of this myth, practically identical to the version given here except for some minor variations of vocabulary not affecting the plot and for the transposition of a few sentences at the end.

Hambruch gives five versions of this myth, the first two being from his prime informant Lewis Kehoe (text 16, III:334; text 34, III:306; text 265, II:231; text D 8, II:46; text D 18, II:69). The last of these is fragmentary and aberrant, but has been grouped with the others since it deals with a magic contest between two characters entitled Saumen Iap (Luelen's Jaiiap?) and Saumen Kapinpil (Luelen's Jomenkapinpil). Both versions by Lewis Kehoe are brief and the first may be consciously garbled since it differs from the

second and from other informants as to the causes of the killing of the giant Uarikitam. One suspects that Hambruch may have challenged Kehoe's first version and as a result been given a second which was little better. Hambruch's two remaining versions do not mention the giant Uarikitam, but only the cannibalistic bird that Jauiap is said to have sent first. In any case the versions mentioning Uarikitam agree that he was killed by means of a hot rock popped into his mouth, and that his body remains as the foundation of Kamar section in Net. Those mentioning the bird agree that the bird's killer revived the bird or made a substitute for it to satisfy Jauiap.

R received a short version of this myth from Kwan of Net. Kwan gives the names of the two main characters as Warikitam and Simwun Kepinipil, who were brothers, members of the Great Clan. Simwun Kepinipil became angry at Warikitam because the latter ate an octopus without sharing it. Warikitam was full and went to sleep. His brother heated black rocks until they glowed, dropped them into Warikitam's mouth, and killed him. Simwun Kepinipil was then ashamed, ran away, and went into a hole in the Leui River, under a bridge by the place where the Belgian Carlos Etschreit was living in 1947-53, hid there, and never came out again.

The names of the principal rivals are variable and unclear. The name of the Ponapean is perhaps in standard orthography variously, *Saumwin Kepinipil* or *Soamwin Kepinipil* (dialect variants), or *Simwuhn Kepinipil* (alternative). The Yapese opponent is generally entitled *Sou Iap*, or 'Lord of Yap', but the aberrant Hambruch version gives his name as Saumen Iap (probably *Saumwin Iap*).

F also heard but did not transcribe a song containing the names of these characters and probably dealing with this myth.

2 Standard orthography and meaning of first part of name unclear. The final part is *kepin-i-pil*, Bottom of the Stream, probably in the sense of 'lower reaches of the stream'.

Hambruch recorded *saumuin* for the first part of the name from Lewis Kehoe on two occasions and *saum en* from two Net informants. However, he also recorded the variant *sumun* from another Net man. F recorded the form *simwuhn* from an U informant in the early 1950s. R's version from Kwan in 1947 has it as *simwun*, but from Pensile in 1963 as *soumwun*. Probably there are two basic alternate forms of this name current, in standard orthography *saumwin* and *simwuhn*. The form given here should probably be written in standard orthography as *soahmwin* and would be a Kiti dialect of *saumwin*. This would mean Master of the Oven. Main dialect *au* is often replaced in Kiti by the pure vowel *oa* or *oah*.

3. This is a high cliff on Jokaj Island, an outstanding landmark.

4. Mejeniang is the site where the town of Kolonia now stands.

Peilapalap is not the artificial islet of the same name previously noted among the ruins of Nanmatol but is near Kolonia. The place where the death of the bird occurred is still called *Nan Kutoar*, according to Pensile.

5 Text kool, carrying and eating at the same time.

6 The reef, says Kesner, is somewhere between Oroluk and the Mortlock Islands. The only place that comes close to fitting this description is Minto Reef.

7 Kesner says the portion with the tail was very small and that this is the origin of the expression 'A gift of the Lipitan', meaning a miserly gift. According to Kesner the two boys were of the Lipitan clan and were the same as the two boys of Ch. 24, with different names (see n. 24.7).

8 According to Hambruch's informant, Lewis Kehoe (text 34, III:307), Uarikitam went to sleep at a place named Yap Valley (Nan Woun Iap). Evidently this was located somewhere in Net. Kesner says it was at Karangke, by the ridge now called Warikitam, which is illustrated in Hambruch (I:Plate 7).

9 The 'foundation' referred to is the ridge known as Warikitam, in Kamar section.

10 Perhaps a ritual implement, perhaps an adze of a kind unknown today.

11 This bird, whose name is spelled both Kutor and Kitor in this chapter, Kutor in other manuscripts, is the Micronesian Kingfisher, *Halcyon cinnamomina reichenbachii*. The adult form is white-breasted, the immature form is cinnamon-breasted, and the two were for a long time classified by ornithologists as different species. Luelen and other Ponapeans regard them as different kinds. No doubt Luelen means the immature form of the bird when he refers to a dirty skin.

12 According to Kesner, Juiiap smelled kava and asked Jomenkapinpil if there was none to drink. Upon receiving a negative answer he kicked the root, perhaps from pique. Consuming kava together indicates that the two rivals made peace. Evidently Juiiap was satisfied at receiving a new bird and did not care much about his man, Uarikitam.

Chapter 40

1 Counting this as well as the earlier version (MS. 5) by Luelen, altogether nine relations of this myth are available for comparison. Hambruch recorded three (text 8, III:193; text 36, II:103; and text 93, III:134), the first from Lewis Kehoe, the second from Lewis and

his brother Ricardo together, the third from an U man. R obtained one from Ricardo, or Warren Kehoe as he was known in his later years. Paul Garvin and F each obtained oral accounts from different informants in U. F also recorded a song celebrating this myth from a Matolenim informant (Fischer: 1959). There are a number of minor differences in detail in the various narrations but in general there is much similarity. One point of difference is in the derivation of the kava plant. In most versions the god Luk takes skin from the heel of the hero Uitanngar (*Wideningar*) and it is from this that the kava plant springs; however, in the song and in MS. 5, both recorded by F, the implication is strong that Luk used the skin from his own heel.

This myth is still considered important, no doubt because of the continuing importance of kava in feasts and various other social situations. It may be regarded as an additional part of the Luk cycle.

It is of interest in our later discussions (see ns. 56.2, 6 and 10) of the god Luk as the one high being of whom all other gods are only manifestations, that in Hambruch's three versions of this story he is called Luk consistently in only III:193, as here in Luellen's account; in III:134 he is not called Luk but is Nanjapue and Luk Nanjapue; while in II:103 he is all three.

2 Mallanut (*Mellenuhd*) is an antique name for what is now the two easternmost sections of U, Jalatak and Roi. In the account by Warren Kehoe, Uitanngar lives in Jalatak, and the kava which falls from Heaven (Paragraph 40.13 below) falls and takes root in Jalatak. All three of Hambruch's relations also refer to Jalatak.

3 Text *jaunkapakap* (*soun kapakap*). *Kapakap* is the word generally used by the missionaries and modern Ponapeans to translate the English 'pray'. Apparently it is not used in the sense of reciting a spell.

4 Text *pajong ki*, phonemicising uncertain. 'Dedication' seems to be the best English translation; the old man had devoted all the nuts from the tree to Luk, never taking one for his own use.

5 Text *rong* (*roahng*); a *roahng* is something that people are forbidden to touch. In this case it refers to the pile of coconuts under the tree, although most commonly nowadays it means a man's widow, who is considered a *roahng* to any but his subclan mates for purposes of remarriage.

6 See n. 37.6.

7 S.O. *kourapw*, a mixture of turmeric and grated coconut meat.

8 Supposedly named after the coconut (aring, S.O. *ering*) gratings which they ate.

9 *Kinakap* is a section in northwestern Matolenim. *Animuan* generally means all of northern Matolenim, as far south as Tolapuaill,

but is apparently given a more restricted extent here. Na is a reef island. As for Pejiko (S.O. *Pesihko*), according to a Matolenim informant of F's this is an old name for Fiji, which seems unlikely. Kesner told R that it was some place in Kusaie, which is where the pair go in Hambruch's account (II:103). In another version of the tale collected by F they go to some remote, unnamed island. Pejiko may here, judging from the language, be a locality, perhaps a house site, on Na, but it could also be read to refer to a place south of Na. In the version given to R by Warren Kehoe, Uitanngar and Luk go to Na in a second canoe, this one made of pandanus fruit, then from Na afoot under coral and sea to the mythical land of Air ('south') instead of Pejiko, as they do also in Hambruch (III:193).

10 No doubt a sort of pendant or necklace. Puake by itself refers to the trapezoidal shell pendants on the ornamental woven sashes.

11 Ponapean does not specify gender of pronouns.

12 Text *joko* (*soakoa*, Kiti dialect; *sakau*, Main dialect). This word means both 'liquor' and 'intoxicated'. The physiological effects of kava and alcohol are different, but there is enough similarity that Ponapeans use the same word for the conditions that each produces.

13 Text *jali* *ki la* (*sahliel-ikih-la*), may also be translated as 'become dizzy', 'become crazy'.

14 Text *karotin*, phonemicising unclear. The meaning of this term is uncertain. The common word for 'sweet' is *mem*. Sugar-cane is commonly chewed after taking a draught of kava in order to palliate the after-taste.

15 A place in Heaven where Luk lived at times.

Chapter 41

1 This myth is also available in MS. 5 by Luelen, in the Silten MS., and in a version collected by Hambruch from L. and R. Kehoe (text I, I:334). There are no important differences among these versions, and Luelen's are the most complete.

2 Presumably one of the voyages numbered 2 to 5 of the earlier chapters, but in Selten's MS. Jaom is a descendant of Limuetu of the first voyage.

3 Master of the Oven of Muajangap? Phonemicising and meaning unclear. In Ch. 56.3 he is described as the high priest of Kiti-proper, as he is also in Hambruch (II:129, 131, 135), his seat being in Jalapuk, Kiti.

4 One of the major gods of Ponape, often defined as the god of

rain, sometimes as god of thunder; at times identified with the god Nanjapue. See n. 56.10.

5 Perhaps a named plot of cultivated land on which there may have been a house site as well. There is a place of this name in the interior of Kiti, near Nanmair (see n. 26.1), but we do not know that Jalapuk ever included it within its borders.

6 In MS. 5 100 spans is specified. The Silten MS. gives no specific length nor does the account of the flood collected by Hambruch. Possibly a specific figure is lacking in oral tradition and was invented by the author at the time of writing to substitute for some statement on the order of 'as long as from here to yonder tree'.

7 According to MS. 5 'Ponape was again without inhabitants after the flood' except for the hero and his wife. Both Hambruch and the Silten MS. seem to imply a complete depopulation.

8 Presumably before the sixth voyage of Chapter 5.

Chapter 42

1 A version of this myth is given by Hambruch (text 140, III: 397). In that version Jaulikin Na tries unsuccessfully to imitate the hero's miraculous feat and ends up roasting one of his men. Hambruch gives the hero's name as Saumasamaspuai; possibly the last letter is a typographical error.

2 This uninhabited area, in the interior of Matolenim, is not considered to be a section nowadays. It was occupied before the smallpox epidemic of 1854.

3 Evidently a rock shelter or cave rather than a true house. The name of the section, Under the White Rock, is apparently descriptive of the 'house'.

4 Text *jali* (*sali*), translated here as 'meat and fish'; ideally *jali*, either meat or fish, is supposed to accompany every meal of starch food.

5 Among them Jaulikin Na of n. 42.1.

Chapter 43

1 This scrap of information is part of the narrative of Ch. 6.2. According to Kesner, Luellen simply forgot to include it there and at this point remembered to add it. Kesner names the man of the story as *Mwahn-en-peiro* (male of Peiro), Peiro being the place mentioned in Chs. 5.1 and 5.3 as the residence of Lienpuel and her three children, one of whom, the son, over whom the spell *paian*

jaurakim was recited, now appears to be the same as the man of Ch. 6.2. This seems the more likely because of inclusion here of reference to the sixth voyage of Ch. 5, which concerns Lienpuel and her children. The reference to Japani is new, and seems to equate it with Peiro; one of Lienpuel's daughters, it will be recalled (Chs. 21.1 and 70 [E]), had two daughters whose names end in -japani.

As for the word loong (which is probably *loahng* in standard orthography), it has three possible meanings: the insect 'fly', 'mountain range', and 'supports for storing a canoe'. F has heard of 'Carrying pole of Kiti' as an etymology for the section name Ronkiti, so perhaps Longenkiti (*Loangen-Kiti*) means 'Canoe support of Kiti'. However, Kesner and Pensile say that the reference is to a mountain range.

Jamaki Peak is discussed in n. 83.8.

Chapter 44

1 This and the following chapter are the most important parts of the origin myth of the Lajialap or Great Eel Clan. Versions of parts of this myth are available from nine different sources. Five of these versions are from Hambruch (text 33, II:124; text 81, III:146; text 134, II:47; text 325, II:48; text D 81, II:47). F collected two versions from U informants and one MS. version in addition to the present one, also written by a recently deceased U man.

The total cycle involves at least three generations of eels, of which the last gives birth to the human ancestresses of the Lajialap Clan, and is the most important.

The first generation eel is female, and is seen from Heaven by the god Luk who falls in love with her. She at first refuses his proposals of marriage but later succumbs to his love magic and bears him twin children. This is reported in one of Hambruch's texts (134) and by one of F's U informants.

The second major incident involves a male eel, possibly one of the twin children, who is raised by a couple in a foreign land, and falls in love with their daughter but is eventually eaten by them. His corpse produces three varieties of food tree. Hambruch recorded this from both Lewis and Ricardo (Warren) Kehoe (texts 33 and 81), and F recorded it from an U informant and transcribed it also from the U MS. mentioned above. This constitutes Chapter 45 of the present MS.

The last generation of eels involves a female eel, which, according to some versions, was descended from a seed of a banana plant which sprouted out of the corpse of the second generation eel. This

constitutes the present chapter of this MS. It is also available in four of Hambruch's texts (33, 81, 325 and D 81), in the U MS. transcribed by F and in an oral version transcribed by F from an U informant. The incidents involving this last eel are more elaborate and are widely known on Ponape today.

In general the various versions are mutually consistent, but there is variation in the incidents covered. No doubt this is largely because some of the incidents are sufficiently elaborate to constitute independent tales and probably were separate tales historically which have become fused into a cycle on Ponape.

There is some confusion about the eels' names, where these are given. Luelen in the present MS. assigns the name of Muajanpatol (Worm of Patol) to the third generation eel (female) and Muajenlang (Worm of Heaven) to the second generation eel (male). Lewis and Ricardo Kehoe also agree in one text (Hambruch text 33) in calling the third generation eel Muajanpatol. However, the U MS. transcribed by F gives that name to the second generation eel, and an U informant gave Muajenlang as the name of the first generation female eel whom the god Luk married. Both the U sources were respected members of the Lajialap clan. (The use of the word 'worm' for eels is of some ethnoscientific interest. See also n. 34.15, concerning its application to two species of insect.)

2 A small place on the Kiti River.

3 Text *pulit ngalangal lap* (*pwilid ngalangal lap*). *Pwilid* appears to be an active form of the verb *pwil*, to 'flow'. *Ngalangal* means 'shallow' or 'low tide'.

4 These are two muddy places at the mouth of the Kiti River, which borders Lauatik section where the couple live.

5 According to a version collected from a clan member living in U the fishers were man and wife, not two women. Note that in any case reference is made below to a man and wife to whom the women gave the stone and who cared for the eel, Paragraphs 3-6.

6 There are few freshwater fish of any size on Ponape except eels, which are rarely if ever eaten. Perhaps these were lagoon fish which had swum up the mouth of the Kiti River, attracted by food brought down in the flood.

7 This is perhaps a euphemism. According to some other versions the bird defecated the stone, which was in origin the seed of a banana which the bird had eaten in Yap. See n. 6.6.

8 This place is just east of Ronkiti, in Peil section, between Pok and Kipar. The stone is said to be there still; it is about four or five feet across, though it is called little here.

9 A place in the mountains behind Letau section in Matolenim.

10 Ponapeans formerly grew a special variety of *Cyrtosperma*

(*mwahng*) for its fragrant flowers. According to Kesner, the eel asked Kirau Mair for his garland, which was equivalent to a proposal of marriage.

11 This is an expression which signifies that one is very busy and provides an excuse to get away. The *aij* (*ais*) tree, *Parinariium glaberrimum*, produces nuts from which is obtained an oil. This, when boiled (aboriginally by stone-boiling), provides an excellent varnish, used mainly over the paint applied to canoes. In the process of boiling, the oil must be constantly watched and stirred to prevent coagulation. Hence the expression. The eel tells the man to use the expression because she is eager for his return to her.

12 Text *likant* (*likend*); may also be translated as 'queen', currently the normal title for the Nanmariki's wife.

13 Text *angak*, translated here as fishing, but evidently a verb describing a particular kind of fishing. It is seasonal, occurring usually in March, when the Palapal fish run and are caught with a seine.

14 Text *kilen puel* (*kilin pwehl*); literally *kilin* is 'skin of' or 'bark of', and *pwehl* is 'earth'; here the expression is translated as 'bank'.

15 S.O. *Lipwen Tiak*, literally 'footprint' or 'mark of stepping'. Apparently the eel made the hole in order to hide herself from Kiraumant. The Jaulikin Auakpoe and Charlie Nanpon, both of the Great Eel Clan, told R in 1947 that this hole, or pool, is in the river near Jalapuk in the interior of Kiti, near to a sacred stone structure of the high priest Jaom. Charlie said there are stones in the pool which resemble the scales of the eel. A woman, Anipel, also of this clan (she was Charlie's sister), told R that the place is in Mant, just below Jalapuk. Mant is the section of Kiti named in Paragraph 13 as the place where Kiraumant was fishing for eels.

Although the next paragraph, No. 14, makes seemingly contradictory statements as to where the eel's eldest daughter was born, other versions agree that it was at the pool of Lipuantiak, which is also the name of the senior subclan of the Great Eel Clan, whose members are the descendants of this eldest daughter.

16 Text *inap*. This word is normally used for anything, such as a mat or leaves, spread out to make a seat for a very high chief.

17 According to Pensile each successive group of fish swallowed (in Paragraph 12) was vomited separately, together with the successive waves that the eel had also swallowed, the water now being used to cleanse the fish. The last regurgitation was composed of parrot fish, but the eel had no more water and therefore the parrot fish were not completely washed, which is why the species today has a brown, sticky, coconut husk-like material in its throat. (This may be

a reference to the pharyngeal teeth, or possibly to the mucous envelope with which the parrot fish surrounds itself at night and which is secreted from its mouth, but Pensile's description does not exactly match.)

18 Charlie Nanpon and Anipel each named thirteen subclans of the Great Eel Clan to R, each descended from daughters born to the eel at different places, and of seniority within the clan according to the order of birth of those daughters. Luellen names two of them in Paragraph 16; they are the same as numbers 8 and 10 in Charlie's list, 8 and 9 in Anipel's list. The daughter born in Kusaie, mentioned but not named in Paragraph 19, was actually born earlier; she is number 6 in Charlie's list, number 4 in Anipel's, and the ancestress of the Lajiekatau (Eel of Kusaie) subclan.

19 Meaning Na Island and nearby reef islands.

20 That is, her corpse turned into the rocks under the state of Net. Charlie Nanpon said that the eel gave birth to her thirteenth daughter here (the ancestress of the Masters of Net, the most junior subclan of the Great Eel clan) and then died, her body becoming Net Peninsula. In Anipel's list, however, what seems to be the same subclan is given as third in seniority among the thirteen subclans and is called the Masters of Tipuantongalap (Tipuantongalap being an ancient name for Net Peninsula, as described in n. 26.1).

Chapter 45

1 This is an earlier part of the Great Eel Clan totemic myth. According to fuller versions, the banana tree which sprouted from the eel's corpse bore fruit which contained the seed from which the eel Muajanpatol, described in the previous chapter, hatched. F's U informant assigns the name Muajanpatol to the present eel, called Muajenlang by Luellen.

The eel in this myth is male, while the eel in the preceding chapter, actually his descendant, is female. Two texts of Hambruch's present the two parts of the myth in proper order (II:124 and III:146). These two parts are also present in proper order in a MS. collected in U by F, and written by a member of the Great Eel Clan.

There is also a still earlier part to the myth, mentioned in n. 44.1 in connection with a first generation eel.

Of the three parts to the myth, the third part (Ch. 44) is much the most elaborate.

2 Due to lack of punctuation this passage is ambiguous. Three names of banana are mentioned: the 'short banana' (utmot), the 'Yap banana' (uteiap) and the utmuaj (meaning not clear but most

likely 'worm banana', after the personal name of the eel). Here it is assumed that 'short banana' and 'Yap banana' are synonyms for a single variety of banana, which is what Pensile said that Luellen meant. (Kesner told R that both the short banana and utmuaj are varieties of the Yap banana, in which category he places also a third kind.) However, punctuated differently the passage could equally well mean that the corpse produced the mainue breadfruit and the short banana, and that utmuaj is either a synonym for the short banana or a second variety of banana produced by the corpse. (The word mainue, S.O. *mei-n-i-we*, which is the general term for smooth, firm-fleshed, early varieties of breadfruit, possibly contains the same morpheme that occurs in the names of the girl's parents, Jau-niue and Kat-niue, S.O. *Sou Nihwe* and *Kedin Nihwe*.) This is further suggested by the Hambruch version (II:126) in which it is stated that from the eel's head sprang 'mai ni ue, ut en iap, and ut mots'. In another manuscript written by a Lajialap clan member and copied in U by F the corpse is clearly said to have produced two varieties of bananas. In any case Luellen in this manuscript rejects the view that the 'Yap banana' sprang from the corpse; he is apparently telling the reader to disregard other versions he may have heard.

Chapter 46

1 I.e., the Jauteleur. This chapter is a prelude to the legend of the conquest of Ponape and deposition of the Lords of Teleur by the Kusaean Ijokelekel. Chs. 32 and 33 above provide examples of the sort of oppression attributed to the Lords of Teleur.

2 Text *ria lar (ria-la-hr)*. Ria is something like an evil fate which pursues a person who has violated a taboo or displeased the supernaturals. It may result in sickness or other misfortunes.

3 Text *japuenlima ol lapalap (sapwilime ohl lapalap)*, literally 'his (royal) great men'.

4 Text *janjal (sansal)*. The translation sounds dubious, although W and F agree on it. R translates as both 'clear' and 'known', after Pensile, who says that the intent of the sentence is only to show the state of political affairs at this time.

5 Kesner told R that the list of titles in this paragraph is not intended to be compared with those of Chs. 26 and 27, from which it differs in some details, but only to show the feudal lords who hated the Jauteleurs at the time of Jauteleur Jakonmuei (see Ch. 29) and his successors and who were to participate in their downfall.

The third column (beginning with Teleur) in some cases gives a

descriptive word rather than a proper name, which is given instead in the fourth column (entries 2, 4 and 5). In other cases the third column gives a more localised name while the name of the larger area is given in the fourth column (entries 1, 8) or vice versa (12). In still others the third column gives a common name while the fourth gives an esoteric name (entries 3, 7, 12).

6 MS. 4 gives here Nankinair for entry 10 in the third column. This is probably a mistake of the Ponapean copyist. The numbers of the entries are also evidently confused in MS. 4, entry 9 being skipped inadvertently and inserted later without a number.

7 Text *kamakit* (*ka-mwekid*), literally, to 'make move'.

8 Text *peperier*. Translation and phonemicising unclear. Kesner translates 'doing whatever one wants, without respect to anyone'.

9 Text *uau* (*wau*), from *wahu*, meaning basically 'valley'. Ponapeans conceive of honour as being manifested in a 'gulf' between high and low, maintained by respect behaviour.

10 Nanjapue is both the name of the Thunder God and the usual word for thunder. The incident mentioned in this sentence, here highly abbreviated, is part of the story that is continued in Ch. 48.1-2. In three fuller versions (from two of R's informants, Warren Kehoe and the Ounkin of Kiti, Lui, and also in Hambruch III:68) the Thunder God has adulterous relations with the wife of the Jauteleur, who for that reason catches and ties him up. In Hambruch III:66 and III:68 and in Warren Kehoe's account it is not Ninkap but Ijopau, a Foreign Clan god, who frees the Thunder God. Lui, who was a member of the Under-the-Breadfruit Clan, which is the clan of the Thunder God, said that Jauteleur himself freed the prisoner, because of the disturbance he was creating with his thundering, and that he called a fish to come and take the god away from Ponape. The Silten MS. agrees with Luelen in making the rescuer Ninkap; but Kesner points out that although it is usually Ijopau who is named in this incident, in Kiti the name Ninkap is often used as a synonym. This incident is usually followed by the Thunder God's escape to Kusaie, with the aid of various animal helpers, and then come the events of Ch. 48.1-2.

11 The Ponape District Education Department has published a story in Ponapean about 'The Lord of Teleur who Consumed People'. (Trust Territory 1954.)

Chapter 47

1 Text *kimuar kalauan kimuar*, i.e. *kimwer*, the roots of *kimwer*. According to W's notes *kimwer* appears to be a synonym for *matal*,

a small variety of wild pandanus (*Pandanus cominsil*). Pensile translates this sentence differently: '... fiber kilts for themselves from hibiscus bark and wild pandanus, and made pandanus roots into (woven) cloth loincloths, and Ficus (barkcloth) headbands which were tied around their heads'.

2 Kesner says parrot fish scales were used, as R saw still in use for facial depilation in 1947. The edges of the scale were folded back to make it square, then the scale was folded in two to make a pair of tweezers.

3 See ns. 4.2, 17.4, and 33.4.

4 We use the words 'spears' and 'javelins' for 'katieu' and 'jaipali' respectively, not to distinguish them on the basis of their English dictionary definitions but to contrast a weapon gradually tapering to a point but circular in cross-section for its full length (the 'katieu') with one flattened on one side from the point back for about one-third of the length of the weapon (the 'jaipali'). There is a third type of spear, not mentioned by Luellen here, which has a sting-ray point instead of simply a sharpened tip. All three are both thrusting and throwing weapons. 'Paii' has been translated here as 'sling stone', but could also mean the sling itself. 'Puai' has been translated as shell knife, but literally it means only 'pearl oyster', from which an implement was made of oval shape, sharpened all around and polished, and carried suspended from the neck, sometimes attached to the end of a spear.

5 I.e., from the wall plates to the ground, not the height of the ridge pole. The height is given in English feet in the manuscript. Ponapeans probably began to use this measurement in the mid-nineteenth century, although even now the native unit, the span, is more common for measurements of some size.

6 Text ngap (*ngahp*), equivalent to a span, between five and six feet. Wall posts and rafters are set one span apart, and thatch sheets are one span long. Buildings are referred to in terms of their length in spans.

Chapter 48

1 This chapter recounts the defeat of the Lord of Teleur at the hands of an invading force from Kusaie under Ijokelekel. Including the earlier version of the present MS. also collected by F, a total of thirteen versions as well as some fragmentary accounts are available for comparison. Hambruch gives four versions (text 1, I:337; text 3, III:65; text 96, III:74; text 204, III:67). The first of these is from Lewis Kehoe and his brother, Ricardo (the latter known in our time

as Warren), the second is from Lewis alone, the third and fourth from other persons. R obtained versions from Warren, Oliver Nanpei, and Kesner, and fragments from Lui and Anipel of Kiti. Garvin recorded a version from a Kiti informant (K II) and F obtained accounts from two U people. A further written relation exists in the Silten MS., copied by both F and R. In addition, there are some details in the W. Wawn manuscript, whose Ponapean portions are dated 1872. Further versions would be easy to obtain, as this legend continues to be popular on Ponape. It probably acquires its popularity by allowing the open expression of hostility against a wicked but now powerless chief as personified by the Lord of Teleur. Until quite recent times Ponapeans have often had occasion to be angry at what they consider to be injustices committed by their chiefs, but at the same time they have had to control their anger to avoid incurring the chiefs' ill will. The competitive feast-title system is probably of such a nature that a fair number of people always have reason to feel hurt even if the chiefs have the best intentions.

Most of the versions are reasonably consistent with each other. F has also heard a version of this tale from an old man on Kusaie which checks fairly well with the Ponapean account; however, the Kusaiean version was briefer and the hero's name was not Ijokelekel but Nan Partak. Sarfert (1919:373-8) published two longer accounts from Kusaie under the title 'Nepartak or the war against Ponape', the personage Nepartak being the conqueror, and there is no mention of Ijokelekel. In the various Ponapean accounts of the conquest, the same man, called Nanparatak, is a very important figure, but is always Ijokelekel's subordinate.

One of the more important differences found in some of the Ponapean versions is in respect to the occasion for the outbreak of hostilities. There is general agreement that the invaders came in the guise of friendly visitors and bided their time, gaining familiarity with the enemy and their terrain. According to the present MS., the Silten MS., and Oliver Nanpei's account, hostilities broke out one day as an outgrowth of a fight between children of the two groups. Warren Kehoe denied this pretext for fighting to R. Three other versions (Hambruch's text 204 and F's two U versions) say that the fighting grew out of a game that the invaders were playing of skipping stones on the water. The warrior Nanparatak, mentioned above, is said to have been so doing. In Safert's accounts from Kusaie a rather similar description involving stone-throwing is given. Kesner gives the fullest account: Nanparatak and the Ponapean military leader, Pokenteleur, had both been eating fish and afterwards both went to wash their hands, Nanparatak to the shore of Kelepuall (the islet where Ijokelekel and the other Kusaieans were staying), Pokenteleur

to the shore of Pankatira, which is across the narrow channel between these two artificial islands. The two men, facing each other across the channel, threw water playfully at one another. Then they began to skip flat stones on the surface of the water at each other. Poken-teleur's arm was accidentally hurt. It was only a minor wound but he became angry and an argument followed. The other men on both sides ran up, there was general abuse, and then fighting in earnest followed.

2 She is appropriately named, her clan being the Under-the-Breadfruit Clan. However, according to Warren Kehoe as recorded by R, the woman's name was Liapas, the same name that Hambruch (III:66) recorded from Warren's brother Lewis; but in Hambruch III:76 it is Lipanmai again. Lui, another of R's informants, gave Sakentalang as her name. The possibility should be kept in mind that these are alternate names applied to the same woman at different stages of her career. Consider in this connection the series of names or titles applied to the Architect of Jokaj in Ch. 23.3-4. Genuine variant traditions may also be here involved, especially since a name of a minor character, such as this, would not normally be mentioned in a public recitation and would be regarded as a valuable secret.

3 Phonemicising and meaning unclear. This name is not given by Glassman (1952). As Luelen gives it (see end of paragraph) it is an old synonym for karer, which is a word used nowadays to mean both the lime (*Citrus aurantifolia*) and the orange (*C. sinensis*). (In Gulick's vocabulary karer means only 'sour, tart'.) But oranges seem to be a European introduction to Ponape. Kesner says that motokoi is a native lime, rough-skinned and sour, growing like a vine, and that this and *karer-en-wel* are native, all other varieties of citrus being introduced. O'Connell (1836:199), at the time of the very beginning of European contact at Ponape, refers to 'an inferior species of lime or lemon', and Gulick (1858:47) some twenty years later says, 'One plant of the genus *Citrus* grows wild. It bears fruit about two-and-a-half inches in diameter, which no one will be liable to confound with the Pomme d'Adam . . . The interior is coarse, dry, and . . . somewhat bitter.' In Gulick's Ponapean vocabulary pot is given for lime, p^áran for orange, as though two citrus species occurred, but of course this is in the time when plant introductions had begun. As for Kusaie, where the incidents of this paragraph occur, there were apparently two kinds of citrus aboriginally. Lesson (1839:139), at Kusaie in 1824, says: 'The lemon and orange trees seemed indigenous to me . . . Their fruit . . . are very bitter and cannot be used . . .,' and Lutké (1835:339), at Kusaie three years later, also refers to oranges. Whichever variety is meant in the story, its sourness was enough to cause the woman to shudder. The name karer appears to be a causative

form of *rer-rer*, to tremble or shudder, and thus means etymologically 'that which causes to shudder'.

In the present version by Luelen it is the eating of the fruit that causes the woman to shudder and to conceive a child. In Hambruch III:67 and III:69 the shudder and conception are caused by the Thunder God's sprinkling of citrus juice on her. In Hambruch III:75 a protégé of the Thunder God cuts off the woman's eyelids and then sprinkles the juice in her face. Kesner gives a version in which the juice is squeezed into her eyes. In Sarfert's Kusaie version the Nanmariki of Kiti, who is at war, seeks to gain help from Kusaie by sending a coconut to that island where an old woman eats it and conceives a son, the future conqueror of Ponape. R's informant Lui has the Thunder God impregnating the woman by giving her four limes and four pieces of flesh cut from the cheek or gill of the needlefish on whose back he had ridden from Ponape. Always the woman is of the Under-the-Breadfruit Clan, to which the Thunder God belongs too, and Lui and Warren say she was originally from Ponape. Warren, in fact, says that she was the Thunder God's sister. From the point of view of symbolism, the giving of flesh is a less disguised view of the sexual act than the giving of limes, and tends to strengthen the implication that the hero Ijokelekel is regarded as being born of clan incest. (Later, his son and his sister also commit incest.) This may have contributed to the rank and prestige of the offspring. Compare the well-known brother-sister marriages in Hawaii for the purpose of producing offspring of high rank and taboo quality.

4 The incidents of this paragraph chronologically precede those of Paragraph 1. This account can be filled out from other sources. After his rescue from imprisonment, as told in Ch. 46.6, the Thunder God is floated out to sea by the tide and begins to sink (Hambruch III:66); is saved by a sea bass on which he rides (Hambruch III:66 and 68; Lui to R; in the Luelen and Silten MSS. this is the 'royal canoe'); but it too begins to sink so he (Hambruch III:68 and Pensile to R) or the sea bass (the present MS.) magically transforms a taro flower into a needlefish that takes him to Kusaie (Hambruch III:66, 68, 75). Warren Kehoe told R that a hawksbill turtle and a sea bass were the two means of transport.

The word *jau* (*sawi*) could also be translated as both trumpet shell and clansmate, but from the other versions it is evident that what Luelen meant was the sea bass. This fish is a totem animal of the Latak Clan, of the four higher branches of the Masters of Kauat, and of the Under-the-Breadfruit Clan, the last being the clan of the Thunder God. Warren's statement that both the sea bass and the hawksbill turtle were the means of transport is of interest because

the latter is also a totem animal of the Latak and the higher branches of the Masters of Kauat (but not of the Under-the-Breadfruit Clan).

Regarding the taro flower (text *eten uot*, full meaning and phonemicising uncertain), the second morpheme is presumably *wod*, from *ohd* (*Alocasia macrorrhiza*, giant dryland taro). In Hambruch III:68 in the corresponding place the phrase *koronge uan uot* appears. This would mean 'taro flower worn as an ear ornament', although Hambruch mistakenly translates it as 'turtle shell ornament'. Pensile says the reference is more precisely to the sac enclosing the unopened flower, which the Thunder God was wearing in his ear (although usually it was only the anther which was so worn).

In the Silten MS. it is a *Cyrtosperma* leaf that is made into a needlefish. The reference to 'the ruler' is to the Thunder God; the text here reads *kato ta monjap*, but in MS. 4 this is *kato ta monmonjap*. The extra syllable in MS. 4 may be the word *mwohn*, 'before'. *Monjap* is in standard orthography *mwohn-sapw* and means literally 'the foremost of the land', i.e., the chief. The phonemicising and meaning of *kato ta monjap* is uncertain, and whether the extra syllable in MS. 4 belongs or not is accordingly also uncertain. Translation as 'helped the ruler' is R's, after Pensile, and more fully is 'helped the ruler to travel'; F's translation is 'appeared to the ruler'.

5 There is some question as to how clearly the Ponapeans understood the geography of Micronesia before Euro-American contact. While the general Ponapean opinion today is that *Kataupeitak* (*Katau Peidak*) is Kusaie, Oliver Nanpei and the Jaulikin Jamai insisted to R that it was in the Marshalls, and a song collected by Paul Garvin (unpublished) also has *Ijokelekel* coming from the Ratak chain of the Marshalls rather than Kusaie. Wawn says that some of his 1872 informants gave Kusaie as the place of origin of the invaders, but others said the Marshalls or Gilberts were the place. Some connection with the Marshalls is also indicated in the present text; see n. 48.22. Possibly most precontact Ponapeans had very vague notions of the relations between the Marshalls and Kusaie, and tended to put them all together as 'lands upwind'. According to Oliver Nanpei, the invaders were surprised to find that Ponape was a high island, unlike the atolls of the Marshalls. Visitors from Kusaie, a high island, would of course have seen nothing strange about Ponape. An incident which occurs in a number of versions is the invaders' misinterpretation of wild palms on the mountains as people in grass skirts. Nanpei cited this confusion as further evidence of the invaders' lack of familiarity with high islands.

In support of the identification of *Katau* as Kusaie, note that the Trukese cognate *Acaw-Kacaw* is commonly used both as the name of an island usually identified as Kusaie and as the word for basaltic

rock. If this latter meaning is old and was formerly shared by Ponapean, it is unlikely that the name Katau would be applied to coral islands as long as the meaning 'basalt' persisted.

6 Text of *melel atar* (*ohl-mehlel-a-da-hr*), more literally 'upped to a true man'.

7 In some accounts (e.g. Kesner, also Hambruch I:337) there is only one canoe, a huge one.

8 In most versions only men are mentioned.

9 The dead fronds or flowers hanging down looked like fibre skirts, which on Ponape are worn by men, according to some oral versions. Warren Kehoe told R that the resemblance was to white-haired people. In Wawn's 1872 manuscript *Ijokelekel* again takes the trees for men, but Wawn adds that it was probably intended to convey the idea that the chief thought the forest might contain large numbers of concealed inhabitants. The comparisons are rather far-fetched and possibly originate in jokes about the invaders' ignorance of conditions on Ponape.

10 In some descriptions of the invasion, obtained from non-Ponapeans, some episodes of the story occur at other islands, before the events at Ant. According to Kesner, the Mortlock people say that *Ijokelekel*'s fleet sailed to their islands before going to Ant and that the clan known there as *Sapwen* are descendants of some of the women of the fleet. They say also that the first place conquered by *Ijokelekel* was the island of *Losap*, east of *Truk*, *Losap* meaning in Ponapean 'land conquest'. *Bollig* (1927:228), in his work on *Truk*, refers to a chief named *Esoukereker* (obviously cognate to *Ijokelekel*) who conquered *Matolenim* with the help of the people of *Truk*, after which he won the rest of Ponape. In *Pingelap*, Kesner says, there is a story that the fleet stopped at that atoll also on their way to Ponape and asked the *Nanmariki*, named *Semenuwe*, for two more men, having at that time only 331. The *Nanmariki* demurred, saying that *Pingelap* men were not good fighters, but finally agreed. The two new warriors had no weapons so they took along with them coral boulders from a reef which existed where the channel of *Pingelap* now is; these boulders were left at Ant, where they can be seen today. One of the two men was the *Nanparatak* of Paragraph 20 of this chapter; he was descended from a man of *Kusaie*, hence was regarded as related to the fleet members. In the two versions from *Kusaie* given by *Sarfert* this man, named *Nepartak*, is a *Kusaiean* and there is no mention of *Pingelap*.

According to Kesner a *Pingelap* man named *Dison* has told him that there have been twenty-three *Nanmarikis* of *Pingelap* since the time *Ijokelekel* stopped off at that atoll on his way to conquer Ponape. *Dison* also gives the name of the then *Nanmariki* of *Pingelap*

as Semenuwe. Morton *et al.* (1971:359), on the basis of information supplied mostly by the same man, Dison, say that there were seventeen Nanmarikis before a legendary typhoon that they date about 1775 and eight more Nanmarikis since, which would be a total of twenty-five; but that the expedition of Ijokelekel occurred in the time of the eleventh of these twenty-five Nanmarikis, not the Nanmariki of twenty-three generations ago as Kesner has it. Morton calculates a mean generation time of 29.1 years on Pingelap and assumes that an average Nanmariki ruled for one generation; on that basis the participants in the expedition were born in the year 1557. But if we use Kesner's information instead the average date of their birth would be 1295.

In 1947 R interviewed the Naniken of Pingelap, Iakopus, who was living at Pingelap Village on Jokaj. Iakopus provided a list of Nanmarikis of Pingelap. From the first, named Sau, to the then ruling Dick Solomon, there were eighteen names; but the name Semenuwe occurs as the twelfth, which would place him in time only six generations ago, whereas Kesner gives the name twenty-three generations ago. Applying the same figure of 29.1 years to the generation the date of birth of the expedition members comes out as 1789, but that would be post-typhoon in time and is obviously wrong. Perhaps the name Semenuwe belonged to more than one man.

Wawn also speculates regarding the date of the invasion. He seems to have obtained a list of the names of the 'kings' that had reigned in 'Metalanien' (Matolenim) between the time of 'Eshokullakul' and Wawn's own time, 1872. Allowing six or seven years as an average period of reign, he estimates that the war occurred 150 to 200 years previously, that is, 1672 to 1732. His apparent arithmetic would indicate that the Nanmariki of Ijokelekel's time reigned twenty-five to twenty-eight periods before 1872. If we apply Morton's figure of 29.1 instead of six or seven years to the generation, we come out with the dates of 1057 to 1144 A.D., which seems far too long ago. No doubt 29.1 years is too great a figure to take as one reign, since it is a full generation, and there is no question that younger brothers often succeeded as Nanmarikis, which would considerably shorten the length of one reign. In n. 60.1 we suggest that the average reign of past Nanikens of Kiti has been about twelve years.

11 A seeded variety of breadfruit grows on the coral islands, such as Ant. The seeds are about the size and flavour of chestnuts. Pensile says that 333 baskets are meant here (Oliver said 300), but in Warren's and some other versions it is only 333 seeds; this would fit the Ponapean pattern of going into battle with a nearly empty stomach, so that if one was slain and his stomach opened to examine

its contents, as was often done, he would not be shamed for having eaten much, 'like a woman'.

12 A kulu (plover) had informed Jaulikin Ant of the number of invaders, according to three versions (Warren as recorded by R, Olten of U as recorded by F, and Hambruch's text 204 from a Kiti man). Kesner says that Luelen knew about the bird too but omitted to write it down. According to another U version recorded by F the kulu bird was going to fly to Pankatira to warn the Lord of Teleur of the invasion, but the warrior Nanparatak chased after it and caught it just in time to prevent this. In the two versions from Kusaie the same man, called Nepartak, also catches a bird (this time a frigate bird) while en route to Ponape (Sarfert, 1919:375 and 377).

13 Text matong (*mwoadong*). This word can mean games but can also include dances and be interpreted in a broader sense. Perhaps it also includes the sexual hospitality described in n. 17 below.

14 No version actually states that Jaulikin Ant accompanied the invaders and most imply clearly that he did not.

15 The two places mentioned in this paragraph are on the reef off Matolenim. The first is a channel between the reef islands called Mall and Naningi. The second (in spite of its name, which includes the word for mountain) is a portion of the reef just north of Naningi; it is the place, according to Lui, from which the Thunder God boarded the canoe (i.e., the sea bass) during the escape from Ponape. In Hambruch (I:337 and III:72) the invaders stay at Naningi for some time before moving to Kelepua. In Wawn's manuscript they occupy two islets south of Nanmatol for some length of time, until they learn how few are the inhabitants of the main island.

Several versions mention other places that the expedition visited during the passage from Ant to Matolenim. In the Silten MS. the expedition first stops at a small island (probably the Kepara of Hambruch III:71) off the west coast of Ponape and offers a prayer there, then goes on to Jokaj where a man named Laui brings them half a loaf of pounded breadfruit (in Hambruch there are further details involving hostility), then to a third place where there is an encounter with another man. August told R that as the expedition passed along the north coast of Ponape Jokaj gave them the pounded breadfruit just mentioned, Net gave them kava, and U gave pit-breadfruit. Hambruch (III:71-2, 77) gives similar and additional details.

16 The two places are artificial islets in Nanmatol, directly across a canal from each other. Luelen also spells the name of the first islet as Kelepall; in MS. 1 it is Kelepall and in Hambruch it is Kalapuel.

Warren Kehoe as recorded by R says that Ijokekel's party began to clear land on the small islands on the fringing reef off southern

Matolenim, working their way closer and closer to the Lord of Teleur on Pankatira. The Lord of Teleur was initially pleased with their work and sent food to them. In Sarfert's Kusaive version, where the war is against the King of Kiti, the latter also permits the invaders to settle down and work for him.

17 According to other descriptions of the relations of the invaders with local women, including the brief statement by Luelen in Ch. 85 [E], it was women of Ant Island who were involved, before the fleet left Ant, not women provided by the Lord of Teleur (Hambruch II:71 and 76; Kosimas of Kiti as recorded by Paul Garvin; Warren Kehoe, Oliver Nanpei, Anipel, and Kesner as recorded by R; Olten of U as recorded by F; and the Silten MS.) The woman that Ijokelekel slept with is in all cases described as a very old woman of Ant. She is also his teacher of things Ponapean, as in Paragraph 13. Luelen, in Ch. 85 [E], names her Likamatau; Warren gives it as Likamotito, Hambruch as Likamotsitau, the Silten MS. as Likamot. Hambruch says she was a high-ranking woman, Kesner says she was the older sister of the Jaulikin Ant, and Anipel says she was his daughter.

18 See n. 47.5. The aerial roots of *Rhizophora* have a pith core, and sting-ray points can be quickly inserted in the end of such improvised shafts, without taking the time to lash them on. Presumably these weapons would be made on the spot, after the more carefully made spears and javelins were exhausted.

19 Text pilamaur (*pil-a-maur*), literally means 'living water'. This term sometimes signifies 'fresh water' but here it is used to mean fighting men temporarily withheld from battle. Kesner says these were the toughest men of the 333 and included the commanders.

20 As the next paragraph explains, this deliberate act of impaling himself to stop the retreat inspired the invaders to rally and brought about victory. But other versions attribute this act to Nanajan, not to Nanparatak, who was the military leader but was in retreat with his men. Nanajan had not been among the 333 original invaders, having according to Kesner stayed behind in Kusaie in order to continue an incestuous love-affair that he had begun with a Naniak clansmate woman. (He is described as a Naniak in Hambruch III:69 also, where his name is given as Nanesen. In Warren Kehoe's oral version to R, which makes him an old man, his name is Nanaso.)

In Hambruch III:74 and 78 Nanajan has followed Ijokelekel to Ponape, no explanation being given for his late arrival. In the Silten MS. he has not known of the setting forth of the fleet from Kusaie, and he appears on Ponape just in time to stem the retreat, announcing as he spears himself to the ground, 'Because you did not tell me you were coming here we will fight them again'. Warren says his remark

was 'Why didn't you tell me you were coming to Ponape?' Kesner says that some accounts place this scene as the area between the outer reef and Nanmatol, others on the mainland shore; Warren puts it at the shore of Janipan.

In the two versions from Kusaie, given by Sarfert, Nepartak (presumably the same man as Nanparatak) takes a role somewhat like that played in the Ponapean versions by Nanajan, who does not appear at all in Sarfert. Namely, he abstains from the early part of the struggle, but when the fight goes badly for the Kusaieans he enters it and conquers. Although the incident of impaling himself to stem the retreat does not occur, in one of the two Sarfert versions Nepartak later dies because of having speared himself in the thigh with a mangrove root — why is not explained.

21 Text, Ta je kin pajang muanen Kaitak. Meaning and phonemising uncertain. This saying occurs in an oral version collected by F and there are similar ones in the Silten MS. translated by F and R separately and in Hambruch III:78 (see previous n. 48.20). Informants seem to be uncertain of the meaning of the saying other than that it is an exhortation to fight. According to Ch. 62.3 kaitak (*kai-dak?*) appears to have the meaning of throwing out one's chest as a gesture intended to frighten the enemy. Compare n. 62.7. Pensile and Kesner also allude to the chest, saying that the real meaning of the phrase is something like 'Do not turn your back to the enemy, only your chest'. The pronoun *je* (*se*) normally means 'we (exclusive)' in modern Ponapean. However, the cognate pronoun *si* in Trukese is used for the inclusive we. In some sayings and proverbs, including the present quotation, *je* appears to make more sense if taken as inclusive. This archaism suggests that the quotation may actually have been preserved by oral tradition from a considerably earlier time. If kaitak is a verb with a suffix *-dak* this would be a further archaism, as the normal form of the suffix would be *-da*.

22 This is the name of a clan in the Marshall Islands. Elsewhere Luellen gives it as Rilujenamo. Krämer and Nevermann (1938:36, 42) mention the clan's existence on Namu and Jaluit and spell its name Reludjen Namu. Erdland (1914:343) gives it as Rilujenamo. Spoehr (1949:176), at Majuro, calls it Ri-loujien Namu.

Both the Lipitan and Naniak clans of Ponape are said to be descended from this Marshallese clan, which traditionally originates at the atoll of Namu, and supposedly budded off several successive groups which came to Ponape via Kusaie (which is why Nanajan is regarded as a Kusaiean). In Hambruch (II:67), however, the Naniak clan is said to have its beginning at Majuro, also in the Marshalls. Usually the story is that on Ponape, or perhaps earlier, on Kusaie,

the Rulujennamou split into the two clans, Lipitan and Naniak. This history may explain why Oliver Nanpei, as described earlier, insisted that the invaders came from the Marshalls, not Kusaie. Luelen gives more details about the clan history in Ch. 62, essentially saying what the Naniken of Kiti, like Luelen a member of the Lipitan, told R in 1947 when he said that Re leijen Namu (as he called it) was simply the Marshallese name in the Ratak chain for what is called Lipitan on Ponape.

In Ch. 48.20 Luelen, according to Kesner, is laying claim to kinship with Nanajan, and sharing pride in his military feat, by extending the rubric of Rulujennamou to the Naniak Clan. It must have been a momentary lapse that caused Luelen to attribute the feat to Nanparatak (see n. 48.20), who belonged to quite another clan. R's informants said that the clan was Latak, but in F's notes from Kurekohr it is the Liarkatau Clan, which is also implied in Hambruch (II:64).

23 Pensile and Kesner gave R additional details. When the game of skipping stones across the water turned serious the Kusaiean invaders crossed the channel from Kelepuall and fought the Ponapeans on Pankatira. The Ponapeans under the Lord of Teleur, retreated, wading in the water across to the mainland. At Jakaran Janipan the retreating forces made a stand, being joined there by the chief Lapanmor and his men. Here the two parties were evenly matched. They fought all night, first one side gaining the advantage, then the other. It was at this time that the incident involving Taukir and the wounding of Ijokelekel occurred — see Paragraph 23. In the morning Lapanmor received reinforcements and Ijokelekel's side was forced back to the water's edge at Likin Jakaran Janipan and out into the water. At this critical moment Nanajan arrived, the incidents of Paragraph 20 occurred, and the Ponapeans were defeated.

24 Text *tomp la (demp-i-la?)*. F and W translate as 'fell', R as 'jumped'. Both Warren Kehoe and Kesner said 'jumped'. The word is not common. Possibly honorific, as the text uses a number of royal and honorific words in speaking of the Lords of Teleur.

25 Warren Kehoe told R, 'Jauteleur jumped into the Janipan River and became a fish', as Luelen tells it, adding that the fish, also called Jauteleur, is immortal. Oliver Nanpei and Kesner said he became a little blue fish, at a waterfall in Japalap called Kamoupungapung. Hambruch (II:221 and III:74) calls the place Kamaupungung and the fish *Kital en pil*, a small blue freshwater fish which is never caught or eaten. Wawn, writing in 1872, does not mention the fish but says that some Ponapeans said that the Lord of Teleur was killed by his own men.

26 Text *jilangin (silang-in)*; this can mean either 'face of' or 'eye

of' here and in the following sentence. Since no mention of blindness is made, it is translated here as 'face'. Kesner, however, says the injury was to the eye.

27 Text *kauela* (*ka-oweh-la*); could also be translated 'break' or 'destroy'. Probably even a slight wound breaking the skin would justify the use of this word to a Ponapean.

28 Text *ai perian melel* (*ei pi-ri-en mehlel*). This might also be translated as 'my true friend'. *Pirien* means basically a group of siblings; when used to refer to a single person it has the meaning of a fictitious sibling or a friend treated as a sibling. The common word for 'my sibling' is *ri-ei*.

29 Kesner says that when Ijokelekel was injured he said, 'Thank you, until now I did not know we were fighting, it seemed like playing', and he was grateful to Taukir. The reasoning here may seem strange to a Westerner but is characteristically Ponapean.

30 Text *kipala* (*kip-a-la?*), possibly a little used honorific word. 'Went' is probably too weak a word, since she actually fled.

31 She took not only the dog, *Aunimatakai*, but the malpur shell. See n. 32.17 for full detail.

32 See Ch. 33 for the myth of the Tiripeijo bird. The distribution of titles is the subject of Ch. 50.6. The clan referred to here is the Masters of Kauat and the title given to this man is still held by that clan. However, it seems evident that when Taukir was given the title he only replaced another member of the same clan, since in the story of the Tiripeijo bird, which takes place in pre-Ijokelekel days, it is a Masters of Kauat man with the same title of *Lapanmor* who is the central figure.

Chapter 49

1 We take this to mean that the food trees (breadfruit and coconut?) were the staple foods at this time, and that root crops were less important than now. Certainly yams have become very much more important economically and in social prestige, as new varieties have been introduced in post-European times. But Kesner reads this the other way around, saying that food was scarce because the food trees were few in number.

2 Text *kona* (*koahna* — Kiti dialect; *kauna* — Main dialect), one kind of giant. The meaning of this sentence is obscure. We have translated the word *kainok* (*kainek*) in each of its three occurrences in this paragraph as 'clan' but it can also refer to a subclan or to a lineage or to other fairly large matrilineal descent groups.

3 The concept of multiple-headed monsters is not common in

Ponapean folk tales and we ourselves have collected no other mention of them, but there is a story about two- and ten-headed giants in Hambruch (III:300). Possibly the idea is a nineteenth-century diffusion from European or American sailors.

4 These are large, earth mounds or barrows, fifteen or twenty feet wide, beginning in the mangroves and running inland for about 500 yards and rising at the ends to a height of about ten feet.

5 Text *karijuet* (*ker-i-sued*), literally 'bad-faced'. This is a vulgar or insulting term.

6 Because of the lack of punctuation in the text this passage is ambiguous. It could equally well mean, 'this was a tree a little later than the others'. The ambiguity revolves around the word *mur* in the text, which may either be *mwuhr* — 'afterwards', 'later', or *mwur* — 'a little'. Pensile thinks *mwuhr* is meant.

7 The three levels of speech indicated by the three columns which follow are discussed in Garvin and Riesenbergh (1952) and in Riesenbergh (1968:45-6). Luelen limits himself to vocabulary only here, and leaves off after using up the letters A — Z of his list.

8 Tradition is that at Pankatira, which lacks a supply of fresh water, dew and rain water that gathered overnight in the hollows of taro leaves were collected in the morning and brought to the high chiefs for their bath.

9 Literally 'dark immature coconuts of the reef islands'. On the basis of that translation we suspect that Luelen has made a slip here and really means testicles.

10 Literally 'coconut islets'.

Chapter 50

1 Two versions of this myth are recorded in MS. 5, transcribed by F. They are in agreement with this version as far as they go. Luelen gives it again in song form in Ch. 85 [N] IV. Hambruch recorded two versions from the Kehoe brothers (II:104 and III:222) and there is another in Girschner (1909:237). The Ersin MS., transcribed by F, also gives a brief relation of this myth. Kosimas, the Jaulikin Jamai, gave R a version in 1947 and Oliver Nanpei provided fragments of information about the myth. All except the Girschner account are quite congruent, though variable in amount of detail.

This myth is the 'charter' for the establishment of the present five states or districts of Ponape Island. We might speculate that it reflects native Ponapean dissatisfaction with the rule of the Kusaiean invaders who had displaced the Teleur dynasty. It suggests that the

division of the island into states was made peacefully with religious sanction. It would seem from the various accounts that the Kusaieans had local help in their war of conquest and that perhaps they never achieved firm supremacy over the whole island after the end of the Teleur dynasty.

2 Master of Part (Jaukija) is an abbreviated form of Master of Part of Heaven (Jaukijanlang). Uone and Ononlang are synonyms for *Wene* (S.O.), the eastern part of what is now Kiti. See n. 26.1.

3 Takipuel is a reef northeast of Palang pass.

4 According to Kosimas, Jaukija had come to this place to send the canoe to heaven by means of magic chants.

5 The westernmost point of Tamon Island, among the mangroves. Just west of the point is the tiny islet called Pojoile, where the discussions of Paragraph 5 were held.

6 According to Kesner, it was on this occasion that Ijokelekel became Nanmariki, being crowned by Jaulikin Ant, who had come from Ant already prepared with a royal wreath for this purpose. The decision to crown Ijokelekel was made after discussion between Jaukija, Jaulikin Ant, and Luk and the other persons in the canoe. Oliver Nanpei told R quite different details: Ijokelekel, apparently on his own initiative, called Jaulikin Ant to his capital at Pankatira and conferred with him about the appointment of rulers; Jaulikin Ant then installed the 'four kings of Ponape', selecting them from relatives of Ijokelekel in consultation with him; these were the chiefs of (1) Uone (Jaukija), (2) U, Net, and Jokaj combined (Ijokelekel's son), (3) Kiti, exclusive of Uone, and (4) Matolenim (Ijipau, the title of address for the Nanmariki of Matolenim). This does not agree with the arrangements Luellen describes in Ch. 51.1.

In the Girschner version, which is quite deviant (thus it is Jaukija who causes the tree to be cut, Ijokelekel is not mentioned at all, it is not Luk but another god who is in the suspended canoe), Jaulikin Ant himself becomes ruler of Ponape at this time, replacing the Jauteleur.

7 In the Girschner version it is two women who go with the canoe up to Heaven, Limeitinpalakap and one 'Taepnenai'. In Hambruch III:223 Limeitinpalakap is a woman of Matolenim and Jaumangai is a man from Ant, as they are also in Hambruch II:104, but there they are kidnapped by Luk and his canoe-mates. Kesner says that both of them were from Matolenim and that two more passengers, non-mortals named Janmo and Nanmo, were already in the canoe, praying with Luk. Kosimas puts all four of them in the canoe with Luk; he gives Janmo the name Jauno and adds that Jaumangai was a priest of Luk. In the song (Ch. 85.10) Janmo and Nanmo are in the canoe with Luk when it descends from Heaven,

and the other two passengers (Limejinpalakap being here the spelling of the woman's name) leap aboard, as Luclen has it in the present chapter.

Chapter 51

1 See n. 26.1 for the significance of the geographical names given in Paragraphs 1, 2 and 5. As for the myth of Lianenjokala, the turtle mother, briefly related in Paragraphs 3-5, seven other versions are available. One in song form, is the third song of Ch. 70 of the present manuscript. F also transcribed a nearly identical song text. Two versions in narrative form are given by Hambruch (III:345 and II:163). Another is from a MS. written by an U man and transcribed by F. An oral version was given to R by Etina (the Jaulikririn of Matolenim) and another to F by Warren Kehoe. All versions but one pit the boys against their turtle mother, who is taken to Nanmatol against her will and dies there. Etina's version is aberrant in that it ascribes to the boys the desire to save the Matolenim people from an oppressive saltwater eel; the mother goes with them freely, though reluctantly, to accomplish this aim. She kills the eel but in so doing also dies. The other versions and the song all refer to the boys' greed for the sacrificial dog meat as their motive for taking their mother to Matolenim and make no mention of the eel's death.

A ceremony involving the ritual feeding of turtle meat to a sacred eel, kept in a pond on the islet of Iteet, at Nanmatol, was formerly celebrated by the priests. The ceremony is described by Kubary (1873/4:131) and by Hambruch (III:92-4). A letter of the missionary, L.H. Gulick, states that the ceremony was still being performed in 1852, evidently at Iteet. The late Naniken of U informed F of a similar ceremony which used to be performed in U before Christianity, and Kesner says it was also done elsewhere, copied from the ceremony of Iteet. Wawn also describes the ceremony, on the basis of information given him by a Malay named Shuggaree, who had lived at Ponape since 1838; but Wawn says it was no longer held in his time, 1872.

Sometimes, when one version of a story depicts the principal characters in a more favourable light than do others, as in Etina's version of this story, we might hypothesise that the informant is of the same clan as the hero and is trying to cover up the latter's perfidy by consciously altering the myth himself or by repeating a little known variant. In this case, however, Etina was a Foreign Clan member, and although none of the versions available mention the clan of the boys Kesner states that some people say they belonged to the Masters of Kauat. It is our impression that the clan

membership of most mythical heroes is usually known by the more informed Ponapean oral historians, and will be given if they are asked.

2 Meaning Oljipa and Oljopa of Chs. 22 and 25.

3 Kesner and Pensile are not clear on the meaning of Paragraph 1 up to this point. Kesner thinks that the first mention of Nantauaj in this paragraph is perhaps a mistake for Nanmatol, since Nantauaj is only one of the eighty or ninety stone structures making up Nanmatol. He thinks that 'they changed the name' refers to the change from 'Jaunalang' to 'Teleur'. But he adds that perhaps Nantauaj, the first structure built, was the name for all the structures, which were only later collectively called Nanmatol. Pensile suggests that in the sentence which refers to the third period the meaning is that the stone structures were first called Matolenim, that name then becoming extended to the parts of the mainland which were ruled from Nanmatol and which formed the state whose boundaries are as given.

4 Text uci (*wehi*), translatable as either 'state' or 'turtle'. Kesner says that the meaning 'state' derives from that of 'turtle', the turtle ceremonies (those described in n. 51.1) having apparently been central and critical to political cohesion and development, as hinted in Paragraph 5.

5 In Etina's version the two boys, who have gone to the feast in spite of their mother's warning not to do so, whisper to each other about their desire for the dog and are overheard by the stones of the oven in which the dogs are baking. The stones then tattle on them to the chiefs who are present. Kesner says that it was a pair of tongs that tattled. According to Etina the mother was a green turtle, but Kesner says it was a hawkbill, which is a totemic creature of the Masters of Kauat, the clan to which the boys probably belonged.

6 Text lakon, more fully meaning large quantities of food brought in baskets to a feast.

7 Pikeniap here presumably meaning all of modern Jokaj and Net, as explained in n. 26.1, while in Ch. 59.1 its application seems to be limited to Jokaj Island.

Chapter 52

1 Chs. 52 and 53 in part duplicate the details of Chs. 26 and 27. See ns. 26.1 and 27.1 for comparison. Uanik (which here corresponds exactly to modern U) is shown as part of Matolenim, hence the scheme represents the situation of Ijokelekel's time, as described in Ch. 50.6, before U became a separate state. Eight sections of Uanik

are listed, as against the fifteen which existed in 1947 and the thirteen of 1954, but the area covered is the same. Under Uanik are represented two columns; the names on the left are esoteric names for the sections given on the right under their modern names. (Mallanut has been given before, in n. 40.2, as Jalatak and Roi combined, while here it is limited to Jalatak.)

Esoteric names are not listed by Luellen for the sections of Matolenim today; instead he for some reason gives the modern names twice, once in each column. Modern Matolenim contains twenty-eight sections, only nineteen of which are here shown. Jakaranriau no longer exists, having been incorporated into Alialui. Lot is now two sections, Upper Lot and Lower Lot. Lauatik is now part of Ponaulang section, which may be why Luellen shows Ponaulang opposite Lauatik in the second column, unnumbered.

According to Pensile, Luellen wrote and gave to Mrs Henry Nanpei (mother of Oliver Nanpei) a notebook consisting of a few selected and elaborated parts of the present manuscript. In the part corresponding to Ch. 52 he gave a more detailed listing, showing Lapinjet as consisting not only of Lot but also the sections now known as Akak, Wapar, and Anipoj. Perhaps Lot at the time of Ijokelekel included all these. The book also listed the esoteric name of Tapak as Peiratak instead of Peirani as here, Likinmoli included modern Jauna and Tian, and there were a number of other differences.

The capital letters in brackets in this and later chapters are added by the editors, as is all other material in brackets.

Chapter 53

1 See ns. 26.1 and 27.1 for comparison. The titles Lapananimuan and Jaujet are given here as the ancient rulers of Animuan and Lapinjet respectively, whereas they are omitted in Ch. 27; perhaps, contrary to what was said in n. 27.1, Lapananimuan is a title of antiquity. See also Ch. 54.16 [C].

The place-name Pajau, given here as one of five parts of modern Kiti, occurs also in Ch. 37.3 as Puaja, in Ch. 55 as Puajau, and in Chs. 57.4 and 60.8 as Pajau, Pajautik, and Pajaulap. According to Kesner, Pajaulap (Great Pajau) is the ancient name of what is now called Upper Anipein, while Pajautik (Little Pajau) is modern Jamai, both of them now sections of Kiti. According to the Nanjauririn of Kiti, as told to R, it is the other way around.

The place-name Likop, which is also given as one of five parts of Kiti, occurs in Ch. 83.6 as consisting of the sections between Ronkiti

and Jamai; this would include, besides those two, the sections of Kipar, Pok, Lower Anipein, and Upper Anipein. In Luelen's account of the Kiti wars, Ch. 60.8 names exactly those six sections as being involved in an episode which identifies them, from other accounts, as the aforesaid Likop. Some modern informants, however, define Likop as including only Pok, Kipar, and Ronkiti.

The successive names of Jokaj have already been discussed in n. 26.1. Jokala, which is the large, interior valley of Net nowadays, is here placed by Luelen in Jokaj, as he does again in Ch. 70 [II]; he may be thinking of the ancient extent of Jokaj as explained in n. 26.1 or of the more recent time, in the 1870s, when Net was briefly united with Jokaj.

2 This section lists three titles of address of rulers, respectively, of the states of Matolenim, Kiti, and Jokaj. In Ch. 54.16[A] four titles are given, that for the state of U being added to the other three. It would seem that Luelen is here amending the earlier list to take account of the creation of the state of U, which he has just described in Ch. 54.16. Exactly the same list is repeated in Chs. 56.10 and 74.1. Then, in Ch. 83 [A] Luelen gives us the same list for the fifth time, but evidently it represents a still later period, for he has added the state of Net.

The arrangement of the names in this section might suggest to the reader that Luelen is saying that Ijipau was the title of the rulers of Matolenim, Kiti and Jokaj, and was later replaced by the title Nanmariki. Actually the title Ijipau pertains properly only to Matolenim, although it is sometimes used for the ruler of U too.

3 See ns. 56.4, 84.6, and 84.8.

Chapter 54

1 This myth is well known among the Ponapeans. Seven other versions are available for comparison: the Silten MS., translated by R and F; two texts collected by Hambruch from Lewis and Ricardo Kehoe (text 46, III:321 and text 95, III:325); notes made by F on an oral version from a Matolenim informant (Etuēt, the Nanliklap-alap); and versions obtained by R from Joseph Iriarte (the Naniken of Net), the Noj of Kiti, and Kesner. Most of the versions agree reasonably with each other and with the present version, even to detail.

The myth is the charter of the ceremonial precedence of Matolenim over U at feasts and gatherings, and also the charter of the precedence of U over the other states. A Kiti informant told F that Kiti split off from Matolenim before the events of this myth,

presumably immediately after Ijokelekel's conquest, and was therefore older than U but ranked below U ceremonially because of the ties of the U and Matolenim rulers. Jokaj is evidently also older than U, as n. 53.2 explains.

The unorthodox behaviour of the boy Nalapanien (who is to become Naniken of Matolenim and later Nanmariki of U) when he first meets his father and in subsequent actions is also the charter for the privileged and sometimes indecorous behaviour which is attributed nowadays to title-bearers of the second line of titles, who are all regarded as children, real or fictitious, of the Nanmariki and the other title-bearers of the first line of titles. See further in n. 54.8.

2 Text karang, literally 'warm her up', perhaps better translated as 'cherish her'. According to a half-German Ponapean, William Helgenberger of Kinakap, these instructions were given because the ruler, believing his wife to have been on the side of the Lapanmor who had wounded him (see Ch. 48.24), feared that a son of hers would be his enemy, while a girl could not harm him.

These instructions ('kill it if it is a boy, spare it if a girl') occur in all the versions of the story of Ijokelekel's son. But they also occur in an account by the Naniken of Net, where it is not Ijokelekel but a Nanmariki who issues them; they are repeated to a pregnant mother in a description by the Noj of Kiti, where a Lord of Teleur gives them; they occur again in Kesner's narration, in which the father of Nalapanien is not Ijokelekel but the Nanmariki Luk en muei mur; and they are found again in the Luk cycle (Hambruch III:201), in a story involving the Kirau Mair (III:371), in two different stories about Lepen Net (III:367, 374); and are even issued by a breadfruit tree to its pregnant wife (III:392). It is a recurring theme in Ponapean literature.

3 The motif of the precocious child who bites off his own umbilical cord is also a recurring theme; e.g. Hambruch III:371, 393. In the present manuscript it occurs again in the Luk cycle, Ch. 37.16.

4 In some versions he is her actual brother. As brother-in-law of the ruler certain intimacies are permitted him, including the present one of entering his house.

5 On Tamon Island. In Hambruch (III:325) the man comes from a place called Leak, which is probably Lehiak section, on Tamon Island.

6 Text kantake, a miniature ladder of twine connecting the end of the float to the end of a stretcher which runs fore-and-aft and lies over the ends of the two booms which project out from the hull of the canoe. There is one such ladder at each end of the float and stretcher. Supposedly it was anciently of wood.

7 Text au muang. This fore-and-aft stretcher also lies across the two booms but closer to the hull.

8 This series of acts which culminate here — clambering on to the canoe from the wrong side, stepping on the stretcher, sitting down beside the ruler (his father), and handing the fish directly to him instead of through an intermediary — are all highly improper. Although Luelen does not elaborate, the statement that 'the royal attendants were talking among themselves' means that they were murmuring in astonishment and anger because the boy was not observing the proper forms of deference. Kesner says that when the boy was called to the canoe and boarded it improperly the ruler was obliged to tell his attendants not to strike him. Other accounts give many details of additional kinds of unconventional behaviour on the part of the boy, some of which continue after this episode; thus he stands in the canoe as it nears the bank, he enters the feast house in the wrong place, he walks down the inside edge of the side platform of the building instead of down its centre, he steps to the main platform inside the corner post where the side platform joins it, etc. From this time on such privileged behaviour became the prerogative of the second line of chiefs, as described in n. 54.1.

9 Luelen does not name this woman, but she is called by other informants Likapar (*Lih-ka-par*, meaning possibly Propagating Woman or Guest Woman).

10 Presumably she is here anticipating the invention of the 'walking cup', an institution that did not yet exist. It and the spell accompanying it first appear in the next paragraph. Previously, according to Kesner, no cup of kava could be taken outside the feast house.

11 This famous and valued spell is used mainly when a cup of kava is taken to a Nanmariki or Naniken outside the community house. The cupbearer recites it nowadays, although Kesner, who has heard it many times, says that anciently it was the recipient of the cup who recited it, as it is in Luelen's and Silten's accounts. William of Kinakap told R that if it were not said by the recipient he would die.

12 Pein Met is one of the artificial islets in the cluster known as Nanmatol (No. 34 in Luelen's list, Ch. 70.4, and No. 17 on Hambruch's sketch map, III:20). It is, according to Kesner and the Silten MS., where the woman lived. Pein Katau is a corner of the islet Pankatira, built by a Kusaiean stone fitter (see Ch. 23.2), but the name is also used as an alternative name for Pankatira itself. The spell is intended to describe the route of the cupbearer between the two places, apparently in both directions. They are not far apart.

13 The question as to why the hero left Matolenim is, interestingly, subject to great variation, in contrast to the rest of the tale. In the account given Hambruch by Lewis Kehoe it is because the hero's

children have tangled up the coconut fibre out of which he was making rope. Lewis's brother, Ricardo, told Hambruch it was because the children destroyed 'some little things of his which he valued'. R was told by the Noj of Kiti that the hero's sons were playing the reed dart game and a dart struck him in the eye (as in Luelen's version), angering him so much that he threatened to commit suicide by plunging into the waves south of Nantauaj. As the Naniken of Net has it, the hero became angry at his father's sister, whom he had married; the reason for his anger in this version is not specified. According to F's Matolenim informant the children burned their father's forehead in playing with him. The explanation contained in the Silten MS. may be the original one, which has been suppressed as too embarrassing for popular consumption, as defaming the chiefs, or as setting a bad example. Silten says that the hero became ashamed and fled when his father's sister bore him a child, who, like the hero himself, precociously bit off his own umbilical cord as soon as he was born. Presumably the evidence of the incestuous relationship made it impossible for him to remain in Matolenim.

Silten and the Naniken of Net are the only sources that mention a single male child of the hero. The others give the number as 'ten' or 'a group'.

The question arises as to whether marriage to father's sister is considered incestuous by Ponapeans. The Naniken of Net told R that the phrase *neitikin Moadolenihmw*, which means 'the giving birth of Matolenim' and is used to refer to this marriage of the hero to his father's sister, was a jibe at the expense of Matolenim. This seems to indicate clearly some feeling against this type of marriage, although no informant explicitly terms the marriage incestuous. Marriage with a father's sister's daughter is practised on Ponape, especially among people of high rank or wealth, in order to keep titles and property for the descendants of the men as well as the women. Ideally, the Naniken, who heads the second line of titles, is the son of the Nanmariki, the head of the first line of titles. If the Naniken marries his father's sister's daughter, then the Naniken's son will be of the proper matrilineage to become a Nanmariki. Likewise, if a Nanmariki with a Naniken father marries his father's sister's daughter, his son will have a double claim on the title of Naniken: being of the proper matrilineage and being the son of a Nanmariki.

However, marriages with one's father's sister's daughter are not now common. The Naniken of Net told R that this (and marriage to the other kind of cross-cousin, mother's brother's daughter) are the most highly preferred kinds of marriages on Ponape. Thus the Uajai

of Kiti (second title in the first line) as of 1947 was the husband of his mother's brother's daughter, the sister of the Naniken (first title of the second line). But some informants expressed to F the idea that they were not proper, although not terming them incest. Probably they are practised mainly by eldest sons of high hereditary rank or wealth. It seems practically certain that if some feeling exists against father's sister's daughter's marriages, the feeling would be even stronger against marriage to the father's sister herself. F was told that no one nowadays was permitted to marry his father's sister, and in R's genealogies there is no case of such a marriage.

14 Text *papa* (*pahpa*). However, the Naniken is evidently not talking about himself but about his own father, Ijokelekel. Both father and grandfather are *papa* in the kinship terminology, although grandfather is more strictly *papakalap* (*pahpa-kah-lap*). The children were eligible to succeed Ijokelekel as Nanmariki because they were of his clan, being children of his sister.

In a text given Hambruch (II:51), by the then Nanmariki of U, it is not the Naniken, Nalapanien, who goes to U and becomes Nanmariki there; rather it is his sister's son, his successor as Naniken of Matolenim, who does this. His name is Nan Kapuei. Kesner told R he knew a similar tradition, which is likewise in contradiction to the Nalapanien tradition.

15 The greater and lesser ends of the canoe are respectively the lower and upper ends of the tree trunk from which the hull of the canoe was fashioned. The lower end is of course larger in circumference, and even when the canoe is finished that end is a little bigger. Otherwise the two ends are identical, and both function alternately as bow and stern in tacking, since the outrigger is always kept to windward. When the greater end is the bow, or forward, end, the outrigger will be on the left. It is that orientation – greater end forward, outrigger to left – which the canoe of the sons of the Nanmariki assumed as they parted from their father and returned to Matolenim. The father's canoe, going in the opposite direction towards U, where he was to become the Nanmariki of that area, had the lesser end forward. Ever since that time, whenever a high chief in a canoe approaches an U or Matolenim canoe engaged in fishing or in some such pursuit, the U canoe must turn its lesser end, the Matolenim canoe its greater end forward, and wait until the chief has passed.

16. That is, Uanik, later to be known as U, was the fourth after the three named in Ch. 51.5.

17 The lists which begin here, after Paragraph 16, would more logically have been placed at the beginning of the next chapter, Ch.

55, which contains more such lists. They are in partial duplication of Chs. 26, 27, 52, and 53.

Chapter 55

1 This is a legitimate title in Kiti as well as in Matolenim, but it is not clear why such a Teleur title should be mentioned as one of four Kiti titles and omitted from the Matolenim titles of Ch. 54 [C]. Nor is it clear why the area of Teleur is shown as one of four parts of Kiti, since the normal and historically most important meaning of the word is the central part of Matolenim, including Nanmatol and Tamon Island (even though this usage is now regarded as obsolete). As a place name it is now used in Teleur Channel, the channel into Matolenim Harbour; it is also the name of a peak in Pok section, Kiti, and is reported to be the name of a little place somewhere in central Kiti as well. Far up the Jokala River in Net there is another locality called Tipuenteleur.

2 The reasons for showing Kamar and Net separately, and both under Jokaj, are discussed in n. 26.1. 'Net' probably refers here to the Net Peninsula, where Net Mountain is located, across the estuary from modern Kolonia. The traditional seat of the high chief of Net was located here. Kamar is at present a section in the centre of Net on the west side of the estuary inland from Kolonia, and is important in the history of the rise of the Kauat Clan. Perhaps originally it may have referred to a larger area.

3 This section lists the first four titles in each of the two lines of chiefs as they were in pre-Christian times. The titles of the first line are still in the same order today but those of the second line are not. The titles of the two high priests, Nalaim and Nanapaj, are nowadays ranked in the second and fourth positions of the second line, after Naniken and Nanjauririn respectively. Various informants, including the late Naniken of U, state that these and other insertions were made after the introduction of Christianity, when the main line of priestly titles was abolished. See Ch. 83.10 [B] and n. 83.14.

4 The column of titles on the right in this section consists of persons who were in the retinue of the high title-holders of the first column, title-holders 1-6 on the right being servitors of title 1 on the left, the next four serving the Uajai, etc. The word 'titles' is to be taken as 'title-holders' and 'close' refers to the physical proximity of the servitors to their masters. Only the very highest title-holders would have a titled retinue of this sort. At present, while some of the titles of the second column persist, the holders do not regularly serve the high title-holders to whom they are theoretically attached. Luelen's list, incidentally, is not exhaustive.

Chapter 56

1 Text ani uoj (*eni wos*). *Wos* (or *os*) means to sprout, to grow,

i.e. these spirits spontaneously came into being and were not the ghosts of deceased chiefs or other people (although the distinction is not always kept clear among the Ponapeans).

2 This nameless supreme being is also mentioned by Hambruch (II:97), who says all the other gods are only manifestations of the one being. Sturgis (ABCFM, Houghton Library, No. 268) likewise says that the Ponapeans believe in one supreme god, who made and governs all, but who has different names and somewhat different attributes in the various tribes; he does everything by proxy, through his agents, the many subordinate deities.

3 Nanjapue is the common modern Ponapean word for thunder, which was originally identified with the god of this name. In Gulick's dictionary thunder is given as *tupwal*, and the entry under Nanjapue (his spelling) reads, 'the name of an important deity (thunder is the voice of *nanjapue*, and so the name is sometimes used as a synonym for thunder)'. Hambruch (I:363) gives *parara* as an old Ponapean word for thunder.

4 Jangoro is possibly the same word as Jangiro, which is used as a term of address for the Nanmariki of U and as a term of reference for him in his presence; see n. 84.6. However, the two terms often seem to be interchanged. Perhaps a dialect difference is involved.

5 Olapat is the trickster god Onofää of Truk and the Olofat, etc. of the Central Carolines. He is relatively unimportant on Ponape, though he has some connection with the Creature Clan. Etymologically the name appears to be *ohl*, 'man' (vowel shortened in combining form) plus a word *pahd* of unknown meaning.

6 The distinction between the god Luk (*Luhk*) and several other gods whose name includes the word Luk (e.g. Nos. 5 and 7) is unclear to us and probably to most Ponapeans. The Thunder God, Nanjapue, is also sometimes known as Luk Nanjapue. Before the introduction of Christianity deceased high chiefs were regularly given death names containing the word Luk, e.g. *Luhken Kesik* or 'Luk of the Gun', a pre-Christian chief of Matolenim. The original personal names of the chiefs were taboo even in their lifetime and they could only be referred to after their death by the special death names given them. Possibly some of these chiefs were eventually regarded as deities.

7 See n. 84.8.

8 See Ch. 41.

9 Text *pan pueten lang (pahn pwet-en-leng)*. *Pwet-* could mean either 'white' or a piece of the 'shell' of a turtle or a 'scale' of a fish. Whatever the origin of the phrase it refers to the sky conceived of as a solid layer, the underside of which is visible to men.

10 A number of R's informants made this same equation of

Taukatau and Nanjapue. In Gulick's vocabulary the two are distinguished. Hambruch (II:97-8, giving old priests as his authority, refers to Nanjapue as the god of thunder but Taukatau as the god of fertility, the rain god, the god who causes breadfruit to grow. Christian (1899:381-4) makes Nanjapue the god of kava and feasting, Taukatau the rain god as well as the god of breadfruit trees. Hambruch (II:99) says that Taukatau created the god Nanjapue, having done so by merely speaking, but that on Ant the two are regarded as one. In the Foreign Clan story (II:28) Nanjapue marries three daughters of Taukatau. In the kava spells given by Hambruch (II:236-7, 240) the two names are given immediately juxtaposed, as perhaps two aspects of the one being. He also describes (II:98) other phenomena, e.g., the roaring of thunder, the rolling of thunder in the distance, sheet lightning, etc., as each produced by other, named deities, which lends support to the earlier suggestion in n. 56.2 above that these are all possibly various manifestations of the one high being. Hambruch identifies this high being as Luk. See also n. 40.1.

One of R's informants, a man of the Masters of Jamaki clan, said that Taukatau and Nanjapue were the same, but that members of his clan must say Taukatau because he is their god, while members of other clans were free to say Nanjapue. Possibly there is an analogy here with the use of titles for addressing Ponapean nobles. Junior members of the same lineage or subclan as a title holder are expected to be especially respectful to him, more so than intimates of other lineages. One way of showing respect is by the use of special titles used primarily for address. These titles of address are also sometimes used in reference, a usage which appears to have a connotation of added respect.

11 Text *poong* (*pwohng*). This is phonemically identical with the word for night, but the suggested relationship is made by F, not by a native informant. It is connected with a verb *pwong-ih*, meaning 'to worship'. The reference to these ceremonies applies particularly to Uone, the eastern part of what is now Kiti, then ruled by the priest-king Jaukija. The ceremonies are mentioned again in Chs. 60.7 and 74.9-10.

12 Text *uaun ekin ir* (*wau-n-e-kin-ih*). This is the word used to describe commoners honouring their chiefs.

13 This paragraph partially duplicates Ch. 54.16 [A]. But there the highest chief of Jokaj is called Nanmariki, as he is in all the other states, while here he is Uajai, which is the second-highest title in the other states. The tradition is that for a period of time the highest title was not used in Jokaj because of a series of misfortunes that befell a certain one of its holders. The titles Ijipau, Uajai, and

Nanmariki are titles of reference. The others (Uajalapalap, Jangiro, Ijoani, and Roja) are titles of address; they are discussed in n. 53.2.

14 Hambruch (II:120-1) quotes Ricardo (Warren) Kehoe as defining laiap-en eni as a spirit medium. It is unclear from the context whether Ricardo regarded all laiap as spirit mediums or only the subcategory known as laiap-en eni. See n. 32.12.

15 Text puilipuul jang (*pwilipwil-sang*), basic meaning to 'flow forth' as a spring of water.

16 Text deun (*deu-n*). This might also be translated 'home' or 'proper location'. The ordinary word for 'place' is *wasa*.

17 Text laang kaieu (*lahng ka-ieu*). This is the only reference to the Underworld as a kind of 'Heaven' that we are aware of. Very possibly this is a confusion induced by an attempt to reconcile native tradition with the missionary teaching that the spirits of the dead went to Heaven.

18 There is an islet on the encircling reef, just south of Na, called by the same name. Perhaps there is some connection.

19 Text jaunkoa (*soun kohwa*). This term is used to translate 'deacon' by the Protestant missionaries. *Kohwa* is sometimes used to mean 'hold in fief' with respect to land. It has also been used recently in translating the 'Trust' of 'Trust Territory'.

20 Text monjap (*mwo-hn-sapw*). This is a common general term for 'ruler' or 'chief'. The translation here is more literal. See ns. 32.6 and 79.8.

21 Text tanuar en ani (*tehn-wer-en eni*). *Tehn-war* is the honorific term used for the canoe or other water vessel of a chief, the ordinary term being simply *wahr*.

22 Text man laualo (*mahn laualo*). *Mahn* can refer to any kind of animal other than man but it most commonly refers to birds. There were no land mammals on Ponape in aboriginal times except the dog, bat, and rat. Pigs, however, were introduced in the early nineteenth century and at present there are also cats, goats, carabao, deer, and cattle on the island. Of these pigs, cats, and carabao are both feral and domestic, while deer are exclusively feral.

23 Text puar ojoj ata (*?pwar-osohs-ada*). Translation uncertain. *Wos-ada* 'to sprout', of a seed or cutting. The reduplicated root would be *wosohs*, and the initial *w-* would be lost in close fusion with a preceding morpheme ending in a consonant.

24 This sentence in translation and in the text appears unclear. A spell might be used in preparing a palm leaf for divination but would not constitute or become one, as the text seems to state. Palm leaf divination is performed by folding a strip of coconut leaflet back and forth, the length of the last fold determining the augury. Another method is to tie knots in the leaflet an indefinite number of

times, then counting to see how many knots one has made. The number obtained is divided by four and the remainder (0, 1, 2, or 3) determines the answer. Spells are not required to perform such divination. Kesner's translation, which is 'a short praying phrase' instead of 'palm leaflet for divination', is perhaps better.

25 The first morpheme of this word is *lahng*, 'Heaven', but the phonemes and meaning of the second morpheme are unclear. According to W's notes, 'this heaven makes heat for earth'.

26 'Kiti' would appear to be a slip by Luellen for 'Uone', the period of time under discussion apparently being that before the wars (about 1800) which united Uone and Kiti-proper to create the modern state of Kiti. We assume this to be so because Luellen goes on to describe how the priest-king of Uone, Jaukija, was selected from among the high priests, and in Paragraph 29 how and where he was crowned. These descriptions do not apply to conditions in the later state of Kiti, when the Jaukija, who ruled both Uone and Kiti-proper had taken the title Nanmariki. Indeed, Paragraph 31 makes clear that this is the case, although in Paragraphs 28 and 30 Luellen anticipates the taking of the title Nanmariki, perhaps because in his time both titles (and a third, Roja) were used by the ruler of Kiti. The word Nanmariki is sometimes used by Ponapeans to refer to the supreme chief of any independent state, e.g. the King of England might be called the Nanmariki of England, or conversely, those knowing English might refer to a Ponapean Nanmariki as a king. Ponapean section chiefs, however, would not be spoken of in this fashion, as they are not exalted enough.

27 Text *joumaj* (*sou-mas*). This is the word most often used for section chiefs.

Chapter 57

1 The first nine sections of this chapter consist of a text for a spell or song. The text seems highly elliptical and allusive, and our translation must be regarded as quite dubious. W records that a story teller would recite this text as a preliminary to telling stories to the chiefs at night. Pensile told R virtually the same thing, that it was a song that had to be sung before telling a Nanmariki a story. He said that the word 'waters' is used here figuratively, to mean 'sayings'. The necessity to recite this text before telling a tale to a high chief would serve the function of restricting commoner access to him: Only a commoner who knew the chant or who could persuade someone else who knew it to recite it for him would be eligible to gain such access. We may guess that failure to recite it was traditionally

thought to result in sickness or other punishment of the narrator by the clan deities of the chief, with or without the chief's intent, as with other offences against high-ranking people.

In the summer of 1972 F heard this chant being recited by Ioanis Paulino, who held the title of *Lahp-en-Weluh*, Kiti, at the beginning of a radio program for children entitled Tales of the Origins of Ponape (*soahi poad en Pohnipei*). Dusty Frederick, Manager of Radio Station WSZD, the Ponape radio station, has supplied us with a copy of a tape of one of Paulino's programs. On this tape he prefaces his recital of the chant with these remarks (free translation): 'Well, children, I wish on behalf of us all to make our humble apology for telling tales. Before we meet together in this program here is the apology concerning Waters of the Night. This expression occurs in a *ngihs* [chant] which the people of Jainuar [section of Kiti] often perform; it says generally:

What shall we sail on?
A ship of songs;
I would think about
Waters of the Night
That I might dare to approach[?]
the Lord of Teleur.

[This appears to be the beginning of another longer song in which the chant Waters of the Night is mentioned.] Here it is: the Waters of the Night.' These remarks are followed on the tape by a fluent recital of the chant translated here.

Paulino's spoken version has helped us to clarify certain obscure passages in Luellen's manuscript version. In general the two are close, especially in the first part, but Paulino's version contains the following special characteristics:

1) In stanza 2 there is nothing corresponding to the untranslated passage in Luellen's version that we indicate by a line of dots, where Luellen has the word *teleuaparal*.

2) In stanza 3 Paulino appears to use the words *irong* and *irong-a-da* rather than Luellen's *rong* (*rong*, 'asked news') and *rong ata* (*rong-a-da*, 'heard about it'). Paulino's forms would mean 'gaze' and 'catch sight of'.

3) In stanza 5 we have translated the words that Luellen spells *tieti* and *tiata* as 'step down' and 'step up' respectively. This was at the suggestion of an informant who proposed the pronunciations *ti-e-di* and *ti-a-da*. Paulino, however, pronounces them *di-e-di* and *di-a-da*. We are uncertain what these would mean, although they may have something to do with being transported in a canoe by poling (as against paddling or sailing).

4) Although stanzas are not numbered in Paulino's recital, stanza

6 appears to begin with the earlier line 'roll it forth to Tamoroi' rather than the immediately following line as in Luelen's written version. This is an inference from intonation and pauses.

5) 'The land of Letau' (jap Letau, *Leh-dau*) is omitted at the end of stanza 6.

6) Stanzas 7 and 8 of Luelen's version are transposed.

7) Some words of the verses in Luelen's stanza 8 (Paulino's stanza 7) are omitted.

8) Parts of Luelen's stanza 7 (Paulino's stanza 8) are omitted, especially in the first verse.

9) An additional stanza is added before the final stanza. This is composed of some of the phrases found in earlier stanzas of Luelen's version and reads in translation:

'Cook it well [?], let us two eat it.

'You are not satisfied, I am not satisfied.

'The first is you; the second, you; the third, you.'

10) Paulino's recitation of the last stanza throws into question our identification of the word Malujai in Luelen's stanza 9 as *Nan Mwoaluhsei*, the Great Breakwater at Nanmatol. (This is the protective wall built on three sides of the ruin of Nantauaj, enclosing a small body of water; see n. 22.13.) Paulino pronounced this as *Mwoalusei* with a short *u*. This place reference is also suspect because it would be an exception to the counter-clockwise circuit of places named in the chant, as discussed below.

Paulino's recital of the chant fits in with its function as previously described. It is the first spontaneous recital of it that any of us have heard. This is understandable if it is a special preliminary to telling tales to a high-ranking chief, but not required in ordinary tale-telling contexts. Many Ponapeans feel that radio broadcasts should be treated as being addressed to an audience including the highest chiefs, since the chiefs are very likely to be listening and since the broadcasts are intended for the entire population, which includes the chiefs. Thus radio announcements referring to the radio audience typically include a mixture of respect forms referring to the chiefs followed by the alternative humble forms referring to everyone else. This makes the announcements longer than they would be if addressed exclusively to chiefs or subjects.

In the chant a succession of place-names is given, most of them names of sections, beginning with Kapine in central Matolenim, proceeding counter-clockwise around the island, and ending at Letau, near the beginning point. F has noted other traditional chants in which place-names are cited in order of a circuit around the island, a brief and cryptic comment being made in connection with each place. The chant *Tatiki Lapwed*, transcribed from the Nanmariki of

U, Johnny Moses, is one currently famous example. Ostensibly it is a song to entertain or calm children, but it also serves as a vehicle for displaying the erudition of the reciter about island geography and history. Ordinarily the reciter of such a chant would be expected to be able to explain the cryptic comments on each place. Ideally he should have visited each place and learned something about it first hand from its inhabitants. In pre-European times it would have been easier for a chief to travel about in alien parts of the island and question the inhabitants about the local history and landscape than for ordinary people, who would have feared sorcery or physical attack.

Some of the obscure remarks about places seem to have been suggested to the composer of the chant by the meaning of the place-names immediately adjacent to them. Thus, in stanza 3, the place called Palikir means literally 'to carry on the back', and immediately following it that phrase is employed, as though the expression was put into the composer's mind by the name of the locality. In stanza 4 there is a sequence of words 'pajautik, pajau, pajaulap', which we translate as 'a small sack (or bellying, as of a sail) at Pajau, a large sack . . .'; again adjacent names may have suggested these obscure phrases; but perhaps we are only translating place-names, for as explained in n. 53.1, these three words are antique names for the sections in Kiti now called Upper Anipein and Jamai. Likewise, in this stanza, the word that we have translated as 'supporter of the conger eel' is also the name of a place in the section of Rentu, in Kiti. In stanza 5, Tapa is another place-name, but it could have been translated as 'how many'; the place is in Anipoj, between Akak and Tamoroi, just as the position of its name in the stanza would indicate.

A few other clarifications are possible. The number 22 in stanza 8 refers to animals or people, not to the food. Tauna, in stanza 9, is a place-name, but cannot be pin-pointed, since there are several localities so designated on Ponape. The reference to slime in stanza 4 is possibly to the slime from the hibiscus bast kava strainer, which inevitably gets into the first cups of kava. This interpretation is, however, inconsistent with the view often advanced now that inclusion of noticeable amounts of hibiscus sap in kava is an innovation which has spread in the life of some old people still alive. Luelen spells the word as mataitai. Possibly another word is involved here, since Paulino's taped version gives the initial consonant as *mw* rather than *m*. This would change the meaning from 'slime' to something else unknown to us.

2 In the two lists of stars contained in this chapter a few identifications (in brackets) are attempted by the editors, largely on

the basis of apparent cognates in the Central Carolines, where native astronomical knowledge has persisted much more than in Ponape. The first set of names given by Luellen might appear at first sight to be a list of months, but the names do not coincide at all with the month names obtained by F from the Uajai of U, those given by Gulick in his vocabulary, or those that Hambruch (II:160) got from Lewis Kehoe. Among those three sources there is a fair amount of agreement, but only one of the names (recorded respectively as Mwakeriker, Mokorakor, and Makirekir) seems to be a star name. The name is also the last (No. 12) on Luellen's first list and he calls it the greatest of all the stars. In a story that Hambruch attributes to Lewis Kehoe (II:158-9) this star is similarly the youngest but the most important of a group of star-siblings; the only other one named is the eldest, Timuir, which is also the first name on Luellen's first list. Perhaps that list, in which all twelve names are those of stars, records the temporal sequence of the first appearance in the east (the heliacal rising) of the twelve stars which mark the beginnings of the twelve months of the year. If so, it is an unusual calendar, for elsewhere in the Carolines and in other parts of the Pacific, where information is available, the sidereal months bear the same names as the stars which mark their beginnings. But if all twelve stars on the list are, as Luellen tells us, the stars of the breadfruit season, which is generally reckoned to last for five months, they cannot be equivalent to months.

3 Text *uju en Par*, literally 'stars of *Erythrina*', which bloomed in the winter, but Pensile and Kesner say this means not just winter but the full year.

4 This list might appear to be days of the month, from its number. However, ten of the thirty names are repetitions of the previous list of twelve, although interspersed here in a different order. Perhaps the two that are not repeated from the first list are masked under synonyms in the second, for the alleged 'eighteen' do require another twelve to make the thirty that are given. The eighteen 'companions' could be stars that rise at the same points on the horizon as the first twelve and follow the same paths but at different times. It is also possible that their points of rising provide a kind of sidereal compass, as in the central Carolines, though comparison with those islands shows much difference.

Hambruch (II:156-7) gives two lists of star names, from two different informants, in the same context as Luellen, i.e., their connection with wind and rain, but both lists are shorter and the names and their sequence do not always match with Luellen's stars. However, Hambruch (II:157) also records a 'Song of the Stars', which does resemble Luellen's second list closely. In the song

Hambruch has translated what are really star-names, as though he took them to be part of the text between the names, and in other cases he gives as star-names words which are probably only textual; if adjustment is made for these apparent errors the match becomes even closer.

Chapter 58

1 Text pajakap (*pas-a-kapw*), meaning a person not native to the place who visits it for the first time. Such visitors in certain parts of Ponape were supposed to visit a certain rock in the mountains and present a branch there, evidently to pay their respects to the local gods. Natives of the area would also deposit branches at this place if they happened to pass by it but apparently would not make special trips there. The offering places are usually at the top of steep slopes, not along the shore.

2 Text koton (*kodon*). As far as we know this always refers to a male supernatural of large size, a man-eater, often moderately stupid. William of Kinakap described it to R as a flying creature, covered with hair, that goes fishing daily. Kesner said it was not hairy, it had two horns, and its flying sounded like a strong wind. Hambruch (II:122) links it to the sea. See n. 3.1.

3 Ponapeans do not normally keep fish in pools, but on some of the low islands near Ponape, especially on Mokil, the fishermen sometimes construct enclosures out of coral boulders in the lagoon and store their surplus fish of some species in these until needed. The water is changed by flowing between the crevices among the boulders. Compare also the mention of the fish pond in the Luk cycle, Ch. 37.42. The reference here, however, seems to be a natural pond on the reef off Paniau, where fish are often trapped when the tide recedes.

4 Text kateke (*kadek-e*), transitive form of *kadek*, 'kind', to 'be kind'.

Chapter 59

1 Text aramaj tikitik (*aramas tikitik*). This could also be translated as 'commoners'.

2 Text nain eki (*nai-n-eki*), basic meaning to 'have as a child'.

3 Text panainai (*pe-nei-nei*), often used to refer to the matrilineal family but the original meaning appears to be any group containing one or more parents and one or more children. F has heard it used to

refer to a man and his son, for instance. Here it probably refers to a matrilineal family primarily.

4 Text *kaujap en kainok* (*kou-sapw-en kainek*). A *kaujap* is a section, one of the small political units that make up the five states of Ponape. Regarding *kainok*, see n. 49.2.

5 The reasoning here is not entirely clear. Probably the idea is that the men would have preferred to have their own sons continue to remain in the family household or hamlet after the sons grew up and married, but that members of the matrilineage to whom the land was assigned had first rights to its products, so that the sons of the men had to leave to live on land of their own or their wife's matrilineage. There is the implication, however, here that chiefs or especially industrious or wealthy men would be able to satisfy the matrilineage demands and have a surplus left over for their sons, who would also reside with them.

At present it is fairly common for adult sons to reside in the same house as their parents or in a nearby house, but this is said to be due to the patrilineal inheritance of land introduced in the German land reform of 1912. But it also seems likely that it was the practice in pre-German times among people of high rank.

6 Text *jerijo* (*seri-hso*), translated literally here. This refers to the second line of titles, headed by the Naniken. It can also refer to all children of royal men, whether or not in the Naniken line.

7 Text *panainai*. Cf. usage of this word in n. 59.3.

8 Text *kainok*. See n. 49.2. The primary meaning is 'lineage' but it can also mean 'lineage mates'.

9 Text *muar en uei* (*mwar-en wehi*). The primary meaning of *mmwar* is 'title' or 'honorific name', but it is also used, as here, in the sense of 'title-holder'.

Chapter 60

1 The wars described in this chapter are also recorded by Hambruch (II:38-40, 55-6, and III:109-12). R also obtained an oral account from the Jaulik of Jamai and some further details from Kesner and the Kiti woman Anipel. There is general agreement between all the versions but some difference in detail and emphasis. Thus the conquest of Kiti by Palang, which Luelen disposes of in the first two sentences of Paragraph 3, is given in greater length by Hambruch, and the visitor from Net who encourages the counter-attack by Uone is a figure of more importance in Hambruch's version.

The story of the wars appears to be a fairly accurate historical

tradition of events which probably took place not long before the beginning, about 1830, of extensive foreign contact. Luellen tells us in Ch. 65.2 that the Naniken of Kiti whose name was Nanku was born in 1810, after these wars (this is probably too early by 12 to 17 years; see n. 65.5). The time of the wars can also be estimated from the list of Kiti Nanikens belonging to the Lipitan clan given in Hambruch (II:27) and from the Lipitan clan history also recorded by Hambruch (II:56). (This clan history was, incidentally, obtained from a man with the title of Nanaua of Kiti, whom Pensile and Kesner identify as our Luellen.) The first name on the list and in the history is Luk en Tamas, which seems to be the death name of Majoor, the Lipitan hero of Luellen's Paragraph 5. Luellen, in Paragraph 10, says that Majoor became Nanliklapalap after the wars. The title Nanliklapalap is nowadays ranked eighth in the first line. But in Hambruch (II:55-6), where he is the son of Jaukija, Majoor claims two titles, one of them Nanliklapalap but also the higher title of Naniken, which is ranked first in the second line of titles. Then, when victorious, he gives the title Nanliklapalap to his brother, retaining that of Naniken of Kiti for himself. According to Kesner he first was Nanliklapalap, later became Naniken. It is thus more than likely that Majoor is the same as Luk en Tamas. The list of Nanikens (Hambruch II:27) contains eight names in all, the eighth being that of a 60-year old man who had the title in 1910. The fourth name on the list is that of the abovementioned Nanku, who in 1852, when the first Protestant missionaries arrived, was said by them to have already been Naniken seven or eight years. Cheyne (in Shineberg, 1971:288) speaks of the death of the Naniken of Kiti and the accession of a new Naniken, both events occurring between his departure from Ponape on 17 April and his return on 24 October 1843. Evidently it was Nanku who was the new Naniken. Nanku died on 14 April 1864. If there were four Nanikens between 1864 and 1910 the earlier four would presumably have occupied a roughly similar length of time, and Luk en Tamas or Majoor would have ruled about 1810 or 1820, soon after the wars.

2 This three-fold division of what is now Kiti should be compared with the arrangements described in Chs. 26-27 and 52-55. At the time of the wars with which the present chapter is concerned the word Kiti was apparently applicable only to Kapilang.

3 Likapijino is a species of sea-cucumber (trepang, beche-de-mer, etc.). The word manika, which we have here translated as shellfish, its primary meaning, also includes most forms of marine life except fishes, turtles and other free-swimming forms of life. See Chs. 69 and 80.1-2.

4 Luellen's description here might seem to suggest that three

different clans ruled Ononlang (or Uone), Palang, and Kapilang (Kiti proper) respectively. Actually the 'Kiti Clan' is a branch of the 'Creature Clan', as Paragraph 4 makes clear; the rulers of Ononlang and Kapilang belonged to two different branches of the same clan.

5 Luelen's version is the only one that mentions Nanjaujet's illness and the litter he was borne on. The basic meaning of the word which we translate as ulcers, *kenj* (*kens*), is a raw sore. Until very recent times it most commonly meant a yaws ulcer. The soles of the feet are a fairly common place of attack for tertiary yaws, which might explain why the man was carried on a litter. However, it was frequent practice until the end of the century to bear high chiefs on litters during public appearances, particularly if they were sick, lame, or numbed by overindulgence in kava, but sometimes even when they were in good health. Even heads of sections and titled women were sometimes accorded this privilege.

6 The Nanjaujet of Palang, the leader of the Palang forces, had conquered Kiti-proper, or Kapilang. In Hambruch (II:38; III:109) he conquers through abuse of hospitality and treachery, and the ruler of Kiti is killed. The Jaulik of Jamai and Anipel told R that the ruler was not killed, only deposed. At this point the Nanjaujet of Net appears and urges intervention. In Hambruch (III:110) he has to prod the Jaukija into action by appealing to him on the ground that he and the defeated ruler of Kiti are of the same clan; Jaukija says that he had not hitherto thought of taking clan revenge; he puts off Nanjaujet of Net by delaying the counterattack until after Uone's religious celebrations, which were about to take place (they are mentioned by Luelen in Paragraph 7); and Jaukija comes late to the battlefield, where Janjaujet of Net has preceded him and awaits him impatiently with his Net troops. Luelen barely refers to Nanjaujet of Net's participation in this battle (in Paragraph 10) and does not mention the rewards given to Nanjaujet by the grateful Jaukija; these were the title of Jaukiti (previously held by the deposed Nanmariki of Kiti) and the fief of the section of Tamorolang. The Jaulik of Jamai told R that Jaukija sent Nanjaujet back to Net after their planning meeting, to return after the Uone religious ceremonies were ended, because he did not quite trust him. Conceivably this suspicion of Net and its chiefs could have its effects on Luelen, a Kiti man, more than 100 years later. Perhaps Luelen's depreciation of the role of Nanjaujet of Net is also attributable to his admiration of Henry Nanpei (see Ch. 66), a prominent figure in Kiti who was much embroiled in rivalries with Net during Luelen's earlier years.

7 Text *nan kapetan* (*nan kapehd-in*), literally 'the inside of the bellies of . . .'. The Ponapean idiom suggests that a 'sinking feeling in the stomach' is assigned more weight than a 'pounding heart'. It

would be interesting to check physiological accompaniments to emotions in various cultures to see whether there are differences in strength of various reactions corresponding to the differences in vocabulary.

8 The Nanjaujet of Palang had according to the Jaulik of Jamai taken the title of Nanliklapalap after conquering Kiti. Major is now proposing to take the title for himself as his reward for getting rid of the enemy. This is bold behaviour. Most Ponapean men would wait and accept, often with modest protest, whatever title the chief offered them. In the olden days it is said that bravery in war was often rewarded by promotion in the title system.

9 It seems a strange thing to do, to prepare roofing thatch to take along into battle. Hambruch does not refer to it, but the Jaulik of Jamai told R virtually the same thing, that the Jaukija ordered each man to take roofing to Kiti with him so that they could build a house after the victory. Although the connection is not made in any of the versions, perhaps these thatch sheets are the materials which were used to make the dummy warriors described by Luelen in Paragraph 9.

10 Text pong en jarai (*pwong-in sarawi*), literally 'nights of sacredness'. See Chs. 56.7 and 74.9-10 concerning these ceremonies. Ponapeans count nights instead of days. Presumably it was taboo for them to start a war while the ceremonies were being held, and the enemy would probably also respect the prohibition for fear of supernatural punishment.

11 These are ancient or esoteric names for the sections of modern Kiti now called, respectively, Upper Anipein, Jamai, Lower Anipein, Pok, Kipar, and Ronkiti. These identifications are by Kesner, who was uncertain of the last one. The Nanjauririn of Kiti gave the same identifications except for reversing the first two. See ns. 37.3, 53.1, and 57.1. These places were known collectively as Likop (see Ch. 83.6), a group of semi-independent sections, apparently not under the sway of Kapilang (Kiti-proper). The conquest by Palang had evidently not extended to them, and in this paragraph Jaukija's messengers persuade them to join his army in the attack.

12 This division into two fighting groups is perhaps the same as the one mentioned in Hambruch (III:111), where the two forces consist of high chiefs and nobles respectively.

13 The Jaulik of Jamai's account is very similar: the Uone forces built dummies and erected them in the canoes to simulate men; the Palang people massed on the shore to defend against the attacking fleet, only to be surprised by the bulk of the Uone soldiers and their allies who had come overland. Paragraph 10 indicates that the fleet

was under the command of the Nanjaujet of Net; since Hambruch (III:112) describes this man as pursuing the fleeing enemy, presumably they fled by canoe. But the geography here involved makes this episode unclear; Ajil, where as Paragraph 10 tells us the fleet is gathered, is an islet off Palang, but the Palang forces awaiting the fleet's attack are described by Luellen as being at Imentakai, which is supposed to be in Japtakai, an inland section south of Ajil with no coastline. But perhaps Japtakai did once extend to the coast; see n. 83.8. In Hambruch (III:111) Nanjaujet of Net is, as in Luellen, at Ajil, waiting for the dilatory Jaukija.

14 These older titles were those of Uone (see Ch. 84.10 and also Hambruch II:38, 132-3) and were ranked in the order of the new titles to which they were now converted. Not mentioned here is the fate of the Namaton Palang, the ruler of Palang and member of the Papa-Tree Clan, to whom Luellen does not refer again after Paragraphs 1 and 2. The Namaton Palang seems to have had little to do with the wars, the active role being played by his lieutenant, the Nanjaujet of Palang. After Palang defeated Kiti the Nanjaujet of Palang became Nanliklapalap, as Luellen tells us, but he does not tell us that the Namaton Palang became Nanmariki, the ruler of Kiti, as the Jaulik of Jamai told R and as Hambruch (III:110) has it. When Uone reconquered Kiti this Namaton Palang was either killed (Hambruch II:55) or became the Nalaim (Jaulik of Jamai), which is nowadays the second title after the Naniken in the second line of titles. At any rate, both titles, Nalaim and Namaton Palang, have been held by one man from that time until today, although the incumbent in the 1950s was a Foreign Clan man rather than a Papa-Tree man. Allowing a defeated enemy to live and awarding him a title have precedent in the story of Ijokelekel, who singled out for honours the man who had disfigured his face with a slingstone (see Ch. 48.24-5).

Luellen also does not tell us what happened to the defeated Nanjaujet of Palang. According to the Jaulik of Jamai he was speared by Majoor and tossed over his shoulder, still impaled, to Majoor's soldiers, who despatched him. The same story is told in Hambruch (II:55 and III:111). Jaulik also said that when Kiti was reconquered by Uone the ruler, who had been deposed by Palang, was offered his title back again but felt too disgraced to accept it.

15 Actually there are more than four. Several matrilineal groups are by some Ponapeans classified as branches of the Creature Clan, by other Ponapeans as independent clans which have budded off. On the next level of classification, the Creature Clan is subdivided into the Black Creature Clan and the White Creature Clan. (Some Ponapeans name a third group, which other Ponapeans put under the White Creatures.) The Black Creature Clan includes, on a still lower

level of classification, a number of subclans; among these the four listed here by Luelen form one closely related grouping.

16 Luelen discusses these groups and their history at greater length in Ch. 84.6-10.

Chapter 61

1 The 'kinds of enlightenment' are probably the Protestant and Catholic missionaries.

2 The 'one kind of people' are probably the European and American deserters from whaling and trading ships (see n. 63.3). These settled on Ponape in large numbers; several dozen were present on the island in the mid-nineteenth century at any one time. Many of them were taken on by chiefs as interpreters and advisers and thus achieved a fair amount of influence. Compare also Ch. 63.2-6.

Chapter 62

1 This chapter, despite its title, describes the origin of the Lipitan clan, to which Luelen belonged. We have two other versions, one given to R in 1947 by the Naniken of Kiti, the other in Hambruch (II:52-6). The Hambruch story is very similar to the present one and is credited by Hambruch to the Nanaua of Kiti, which according to Pensile and Kesner was at that time Luelen's title.

2 On most maps this is Namu Atoll, which has also been known as Musquillo, Margaretta, Lambert, and Ross. The Raliks and Rataks are the two chains comprising the Marshall Islands.

3 Text *kampoke pa* (*ka-mpoak-ep-e*), more literally, perhaps, 'pitiers of hers'. This word is not too common. It has something of the meaning of English 'comrade' or 'friend' but is also used poetically in love songs.

4. Text *pali pa et* (*pali pah et*), referring evidently to Ponape or possibly nearby islands.

5 Text *kaparapar ti* (*ka-par-a-par-edi*). The closest single translation of this word in English would probably be 'propagate'. It is used as an agricultural term also.

6 Nanparatak and Nanajan, it will be recalled (see ns. 48.20 and 48.22), were respectively members of the Latak (or perhaps Liarkatau) and Naniak clans. While the Naniak clan is of the same origin as the Lipitan clan, and Luelen, a Lipitan, legitimately takes pride in claiming a relationship to Nanajan, a Naniak, his inclusion of Nanparatak here seems unjustified (although his possible confusion of the two heroes has already been noted in ns. 48.30 and 48.22).

7 See n. 48.21 concerning this phrase. The explanation given here is more complete than in the other accounts but it still does not seem entirely clear. Possibly *kaitak* is an obsolete verb *kai-dak*, *dak* being an archaic form of the directional suffix *-da*, 'up'. Perhaps it refers to a posture of sticking out or 'up' the chest with the meaning of assertiveness or aggressiveness. Kesner says it can mean rising, as of the sun. If this is correct the famous quotation in Ch. 48.20 may mean 'What? Do we retreat before men who stick out their chests (i.e., make a mere show of boldness)'? But Pensile insists that the reference is to the speaker, talking about himself, not to the enemy. Kesner, however, prefers a different quotation; he gives the phrase identically except for the last words, which he represents as *kaipas* instead of *kaitak*, and he says that *kaipas* means something like 'moving-appearing'. The translation would then be approximately 'We must not retreat before these advancing men'. Hambruch (III:78) records at this point a similar word, *kaipa*, perhaps a garbled form; his translation is that Nanajan told Ijokelekel 'that he was a warrior'. If we modify this to 'he reminded him sarcastically that they were warriors' it would probably describe the situation well enough. Alternatively, since Nanajan, Ijokelekel, and the other invaders were from Kusaic, perhaps we are dealing here with some dimly-remembered Kusaican word, meaningless in Ponapean.

8 In the Hambruch version these provisions, consisting of the molluscs, are thrown overboard at Toletik Island, off Kiti Harbour, because it is necessary to lighten the load in order to get over the reef into the entrance, and the explanation is given (as it is also in the Naniken of Kiti's account) that this is why there are so many lipuai shells at this place nowadays.

9 In the other two versions the canoe is transformed into a rock which is still to be seen at this shore.

10 Pensile and Kesner state that these provisions of water were carried in the mouths of the two men, Marak and Akau. Hambruch gives the same information and adds that Marak lost his water when he became frightened because of the rough seas and shouted out, but Akau spat his water out at the shore of Jakarantu and it became the stream Pil en Nan Sunoip.

11 The other two versions say that the branches were taken along on the voyage to provide shade for the women.

12 See n. 48.22.

13 This paragraph (which is continued in Ch. 65.1) is an abbreviated version of the account given in Hambruch and by the Naniken of Kiti to R. In Hambruch one of the two sisters marries the Uajai (second title of the first line) and becomes the mother of the hero Majoor of Ch. 60.5-10 (although in the same story the

father seems also to be another man, and elsewhere he is apparently Jaukija). The Naniken of Kiti said this woman was the Lipeitato mentioned in Paragraph 4 by Luellen. Kesner likewise says she was Majoor's mother. (The word 'mother', it should be noted, is often used in Ponapean to mean a more-or-less remote matrilineal ancestress.) The story continues: the woman then flees with her boy to Uone and there attacks the Papa-Tree wives of a chief (Hambruch) or Jaukija (says the Naniken) by tearing open their mouths. She becomes the man's principal wife and founds one branch (called after her Lipeitato) of the Lipitan clan in Uone, the branch to which the Naniken and other high titles of the second line still belong. The other branch of this clan is founded by her elder sister; the Naniken said this sister came to Ponape earlier, nevertheless her descendants, the *Kalewen Mein Mesihsou*, are commoners. The place, Poleti, also mentioned in Hambruch, is in Jaunkraun section.

If Lipeitato was indeed the mother of Majoor, who flourished about 1800 or 1820, it is doubtful that she could have come to Ponape 'at that time' (i.e., at the time of Ijokelekel's conquest) as Paragraph 4 says. That event must have occurred considerably earlier.

Chapter 63

1 Text jop en totok (*sop-in doadoahk*). Doadoahk means 'work', 'project', 'labour', etc. Perhaps the reference is to ships recruiting native labour for plantations on other islands and in Queensland, although Ponape for the most part remained unaffected by the blackbirding of the last century.

2 In the days of the whalers, Lot Harbour, often called Bonatick (*Pohnahtik*) or Middle Harbour by the ships' captains, and Ronkiti (or Lee) Harbour bore the heaviest traffic in these vessels. Mutok or Paniau also had an occasional visiting ship, as did two others not mentioned by Luellen, Matolenim (Weather), and Jokaj Harbours. The harbour Luellen calls Tumenpuel, in Net, was referred to in whaling days variously as Poitik, Jamestown, and Santiago. We have not heard the name applied to the harbour nowadays, although Hambruch (II:5) gives a native account of a ship (which must be the U.S.S. *Jamestown*, in 1870) entering Kapetau (Harbour or Channel) en Tsumunenpuil, and elsewhere (II:41, III:191, 410) he records it as Kapetau Tūmuenpuil, Tumenpuel, and Tumuinpuel. The name Tumenpuel is nowadays applied to Net Point, where a dock and causeway have been built. As for the reference to 'this channel' to which 'not too many ships came', perhaps Luellen means the small harbour not far from Rentu where he lived, the one at Anipein.

called Roach (after Roj Island) by the whalers. But Pensile and Kesner think, since the phrase comes just after the mention of Tumenpuel, that this is what is meant.

3 Many original sources could be quoted regarding these 'bad foreigners'. Cheyne's remarks (in Shineberg, 1971:158-9) of 1842 are typical. He says, 'respecting the European reprobates living on the Island...: The majority of them, is made up of runaway convicts from New South Wales, and Norfolk Island, and deserters from Whale ships. These men, the outcasts and refuse of every Maratime [*sic*] nation, are addicted to every description of vice and would be a pest even in a civilized community. It may easily be conceived what an Injurious influence such a band of Vagabonds, without trade or occupation by which they can support themselves, guilty of every species of profanity and crime, must exert upon the morals of the natives, and what a barrier they must oppose to their improvement in morals and civilization. These white men act in a manner which is likely to lower Europeans in the estimation of the natives, and to excite a feeling of animosity against white men in general.'

4 Text *ipuij juet* (*ipwihpw sued*). While this means literally 'bad birth' (cf. *ipw-idi*, to 'be born'), it refers to the paternal ancestry, not to the maternal. An analogous usage which is common in discussion of eligibility for titles is *ipwihpw-in soupeidi*, 'of noble birth'. This always means that the individuals to whom the term is applied have a noble father but strictly speaking are not themselves noble, because of the matrilineal descent and succession. Children of a noble mother would simply be referred to as *soupeidi*, 'nobles', without mention of their birth.

5 Text *rotorot* (*rotorot*). Literally 'dark', i.e., non-Christian or uncivilised.

Chapter 64

1 F also recorded a version of a sizeable part of this song from the Ersin MS.

For a discussion of the metrical pattern see Fischer, 1959. In brief the lines generally contain seven moras, with a tendency to accent the odd numbered moras, although syncopated lines are also found. The lines are generally grouped in couplets or triplets, with the end of clauses, phrases or sentences generally coming at the end of a couplet or triplet.

The vocabulary and forms are poetic, i.e., there are obscure allusions, obsolete words, elliptical phrasing. Most of the translation should be regarded with some uncertainty, and some lines are simply

left untranslated as impossible even to make a plausible guess about. The general organisation of the song is clear, however, and involves references to a series of mythical and real places which the composer allegedly visited in spirit form. At these places he met with varying reception, sometimes being welcomed, sometimes treated hostilely or indifferently.

The division of the song into sixteen stanzas is Luelen's. The division of the stanzas into verses is largely F's, based on metrical considerations in the Ponapean text. MS. 1 contains a little punctuation in places, commas, semicolons, periods, and question marks in that order of frequency, but the punctuation is often absent. It is largely lacking in the other copies. Where punctuation occurs it almost invariably coincides with the end of a verse, as deduced by F.

Luk-of-Heaven was an historical figure, according to Kesner (and according to Hambruch II:100, after L. Kehoe). He is said to have married the goddess Inaj (see Ch. 56.3 and n. 84.8). Informants state that he is held in veneration by the Papa-Tree Clan, but he also seems to be connected with the Creature Clan. In Hambruch's version (II:105) of the story of the Canoe of Heaven it is Luk-of-Heaven, not Luk (as Luelen has it; see Ch. 50.4) who rides in the canoe.

2 Mejeniang is the place in Net where the town of Kolonia is now established. But perhaps some mythical place is meant. Hambruch (II:119) gives Mesenieng en tsap as an island in the sea, the Land of the Good.

3 A reference, according to Pensile, to the allegedly quavering articulation of the Net people.

4 Pensile thinks that this place is in the channel between Jokaj and Kolonia.

5 This word, which occurs at the end of each stanza, can possibly be translated as 'my good fellow' or other familiar term.

6 In Ch. 2.3 an identification, or at least connection, is suggested between the Creature Clan and the Clan (or Masters) of the South. Luk-of-Heaven apparently is here receiving the spell or fortune of this clan, with which he is in some way identified.

7 This place is mentioned by Hambruch (II:33) in an account he obtained from the Nanapaj of Kiti as the place of origin of the Creature Clan.

8 Text Jaunair (Soun Eir), which we translate here as Lord-of-the-South, but it could also be read as Clan or Masters of the South, as we have translated it in Chs. 2.3, 69.1-3, 79.1, and 80.4. This would add substance to the implication in the last two footnotes and in ns. 64.11 and 13 which follow that these verses concern this clan and that Luk-of-Heaven has some connection with it.

9 'Drill' said to mean 'whirlpool'. The Ijau tree is the *Calophyllum*. The reference may be to a real whirlpool of this name, said to exist off the east coast of Ant Atoll, but this seems doubtful in view of its mention here between Lot and Paniau, which are adjacent to each other near the Kiti-Matolenim border.

10 A place on the reef just east of Mutok Island.

11 An account of the origin of the Creature Clan in Hambruch (II:34) refers to a place called Langpuak where a Nan u lap lives.

12 In the Luk cycle there is an incident (Ch. 37.14, also in Hambruch (III:195) where the flying man, Jaupuala, carries his wife in his hair knot. The element of hiding children or women in one's hair knot is fairly common on Ponapean mythology; cf. Hambruch III:144, 149, 308, and 310.

13 Hambruch (II:28-32) gives Langina and 'Irek' as places close together, in the south, where the Foreign Clan and the Creature Clan originate. Elsewhere (II:33-4) the Creature Clan originates in Paras but increases in 'Irek'.

14 Informants say this is the name of a mountain.

15 These two words are capitalised in the text, suggesting that they are being used as personal names.

16 An alternative translation instead of 'teaching' could be a sort of servant-cum-concubine for a Nanmariki.

17 A marai (*merai*), cognate to Polynesian marae, malae, etc., is usually a sandy place where young people gathered in former days to dance, wrestle, and engage in other sports. It is also a place where ghosts gather at night. Pajong (*pasang*) is literally 'contest', so perhaps wrestling is meant.

Chapter 65

1 See n. 62.13 regarding the earlier part of this narrative.

2 That is, 1852 is the year the Protestant missionaries arrived. Actually a Catholic missionary, Father Désiré Maigret, preceded them, arriving on Ponape on 13 December 1837, but he abandoned his mission and left the island on 29 July 1838.

3 Presumably 'these things' refers to the fact that the boy was given the title Nanku as a personal name. Personal names on Ponape often resemble titles in linguistic form, and in origin may be titles occurring in clan or local myth. Pensile, however, thinks that this sentence refers to the rise of the Lipitan clan, described in the previous paragraph.

4 This is clearly wrong. In the ABCFM missionary letters at the Houghton Library, L.H. Gulick says under date September 1852,

that Nanku was 'about 26'. A letter of the missionary Sturges, written 11 October 1852, says he was 'about 30', and J.T. Gulick (manuscript), who was on Ponape 6 September to 29 September 1852, says: 'M. Corgat [a Frenchman living on Ponape who was friendly with the early American missionaries] says that [Nanku's] mother had nine sons, the second and fifth of which have died . . . Nanakin is the first son and about 25 years of age. It is seven or eight years since he was promoted to the station.' (Actually it was nine years, for he became Naniken between 17 April and 24 October 1843; see n. 60.1.) These three guesses indicate a birth date of 1822 to 1827. Perhaps the earlier date is closer to the truth; to have held the high and responsible title of Naniken for nine years at the age of 30 is more likely than at 25. A further, less precise clue is provided by Oliver Nanpei's statement to R that Nanku was about 40 when he died; since his death was 14 April 1864 a date of birth in about 1824 is indicated.

5 That is, their father was a noble of the line of titles headed by the Nanmariki; apparently the Nanmariki's equivalent in Uone, the Jaukija, is meant, as n. 62.13 would indicate.

6 See Ch. 60. Ononlang is synonymous with Uone, Kapilang with Kiti-proper.

7 That is, from the time of the war. The Naniken who preceded Nanku, the one whose death name is given by Hambruch (II:27) as Luk en Tsakau, was living at Ronkiti in 1842-3, when Cheyne was there (see Shineberg, 1971:157). Hambruch says that Nanku (whom he calls by his death name, Luk en Langsir, additionally known as Iso Ani) was the fourth Naniken since the war. Luelen does not make clear in this passage, in referring to Nanku and the Naniken, that it was Nanku who held the title of Naniken of Kiti at this time, 1852. Nanku by all accounts was a remarkable personality. The Naniken title is the first title of the second line, the Nanmariki (or 'king') being the first title of the first line, hence superior in position. But J.T. Gulick, who was a passenger on the missionary ship which arrived at Ponape in 1852, says of Nanku: 'The Nanakin's station might be called that of Prime Minister, but in this tribe he is feared and respected more than the king and has much more power. This state of things is owing principally to the uncommon shrewdness and energy of the Nanakin . . .' (manuscript, owned by Addison Gulick of Cambridge, Mass.). Sturges and L.H. Gulick, in their letters, describe Nanku as a man of great energy and talent, possessing nearly full control of state affairs; he was tall, muscular, and powerful in appearance, with a long aquiline nose, piercing eyes, and a high narrow forehead; in his presence all others seemed mere ciphers, the 'king' included.

8 Many of the chiefs in the mid-nineteenth century had foreigners attached to their 'courts' to serve as advisers and interpreters and to handle relations with visiting foreign ships.

9 The vessel was the schooner *Caroline*. The missionaries who landed on 6 September 1852 were Albert A. Sturges and his wife, Susan; Dr Luther H. Gulick and his wife, Louisa; and the Hawaiian Berita Kaaikaula and his wife. The Gulicks soon (in April 1853) set up their own station in Matolenim and they left Ponape for Ebon, in the Marshalls, in 1859; Kaaikaula died in 1856; but Sturges stayed until 1885, which may explain why Luelen mentions only him.

10 The first baptisms did not occur until November 1860, eight years after the first missionaries arrived. There were 157 converts that year, according to one of Sturges's letters, among them the Filipino, Narcissus Santos, who has many descendants in Kiti today.

11 The reasoning here appears to be that it would be better for all concerned to have an open declaration of war with a formal battle which would be decisive rather than to have a continuation of the surreptitious ambushes. A death in open battle would not be regarded as 'useless'.

12 The two names are death names. Luk en muei u (Luk of the Whole Reign) of Matolenim died in June 1855, according to the missionary letters. As for Luk en muei mau (Luk of the Good Reign) of Kiti, Luelen tells us in Ch. 65.8 that it was in the reign of that Nanmariki that Nanku became Naniken of Kiti, which we know (n. 65.4) happened in 1843. Oliver Nanpei remarked to R that Nanku married Meri-An to comply with the wish of the then Nanmariki, whom he named as Luk en muei mau. According to A. Gulick (1932:104) the Nanmariki of Kiti who was ruling at the time of J.T. Gulick's visit to Ponape in 1852 died on or just before 1 October of that year; this must have been Luk en muei mau if Luelen and Oliver are correct. His real name, according to the Jaulik of Jamai, was Penena. He was succeeded by Hezekiah, who later became the first Christian Nanmariki.

13 The title Nanaua is ranked fifth in the first (the Nanmariki's) line of titles in each of the five states.

14 The chronology of Paragraphs 5-7 is confusing. A text in Hambruch (II:356-7), Kesner's remarks in 1963 to R, and a number of missionary letters help to clarify matters. Putting together these various accounts: In 1850, two years before the arrival of the missionaries, there was a culminating battle between Kiti and Matolenim. For fifteen years previously, according to L.H. Gulick, the two high chiefs had not met save in war and Matolenim had consistently dominated Kiti. Nanku, the Naniken of Kiti, in 1850 fell upon the Matolenim section of Japuerak and killed a man there.

In return Matolenim sent a party to Mutok Island, which belongs to Kiti, and there killed three people. Whereupon Kiti forces descended upon the part of Matolenim called Lot, left several people dead there, then climbed the mountains across to Letau and killed one more. The Letau people in revenge sent their men to Puaipuai and took a life, and Matolenim laid waste several small Kiti islands. Small skirmishes and sorties of this kind usually preceded and led to a major battle at this time in Ponapean history. Nanku was now wrought up and sent a message to the Nanmariki of Matolenim, appointing a formal battle ground at the island of Nalap, off Lot. He assembled an army from among his followers of nine sections of Kiti. Many people were slain and the battle ended in a decisive defeat for Matolenim.

However, sporadic skirmishes resumed. The missionaries immediately after their arrival at Ponape report frequent minor engagements: In September 1852, two Kiti men killed; a Kiti canoe attacked and five killed; in February 1853, four or five more but kava then exchanged as a sign of peace; in October 1854, further sporadic fighting over a runaway Kiti thief who took refuge in Matolenim; in December the shooting by a Matolenim party of a Kiti woman fishing on the reef; in return an attack by a fleet of 28 canoes and 160 men from Kiti, joined later by as many again, but which succeeded only in finding and killing two women of Matolenim. There is mention of further fighting in February 1855. Apparently enough skirmishing had by now occurred that another major formal battle was in order, and on 15 April 1855 Nanku sent a note to the Nanmariki of Matolenim, Luk en muei u (who was to die two months later) challenging him to battle, as he had done five years before. The battle was to be on 17 April at Paniau Island. (The note was written by a foreigner, in poor English; from what Nanku's grandson, Oliver Nanpei, told R in 1947, the amanuensis was apparently Jim Headley, Nanku's father-in-law, mentioned by Luellen in Paragraph 8.) Luk en muei u told L.H. Gulick that he did not want to fight, it was useless, it would serve only to depopulate the island further, and he arranged for Gulick to write a message of peace in reply. The answer from Nanku was that there would henceforth be no more war between Kiti and Matolenim. In consequence of this 'treaty' Nanku became overlord of Japuerak section of Matolenim placing the chief of Kapine section of Kiti in charge. Ch. 82.3 also tells of this settlement. According to Kesner a Matolenim man of the Foreign Clan, who had joined the Kiti forces, received a Kiti title.

This Foreign Clan man, Kesner says, had actually been sent by Luk en muei u to help Kiti. Kesner describes the situation as one of

political manoeuvring and intrigue rather than the straightforward fighting of the accounts by Hambruch and Luelen. His version is that Luk en muei u, as well as most of the high chiefs of Matolenim, had no real interest in the 1850 fighting; during the great battle at Nalap of Lot in that year they went there only as spectators. It was the Nanaua of Matolenim, as Luelen says in Paragraph 7, who was the leader, and his forces were composed mostly of his own adherents. Luk en muei u hated the Nanaua, though they were closely related clansmates, and wanted to get rid of him and his younger brother, Nalik. Just before the 1850 war an attempt to assassinate Nanaua had been made by the sons of his mother's older sister, who were jealous of his senior title, they being senior in blood. Nanaua and his close followers were killed in the 1850 fighting at Nalap. Now, in 1855, the Kiti forces were at Mutok Island, where they had built walls of defence and had emplaced big guns; from here the challenge to battle at Paniau went forth. Kesner says that the real reason Luk en muei u sent his conciliatory letter was not the one he gave; it was that he saw no purpose in fighting now that Nanaua was dead.

15 Actually 6 September.

16 The name is spelled Hadley by his descendants today, among whom is the present Nanmariki of Matolenim. James Headley was a sailor from the *Falcon*, which was wrecked on Ponape in 1836 and plundered by some Matolenim people, led by the then Nanaua, the predecessor of the Nanaua of n. 65.14, and the subject of the song in Ch. 85 [O]. The *Falcon's* captain, C. Hingston, and five crew members were killed. Revenge was shortly after exacted by three ships, the *Avon*, the *Lambton*, and the *Unity*, whose crews with their Ponapean allies fought and defeated the Nanaua and his forces. The Nanaua was hanged and the Nanmariki and others shot. The Uajai (second chief in the Nanmariki line), who fought on the side of the whites, now became Nanmariki; he was the Luk en mwei u of the present story. Jim Headley had a role in these affairs; he remained on Ponape as a pilot, took part in the battle of 1850, and was living at Mutok Island in 1852 when the missionaries arrived. He apparently left Ponape just before the visit of the *Novara* in 1858 (Scherzer, 1862:553), but returned and died on Ponape on 1 April 1868.

Headley married a daughter of a Nanmariki of Kiti. She belonged to the Masters of Ant subclan of the Luk Clan. According to Oliver Nanpei, Meri-An, Headley's daughter, first married Kaniki en Mutok (*Kaniki-hn Mwudok*), and when he died she married Nanku. Henry Nanpei was their son, and Oliver was Henry's son. Nanku had previously married a Foreign Clan woman. When Nanku in turn died, Meri-An married Nanauanmutok, or Nanaua en Mutok (*Nah-n-awa-*

hn-Mwudok), who had succeeded Nanku as Naniken of Kiti, as Luelen tells us in Paragraph 10. Nanaua en Mutok was a son of Nanku's mother's younger sister, and was thus junior to Nanku's seven younger brothers for purposes of succession to the title of Naniken of Kiti, but they relinquished the title to their cousin because he 'was so boisterous'; he even took their wives as well; Nanku's third brother killed himself because of this.

17 There are many references to Nanaua en Mutok in the missionary letters, none of them flattering. (Sometimes he is called Nanku's brother, but the two men were only classificatory brothers in the Ponapean kinship system.) Soon after he took office he burned down the church in Kiti during a prolonged drunken spree. 'Horrid butcheries' were committed, he confiscated the missionary premises, and he forced women into his harem, one of whom he 'butchered with his own hands' (Crawford, 1967:146ff.). Oliver told R many anecdotes about this strange man: when drunk with kava he would require his attendants not to carry him home as was the usual chiefly custom but to drag him over the rocky ground; once he held his arm over a kindled lamp and would not remove it even when the flesh began to sizzle, until his attendants noticed and knocked his arm away; another time he cut away a strip of flesh from his calf, between two tattooed lines, and cooked and ate it so as to be able to boast that he had eaten his own flesh.

Chapter 66

1 This chapter and Ch. 67 are written by Luelen in terms of devotion and near fawning adulation of Henry Nanpei. A very different view of Nanpei emerges from reading Hambruch, Fritz, and Cabeza Pereiro, who depict him as an arch deceiver, puffed up with personal ambition, and given over to machinations and intrigue.

2 His real father, Nanku, and his adoptive father, Nanaua en Mutok. See Ch. 65. Some informants say, and Hambruch in one place indicates, that both men were in turn his adoptive fathers.

3 Some parcels of land he got from the Nanmariki of Kiti in settlement of debts that the Nanmariki had accumulated at the Nanpei store, according to Pensile.

4 We have here translated the Ponapean word *Kaujap* (*kousapw*) as 'section' and we translate *Palianjap* (*peliansapw*) as 'farmstead'. But 7, Pantopuk, is not, at least nowadays, a section but is part of 6, Nanpalap. Oliver Nanpei, the son of Henry Nanpei, who was its owner in 1947, labelled it in conversation with R as a *peliansapw*, farmstead. The implication of the listing in the first column is that

Henry owned these sections in entirety, but this does not seem to have been strictly true. In the second column the farmstead Paliapailong coincides with the section of the same name, owned in entirety by Oliver Nanpei in 1947; and Peikap is a farmstead within Mutok section, which is probably what the parentheses mean. Luellen's logic in this columnar arrangement is not clear.

5 As for these 'correct practices' and 'papers of agreement', Bascom (1965:34) states: 'Henry Nanipei's father was the Naniken . . . of Kiti District. His hospitality to Americans and Europeans was famous among the whalers and traders, and many sailors jumped ship in the early days to live as his guest . . . In return for his hospitality, one of his English guests [Oliver Nanpei, Henry's son, told R that this was James Headley, Nanku's wife's father] gave the Naniken a piece of paper when he left. He explained to the Naniken that . . . it would some day be very valuable to him. It later turned out to be an agreement under which full rights to a large tract of land were assigned to the Naniken and his heirs by the native occupants, and it was honored by the Germans when private titles were issued to the land. When the Naniken died, his son, Henry Nanipei, continued with his father's tradition of hospitality to visiting foreigners. [Since Henry was only two when his father, Nanku, died, this must be a reference to his stepfather Nanaua en Mutok, who followed Nanku as Naniken.] He started the first Ponapean-owned store, using the money, cloth, liquor, and other gifts he and his father had received from the visiting ships. He also planted coconuts on the land inherited from his father and on additional land that he acquired himself. In this way he became the largest Ponapean landholder, copra producer, and trader on the island, and Ponape's wealthiest and most distinguished citizen.'

It was thus that Nanku, the Naniken, wittingly or unwittingly, made the first breach in the matrilineal rules of land inheritance, although his predecessor had indeed sold land to foreigners. These rules became patrilineal formally, with the issuance of deeds to land during the German administration. Hambruch (I:287-8) describes the older, matrilineal rules in an account of a long dispute between Henry Nanpei and the Jaukiti which occurred in 1908. Jaukiti is a high title of Kiti-proper, belonging to the ruling clan of Kiti, the Creature Clan. The title once carried with it the rank of a high priest of the goddess Naluk as well as rights to certain lands in Kiti and its satellite, Ant Atoll. With the introduction of Christianity the cult of Naluk languished, but the title Jaukiti and the rights of Ant, which were of economic importance, remained. Henry Nanpei in 1908 disputed these rights, basing his argument on a will of 27 May 1863, in which his father made him heir of all his landed property of that

time, which also included part of Ant. (Hambruch says it was his adoptive father, i.e., Nanaua en Mutok, but Nanku, Henry's real father, did not die until 1864, and Nanaua en Mutok would not have controlled these lands until he succeeded as Naniken in that year.) 'The adoptive father had not been entitled to this independent measure . . . as it completely contradicted the feudal system . . . for the land was the property of the high chiefs; the individual pieces of land were connected with certain titles, which were distributed by the high chiefs in an assembly with the Nanmariki as chairman. The Jaukiti had a legal right to the title he bore and therefore had a justified claim to the landed property in question.' Nevertheless Henry Nanpei's claim, illegal in terms of aboriginal Ponapean culture, was upheld by a document of the Spanish Governor Pidal of 1896 and a protocol of 1899 in which the German Vice-Governor Hahl confirmed his sole possession of Ant.

6 There are several references to this man in the Albert Sturges letters and journals at the Houghton Library, dating from 1859 to 1865. He is called Narcissus, is described as a native of Mindanao, and his wife, Mary, is said to be a member of a priestly and influential Ponapean family. Though born a Catholic, in 1859 Sturges was calling him a Protestant church member (Hambruch I:175 says that 'the Tagalog, Narcissus de Santo,' was baptised in 1860). He was sent as a missionary to Pingelap in 1863, but stayed only briefly. In 1865 he and his wife were stationed at Oa. Hambruch (I:207) says he reverted to Catholicism in Spanish times.

7 She died in 1948.

8 The dispute between Spain and Germany over the sovereignty of the Caroline Islands was resolved in favour of Spain on 22 October 1885, by Pope Leo XIII, to whom the question had been referred. On 27 July 1886, the Spanish man-of-war *Manila* appeared at Ponape and hoisted the Spanish flag. On 13 March 1887, the Governor of the Eastern Carolines, Captain Posadilla, arrived (Hambruch I:194-7).

9 This was during the short period of time when Net and Jokaj were ruled by a single Nanmariki, hence only four states were reckoned to exist.

10 Manuel Torres, Christian Barbus, and Macario. The three men are said by Hambruch (I:198) to have been Governor Posadillo's interpreters, and there is no mention of their acting for U as Luellen has it; but they are described as unreliable and unprincipled, and a major cause of the troubles that followed. F.W. Christian (1899:98-9) devotes two pages to anecdotes about Christian Barbus.

11 Manuel Torres and his two accomplices embezzled the money instead.

12 According to Hambruch (I:200) the workers fled during the night of 30 June 1887. On 1 July the governor sent twenty-seven soldiers, an ensign, a sergeant, and Manuel Torres to Jokaj to bring them back. The ensign, sergeant, Manuel, and most of the soldiers were killed; about ten escaped.

13 The Governor, the second lieutenant, and the doctor were killed. Altogether, between 1 July and 4 July forty Spaniards and Filipinos and ten natives were killed (Hambruch I:202).

14 On 29 October 1887, the new governor, Don Luis Cardarso, arrived with 700 soldiers and three Spanish men-of-war (Hambruch I:203).

15 Three of the killers were indeed delivered to the governor (Hambruch I:204). There is no mention by Hambruch of what happened to them nor of any role played by Henry Nanpei in this affair. However, in a text by the woman Amerina (in Hambruch I:235) it is stated that two people were caught and sent to Manila, and Mr Peter Hempenstall writes us that in the German Colonial Office records there is another account by Amerina, translated into German by Hambruch, which states that one of the ringleaders was later shot in Manila.

16 Lt Marcello Porras and forty (Cabeza Pereiro, 1895:171) or fifty (Hambruch I:208) soldiers.

17 At Aleniang in Kiti.

18 Father Augustin.

19 Lucy M. Cole and Annette A. Palmer.

20 On 25 June 1890, Lt Porras and thirty-two to thirty-five men were killed at Oa in Matolenim. On learning what had happened the commander of the man-of-war *Manila* sent forty troops to Oa by boat; the greatest part of these were shot in trying to land and the rest turned back. Five more soldiers belonging to the detachment in Kiti were killed by the Nanmariki's people in Matolenim while on their way to Santiago in a canoe (Hambruch I:209; Dewar 1892:430; Fritz 1912:24-31).

21 Nanpei received a medal for saving the Capuchins in Oa (Hambruch I:221).

22 On 1 September 1890, two Spanish cruisers and two transports arrived at Ponape, with 500 men. Oa was assaulted on 17 to 19 September and completely destroyed (Hambruch I:211; Dewar 1892:426-30). The Spanish loss in this engagement was five dead and thirteen wounded. Following this defeat the Matolenim people fortified another Protestant mission station, that of Kitam. On 22 and 23 November the Spanish, who numbered 251, attacked the 500 entrenched Ponapeans. Twenty-six of the Spanish were killed and sixty-one wounded, but they finally prevailed (Hambruch I:222-3).

In 1894 there was a new revolt in Matolenim, with indecisive results, although attacks on Spanish parties and killing of individual soldiers continued until German times, which commenced in 1899.

23 The last digit of this date has been scratched out in Luelen's written text and replaced by a 6, so that the year shown is 1896, but it should actually be 1898. According to Hambruch (I:227-30) this religious war was initiated by the Spanish governor's acquittal of a Catholic chief, the Jaulik of Auak, on a charge of murder. Auak is the western part of U. The acquittal outraged Nanpei and his Protestant 'tools' (as Hambruch calls them). On 18 March 1898, a battle took place off Auak between the Catholics of that place aided by their co-religionists of Net) and the Protestants of Muant (two islands belonging to U) along with those of Matolenim, who were the attackers. The Spanish intervened, but on 19 April another attack on Auak was made by Muant and Matolenim, with other Protestants from Kiti under Nanpei. Auak had Catholic allies from Net and Jokaj on its side. The Spanish governor sent a man-of-war, the *Quiros*, to assist Auak, and the Protestants fled. In Kiti the Protestants attacked the mission station at Aleniang and forced the Catholics out. Nanpei was arrested, as the author and instigator of the disturbances. The outbreak of the Spanish-American war made necessary the withdrawal of the Spanish ships from Auak and Matolenim, and Auak was again attacked and was in a perilous situation when the Spanish once more intervened. The American victory over Spain and Germany's purchase of the Caroline Islands brought the fighting to an end.

Chapter 67

1 The date Luelen gives for the coming of the Germans, 2 October 1899, may refer to the arrival of a ship. The German governor, von Benningsen, arrived on 11 October and the German flag was hoisted the next day. The reference to a flag-raising in 1885 is to the abortive event which took place on 13 October of that year, causing the dispute with Spain which was settled by the Pope, as described in n. 66.8 (Hambruch I:188, 281).

2 Von Benningsen appointed Dr Albert Hahl as vice-governor, to be the first German administrator at Ponape. Hahl stayed a little over two years (Hambruch I:282-4).

3 Hahl landed at Ponape with what is described as a very variegated police troop of forty men (Hambruch I:282). Fritz (1912:32) describes the police troop as consisting of twenty-five Malays from Macassar under the command of a German-Dutch

sergeant. In later years the Germans brought in Melanesian police-soldiers; when the Japanese took over the islands in 1914 there were 100 Papuan policemen on Ponape (Matsuoka, 1927:4). The doctor who is mentioned was Dr Friedrich Girschner, the author of several useful papers on Ponape.

4 Paragraphs 5 and 6 evidently refer to the trip made by Governor Hahl to Truk in January 1901, for the purposes, he says, of clarifying local conditions of friendly and hostile relations, taking action against Japanese traders respecting their sale of weapons, and punishing the native perpetrators of some recent murders committed during feuds (Hahl 1901:318-21). Hahl states that Nanpei was of great value to him because of his influence with the Trukese; he repeatedly gives credit to him. Three chief offenders in the murders were taken to Ponape. Peace was concluded between the fighting factions on Udot and Eot by display of weapons and exhibition of firing by the ship. The ship is not named by Hahl, but *Quiros* seems an unlikely designation for a German vessel; and Mr Peter Hemperstall informs us that according to a naval report of 1903 she was the cruiser S.M.S. *Cormoran*.

5 See Ch. 66.

6 Sekine San (or Mr Sekine), who began a commercial career in Micronesia in 1889, helped organise the South Island Company (predecessor of the South Sea Development Company), and in the 1920s was head of the branch office at Truk of the South Sea Trading Company (Keiyosei 1930:27). According to Matsuoka (1927:6) Sekine was in 1914 the South Seas Trading Company representative on Ponape.

Chapter 68

1 Actually 20 April 1905.

2 Matsuoka (1927:3), who headed the landing party, says the date was 7 October 1914.

3 These two are trees; they are (spelled slightly differently) items 29 and 30 in Ch. 9, where they are botanically identified. Their use for spears was so common that their names were often used as synonyms for the weapons themselves. Thus Cheyne (in Shineberg, 1971:178) gives a word list in which 'Kotew, A Spear' appears, and in Gulick's vocabulary there is the entry 'konemant, n., a spear, a dart'. See also n. 47.4.

4 Kesner says that 'my nails are firm' means that the fingers and toes are tensed, and 'my eyebrows are settled' means a stern frown, both being in preparation for fighting.

5 Kesner interprets, 'Lordly Lord, encounter [the spear]'. He says this is the same word as Nanjamol, an esoteric name for eel. Jamol is indeed the name given to the sacred eel which supposedly lived in a pool on the islet Iteet, among the ruins of Nanmatol, and was ritually fed turtle meat by the high priests. The word is also probably cognate to the various words for chief (hamol, samol, tamon) found in many islands in the central Carolines. See Ch. 70 [D] 5.

6 Pensile says that these last two lines are a magical formula.

7 See ns. 5.5 and 21.6.

Chapter 69

1 This chapter repeats the identification between the Creature Clan and the Masters of the South that is made in Ch. 2.3; see also ns. 64.6, 8, and 11. It also introduces the subject of the origin of the coconut to which Luelen reverts in Ch. 79.1 and presents more fully in Ch. 80.

2 See n. 60.3.

3 This dispute between the two clans is described again in Ch. 79.1.

Chapter 70

1 Nantauj is the most spectacular among the stone structures comprising the so-called ruins of Nanmatol, built of basaltic boulders and prisms in the lagoon off the eastern shore of Matolenim. As Luelen says, it contains a number of crypts.

2 This is the space of quiet water between great walls that serve as breakwaters to protect Nantauj. See n. 22.13. Hambruch (III:19) refers to it not as a place to moor canoes but a bathing place.

3 This is the island where the sacred eel was kept; see n. 68.5. The so-called slingstones, far fewer than 333 in number, are shown in Plate 6. They are much too large for ordinary slings, and Hambruch (III:28) speculates that they were used in a catapult-like machine.

4 Hambruch (III:21) gives a list of 130 place names in Nanmatol, many of them names of water-ways, lagoons, and reefs. About ninety of them are names of artificial islets. Only four (Nos. 10, 23, 29, and 31) of Luelen's list of thirty-nine names cannot be matched with Hambruch's names. Luelen's names are also given here by the present editors in S.O., enclosed in brackets, with translation when possible. They are not included in the glossary unless they occur again elsewhere in the manuscript.

5 This song is given almost identically in Silten's manuscript. It is similarly close in Hambruch (II:211-12), where it is called a paddle dance song, but the German translation which accompanies it differs considerably from ours. There are two other versions in Hambruch (III:169-73). The song tells elliptically the story of a Lapanpalikir who had the form of a chicken; the Lord of Teleur sends a canoe to fetch him; the crew transmits the message; the Lapanpalikir is angered at this act of presumption; he goes and kills the Lord of Teleur.

6 This line and the previous one read in Hambruch (II:212) 'Mungale, Anale, Iangale', as though they are three names.

7 We translate Luelen's Karoj puen iar as 'all because iar', but in Hambruch the line reads 'Karetsapungial' as though it is another name.

8 In Palikir, according to Hambruch (II:212).

9 The entrance to the Underworld, per Hambruch (*ibid.*), but Luelen in Ch. 56.16 calls it a synonym of Pueliko, which is the deep hole that lies between the Underworld and the Third Heaven and is crossed by means of the Twisting Bridge.

10 A place at Na Island. There is an islet immediately south of Na called Pueliko. A connection between Na and the Underworld is also hinted at elsewhere in the manuscript.

11 Text, jutak. We translate as mast (as Hambruch does too) on the basis of Ch. 1.3, where we are told that Jutakono, one of the sixteen personages of the first voyage of discovery, was the mast of that canoe.

12 The story of the Good Lizard is given by Hambruch in two texts (III:89-92), one of them from Ricardo (Warren) Kehoe. A third version was obtained by R, also from Kehoe, and a fourth by F from Alberto Falcam. F also recorded it in song from the same man. All of the versions are similar. The song given here is a telescoped version of the story, which is as follows: The Good Lizard goes to visit her daughter; she creates, as she crawls along, various identifiable channels and passages; her son-in-law, the Lord of Teleur, who has never seen her and does not know that she is non-human, prepares a house for her, but it is too small; he prepares bigger and bigger houses until finally one is large enough to fit her, though she fills it completely; he visits her to bring her food; she warns him not to look at her face (Ponape has a mother-in-law avoidance pattern) but he does, is frightened, and sets fire to the house; the daughter realises what is happening, comes running, and leaps into the flames; the Lord of Teleur, out of love for his wife, leaps in after her, and all three perish.

Hambruch, in one of his versions, identifies the Good Lizard as a

crocodile, as did William of Kinakap in conversation with R. Perhaps there is a memory here of a real crocodile. Crocodiles do not normally occur on Ponape, but very occasionally one does come ashore, perhaps from New Guinea. Most recently a crocodile arrived in late 1970 and was killed in Kiti in 1971.

13 Luelen again puts Jokala in Jokaj instead of in Net, as he does in Ch. 53 [B]. See n. 53.1 for a possible reason. In Warren Kehoe's account to R the lizard lives at Epengilang, below the Palikir mountains, and in Hambruch (III:90) the place is called Epangilang, in Nanponmal, which is the part of Palikir, Jokaj, bordering upon Net.

14 Text, *kakaia kakajau*. In the version obtained by F from Alberto this reads (in S.O.) '*kahkieng kahkasang*', or 'step towards, step away from', referring to people going out to look at the lizard as she passes and then stepping back in alarm. This translation is not possible as the words are written here, but they may be a miscopying. In Warren's account to R, as the lizard proceeds towards Matolenim the people of Muant think she is a large fish and come out with nets to catch her, but on perceiving their mistake they leave her alone. This would fit the translation suggested. In Hambruch (III:89) the same episode occurs.

15 Probably a place name of a point of reef.

16 The channel between Jokaj Island and the mainland of Ponape.

17 In Hambruch (III:91) the lizard encounters a millipede named Matata at a pond or river of the same name in Palikir. This may be the same as Luelen's Matatar.

18 A place in Auak, U.

19 I.e., body oil. A similar theme occurs in a story recorded by F and also in Hambruch (III:297): a woman's arm dangles in water, her body oil floats to Pankatira where the Lord of Teleur notices it, his desire for her is kindled, he sends his lieutenant to fetch her, she becomes his wife. The same theme is found in a story about the Jaulikin Ant, also recorded by F.

20 The Lujuj of Yap is a magical, self-propelled boat that obeys verbal orders. It belongs to the successive Lords of Teleur. It is mentioned in several other contexts in both the Silten manuscript and in Hambruch (III:171, 219, 373).

21 In some versions there are two daughters, both married to the Lord of Teleur.

22 Presumably the same as the Channel of the Good Lizard, which is adjacent to Ujantau (Luelen's 70 [A] 4.5).

23 In the aboriginal Ponapean house, vertical wall posts were placed one span apart (the distance between the tips of the middle

fingers with the arms stretched to the sides). Houses were referred to in terms of the number of spans a side-wall measured in length.

24 The myth on which this song is based is given briefly in Ch. 51. See also ns. 51.1, 4-6.

25 A reference to the sacred eel kept in a pool at the islet of Itcet, in the Nanmatol complex, to which turtles were ceremonially fed by priests. See n. 68.5.

26 The turtle's two sons are taking her to the Lord of Teleur in their canoe; having proceeded northwards up the Jokala estuary from Kamar, where she had been hiding, they now are out in the main channel and turn eastwards towards Matolenim.

27 This song about Naliam, the barracuda, is given identically in the Silten MS. The narrative of the song appears to be part of the cycle which is related in Chs. 5, 6, and 21. In Ch. 21.1 we are told that the three personages named here in the first verse (Naliam, Liponjapani, and Lipeijapani) are all the children of Lijoumokaiaip. In the second verse two more names are mentioned, Lijaproi and Lipoproii; the Nanmariki of Matolenim told R, as mentioned in n. 21.3, that these were the two daughters of Lijoumokaiaip. Whether these two sets of names are synonyms is not apparent.

28 Puaipuai is an inland section of Kiti, and a fish could hardly have been stranded there, but in Ch. 21.2 it is told that Puaipuai was formerly on the shore (see also n. 21.6). Perhaps Luelen means that Puaipuai's borders once included coastal areas which are now independent sections.

29 This song tells the first part of the Lienlama story; it almost word for word recapitulates the first two and a half paragraphs of Ch. 24.

30 See n. 24.5.

31 This song is part of the Luk cycle. The portion given here is quite close to the narrative of Paragraphs 36-46 of Ch. 37, though given in abbreviated form.

32 The song here has skipped the events of Paragraph 39, Ch. 37.

33 Tapau is one of the islets in the Nanmatol cluster. (It is not on the list of thirty-five names Luelen gives in Ch. 70 [A] 4 but it is No. 93 on Hambruch's map.) The song occurs also in identical form in Silten's MS. F obtained a version from Warren Kehoe that differs in some details from this one but corresponds closely to the narrative version Hambruch (III:223) obtained from the same informant.

34 Text, tinap. Though this is the generic term for board, here it means the central seat of the canoe. This is the highest ranking seat. It is the place where (in Ch. 50.4) the god Luk sat in the magically suspended canoe and where (in Ch. 54.9) Ijokelekel's son, Nalapanien, sat when his true identity was revealed.

35 These names in the right hand column are ancient or esoteric; they are not the common names for canoe parts.

Chapter 71

1 This Ch. 71 is nearly identical to the earlier Ch. 23. Why Luellen should have written it a second time is unknown to us. Perhaps his daughter copied it into MS. 3 from some other book Luellen had written, not realising that Ch. 23 covered the same subject.

Chapter 72

1 That is, the shore of the mainland touched the barrier reef, leaving no room to sail in the lagoon. The reference is to Lot, in southern Matolenim, where the lagoon becomes very narrow and virtually disappears.

2 Several variations of these ritual phrases are recorded from various parts of Ponape (see Riesenberg, 1968:106). They were addressed by the appointed caller to the party that had been dispatched to fetch the hibiscus bast. The phrases are very rarely used nowadays in the kava ceremony. The word translated here as 'In the cup', Nintaleue, was the personal name of a recent Naniken of Kiti, so this version of the expression was abandoned in his lifetime and was not resumed after his death.

3 According to Pensile and Kesner, during the voyage of conquest from Kusaie by Ijokelekel and his 333 men (see Ch. 48) there was unrest aboard the canoe because of the inordinate length of the trip, and Ijokelekel's life was threatened. The spell was composed by Ijokelekel to protect himself, although the phraseology would seem to suggest the opposite effect. Nanparatak we have encountered before, as the hero of Ch. 48.20; the other man, who is also called Meilor and who is another of the expedition's leaders, seems to be the second of the two men supposedly picked up at Pingelap en route to Ponape (see n. 48.10). These two men were the leaders of the plot against Ijokelekel. But in Hambruch (III:70) Meilor is one of nine strong men among the 333 of the company and is a Kusaican. Lipanmai we have also met before as Ijokelekel's mother, the old woman impregnated by the Thunder God by magical means.

4 This spell allegedly was used by the Under-the-Breadfruit Clan, to which Ijokelekel belonged, in pre-Christian times. The two places in the ruins of Nanmatol mentioned in the spell, Molujai and Tauaj, are the subjects of ns. 70.1 and 70.2.

5 William of Kinakap told R in 1947 that Tariak was an honorific word for penis. In the Silten MS. Teriek of Kusaie is referred to as a severe illness, of which Ijokelekel dies. In Hambruch (III:83) Ijokelekel decides to commit suicide when he sees that he has become an old man; he ties one end of a cord to the top of a young palm tree, the other end to his penis, bends the tree over and lets it go; his penis is torn off and he dies. Hambruch calls this death Teriek of Kusaie.

6 Peiakiten (Sacred Stone Structure of Kiten) is one of the artificial islets of Nanmatol, this one built half on the island of Tamon, half in the lagoon. It is not on Luellen's list of Ch. 70 [A] 4 but is Hambruch's No. 55. Hambruch (III:13, 83), who calls it variously Pei en Kitel, Pei en pan Kitel, and Pan Kitel, says it is the burial place of Ijokelekel. But Luellen seems to be sceptical of this when he adds 'But supposedly it is not'. Kesner says that this remark alludes to the fact that it was a false story, which with others of the same ilk were spread at the time of Ijokelekel's death; that Ijokelekel, when he was dying, commanded that his body be taken on a canoe and sunk in a secret place and covered with rocks so that it could never be found. Kesner thinks the real burial place is near Karian, which is another islet among the ruins. Another story puts it at Auankap, the channel between Mall and Naningi islands, and still another is one of the artificial ponds on Pankatira. The description Luellen gives of the pool opposite to Iteet suggests that this refers to the pool of Namueiaj on the islet of Peikap, which does lie on the side of Iteet facing the land; and indeed, Christian (1899:84) also says that the burial was at Peikap.

Luellen does not tell us who succeeded Ijokelekel as Nanmariki. In an account given in Hambruch (II:67-9), when Ijokelekel dies his lieutenant Nanajan (see ns. 48.20 and 48.22) goes back to Kusaie and asks Ijokelekel's mother for advice, for the only proper heir in the matrilineal succession, Ijokelekel's sister's son, is too young to rule. (Presumably this is also the son of Ijokelekel's son, Nalapanien, in consequence of the incest described in n. 54.13.) Nanajan is told by the old woman to go back to Ponape and act as regent until the heir attains maturity, which he does. Kesner gives a similar account of what happened.

Chapter 73

1 The events of 18 October 1910 were preceded by a long series of difficulties between the Jokaj people and the German administrators, but the immediate cause was the whipping by the black

police soldiers of one of the workers for insubordination to the overseer Hollborn (Luelen's Olpon). Jaumatau of Jokaj, who was Hollborn's subordinate supervisor, met with the eighty workers and they decided on resistance. On 18 October Hollborn, Häfner (a road construction specialist), Secretary Brauckmann, and District Administrator Boeder were killed. There were six natives of the Mortlock Islands who had manned their boat; five were killed (Hambruch I:301-2; Girschner 1911:127-30).

2 About 500 men were sent by Net, U, Matolenim, and Kiti to defend Kolonia, as Luelen describes. Dr Girschner, land surveyor Dulk, policemaster Kammerich, and pastor Hagenschmidt were the German defenders, along with fifty Melanesian police troops. The German man-of-war *Cormoran* arrived on 20 December, then later the *Planet*, *Emden*, and *Nürnberg*, as well as an armed Jaluit Company schooner, the *Orion*. Melanesian reinforcements were brought and a series of sieges and battles followed. The approximately 250 Jokaj rebels were gradually hunted down. Jaumatau and his five remaining followers finally surrendered on 13 February 1911, and his lieutenant, Samuel, with his followers, hungry and desperate, on 16 February. Trials were held on 23 February and according to Mr Peter Hempenstall 15 men (Luelen gives their names) were condemned to death and shot the next day; a further two were shot later, at Yap, where they had already been removed before the trial; 426 Jokaj people were condemned to exile and sent temporarily to Yap while arrangements were made to house them in Palau, when they were transferred to those islands; 109 men went to Angaur to work in the phosphate mines. The exiles were allowed to return in Japanese times (Hambruch I:301-8; Girschner, 1911:130-1; Kolonialamt, 1912:170-2).

3 We are not aware of any published source that gives the names of the condemned men, as Luelen does here.

Chapter 74

1 This chapter is largely repetitious of earlier ones. Paragraph 74.1 recapitulates part of Chs. 53, 54.13-16, and 56.10. Paragraph 74.2 contains material already given in Chs. 26 and 53, and Paragraphs 74.3-8 are comparable to Ch. 56.3-11. The nameless high god, the equation of Nanjapue and Taukatau, the supremacy of Jaukija, and the different kinds of priests are again discussed.

2 See ns. 32.12 and 56.14.

3 Luelen seems to say here quite clearly that the priests numbered the years. We know of no other statement to this effect,

either in published sources or from our informants. If there was indeed some sort of calendar it has vanished, along with the cults and priests. It is intriguing to speculate about a possible relationship between such a calendar and the fact that it is possible to count in the Ponapean language into the millions. This is a highly unusual situation among a people who apparently had no system of symbolic communication until the introduction of writing after discovery by Europeans, except for the sending of messages by means of folded leaves.

The list of seven days that follows must almost certainly be an adaptation of the Western week, particularly since the seventh day is given as a day of rest. Further, seven is not a significant number on Ponape, the ritual number being four. Yet several Ponapeans — Oliver Nanpei and Jaulik of Jamai in 1947 and Eneriko, Kesner, and Pensile in 1963 — insisted to R that there had once been, at least in Uone, a special period of seven days of religious significance. Apparently it occurred once a year. According to Kesner, this period was primarily a priestly affair, in which the general populace did not play a very important role. He likens it to Holy Week. He adds details: on the sixth day half the people went fishing, the other half farmed; then they cooked together and offered some of the food to a single god. On the seventh day no fire was allowed. Sexual activity was forbidden. During the ceremonies the Jaukija wore special raiment; he knelt, raised his arms and looked up to Heaven, and uttered prayers to a god; and appointed children assisted him and followed what he did.

The seven days seem to have been the same as the 'nights of Uone' or the 'nights of sacredness' of Chs. 56.7 and 60.7 and ns. 56.11 and 60.10, celebrated, presumably, once a year. Kesner distinguishes these from the 'poong lapalap' ('great worship' or 'great nights') of Matolenim, which involved the ritual feeding of turtle meat to a sacred eel, as though these were two different religions.

None of the practices Kesner describes are mentioned in the published accounts. The Protestant missionaries, who arrived in 1852, would pretty surely have been interested in the resemblances to Christianity if they had then existed. Kesner says it had all died out before the smallpox epidemic of 1854.

We can only speculate on a possible European source. There was a Picpus missionary, Father Desiré Maigret, on Ponape in 1838. But he lived on Na, off Matelonim, not in Uone; he stayed only seven months and made no converts. Perhaps we have to do with an early unrecorded visit. In this connection we may quote Gulick (1857:59): 'The silver crucifix and Spanish dollars found in one of the vaults at Nantoaj [Nantauaj], with a pair of silver dividers, and a brass cannon

found long ago on the south side of the island; together with the tradition that a boat's crew once landed there with skins (probably coats of mail) so thick that the only mode of killing them was to pierce their eyes, only prove that Spaniards, or people like them, have been here.' Hambruch (I:4) likewise tells: '. . . it is remembered that a foreign ship cast anchor near Nalap, at the entrance to Ronkiti harbor. The natives thought they were gods and made sacrifices to them . . . The solemn reception was followed by a hostile one. The foreigners landed at Sakar en iap [Jakaraniap], "the landing place of the foreigners" . . . They were clothed in iron and a man in a black dress with a crucifix was with them . . . a fight broke out in which many Ponapeans were killed; the foreigners could not be wounded because of their hard skins, but finally they were overcome by spearing their eyes through the visor openings.' And from Wawn (manuscript, 1872): A 'tradition states that a boat containing seven white men who wore iron clothes -- probably armour is meant -- entered Port Metalanien [Matolenim]. These men were killed by the natives who pierced them in the eyes with their spears.' Christian (1899:217) also mentions the tradition.

Chapter 76

1 Text *kapeter* (*kapchd-er*), less literally 'mind', i.e., they would imagine certain things while awake.

2 Text *peula*. Translation and phonemicising uncertain. It was given to R as *pwou-la*, 'expire', a polite word. The morpheme *peu* means 'to be or feel cold' and in view of the spelling this interpretation may be the more likely one, but an idiomatic use of it which would fit the present context is unknown to us. Gulick gives *pol*, 'to be stopped up or choked up', *polla*, 'not accomplished', and perhaps this is meant.

Chapter 77

1 In this passage both good and bad effects of various spells are mixed together.

2 In this particular context the word *uini* (*wini*), translated throughout the sentence as 'medicine', could alternatively be 'magic'. However, the most common kind of *uini* is medicinal.

Chapter 78

1 The eight feasts listed here are not a complete inventory of Ponapean feasting around the calendar. A fuller list and descriptions of each occasion are given in Riesenbergs (1968:77-90).

2 It might seem to the Western reader that the definitions of greater and lesser work should be reversed. However, Luellen's two definitions are in accord with those given to us by other Ponapeans. Probably the reference is not to the relative worth of the two types of service but to the period of their duration. There is also the fact that Ponapeans viewed war, which was rarely very bloody in pre-contact times, as a species of entertainment and an exhibition of manly sport. Both forms of service resulted in promotion in the hierarchy of titles, as greater work still does, but lesser work produced more rapid progress.

3 Text *katonuini*, a term used only for payment for the services of a medical practitioner. Other terms are used for payment for other kinds of service. 'The patient's relatives make an earth oven and prepare yams, breadfruit, fish, sometimes a pig, and give the food, as well as other articles, to the curer . . . The amount paid depends on the degree of satisfaction of the patient; if no payment is made the medicine will be of no avail the next time he is sick.' (Riesenbergs, 1948:409).

4 Pensile and Kesner denied to R that Uone had distinct burial practices. They believed that throughout Ponape every section or sometimes two together would have a cemetery. These were distinct from the stone structures and chambers in which the nobles were buried, as described in the next paragraph, 78.9; these structures still exist in many places on Ponape but are no longer used.

5 S.O. *nin-leh-pwel*. Apart from this specific place in Uone, the term *leh-pwel* is used for taro swamp generally. More literally, however, it means simply 'earthy' or 'muddy pond'. Perhaps the meaning 'taro swamp' derives from the circumstance that on well-drained lands the soil is often rocky or gravelly, the greatest concentration of true soil being found in the taro swamps.

Chapter 79

1 This paragraph recapitulates Chs. 69 and 80.

2 At Majijau section of Matolenim.

3 Meaning Europeans. Luellen evidently considers it necessary to indicate that the coconut palm was not introduced to Ponape by the Europeans who founded the copra industry and who thereby brought about much increased planting of the palms.

4 Sour toddy is said to have been introduced to Ponape from the Gilbert Islands, together with its name, jikalui. The practice of distilling was apparently begun about 1836 by a Captain Charles H. Hart, also known as 'Bloody Hart' from his massacre of the entire male population of Ngatik Atoll in 1837 (Riesenberg, 1966:11).

5 Japanese, *shōchū*; distilled spirits made in Japan from sweet potatoes, sugar-cane, etc.

6 On a husked coconut the surface of the shell is divided into three sections by as many ridges. One of these sections is wider than the other two; this wider section is called the front of the nut, and the other two together are considered as the back. The ridge that divides the two smaller sections is the 'centre of the back'. A fibre remains along each ridge after husking; the one on the 'centre of the back' is the 'thread of Heaven'. The ridges converge at each end of the nut; in each of the three sections, close to the point of convergence at one end, is a depression; the one in the wider section is called the mouth, the other two are the eyes, and the actual place of convergence, a raised area between the three depressions, is the nose. The browridges lie over the eyes. Coconuts are always planted with the thread of Heaven up, the mouth down. When the nut is cut transversely to produce two drinking vessels, the half containing the 'face' (with its eyes, nose, and mouth) is the 'front kaki', the other the 'back kaki'.

7 This refers to bringing green drinking coconuts to the chiefs along with kava and sugar-cane when making a formal apology to them.

8 First of the Land, text *monjap* (*mwo-hn-sapw*); Royal Child, text *jerijo* (*seri-hso*); Royal Man, text *oleijo* (*ole-iso*). The Royal Men constitute one of the two lines of state title-holders, the line in which the Nanmariki holds the highest title. In theory, but not always actually, the higher titles of the line belong to the men of a single subclan of the royal clan and the titles are given out roughly in accordance with the rules of clan seniority. The Royal Children constitute the second line of state title-holders, in which the Naniken is the highest. In theory again, these are children of Royal Men. Actually, in former times men of one line supposedly married only women of the other, so that a titled man of either line would find both his father and his son in the opposite line. This pattern of marriage is nowadays held to as the ideal but seldom followed.

The expression Royal Men is heard much more rarely than Royal Children. First of the Land, which is more commonly used, was apparently once synonymous with Royal Men but nowadays has various extensions, and is often used for 'chief' in general. (See Riesenberg, 1968 for a detailed discussion).

In the circumstances of making an apology, as also in many other situations, the titled men of the two lines perform reciprocal functions for one another. A title-holder called upon to serve as an intermediary in apology cannot approach the offended chief except if he is in the opposite line, as Luellen says.

9 Slice off, text tepele jang phonemes uncertain. As explained to R, this refers to a special way of opening a young coconut for drinking. The nut is held with the 'face' in the palm of the left hand, the bottom up, the 'front' to the left. The knife, held in the right hand, strikes from the left, downwards at an angle towards the right, striking just to the left of the point of the bottom of the nut, cutting only partly through it. Then the 'front' is turned forward, away from one, and the same stroke repeated. Then the 'thread of Heaven' is turned to the left and a third stroke taken. Finally the 'thread of Heaven' is turned forward and this time only a slight stroke is made, resulting in a square lid free on three sides and attached to the fourth side by a fibrous hinge. This whole action of opening a coconut is described by the word tepele.

It is said that a Kiti man, Iso-Sauri, developed this method, some time after the Kiti wars which are the subject of Ch. 60 and which we estimate to have occurred about the year 1800. The older method is said to have been to make an opening in the 'mouth' with a small adze. The new method would almost certainly require a metal knife, yet European contact, through which knives were introduced, did not really begin until about 1830. Metal objects, of course, could have come through an unrecorded visit by a European vessel, or through trade with the central Caroline Islands, which were in touch with the Spanish in Guam; or perhaps Iso-Sauri's invention occurred in post-European times.

The story is that a Lord of the Sea of Palang (a successor to the man of that title of Ch. 60.2) began to encroach on neighbouring sections and became a threat to the ruler of Kiti. He was an exceedingly rowdy and violent man and had the Kiti chiefs thoroughly cowed. The Kiti ruler called on Iso-Sauri, who had already distinguished himself as a hero in an earlier war, for help. At a feast in Jainuar Iso-Sauri acted in the formal capacity of attendant upon Lord of the Sea. He handed Lord of the Sea a drinking coconut which he had opened for him in the traditional way, a method that produces only a small hole and consequently makes drinking from the coconut a slow process. He opened a coconut for himself in the new way, invented then and there, and consumed his drink while Lord of the Sea still had his face turned up, drinking, with his throat exposed. Iso-Sauri seized Lord of the Sea by the throat and tore it open, then threw him into the central area of the

feast house, where he died. Ever since then the chiefs have drunk in the new fashion.

10 Text *lango ta lang* (?*langoh-da-la-hng*), translated here as 'to present'. This refers to the special posture and attitude an attendant assumes before the man whom he is serving; the object presented is extended with one hand, the other hand being used to support the elbow of the first, while the face of the attendant is averted. See also n. 84.19.

11 Text, *kau teke* (?*kaudek-e*), translated here as 'beg him to drink'. This is a little used word, apparently related to the word *kaudek*, usually translated as 'worship' or 'pray'.

12 Evidently referring to hats made on the model of imported Panama hats. The traditional hat, of conical shape, used for fishing, is made not of coconut but pandanus leaves, and is not especially valuable.

13 In the absence of kava, drinking coconuts are a suitable beverage to accompany food cooked in the stone oven.

Chapter 80

1 This creature, a sea-cucumber (or *bêche-de-mer*), has already been introduced to us in Chs. 60.2 and 69.1. Its connection with a Land of the South, its ancestry to the Masters of the South, and the identity of the Masters of the South and the Creature Clan, which are alluded to in the next paragraphs of this chapter, have been the subjects of Ch. 2.3 and ns. 64.6-8, 11, 13. A text in Hambruch (II: 33-6) refers to the Masters of the South as a branch of the Creature Clan, which originates in a southern land called Paras (see also Ch. 64.3.2.n.).

2 This refers to the knobs or bumps on the skin of these animals. Cheyne (in Shineberg, 1971:178) describes 'Lekapasin'a' as a 'large red B. de. Mar', and Christian (1899:374) likewise calls it 'large, thick red'. Bascom (1965:127) says that it 'is said to be the rarest of all commercial trepang on Ponape', thus agreeing with Luelen's next sentence. Dr David Pawson of the Department of Invertebrate Zoology at the Smithsonian Institution says that the sea-cucumber that comes closest to the descriptions of Cheyne and Christian is the Prickly-red Fish, *Thelanota ananas* (Jaeger). It is common on the north coast of New Guinea, in New Britain, the New Hebrides, the Solomons, Fiji, Samoa, etc. Luelen's 'Land of the South', if it has any validity, could thus be any of these places.

3 That is, the landless descendants of the sea-cucumbers were under obligation to repay the owners of the land for the food received from it.

4 It is customary in Ponape for fishermen to share their catch with other members of the community. Those receiving fish are supposed to repay it with a return gift of staple vegetable food to be eaten with the fish. Due to the sickness of the boy this family did not have enough such food to follow the custom.

5 Kesner told R that this story of the origin of the coconut tree from the grave of a man dead of a disease, as told in Paragraphs 3 and 4 of this chapter, is unfinished. He said that later on these people used the coconuts and killed the dogs to feed the returning fishermen (of n. 4). He also said that the Masters of the South are the same as the Creature Clan of Ponape, as Ch. 2.3 implies. The Creature Clan and the Foreign Clan therefore argue as to which really started the coconut; according to the present story it is the Foreign Clan that 'owns' the coconut.

Paragraphs 3 and 4 are paralleled in Hambruch by two texts (II:166-9 and 169-71). In both of these the fishermen are fed with the coconuts and dogs, as Kesner said. In both a coconut floats from this land to Majijau, in Matolenim, and from there spreads over all of Ponape. The sick man in both texts dies of leprosy. In one of them it is his niece who bears the puppies, and Lakam, whose relationship to her is not clear, is the one who appears and inquires about her health, whereas in Luelen's account Lakam is another name for Kanikienjamtakeria, who is her adopted brother. In the other Hambruch text the leprous boy is Kaneki en Paretakeria, and it is his mother who later bears the puppies, while her brother is Lakam.

In an account given R by Sahle, who was Naniken of Matolenim, a Foreign Clan woman is the mother of the sick boy, Soulik en Simlos, who dies of yaws, and Lakam is the son of her co-wife, who belongs to the Creature Clan. A girl springs from the coconut and becomes the ancestress of the Net branch of the Foreign Clan, while the Creature Clan woman produces the first dogs from a buried banana. The mother's mother of the sick boy, who is the founder of another branch of the Foreign Clan, has a sister who is the mother of the gardener, Lamak, whom we have met in Ch. 33, and is herself the founder of still another branch.

It is of interest that the coconuts from which the tree springs are buried at the head of the dead boy. In the widespread Polynesian myth of the origin of the coconut tree it grows from the buried severed head of a giant eel. In Ch. 45.3 and in Hambruch II:126 it is certain varieties of breadfruit and bananas that grow from the buried head of an eel.

Chapter 81

1 In the formal apology, presentation of kava is far more important than coconuts or anything else. Luellen's failure to mention it may be because he was a Protestant and in his day the more loyal Protestants did not use kava.

2 A coconut palm leaf basket, loosely plaited; it is quickly made, as the need occurs, generally to carry food, and is discarded after one or two uses.

3 A flattish tray, made only for the dish of pounded breadfruit known as lili; it is made slightly differently for presentation to people of different social levels and in the different states.

4 Thatching is far more often made of ivory nut palm leaves than coconut; in fact, the word for thatch (*oahs*) is the same as that for the ivory nut palm.

5 A kind of basket even less permanent than the kiam, but bigger; the ends of the leaves are just tied, unlike the kiam, where they are plaited.

6 A general term for carefully made and more permanent baskets.

7 Pounded breadfruit (sometimes other starches) with coconut cream over it.

8 Text ainpot, from English 'iron pot'. There was no native word for boiling, and boiling was little used, if at all, before metal utensils were introduced. There is no native pottery on Ponape. Stone boiling (i.e., placing red-hot stones in a coconut-shell vessel of liquid) was used to prepare varnish and perhaps some medicines.

9 Ch. 44 tells the story of Muajanpatol, although the incident of the basket is not told in that version. It is mentioned in n. 33.11, where the basket names patenlaji, kopou en kotou (or koto), and kemeui (or komeui) are also explained. The basket to contain the stone is also mentioned in Hambruch (II:48, 126; III:146).

10 As told in Ch. 33.

Chapter 82

1 Captain Benjamin Pease, a prominent associate of the notorious 'Bully' Hayes, the 'modern buccaneer', as he has been called. Pease's adventures and knaveries are described in several books written about Hayes, such as the ones by Thomas A. Browne (1874; pseud. Rolf Boldrewood) and Basil Lubbock (1931). He established himself at Lot (or Pónatik) harbour in Matolenim about 1868, or perhaps slightly earlier, as a partner in the Pacific Trading Company, whose

headquarters were in Shanghai. Mahlmann (1918:46-82) devotes a chapter to Pease's doings on Ponape from 1868 to 1871, after which he seems to have abandoned the island. In Sturges's letters of 1869 and 1870 there are several references to Pease and to the confiscation of Sturges's mission property by the Naniken of Kiti, who turned the property over to Pease for commercial use. There is also a reference in one of the missionary Doane's letters of 1870 to Pease's setting up a brothel in Ronkiti. Captain Truxton of the U.S.S. *Jamestown* forced the return of the mission property in 1870.

Luelen's statement that Nanku bought Pease's house is somewhat puzzling, for Nanku died in 1864, and we have no information that Pease was on Ponape as early as that. Probably the reference should actually be to the Naniken who followed Nanku, Nanaua of Mutok.

2 The long title of this chapter applies only to Paragraphs 1 to 4. The rest of the chapter concerns a completely unrelated set of events — events that seem to be entirely historical. The omission of guns from the description of the weapons employed in the fighting suggests a pre-European time for these incidents. In 1947 R obtained a different, probably less authentic account of the same affair; this account puts the events in Spanish times, describes the murderer and his victim as members of two different subclans of the Under-the-Breadfruit Clan instead of being sons of two sisters, and rather than the Uajai it is the Nanmariki who is involved. (But perhaps this Uajai later became Nanmariki.) Christian (1899:116) gives a version of what seem to be the same episodes but with details much altered and apparently earlier in time.

3 The houses of high chiefs often receive individual names. There is some ambiguity here as to which of the two houses had the name.

4 The references to 'them' in the last two sentences are to the Naniken and entourage. As for the primal gods (*text ani uoj*), the authority of a chief is supported by his protective spiritual familiars, who may be ancestral ghosts or clan deities. Any offence to a high chief, even if not known to him, will be punished by a protective being through infliction of a sickness upon the offender. In the case of Nanku, his protective being, or at least one of them, is said to have been his dead father, who had been a Nanmariki, and fear of whom was enough to ensure complete control by Nanku over his subjects.

5 See Ch. 65.5-7 regarding this war.

6 This settlement is discussed in n. 65.14.

7 Second in rank to the Nanmariki in the first line of titles.

8 Fifth in rank in the first line.

9 Nantamoroi is now part of Lower Lot section. Longtakai is

described by Christian (1899:116), in his version of these incidents, as a mountain fort, visited by him.

10 A place on the reef between Upper Lot and the islet Pikenkit.

11 A portent of death.

12 Text *jaum en malui*, phonemicising and meaning unclear. Described as a stone oven made ready ahead of time but still not fired.

13 In the community house two rows of kava stones are set up in the central area during a feast. In former times there were also two such stones on the edge of the main platform, where the chiefs sit. They sit facing the central area, with their backs to the rear wall, as the Nanaua is here described as doing, so that the two stones are to their left and right. The reference to the leading stone (text *jaumol [soumwoahl]*), is to the one on the right.

14 Nanaua's younger brother.

15 Kesner gives a different reading of this: '... digging the pit. And Mutoketik was heartbroken', meaning the people of Mutoketik, including the Uajai. The word *tolpajang*, 'fell in', is translated by Kesner as 'snapped in two', like a stretched cord, hence 'heart-broken'. Mutoketik is an islet just south of Tamon Island.

16 Text *jajailek*, phonemicisation unclear. Kesner translates as 'unknowing', 'trusting'.

17 An islet southwest of Tamon.

18 Despite this apparently historical example, torture is rare in Ponape.

Chapter 83

1 Kesner says that this means that the various stories about the seat of the rulers of ancient Kiti conflict with one another. But it might also mean that the ruins have vanished.

2 As told in Ch. 60.

3 Having just previously said that the period of history he is describing is that before there was a Nanmariki, Luelen now drops back into his habit of referring to any ruler as Nanmariki, as modern Ponapeans do when they speak of the king of a foreign country. Luelen frequently, and probably unconsciously, resorts to this anachronism, as he does in other instances, for example in his references to Kiti in its present geographically expanded sense when he is actually describing conditions as they were before Uone conquered Kiti-proper and united with it.

4 This group of sections from Putoi to Lauatik and Jalapuk, as given here by Luelen, constitutes all of Kiti-proper. It would include

also Mant section (Paragraph 3), Japtakai and Jainuar (Paragraphs 5 and 8), and some others not mentioned in this chapter. Paragraph 6 defines the other parts of what is now greater Kiti.

5 Both of these titles still exist, and their holders are the chiefs of the two sections mentioned.

6 The two priests left the bowls at Peinkareraua and the food magically appeared in them, says Kesner.

7 Pensile and Kesner say that the word kareraua derives from karer, sour. They also say that the word Kiti comes from kitai, meaning mould which grows on old food.

8 This sentence and the next are obscure to us. We know no place called Peak of Kiti, but Hambruch (II:36) refers to it as a place in Japtakai. In Chs. 6.2 and 43.1 (and footnotes) there is mention of a Longen Kiti (which may mean 'mountain range of Kiti'), located in Tiati at the Peak of Jamaki. (The Peak of Jamaki is actually only a hill, 86 metres high.) Kesner says that the Peak of Kiti and the Peak of Jamaki are in fact the same, and Peinkareraua is located at this peak, but Hambruch evidently regards them as separate places. The section of Tiati was once part of Jainuar, which is mentioned in the second sentence, and both, together with other sections, constitute the foreland of Japtakai, which today is entirely inland.

9 The implication is strong here that turtle worship began only after the overthrow of the last Lord of Teleur by Ijokelekel and the breaking up of Ponape into several states. On this subject see Ch. 51 and ns. 51.1 and 51.4.

10 The events that resulted in the unification of Kiti are related in detail in Ch. 60.

11 This seems to mean that there had been twelve Nanmarikis from the time of the unification of Kiti up to Luelen's time. In 1947 R was taken by the Naniken of Kiti, the Jaulik of Jamai, and Oliver Nanpei to see the graves of the Nanmarikis, at the place called Ninlepuel in the section of Ononmakot. (See Ch. 78.9 concerning these graves.) After much search in heavy undergrowth R's guides confessed that they could not find the burial site. But they assured him that there were fourteen, not twelve graves. They were described as all in one row, each marked by a headstone and a footstone. The first of the fourteen was Lukenkit (a death name, 'Luk of Thousands'), the ruler who was the Jaukija at the time of Uone's conquest of Kiti and who was the first to assume the additional title of Nanmariki. The last was Luk en muei mau ('Luk of the Good Reign'; see Ch. 65.6 and n. 65.12), who died in 1852. Luk en muei mau was followed, in order, by Hezekiah, Migel, Paul, Sigismundo, and Benito, the last of whom was the ruling Nanmariki when Luelen died. If there are actually fourteen graves where they

are said to be and if all of them are occupied by Jaukija-Nanmarikis, there would have been altogether nineteen rulers of united Kiti from the time of the war until Luelen's time, not twelve.

However, it may be that Luelen is talking about the times before the unification of Kiti, before the holder of the Jaukija title took that of Nanmariki too. We do not know how many Jaukijas there were before Kiti was unified. The Jaulik of Jamai said in 1947 that his great-grandmother lived through the reigns of twelve Jaukijas, the twelfth being regnant at the time that Palang conquered Kiti and Uone reconquered it. But there must have been more Jaukijas before her time. These pre-unification rulers were buried not at Ninlepuel but at Paler in Olapal, where the Jaukijas were installed in office (see Ch. 74.3), according to the Naniken of Kiti and the Jaulik of Jamai. More specifically, the place within Paler was Nanuaiaj, which gives its name to the subclan Inanuaiaj (see Ch. 84.6-10).

12 See n. 79.8 for explanation of these terms.

13 The clans listed in this column hold the high titles of the first line, including that of Nanmariki, in the five states, respectively, which are shown in the second column. But the ruling clan of Jokaj is now, and has been since two or three generations before European contact, the Jaunkauat (Masters of Kauat), as it is also in Net. It is not the Tipuilap (Great Clan). Before that it was the Tipuinman (Creature Clan), and before that the Lajialap (Great Eels). We do not understand why Luelen shows the Tipuilap here.

14 To the eight titles listed here are to be joined the list of lower titles in Section D beginning with Lampuai lapalap. All belong to the first line of titles, headed by Nanmariki. The sequence of twenty titles agrees fairly closely with the sequence employed today in Matolenim and elsewhere.

15 This list of eight titles (beginning with Nalaim), the list of four which follows in Section C (beginning with Naniken), and the list of eight (beginning with Jauel lapalap) in Ch. 84.1 [B], today constitute the Jerijo, or Royal Children, who form the second line of titles in each of the five states. But the sequence is not the same today; see n. 55.3. The first two titles, Nalaim and Nanapaj, were formerly the first and second highest priests; probably the titles numbered 3 to 8 were also priests. It is said that King Paul of Matolenim fitted the sets together in Spanish times, after priestly duties had become defunct, and then the other states followed suit. So today the list of Royal Children titles begins with Naniken, then comes Nalaim in second position, then Nanjauririn, then Nanapaj, then follow Nanmatonitet and Laparirin, after which come the eight of Ch. 84.1 [B].

16 The six clans listed here are the clans of the Royal Children,

those that traditionally provide the holders of the titles of the second line, headed by the Naniken. The first two clan-names apply to Matolenim, the others to U, Kiti, Net, and Jokaj, respectively. However, in U and Jokaj other clans have now come to hold the Naniken title. In U, indeed, the clan of the Naniken does not appear to have been the same for any two successive holders of that title, as far back as informants' memories serve. In the other states, ideally, one matrilineal clan holds the titles of the first line, a second clan holds those of the second line, and the two intermarry. Thus if the Nanmariki (and other title holders of his line and clan) always married women of the Naniken's clan, their sons would also be of the Naniken's clan and eligible to become Naniken themselves. But in U the practice seems to have been less strictly observed than elsewhere. In fact, it is said that in U a new Nanmariki would actually depose the Naniken and replace him with his own son, regardless of the son's clan.

Chapter 84

1 Presumably this sentence refers to the last list of titles in Ch. 83.

2 Ijokelekel's death by the Tariak method, the pools on Peikap, and his burial place are discussed in ns. 72.5 and 72.6.

3 Luelen uses the word Nanmariki here in its general meaning of ruler (as a Ponapean might say 'Nanmariki of England' for the King), not in its specific sense of a particular title among other titles. He also anachronistically uses the word Kiti in its present-day connotation of Kiti-proper plus Uone, not in the meaning it had at the time about which he is writing, before Kiti-proper and Uone were united. It was the Jaukiti (or Master of Kiti) who was installed at Peinkareraua in Japtakai (see Ch. 83.1 and 83.5), while the Jaukija (or Master of Part) of Uone was installed at Paler in Olapal (see Ch. 56.29).

4 According to Kesner, Ijokelekel was actually installed not at Pankatira but at the tiny islet of Pojoile, off Tamon, during the time when Luk's magic canoe was suspended in mid-air (see ns. 50.5 and 50.6). The anonymous Nanmariki of the second place named is the son of Nalapanien. Nalapanien was the son of Ijokelekel; he had been Naniken of Matolenim and left for U to become Nanmariki there because of becoming offended at his children; the children followed him in an unsuccessful attempt to persuade him to return and they met him at the place Ponnintok, which is where, it is implied, he decided to become Nanmariki of U (see Ch. 54.14-16), while his son was to return to Matolenim and become Nanmariki

there. Hence this is the 'installation' for both of them. (In some accounts, e.g., Hambruch II:51), it is not Nalapanien but his successor as Naniken, his sister's son, who goes to U to become Nanmariki.) The third place mentioned, Peipuel, was the place of crowning of all the subsequent Nanmarikis of Matolenim, until recent times; the installation is described in detail in Paragraphs 6 and 7 of this chapter.

5 That is, he had withdrawn his approval. This paragraph and the next two tell the story of the quest for the Tiripeijo feather, which Luelen has told before in Ch. 33.

6 This 'visit' is apparently a reference to the rescue of Nanjapue, the Thunder God, from imprisonment, after the Lord of Teleur had captured him. In Ch. 46.6 Luelen says that Ninkap freed Nanjapue, but in n. 46.10 the possible identity of Ninkap with Ijopau is discussed. In most versions of this story Ijopau, a Foreign Clan god, is named as Nanjapue's rescuer. Luelen now seems here to offer Jangoro as a third alternative name. Possibly all three are the same personage; in Ch. 56.3 Luelen writes 'Nanijopau (Jangoro)' as though they are synonyms. (We do not know, of course, that Nanijopau and Ijopau are the same.) In the Silten manuscript it is Ninkap who is the rescuer, but immediately afterwards Nanjapue goes to visit Jangoro at his residence in the mountains, where they consult; it is upon Jangoro's advice that Nanjapue makes his magical voyage to Kusaie where he impregnates Ijokekel's mother. In Paragraph 7, below, Jangoro makes the two Muang islets, as he does also in the Silten MS., but in Hambruch (II:109) it is Ijopau who does this. (Sometimes, however, it is another god, Olatat.) Again, in Paragraph 7, Jangoro marries a kinswoman and takes her to Pajet, and he helps the Liejanpal subclan conquer Uone; the Silten MS. also describes Jangoro in these roles; but in Hambruch (II:37) it is Ijopau who accomplishes these feats. Sahle, the Naniken of Matolenim, told R that Jangoro and Ijopau were the two Foreign Clan gods; perhaps they were sometimes regarded as two manifestations of one being.

7 Janipan and Letau, in Matolenim, according to Pensile.

8 Inaj (*Inahs*) is a goddess of the Masters of Kauat clan, to which the title of Lapanmor belongs. According to Nanpeilang, the Luan en Wei of Kiti, as told to R in 1947, Inaj is the sister of Nanijopau. Nanijopau cut four pieces of flesh from his thigh and made a woman from each; these women were the ancestresses of the four most senior subclans of the Masters of Kauat, all four being worshippers of Nanijopau. He and Inaj then committed incest. She became the ancestress of the nine junior Kauat subclans. (See also n. 64.1.)

9 Also mentioned in Ch. 38.12; but in 33.1 it is a differently named banana.

10 All of the names and titles which occur here (in 84.5) are given identically in the Silten MS., with one exception: Nanjaom en Palap is instead Nanjaom en Janipan. (Palap, which occurs as part of these titles, is a locality at Janipan, the central part of Matolenim, which was ruled by the holder of the title Lapanmor.) Hambruch in his three versions (III:346, 348, 382) gives three different sets of names for the first four crew members, none corresponding entirely to Luelen's set; but one of them (III:348), given to Hambruch in 1910 by the Kehoe brothers, is identical to the one R obtained in 1947 from the surviving brother, Warren (Ricardo). The place of hiding of Langtaire is said by Silten to be a small bay of Janipan called Etenjil. He gives only one title, Kaniki ni oror. Olten, a man of U, told F that the cockroach received the title of *Sou-Welin Pohn-Dau* or 'Lord of the Forest above the Entrance Channel'. This cockroach was specifically of the variety known as *likaus*; it is smaller than the ordinary kind and lives in thatch, which it eats (appropriate symbolically for its task of burrowing in the 'thatch' of the bird's head). The 'cheek of the canoe' (text, japan uar) is the underside of the up-curving bow above the waterline. In Silten's version the mud-skipper and the crab, located as described here, serve as anchors. The kemeui basket is described in n. 33.1. Ura is the name of a place on the reef near Mall Island.

11 This scrap of information about Liejanpal and her children is part of the story which is continued at the end of Paragraph 7. Liejanpal is one of four Creature Clan sisters who are listed in age order in Ch. 60.12-13. Jaulik en Jamai and Warren Kehoe gave R identical lists in 1947. Each sister is ancestral to one subclan of the Black division of the Creature Clan; Liejanpal's descendants are the now extinct Inanuaiaj, a word which Pensile analyses thus: In, mother; ua, fruit (i.e. descendants); ia, living. (There is also a place Nanuaiaj, where the Jaukijas were installed in office [see n. 83.10].) Hambruch (II:37) does not refer to Liejanpal's three sisters but only to a second woman named Lisekel. He does give the names of four of Liejanpal's sons, two of which match those listed here by Luelen.

12 Kesner thinks that the last syllable, mucu, is the standard word for 'period' or 'reign', and suggests that the whole means something like 'long and peaceful reign'.

13 These two closely adjacent islets are in Jokaj, just off the coast of Palikir. We have three other versions of this story: Elisa's, as related to R in 1947; the Silten MS.; and Hambruch II:115. Silten and Luelen agree that Jangoro is the main actor and that he carried two packages of taro; in the other two accounts it is the trickster-god, Olapat, and he carries two small hills. In Hambruch it is a terep bird, translated by him as parrot, that causes the god to drop his load. A

bird called tirup occurs in another story (Hambruch III:152), and one of the corners of Pankatira is called the corner of the Tirip Bird; otherwise the word is unknown to us except in the Tiripeijo story. In Elisa's version the bird is the familiar sereit (the Ponape lory, *Trichoglossus rubiginosus*, the only parrot in all of Micronesia).

14 This much-telescoped tale is also told by Silten with similar brevity, but with Olapat as the main character, and it is told in much longer form by Hambruch (III:226) with Jangoro again as the hero.

15 Text, *jeu en-likin polong*, 'sugar-cane of the outer part of the bundle'. The Jaulik of Jamai told R that this was an alternative name for the Inanuaiaj subclan, a name given them because of this encounter with the god.

16 Silten also has Liejanpal seeking Jangoro to get his help in conceiving a child, for her sisters abuse and neglect her on account of her barrenness. Though she is a Creature Clan woman she turns for help to a Foreign Clan god. In Jaulik of Jamai's version it is Nanjapue who helps her to conceive.

17 In Hambruch (II:38) it is made more explicit that Nanrolong, which is said to have once been a section of Uone, is the place where Liejanpal's senior clansmates and oppressors live, and this is the place from which they flee (in the next paragraph) at the sound of the cry 'Uj'. These seniors are the subclan of the oldest of the four sisters, Liajanpalap, the subclan also known as Uputenpaini. Nanrolong is said by Kesner to be now part of Paj section. There is a *Roahlong* indicated on the map in Puaipuai section, but this must be another place.

18 Meaning a small enclosure made by a sleeping mat stood up on one edge and formed into a circle around the occupant. Such enclosures were frequently made for diviners as places of concealment during their state of possession.

19 Kava is offered in the posture described in n. 79.10. Ideally, whenever a chief is ready to drink, he is supposed to be able to reach out his hand, without looking to see if the attendant is ready, and take the full cup which is supposed to be waiting to be grasped. Here the woman would not have known that the god was in his place behind the mat, wanting to drink, but the ideal pattern is implied.

20 In Hambruch (II:37) the god concerned is Ijopau rather than Jangoro. He cries 'uuuu' and the Liajanpalap people hear and flee. In the Silten manuscript the Inanuaiaj people start for Rolang (presumably the Nanrolong of Luelen and perhaps contained in the name of the third sister, Liponralong) to prepare oil to anoint Jangoro out of gratitude to him; they come to Selili (presumably Luelen's Ponjalili) blowing their triton horns as they march, and it is this that causes the people of the senior subclan to run away. 'Uj' is,

incidentally, a shout, with the vowel-sound prolonged, which people use in the mountains in calling to one another.

21 These titles are also the subject of Ch. 60.10.

22 This last paragraph is probably an insertion, to bring up to date the previous paragraph, which was perhaps the traditional termination of the narrative. The Inanuaij or descendants of Liejanpal became extinct, as Ch. 60.12 tells us. Jekijmunto (Sigismundo), who became Nanmariki in the 1920s, was the first and only member of the subclan Lijirmutok (the fourth sister) to do so. He died in 1945 and was succeeded by Benito, who was a Liponralong, a descendant of the third sister. In 1947 only one survivor of the Lijirmutok remained alive.

Chapter 85

1 This song is essentially the same as the story of the discovery and construction of Ponape already related by Luellen in Ch. 1. It is also very close to the song recorded by Girschner (1909:237). The composer, whose name (Uajaklang) Luellen gives at the end of the song, is said by Kesner and Pensile to have held the title of Nanapaj of Kiti; they identify him as the man of that title who is pictured in Hambruch (III:Pl. 15) and who is also the source of another version of the story (III:218).

The song is arranged here by F in verse form; Luellen's Ponapean text has it in prose style.

2 The lament for Jaumatau presented here by Luellen recapitulates the events already related in Ch. 73 and accompanying footnotes. Jaumatau was the leader of the rebellion against the Germans; he was also the head of the section of Jokaj whose name Luellen gives in this lament as Malok (*Mwoalok*), a section now part of the area re-settled by out-islanders from Pingelap and called Pingelap Village. The section Luellen calls Tanipei (*Denipei*) similarly became part of Mokil Village on Jokaj, populated by people from Mokil Atoll. The reference to defilement and misuse are to actual indignities inflicted upon the corpse of the dead Governor Boeder. The three men who were 'disintegrated' were Hollborn, Häfner, and Brauckmann; they were killed by the wharf near the mission station at northern Jokaj, so evidently this is the area of water called Jet lollap, or Sea of Ambition.

In Song II the 'junior one' is Dr Girschner. Jakire section is on the north coast of Palikir. The Uajai, who is referred to several times, was the highest chief of Jokaj in the first line of titles at this time; the title is properly only second in the line, the first being that of

Nanmariki, but for certain legendary reasons that title was not being used in Jokaj during this period of history. The reference to Luk of Jokaj is probably to someone's death name, though it is not evident to whom it pertains.

Atina, the composer of this lament, is pictured in Hambruch (I:Pl. 17) as the wife of the Lap en Matolenim.

3 See n. 48.17.

4 Black magic done, for example, by burying a type of sennit lashing or some river pebbles under the corner of an enemy's house.

5 Black magic performed by sending the flames from burning coconut leaves to an enemy.

6 Washing hands in water upstream of where the victim bathes, or putting a magical infusion in the water there, while saying a spell.

7 Text, kapitui. Translation by F. William of Kinakap said it was contagious magic of various kinds, such as an infusion from plants smeared on the knife which has wounded someone in order to prevent the wound from healing, or finding a drop of the victim's blood and putting a medicine in it. Kesner described it as killing someone by means of the second of William's two examples. In Gulick's vocabulary is the entry 'kápít v., bleed'.

8 Text, kapei. Translation by F. Pensile translates as 'causing to fight', which is also possible, and says it consists of magic done with a piece of string brought to a place of gathering and left there in the hope that it will produce a quarrel. William's interpretation is very different; he says it is the curing, by means of washing the face with a plant infusion, of the blindness caused by the magic previously mentioned in [F] 6.4.

9 Text, kalolamau. Kesner says 'making peace' or 'consoling'. Gulick gives 'kalolamaui, comfort, assuage grief'.

10 The giants and cannibals are described earlier in ns. 3.1, 49.2, and Chs. 8.2, 19.2-3, and 49.2-3. The dwarfs are creatures who dwell underground; Christian (1899: Ch. VII) describes them and their alleged archaeological remains at length. Lipapaunual are giants covered with feathers (William of Kinakap) or hair (Kesner); they fly, emitting a sound like that of a strong wind; they live in mountain caves; when they sleep their breath makes the vegetation outside the cave sway as in a strong wind; they have huge, straight, open alimentary canals; when one eats a man on land he defecates him undigested by the time he flies out to sea.

11 Kesner says that this is the magic that Ijokelekel performed to protect himself while en route to Ponape with his 333 men; see n. 72.3.

12 Kesner believes that this magic, which involves putting a medicine where an enemy has sat, is to damage his buttocks.

13 According to Kesner this song was made by a man of Areu section, in Matolenim, named Luhkenlengsong (probably his death name), who became Uajai of Matolenim. It celebrates a sorcery contest between himself and the people of Tapak Island, in U; the contest is thought to have taken place around the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Tapak people performed the kind of sorcery called Swimming Fire (see n. 85.5) against the Areu people. (Inama and Tanmek, mentioned in the song, are two varieties of Swimming Fire.) However, the Areu people sent the sorcery back to its source and several Tapak people died in consequence. The song's author was himself of the Under-the-Breadfruit Clan, and the reference in the song to this clan as 'bad' is a kind of boasting about the power of their sorcery. The reference to 'desecrating a Nanmariki' concerns an earlier raid by some U people into Areu. In this raid the U party killed the Nanmariki of Matolenim. At a later time, after the sorcery contest and partly in revenge for the earlier death, a Matolenim man killed a Nanmariki of U.

14 Four narrative versions of this song are available to us, three of them published (Riesenberg and Fischer, 1955:17-18; Hambruch III:338, 339-40) and a fourth obtained by R in 1947 from the half-caste, William of Kinakap. Compositely the story is: the Jaulik of the reef island Na, off Matolenim, sends one of his men to fetch bananas from the Kiraun of Letau, on the mainland (the Kiraun anciently having been a kind of steward for the high chiefs; bananas do not grow on Na). The Kiraun spitefully wraps up the corpse of a recently dead pregnant woman in banana leaves and places it in the canoe of the messenger. On the way back to Na the messenger's son tries to pluck a banana, pulls vainly on the corpse's breast, she is aroused and tries to eat the boy, the father throws her into the water (in William's version a tridacna shell saves them). When the Jaulik hears what has happened he calls on the sting-ray to obtain vengeance for him, the sting-ray being the totem creature of the Foreign Clan to which holders of the title Jaulik of Na formerly always belonged. Sting-rays (in three of the four versions) form a file between Letau and Na, a distance of about five miles; in one version they cover the whole floor of the lagoon. One of them calls the Kiraun in the voice of a woman known to him; it is a woman with a speech defect. (Kesner describes the speech defect as a rhotacism.) It is dusk; Kiraun wants to light a torch but the ray tells him to let his toes be his torch; or he quotes the saying, 'Darkness is a young man's torch'. Kiraun slips, is flipped from fish to fish, all the way to Na, where Jaulik says (in three versions), 'Do what you will with him'. So the rays sting him to death and in their churning about they create the deep in the lagoon floor which exists off Na.

15 Honorific title of the sting-ray.

16 F recorded an almost identical version from Ersin, who refers to this song as a Kepir (paddle dance song).

17 A god concerned with fishing and growth of breadfruit, according to Hambruch (II:99). F records him as god of canoes.

18 The references which follow to the Underworld, the Twisting Bridge, and Pueliko are explained more fully by Luellen in Ch. 56.12-16. The Man and Woman of Jineng are guardians of the Twisting Bridge, which is the entrance to the afterworlds (Hambruch II:115-16, 119).

19 This song is essentially the same as the narrative account of the same events in Ch. 50.

20 The infamous affair of the *Falcon* is sketchily related in this song, which provides a good example of survival for more than a century, in accurate oral tradition, of historical events. The *Falcon*, a London whaler, while attempting to beat out of Matolenim Harbour on 7 July 1836, ran aground. Captain C. Hingston and the crew set to work to unload the stores and barrels of oil at Napali Island. The Nanaua of Matolenim (the title ranking fifth in the first line of royalty) and his adherents set fire to the wreck and began to pilfer from the stores. Hingston one day seized and struck the Nanaua, threatening him with more severe punishment if he did not desist from his depredations. In consequence on 12 August a large force of natives descended upon Napali, killed Hingston and five of his men, mutilated their bodies, and plundered the salvaged stores. A state of war ensued. The Nanaua and his men were ranged against a force consisting of some 40-70 whites and 400-500 Ponapeans. The whites included the survivors of the *Falcon* and a number of beach-combers and deserters, joined by the crews of three other vessels, the British cutter *Lambton*, the British schooner *Avon*, and the American schooner *Unity*. Their Ponapean allies were led by the Uajai of Matolenim, that title ranking second in the first line of royal titles. The highest chief of Matolenim, the Nanmariki (Luellen refers to him in this song by an alternate title, Ijipau) was shot; although he had played a much less active role in the affair he was the elder brother (or at least classificatory brother) of the Nanaua. (The Uajai, who sided with the whites, was of the same clan, Under-the-Breadfruit, but of a different subclan. He now succeeded as Nanmariki.) A day or two later the Nanaua, deserted by his people, was discovered by James Hall, known generally as Jim the Cooper, alone and in a state of despair. Hall had come to Ponape about 1835, having left the whaler *Conway* there. Nanaua made no resistance and Hall took him aboard the cutter, where the three captains instituted a farcical kangaroo court and then hanged him from the yardarm.

Before his execution Nanaua was asked if he had anything to say or any message to send; he asked that he might die by the hands of another chief, Nalik, but his request was disregarded. His corpse was given to the natives and buried ashore. (Most of these events are told in Blake, 1924.)

21 See ns. 5.5 and 21.6.

Glossary of Proper Names

Luelen sometimes uses more than one spelling of proper names. In each such case we have chosen one of the spellings for use throughout the text, usually because it occurs more commonly than the others or because it is closer to Standard Orthography. The same form is also given first in the glossary entry for each proper name, and is followed by the other variants; then, when possible, we give the word in Standard Orthography and its English translation. The numbers and letters at the end of each entry indicate chapter and paragraph of occurrence of the words.

We have omitted in the glossary the names of the stars in Chapter 57, the names of the islands of Nanmatol in Chapter 70, and the names and titles of the men who were executed after the Jokaj uprising as given in Chapter 73, unless they occur again elsewhere in the text. In the text of these three chapters, but not in other chapters, we have, when possible, given Standard Orthography and English translation in brackets immediately following the names. Otherwise Standard Orthography is not used in the text, and the English translation is usually given in the text only on the first occurrence of the name.

A

Adze of Takipuel — see Kientakipuel.

Air (*Eir*) 'South' — an alleged land in the south from which the first canoe came to Ponape and the place of origin of the clan Masters of the South. 69.1; 80.1-2.

Airika (*Eir-i-ke*) — a section of Net, where the magic canoe of the god Luk was hewn. 50.0,2; 85 [N] IV.

Ajil Straits, Matol en Ajil (Moadol-en Esil [?]) — 'Ajil Straits' — a channel adjacent to Ajil Island in the lagoon of Kiti, off Palang. 60.10.

Akak (*Akahk*) — a section of Matolenim, south of the main harbour. 57.5.

Akau (*Akau*) — husband of Lipeijang Katau. 62.4.

Alialui (*Elieluwi*) — a section of central Matolenim. 52 [G] 3.

Alimaui iap 'Good Road of Yap' — place mentioned in the paddle dance song of 85 [P].

Alokap (*Aloh-kapw*) 'New-Alo' — northwesternmost section of Matolenim, visited by Jarapuau and Monimur. 24.2; 40.4; 52 [E] 1; 57.3; 66.18; 70 [F] 6.

Anganjaip (. . . . *saip*) '. . . . Sardine' — a channel on the shore of Kiti where the eel Muajanpatol caught a school of fish. 44.11.

Animuan, Animau (*Eni-mwahn*) 'Male-Spirit' — an area in northern

- Matolenim, comprising eight sections. 27 [A] 4; 36.1; 40.5; 52 [E]; 53 [E]; 54.14, [C] 1; 59.1; 66.18; 84.2.
- Anipein (*Eni-pein*) 'Female-Spirit' — now constitutes two sections of Kiti, Lower Anipein (*Enipein Pah*) and Upper Anipein (*Enipein Powe*), anciently called, respectively, Nanponmal and Pajautik (or, another version has it, Pajaulap). 60.8.
- Ant, -ant (*And*) Ant Island — an atoll eight miles southwest of Ponape, belonging to Kiti. Ujenant, a small herb or grass. 12.11. Mokenant, a tree. 15.12. Island. 26.4.4, 6.3; 27 [B] 4, [D] 2; 35.1; 36.11; 46.2, 3.4; 48.5-9; 53 [C]; 54 [B] 2; 66.4, 8; 85 [E]. Also known as Long Island. 36.11. See also Jaulikin Ant, Jaunant.
- Areu (*Areu*) — a section in the northern part of Matolenim. 36.1, 11; 52 [E] 3; 66.18. A place in Ant Atoll, where an eel from Areu in Matolenim lives. 36.11.
- Aronau (*Oar-on Ahu* [?]) 'Near the-Mouth' (?) — the chief retainer of the Tauk. 55 [E] 3.
- Aronmuar (*Oar-on Mwar*) 'Near the-Titles' — one of six titles whose holders were in the immediate retinue of the Nanmariki. 55 [E] 1.2.
- Aron Namueiaj 'Servitor of Namueiaj' — the guard at Peinnamueiaj pool, one of Ijokelekel's two mirrors. 84.1 [A] 2.2.
- Aronno (*Oar-on No*) 'Near the-Waves' (?) — the chief retainer of the Noj. 55 [E] 4.
- Aronponuar, Aroniponuar 'Gatherer on the Canoe' — a form of divination, utilised by the crew of the first voyage of discovery in order to find Ponape. 85 [C]. Also utilised by the royal fleet in the paddle dance song of 85 [P].
- Aronputak (*Oar-on Pwutak*) 'Near the-Boys' — the last of four titles in the immediate retinue of the Uajai. 55 [E] 2.4.
- Aronuajai (*Oar-on Wasai*) 'Near the-Wasai' — one of four titles in the immediate retinue of the Uajai. 55 [E] 2.1.
- Aroreilang (*Oaroar-ei-leng*) 'Shore-of-Heaven' — place mentioned during the first voyage of discovery under Japkini. 85 [C].
- Auak (*Awak*) — the westernmost part of U, nowadays consisting of two sections, Lower Auak and Upper Auak. 52 [C] 1. At one period engaged in war against the other parts of U. 66.23.
- Auankap (*Ew-en-i-kep*) 'Mouth-of-the-Sea-floor', 'Mouth-of-the-Sea-bottom' — a channel in the reef off Nanmatol, between the islands of Mall and Naningi, where Jatokauai went down under the sea and came back up again. Also where Ijokelekel's fleet entered Ponape. 32.5, 8; 48.10, 11; 64.3.9 [s].
- Aunimatakai (*Ou-n Mat-a-kai* [?]) 'Watchman-of' (?) — name of the dog of the Lord of Teleur who detected the bones of the Yellowfin eaten by the hero of the Malpur quest. 32.3.
- Auni Mejeniang (*Ou-n Mes-en-ieng*) 'Guard-of Face-of-the-Wind' — evidently a male spirit who treated Luk-of-Heaven magically on

- his spirit journey. See also Mejeniang. 64.3.6 [h].
- Aunjapauaj 'Watchman of Japauaj' — man of Lower Lot who killed his cousin, the Nanaua of Matolenim, because of a quarrel between their mothers, and was tortured to death by Nanaua's brother, the Uajai, in revenge. 82.5-14; 84.1 [B] 8.
- Aunjauna (*Ou-n Sou-na*) 'Guard-of Jauna' (Jau is probably *sohu*, reef. -na may be *Na*, reef island. Jauna is said to be short for Jaunalang, meaning perhaps 'Heavenly Island Reef'). The ruler of Jauna or Jaunalang. 46.3.13.
- Aunjokala (*Ou-n Sokele*) 'Guard-of Jokala' — a spirit encountered by Luk-of-Heaven, evidently resides at Jokalainpajet. 64.3.3 [c].
- Aunmuar (*Ou-n Mwar*) 'Guard-of the-Titles' (?) — one of six titles whose holders were in the immediate retinue of the Nanmariki. 55 [E] 1.4.
- Aun Namueiaj 'Watchman of Namueiaj' — the guard at Peirot pool, one of Ijokelekel's two mirrors. 84.1 [A] 1.1.
- Aunpanmang (*Ou-n-pahn Mwahng*) 'Watchman-of-the Giant-Taro Stems'—the god Luk's name as a boy. 37.16.
- Aunponpei (*Ou-n Poh-n-i-pei*) 'Watchman-of the-Top-of-the-Sacred-Stone-Structure' — one of the titles in the second line of state titles, 84.1 [B] 5.
- Aun Tapau 'Guard of Tapau' — one of the two men who transformed a rock into a canoe that was later taken up into Heaven. 70 [H].
- Auntauaniap (*Ou-n Dew-en-lap*) 'Watchman-of the-Channel-of-Yap'—evidently an esoteric name for sharks, or perhaps the name of a particular shark, occurring in the shark spell used by the god Luk. 37.35.
- Auntoleririn (*Ou-n Dol-e-ririn*) 'Watchman-of the-Mountain-of-the-Gate'—one of the titles in the first line of state titles. 83.10 [D] 6.
- Aunura 'Watchman of Ura' — title of the basket that went on the Tiripeijo feather quest. 84.5.
- Aurejei — a long reef at the northern tip of Jokaj Island. 85 [P].
- Auririn (*Ou-n Ririn*) 'Watchman-of the-Gate' — one of the titles of the second line of state titles. 84.1 [B] 3.

B

- Beiro, Peiro (*Pei-ro* [?]) — a place in Japan, residence of Lienpuel and her children. 5.1, 3.

C

- Creature Clan — see Tipuinman.

D

- Downwind Katau — see Kataupaiti.
Downwind Uanik — see Uanik paiti.
Downwind Yap — see Iappaiti.

E

- Enjij — a member of the crew of the canoe that the Lord of Teleur sent to fetch the Lapanpalikir who had the form of a chicken. 70 [B] 2.
Etienlang (*Edi-en-Leng*) '...-of-Heaven' — section of Matolenim, visited by Jarapuau and Monimur. 24.2; 70 [F] 6.
Eueretik — a person possessed by Luk-of-Heaven on his spirit trip. Paired with a woman, Lipaireue. 64.3.16 [b].

F

- First of the Land — see Monjap.
First Heaven, Laang Kaieu (*Lahng Ka-ieu*) 'The-First Heaven' — same as Underworld. 56.12.
Foreign Clan — see Tipuinuai.

G

- Ghostly Harbour — see Namani.
Great Clan — see Tipuilap.
Great Eel Clan — see Lajialap.
Great Rock of Jokaj — see Paipalap of Jokaj.

H

- Harbour of Jaulangi — see Namenjaulangi.
Heaven — see Lang.
Henry, Enri, Enere, Henery Nanpei, Nanpai (*Enri Nah-n-i-pei*) 'Lord-of-the-Sacred-Stone-Structure' — Ponapean man, born 1862. Son of the Naniken Nanku and his wife Meri-An. Prominent native leader. 65.9; 66.1-9, 14-15, 19-23; 67.5-11.

- Iap (*Iap*) 'Yap' – a more or less mythical island to the west. 6.1-2; 21.3; 22.1; 24.2; 35.1; 37.5, 9-10; 39.1-3; 70 [C] 2, [F] 4; 73.3. Name also occurs in compounded forms, e.g., Downwind Yap, Auntauaniap, Meteriap, etc.
- Iapatang (*Iap-a-dang* [?]) – a land up in the air, inhabited by birds, perhaps one of the layers of Heaven, or an area of Heaven. 37.7-9. Kanikiniapatang, name of one of the flying men who stole Kirau Mair's bananas.
- Iappaiti (*Iap Pei-di*) 'Downwind Yap' – a mythical island, perhaps farther west than Yap proper, perhaps often confused with Yap. 6.2; 39.1; 39.9.
- Iaptu (*Iap-e-du* [?]) 'Diving Yap' (?) – a mythical land, probably under the sea, whose inhabitants are merfolk. 37.9.
- Ienjamat (*I-en Samat* [?]) 'Belly-of ' sail of the canoe that discovered Ponape. 1.3; 85 [C].
- Ijipau (*Isipau*) – a title of the Nanmariki of Matolenim. Perhaps in origin the same as Isopau, a Ponapean god, but there is usually (always?) a difference in pronunciation of the middle unstressed vowel. 53 [D]; 55 [E] 1; 56.10.1; 65.6; 82.3; 85 [O]. See also Lampuain ijipau and Jaulen ijipau. Also used as a title for the Nanmariki of U. 56.10.2.
- Ijoani (*Iso-Eni*) 'Godly-Prince' – a title of the Nanmariki of Jokaj. 53 [D] 3; 54.16 [A] 3; 56.10.3; 74.1.4; 83.10 [A] 4.
- Ijokaniki (*Iso-Ka-nik-i*) (morpheme division suggested by a native but uncertain) 'Noble-Steward' (?) -- one of the native gods of Ponape. 56.3.10.
- Ijokelekel, Ijokalakal (*Isoh-Kelekel*) 'Shining-Noble' – conquerer of Ponape. Mother was Lipanmai. The father of Nalapanien. Born on Kusaie. Had three wives of the Liarkatau, Foreign, and Great Eel Clans. His son and his sister married. Son became ruler of U. 48; 49.1; 50.1; 54.0-10; 59.0; 62.3; 70 [A] 3; 72.2; 74.1; 84.1-2; 85 [E].
- Ijolap (*Isoh-lap*) 'Great-Sir' – one of the titles in the first line of state titles. 83.10 [D] 3.
- Ijo Nanjau (*Iso Nah-n-sau*) 'Noble Lord-of-the-Masters' – a male spirit encountered by Luk-of-Heaven on his spirit trip. 64.3.11 [g].
- Ilake (*Ilake*) – a goddess; appears as an eel to Jamanlo and makes him high priest of Uone. 35.3. Mentioned in connection with the Great Breakwater. 57.9.
- Ilakenmair (*Ilake-hn Meir*) 'Ilake-of the-Interior' – the youngest of three sisters, the others being Ilakenpeilapalap and Ilakentanimuek. Wife of Kirau Mair and mother of Lipuilinmair. Grandmother of the god Luk. 37.2-4, 11, 30.

- Ilakenpeilapalap (*Ilake-hn Pehi-Lapalap*) 'Ilake-of the-Great-Stone-Structure' — the eldest of three sisters, the other two being Ilakentanimuek and Ilakenmair. 37.2-3, 30. Lived in Nanmatol, at the island named Peilapalap.
- Ilakentanimuek, Ilakentanmuek (*Ilak-hn Denimwek*) — the middle of three sisters, the others being Ilakenpeilapalap and Ilakenmair. Also known as Liauntanimuek. 37.2-3, 15-23, 30. Lived in Kiti, at Upper Anipein.
- Ilaki Malujai Lapalap (*Ilake Mwoaluhsei Lapalap*) 'Sea-Goddess-of the-Great Breakwater' — name occurring in song. Cf. Nanmolujai.
- Ilol (Iloal [?]) — see Stone of Ilol.
- Imentakai (*Imw-en Takai*) 'House-of Rock' — a place in Kiti, evidently on or near the shore, said to be in Japtakai section. 60.9.
- Imuinkatau (*Imw-in-Katau*) 'The-Extremity-of-Katau' — land from which the third canoe to reach Ponape came. 1.14.
- Imuinkoj 'End of Koj' — a place mentioned in the song of the Good Lizard. 70 [C] 3.
- Inaj, Inaaj (*In-ahs*) 'Living-Mother, Life-Mother' — a goddess, connected with the Masters of Kauat Clan. 53 [E]; 56.3.8; 84.3.
- Inanuaiaj (*In-en Wa-ias*) 'Mothers-of Uaiaj (Living-Fruit)' — the subclan of the Creature Clan that is descended from one of four sisters, Liajanpal; now extinct. 84.6-7.
- Inenenmuei (*Inen-in-mwei*) 'Straight-Reign' — one of the Lords of Teleur; very respected. 29.2.
- Iro (*Iro*) — a place on the Kiti River in Lauatik section of Kiti, residence of Jau-Makaniro. 44.1. See also Luetiniro.
- Itanganjaralap (*Idang-en Sar-a-lap*) '....-the-Greater' — name of a large fish encountered by the hero of the Malpur quest; referred the hero to Itanganjaritik. 32.6.
- Itanganjaritik (*Idang-en Sar-i-tik*) '....-the-Lesser' — name of a fish, possibly a shark, encountered by the hero of the Malpur quest; provided the Malpur shell and returned the hero to Nanmatol. 32.6.
- Iteet (*Idehd*) 'Eels' — one of the artificial islands of Nanmatol, where supposedly there are 333 slingstones for the slings of the 333 men of Ijokelekel's expedition. A sacred eel was kept in a pond there. 70 [A] 3, 4.14; 72.2.

J

- Jainuar (*Sei-n-uar*) 'Trip-of-the-Canoe' (?) — a section in central Kiti. 62.4; 83.5.
- Jakaramor (*Sakar-a-moar*) 'Land-Landing' — one of the landing

- places for the canoes of Lapanmor. The other was Jakarejet. 33.6; 84.5.
- Jakaranriau (*Seker-en riau*) 'Second Landing-place' — a former section of central Matolenim, now part of Alialui. 52 [G] 1.
- Jakarantu (*Seker-en Tu*) 'Landing-of Meeting' — a place on the shore of Jainuar section, Kiti. The stream here was formed by water brought by the sisters Lipeitato and Lipeijang Katau and their husbands from Kusaie. 62.3.
- Jakarpaiti (*Sakar-a-pei-di*) 'Downwind-Landing' — a place where Naliam, the barracuda, washed ashore. 70 [E] 3.
- Jakarejet (*Sakar-a-sed*) 'Sea-Landing' — one of the landing places for the canoes of Lapanmor. 33.6; 84.5.
- Jakaren Uai (*Seker-en wai*) 'Foreign Landing' — mythical place from which the first canoe of discovery, under Japkini, set forth. 85 [C].
- Jakarpeitak 'Upwind Landing' — a place visited by Naliam, the barracuda. 70 [E] 3.
- Jakire (*Sekir-e*) 'Its' (or 'His') 'Back' — a section on the north coast of Palikir. 85 [D] 4. II.
- Jakonmuei (*Soakon-mwei*) 'Tyrannising-the-Age' — one of the Lords of Teleur; haughty. 29.3.
- Jalapuk (*Salapwuk*) — an interior section of Kiti, allegedly once on the shore when the island was growing. 8.3. Residence of Lienlama and her sons. 24.1; 70 [F] 1. Residence of Jaom en Muajangap and family. 41.2; 56.3 [A]; 83.1, 3.
- Jalatak (*Sal-a-dak*) 'Facing-Upwind' — a section of U. 52 [C] 3.
- Jamai (*Semwei*) — a section of Kiti, sometimes regarded as part of Uone, as in 60.1, but sometimes part of Likop, as in 83.6.
- Jamaki Peak, Tolen Jamaki (*Dol-en Samaki*) 'Peak-of Samaki' — hill in Tiati section of Kiti, 86 metres elevation, possibly same as Peak of Kiti. 43.1.
- Jamanlo — a boy who went to see the mangrove crab Lijariap and was the sole survivor of the party of Kiti spectators. Also called Peiangata. 35.3. Later acquired the title of Jaumatonponta.
- Jangaul — a place visited by Luk-of-Heaven on his spirit journey. Connected with Namani and Tipuantanuol. 64.3.12 [c].
- Jangieu (*Seng-ieu*) 'One-Cry' — name of the drum at Japtakai, Kiti, which was beaten in times of emergency. 83.8.
- Jangiro, Jangero (*Sang-i-ro*; division into morphemes uncertain) — a title of the Nanmariki of U. 54.16 [A] 2; 56.10.2; 74.1.2; 83.10 [A] 2.
- Jangoro, Jangiro, Jangero (*Sahng-o-ro*; division into morphemes uncertain) (Cf. also Jangiro, a title of the Nanmariki of U, probably not the same word, although maybe related etymo-

- logically) – god of the Lapanuanik, ruler of Uanik or U. 53 [E]. God of the Foreign Clan, 56.3.2, 3.6; 85 [G] 7.2. God who tricks Lapanmor, creates two islands from taro, aids a Creature Clan woman to bear children and to conquer Uone. 84.3, 7-10.
- Janipan (*Senipehn* [or *Senipen?*]) – an area of Matolenim, ruled by Lapanmor. 26.2.1; 27 [A] 2; 33.1-2, 6; 46.3.6; 48.22, 25; 52 [G]; 53 [E]; 54 [C] 3; 57.6; 59.1; 82.12; 84.3.
- Janmo – one of the non-mortal passengers in the heavenly canoe of the god Luk. 85 [N] IV.
- Janop (*Soanop*) ‘Earth’ (?) – translation unclear. The name of a locality on Net Peninsula, near its extremity. 38.19.
- Jantiako ‘Santiago’ – Spanish name for the town established at Mejeniang in Net, now called Kolonia. 66.9-16.
- Jaomenjet (*Saumw-in-Sed* [?]) ‘Master-of-the-Oven-of-the-Sea’ (?) – possibly a title assumed by Luk-of-Heaven or the name of a spirit he encountered. 64.3.2 [f]. Cf. also Jaom en Muajangap.
- Jaom en Muajangap (*Saumw-in-Mwasangap* [?]) ‘Master-of-the-Oven-of-Muajangap’ (?) – the Ponapean Noah, who predicted a flood and rode it out in a bowl. Lived at Muajangap in Jalapuk section, Kiti. High-priest of Kiti-proper and of the cult of the god Taukatau. 41; 56.3 [A].
- Japalap, Japualap (*Sapw-a-lap*) ‘Main-land’ – an area of Matolenim, central inland, especially to the north of the Letau estuary. Possibly includes or is the same as Janipan. 27 [A] 2; 33.1; 36.6-7; 42.1; 44.17; 46.3.9; 48.25; 66.16, 18. Usually said to be ruled by Lapanmor, as in 48.25, but by Kiraun en Letau in 46.3.9 & 66.18.
- Japalatak (*Sapal-a-dak*) ‘Walking-Upwind’ – name given to Kiteumanien after he returned to Jokaj from Matolenim. 23.4.
- Japaltito (*Sapal-dih-do*) ‘Walking-Down-Hither’ – name given to Kiteumanien after he escaped from Matolenim to Kiti. 23.4; 71.4.
- Japani (*Sapahni* [?]) – mythical land to the west in Downwind Katau or Kataupaiti. Source of sixth canoe to reach Ponape. 5.1; 43.2; 70 [E] 1.
- Japarairai (*Sapw-a-reirei*) ‘Long-Land’ – a synonym for Ant Atoll. 36.11.
- Japen Jaunipong (*Sapw-en Sou-n-pwong*) ‘The-Land-of the-Moon’, ‘The-Land-of the-Sun-of-the-Night’ – a place visited by Luk-of-Heaven. 64.3.1 [q].
- Japkini, Japikini (*Sap-i-kini*) name of man, organiser of the voyage that discovered Ponape. 1.1-2, 4, 6; 85 [C].
- Japtakai (*Sahpw Takai*) ‘Rock Land’ – complex of stone structures built in Kiti under Kiteumanien in imitation of Nanmatol. 23.4-5; 60.9; 83.5, 8; 84.2. Today is a section within Kiti.

- Japuejapuen Katipin (*Sapwesapw-en Ket-i-pin*) 'The-Land-of the-Sun', 'The-Sun's Land' – mentioned in Luk-of-Heaven's journey. 64.3.8 [b].
- Japuenalamau (*Sapw-en Al-a-mwau* [?]) 'Land-of the-Good-Road' (?) – ancient or esoteric name for Kipar section of modern Kiti, formerly part of Likop. 60.8.
- Japueni paik puet (*Sapw-en-i paik pwet*) 'Land-of White Necks' – a place visited by Luk-of-Heaven during his spirit voyage. 64.3.2 [o].
- Japuenleu (*Sapw-en Leu* [?]) 'Land-of Being Cooked' (?) – ancient or esoteric name for Pok section of modern Kiti, formerly part of Likop. 60.8.
- Japuerak, Japuerok (*Sapw-e-hrek*) – a section of southern Matolenim. 52 [H] 2; 57.6; 65.7; 66.16; 82.3, 11-13.
- Jaraitinjap (. . . .-sapw) '-the-Land' – one of the Lords of Teleur; noted for magic power. 29.4.
- Jarapuau, Jarapau (*Sarapwau*) – son of Lienlama, name as a child. Brother of Monimur. Another name for him later was Puilitak. Competed with Laponge and killed him. 24.1-7. Also name of a part of the loom. 24.1.
- Jarauanmor (*Saraw-en-moar*) 'Barracuda-of-the-Land' – an appellation for Naliam, the barracuda. 70 [E] 2.
- Jatokauai (Soa-dok-a-wai [?]) – hero of the Malpur shell quest. 32.
- Jauan en Palap (*Sou-wen-in Pah-lap*) 'Master-of-the-Dance-of Palap' – title of a member of the crew that went on the Tiripeijo feather quest. 84.5.
- Jauar (*Sauar*) – a hole dug by Jarapuau and Monimur in Jalapuk, going down to the Underworld. 24.1. Name of a stone brought to Ponape by Lijoumokaiap from Japani on the sixth voyage of the immigrants (see Stone of Jauar). 5.1.
- Jau Areu, Jau-areu (*Sou Areu*) 'Master-of Areu' – fisherman who lived with his son in Areu section. Eaten by an eel, which disguised itself in the man's form to deceive the son. 36.1-3, 11.
- Jauelen ijipau (*Sou-wel-in Isipau*) 'Master-of-the-Forest-of the-Ijipau' – one of six titles whose holders were in the immediate retinue of the Nanmariki. 55 [E] 1.6.
- Jauel en ni oror (*Sou-wel-in Ni-oarohr*) 'Master-of-the-Forest-of the-Shore' – title of the mud crab that went on the Tiripeijo feather quest. 84.5.
- Jauelen uajai (*Sou-wel-in Wasai*) 'Master-of-the-Forest-of the-Uajai' – the third of four titles in the immediate retinue of the Uajai. 55 [E] 2.3.
- Jauel lapalap (*Sou-wel Lapalap*) 'Great Master-of-the-Forest' – one of the titles in the second line (Royal Children) of state titles. 84.1 [B] 1.

- Jauene (*Sou Wene*) 'Master-of Uone' – the leader of the lesser group of priests in Uone. Became Uajai of Kiti when Uone and Kiti-proper combined. 56.3 [A]; 60.10; 84.10.
- Jauenpajet (*Sou-wen-in Pah-sed*) 'Master-of-the-Dance-of the-Underworld' – a spirit encountered by Luk-of-Heaven during his spirit voyage, resident at Jokalainpajet. 64.3.3 [d].
- Jauialap (*Sou I-a-lap*) 'Master-of the-Large-Belly' – paired with Jau-ietik. A male spirit encountered by Luk-of-Heaven. 64.3.14 [g].
- Jaiiap (*Sou Iap*) 'Master-of Yap' – Ruler of Yap (Iap), master of Uarikitam and rival of Jomenkapinpil. 39.1-3, 8-9.
- Jauietik (*Sou I-e-tik*) 'Master-of the-Small-Belly' – paired with Jauialap. A male spirit encountered by Luk-of-Heaven. 64.3.14 [f].
- Jau-ingkonpaiej (*Sou Ngkon Paies* [?]) – man residing in Paiej section, who married Lipalapanlang; father of Kerecijlang. 38.3-13.
- Jaujamtakeria 'Master . . . ' – boy, born in Land of the South, of the clan Masters of the South, who died of yaws and from whose corpse grew a coconut tree. 80.3-4.
- Jaujapal, Jaunjapal (*Sou Sapal*) 'Master-of Walking' – name given to Kiteumanien after he returned to Matolenim from Kiti. 23.4; 71.4.
- Jaujet, Jau-jet (*Sou-Sed*) 'Master-of-the-Sea' – the title of an official in charge of a stretch of lagoon under the Lord of Teleur. Supposedly there were three of these in Ponape. 30.3; 53 [E].
- Jaujetenroti (*Sou-sed-in Roah-di*) 'Master-of-the-Sea-of Roti' – a man of the Great Eel Clan, who raised the son of Ijokelekel, Nalapanien, against the father's wishes. 54.4.
- Jau Kamar, Jau-kamar (*Sou Kahmar*) 'Master-of Kamar' – the section chief of modern Kamar section of Net. Ruler of the area of Kamar under the Lord of Teleur. 26.5.5; 27 [C] 5; 46.3.11; 55 [B] 2.
- Jaukeniau 'Waving-of-the Banyan' – a place visited by Luk-of-Heaven during his wanderings, perhaps near Paniau Harbour. 64.3.10 [i].
- Jaukija (*Sou Kise*) 'Master-of Part' – short for Jaukijanlang.
- Jaukijanlang, Jau-kijanlang, Jaukijan lang (*Sou Kis-e-hn-leng*) 'Master-of Part-of-Heaven', 'Master-of the-Relatives-of-Heaven' – the ruler of Uone (or Ononlang) under the Lord of Teleur. Became the Nanmariki of Kiti when Uone and Kiti-proper combined. 26.4.1; 27 [B] 1; 46.3.3; 50.2, 5; 53 [F]; 56 [A] 1; 60.1-7, 10-11; 65.2; 74.2, 6; 78.9; 83.7; 84.10; 85 [N]. Also a ceremonial leader and high priest. 56.3 [A], 4, 11, 26-31. His inaugural place at Paler in Olapal section, Kiti. 56.29.
- Jaukiolap (*Sou Kiolap*) 'Master-of Great . . . ' – a person in the Underworld encountered by Luk-of-Heaven. 64.3.3 [s].
- Jau-kior (*Sou Kior* [?]) – a man who helped rescue the son of Jau Areu by washing away a pursuing eel in a flood. 36.7-10.

- Jaukiti, Jau-Kiti (*Sou Kiti*) 'Master-of Kiti' — ruler of the central part ('Kiti-proper') of what is now the state of Kiti under the Lord of Teleur. 26.4.2; 27 [B] 2; 53; 83.1.
- Jaukitik (*Sou Kitik*) 'Master-of Rats' — a figure in the untitled song of 85 [M] III.
- Jaukong (*Sou Koahng*) 'Master-of the-Kong-Fish' — title of a ruler of Net under the Lord of Teleur. Shared authority with Lapannot, or possibly an alternate or extra associated title. 26.5.3.
- Jaulamer (*Sou Lamwer*) 'Master-of Geckos' — a figure in the untitled song of 85 [M] III.
- Jaulik (*Sou-lik*) 'Master-of-the-Exterior' — a common title for chiefs of sections and sometimes other political units, e.g., Jaulik en Japuerak, Jaulik en Kapine, etc.
- Jaulikenjapauaj 'Master of the Exterior of Japauaj' — a priestly title. 83.10 [B] 6.6.
- Jaulik en Kiti (*Sou-lik-in Kiti*) 'Master-of-the-Exterior-of Kiti' — a priestly title. 83.10 [B] 4.4.
- Jaulik en palap (*Sou-lik-in Pah-lap*) 'Master-of-the-Exterior-of Palap' — title of a member of the crew that went on the Tiripeijo feather quest. 84.5.
- Jaulikin Ant, Jau-likin Ant, Jau-likinant, Jaulik en Ant (*Sou-lik-in And*) 'Master-of-the-Exterior-of Ant' — the ruler of Ant Atoll under the Lord of Teleur. 26.4.4; 26.6.2; 27 [B] 4, [D] 2; 46.3.4; 48.5-9; 50.2, 5; 53 [C] 1; 54 [B] 2; 85 [N].
- Jaulikinlor — name of one of the men on Ijokelekel's expedition from Kusaie to conquer Ponape; mentioned in a spell. 72.2.
- Jaulikin Na, Jau-likin na (*Sou-lik-in Na*) 'Master-of-the-Exterior-of Na' — the feudal ruler of the island of Na under the Lord of Teleur. 26.6.1; 27 [D] 1; 46.3.2; 54 [B] 1; 85 [L] II.
- Jau-majamaj apual (*Sou Masamas Apwal*) 'Master-of Difficult Favouritism' (?) — magician living at Pantakaipuetepuet, in Japalap, Matolenim, who used to roast his subjects for food without harming them. 42.
- Jaumaka (*Sou Maka*) 'Master-of the-Banana-Plantations' — title of person in charge of the bananas under Kirau Mair. 37.3-4.
- Jau-Makaniro (*Sou Maka-hn Iro*) 'Master-of the-Banana-Plantations-of Iro' — man, host to a couple from Uone when they found the stone or seed which produced the eel, Muajanpatol. Lived at Iro, in Lauatik section of Kiti. 44.1.
- Jaumakanmair (*Sou Maka-hn Meir*) 'Master-of the-Banana-Plantations-of the-Interior' — title of the man in charge of the banana planters under the gardener Kirau Mair. 37.3.
- Jaumangai, Jaumangai — one of the two people, the other being Limeitinpalakap, who accompanied the Airika canoe back to Heaven. 50.6; 85 [N] IV.

Jaumatonjokaj, Joumatau, Jaumatau of Jokaj (*Sou-medo-hn So-kehs*) 'Master-of-the-Ocean-of Jokaj' — a state title, held by the leader of the 1910 rebellion of Jokaj against the Germans. 73.2-3; 85 [D] 3.I, 4.II, 5.III.

Jaumaton palap (*Sou-medew-en Pah-lap*) 'Master-of-the-Sea-of Palap' — title of a member of the crew that went on the Tiripeijo feather quest. 84.5.

Jaumatonponta, Jau-maton-ponta (*Sou-medo-hn Poh-n-Ta*) Master-of-the-Ocean-at Upwind-of-the Leaf' (?)—title bestowed upon the boy Jamanlo or Peiangata. 35.3. High priest of ancient Uone; title converted to Naniken of Kiti after the Uone-Kiti wars. 60.10.

Jaumokoko — apparently the name of a male rat. Paired with Jautikitik. 57.8.

Jaumuarapaiei (*Sou-Mwar-a-pei-ei*) 'Reef- . . . -Facing-Out' — one of two reefs in the lagoon of Kiti, covered with mud, where women were fishing when they found the stone that produced the eel Muajapatol. 44.1. The other reef was Jaumuarapailong.

Jaumuarapailong (*Sou-Mwar-a-peilong*) 'Reef- . . . -Facing-In' — one of two reefs in the lagoon of Kiti where women were fishing when they found the stone that produced the eel Muajapatol. The other reef was Jaumuarapaiei. 44.1.

Jauna (*Sou-na*) 'Island-Reef' (?) — abbreviation for Jaunalang. 46.3.13. Also name of a section of U.

Jaun Air, Jaunair (*Sou-n Eir*) 'Masters-of the-South', 'Clan-of the-South', 'Lord-of the-South' (?) — clan of first immigrants; the Ponape branch became the Tipuinman or Creature Clan. 2.3; 64.3.2 [I]; 69.1-3; 79.1; 80.4. Possibly also a spirit encountered by Luk-of-Heaven on his spirit trip. 64.3.8 [a'].

Jaunalang (*Sohu-Nal-leng*; or, *Sou-nah-leng* [?]) 'Reef-in-Heaven' — name of an area under the rule of the Lords of Teleur; an earlier name for Teleur; Tamon Island, possibly including the reef area around Nanmatol and Na, perhaps more than this, 26.2, 5-6; 46.3.13; 50.4-5; 51.1.1; 70 [B] 1; 74.2. Abbreviated to Jauna. 46.3.13.

Jaunant (*Sou-n And*) 'Masters-of Ant-Atoll' — a subclan of the Luk Clan. Henry Nanpei and his mother Meri-An were of this subclan. 65.8.

Jauni, Jau-ni (*Sou Nih*) 'Master-of the-Coconuts' — the feudal ruler of Pakin Atoll (Pakein) under the Lord of Teleur. 26.5.4, 6.3; 27 [C] 4, [D] 3; 46.3.5; 53 [C] 2; 54 [B] 3.

Jauninting (*Sou Nting*) 'Not Tattooed' — a place on the Net Peninsula opposite Kolonia, said to have been named after Jaupeiajaj and his brother (cousin?), neither of whom were tattooed. 38.17.

Jau-niue (*Sou Nih-we*) 'Master-of Niue' — the father of Lienpeilang, who was the sweetheart of an eel. His wife was Kat-niue. 45.1.

- Jaunjamaki (*Sou-n Samaki*) – a clan, alleged to be the one from which the Naniken of Jokaj should be chosen. 73.3; 83.10 [C] 6.
- Jaunkauat (*Sou-n Kawad*) ‘Masters-of Kauat’ – one of the major clans of Ponape, the clan of the first line of chiefs of Net and Jokaj. Connected with the goddess Inaj. 56.3.8; 73.3; 83.10 [A] 5.
- Jaunlang (*Soun-leng*) ‘Masters-of-Heaven’ or ‘Clan-of-Heaven’ – the branch of the Jaun Luk clan living in Heaven. 37.36. (Also, as *Sou-leng*, the common word for ‘Christians’.)
- Jaunlipuantiak (*Sou-n Lipw-en Tiak*) ‘Masters-of the Trace-of the Footprint’ – the senior subclan of the Lajialap clan, whose ancestress was born in a hole in the Kiti River named Lipuantiak. 44.16.
- Jaun Luk (*Sou-n Luhk*) ‘Masters-of Luk’, ‘Masters-of the-Centre’ – a clan considered to be related to the god Luk. 37.36. Jaunlang ‘Masters-of-Heaven’, the branch of the Jaun Luk clan living in Heaven. 37.36. See also Tipuinluk.
- Jau-nok (*Sou Nok*) ‘Master-of Nok’ – name of a man visited by the god Luk; lived at Pejiko on Na Island; his wife was Kat-nok. 40.5.
- Jaunpalianpil, Jounpalianpil (*Sou-n Peli-en-i-pil*) ‘Masters-of the-Side-of-the-Water’ – one of the two subclans of the Jaurakim clan. 21.2.
- Jaunroi, Jounroi (*Sou-n Rohi*) ‘Masters-of Roi’ – one of the two subdivisions of the Jaurakian clan, located originally at Roi section, Kiti. 21.2.
- Jaupaip (*Sou Paip*) ‘Master-of Basalt-Cliffs’ – esoteric or old name for the Island of Jokaj, the centre of the state of Jokaj. 22.2; 26.5. Later equated with all of Jokaj, 53 [B]; and elsewhere defined as the area from Jokala Estuary to Paiej section of Kiti, i.e., all of the state of Jokaj as nowadays constituted plus the western part of Net, 51.2.
- Jauparajaj (*Sou Par-ahsahs* [?]) ‘Master-of Parajaj’ – a spirit, evidently male, encountered by Luk-of-Heaven. 64.3.2 [s].
- Jaupeiajaj, Jau-peiajaj ‘Master of Lucky Sprouting (?)’ – son of Lipalapanlang and Jau-ingkonpaiej. Also called Kereejang. 38.12-20.
- Jaupelata (*Sou Pel-a-da*) ‘Master-of Hewing-Up’ – man, member of crew discovering Ponape; cf. Japkini. 1.2.3; 85 [C].
- Jaupeleti (*Sou Pel-e-di*) ‘Master-of Hewing-Down’ – man, member of canoe discovering Ponape; cf. Japkini 1.2.2; 85 [C].
- Jau-pontauaj (*Sou Poh-n Douwas*) ‘Master-of Above Tauaj’ – the official in charge of the capital of Nanmatol under the Lord of Teleur. 31.1. cf. Nantauaj. Perhaps the same as the Taupontauaj of 70.2.
- Jau Puaja (*Sou Pwasa* [?]) ‘Master-of Puaja’ – the ruler of one of the major divisions of Kiti, immediately after the conquest of Ponape by Ijokelekel. 55 [A] 2.

- Jaupualu (*Sou Pwahu* [?]) — one of the flying men who stole Kirau Mair's bananas. Later married to the latter's daughter. Father of Luk. 37.7, 10-15.
- Jaupuan (*Sou Pwan*) — one of the titles in the first line of state titles. 83.10 [D] 10.
- Jaurakim, Jourakim (*Sou-n Rekihmu*) 'Masters-of Rakim' or 'Clan-of Rakim' — a clan immigrating from Kataupaiti in the sixth voyage, settling in Kiti. Paian Jaurakim, protective charm of the clan. 5.3. Subdivisions are Jaunroi and Jaunpalianpil. 21.1-2; 68.4; 85 [P].
- Jautaire — name of a member of the crew that went on the Tiripeijo feather quest. 84.5.
- Jautel — one of the titles in the first line of state titles. 83.10 [D] 2.
- Jauteleur (*Sau Deleur*) 'Lord-of Teleur', 'Master-of Teleur' — the legendary ruler of all Ponape. 25.2; 26.0-1; 27.0; 28.2-3; 29.0; 32.1, 3, 6, 8-9, 12; 33.2, 5-7, 9; 34.1, 3-5; 37.1; 44.7-8; 46.1-5; 47.1; 48.0-3, 11-12, 22-23; 50.1; 51.3; 56.2 [A]; 70 [A] 2, 5, [C] 6-10, [D] 6; 84.3-4.
- Jau-temoi — the last Lord of Teleur, defeated by Ijokelekel. 29.7.
- Jautikitik (*Sou Tikitik*) 'Little Master' — apparently the name of a male rat. 57.8. Paired with Jaumokoko.
- Jekijmunto 'Sigismundo' — a Nanmariki of Kiti who died in 1945; was a member of the Lijirmutok subclan of the Creature Clan. 84.10.
- Jem-Hadly 'James Headley' — an Englishman living on Ponape in the mid-nineteenth century. Married the daughter of a Nanmariki of Kiti and had as his own daughter Meri-An, who married Nanku, the Naniken of Kiti. 65.8.
- Jenale — a member of the crew of the canoe that the Lord of Teleur sent to fetch the Lapanpalikir who had the form of a chicken. 70 [B] 2.
- Jerijo (*Ser-hso*) 'Royal-Child' — designation for the second line of state titles, headed by the Naniken; so-called because ideally title-holders of this line are sons of men of the first line, the Royal Men. 79.7; 83.9, 10 [B], 10 [D].
- Jet lollap (*Sed loal-lap*) 'The-Sea-of Ambition' — an area of water adjacent to northern Jokaj. 85 [D] 3. I.
- Jilaniap (*Sile-hn Iap*) 'Adze-of Yap' — the adze brought along by Juiap in his search for his man Uarikitam. 39.8.
- Jimmy the Cooper — a sailor from the whaler *Conway*, on Ponape from 1835, who played a role in the affair of the *Falcon* in 1836. 85 [O].
- Jimot — a son of Liajanpal, who founded the Inanuaiaj subclan of the Creature Clan. 84.6.

- Jinekia (*Sinekia*) – one of two boys, the other being Jinekie, who helped sacrifice their turtle mother, Lianenjokala. 51.3-4; 70 [D].
- Jinekie (*Sinekie*) – one of two boys, the other being Jinekia, who helped sacrifice their turtle mother, Lianenjokala. 51.3-4; 70 [D].
- Jirintokra – a member of the crew of the canoe that the Lord of Teleur sent to fetch the Lapanpalikir who had the form of a chicken. 70 [B] 2.
- Jokaj (*So-kehs*) ‘Not-Hooked (?)’ – one of the five independent states of Ponape in recent times; also the offshore island which is the centre of the state of the same name. 22.3; 26.5.1; 27 [C] 1; 39.2; 53 [B], [D]; 54 [A]; 56.10; 59.1; 60.3; 66.11-15, 22; 70 [C]; 71.2-3; 73.1-3; 74.1; 83.10; 85 [D] I-III. Name of a corner of the island of Pankatira, built by a Jokaj stone fitter. 23.2-3; 71.2-3.
- Jokala – see Nanjokala.
- Jokala Estuary, Jokala Channel – see Nanjokala.
- Jokalainpajet (*Sokele-hn Pah-sed*) ‘Jokala-of the-Underworld’ – a place visited by Luk-of-Heaven. cf. Jokala. 64.3.3 [b].
- Jolap (*Soh-lap*) ‘. . . .-the-Greater’ – man, came with third canoe to Ponape; helped start building of houses. cf. Pakilap. 1.14.
- Jomenkapinpil (*Saumw-in Kep-in-i-pil*) ‘Master-of-the-Oven-of the-Lower-Reaches-of-the-Stream (?)’ – a magician living in Nanjokala, rival of Jaiuiap. 39.1, 3, 7-8.
- Joom (*Soumw*) ‘Master-of-the-Ovens’ – a high title of Uone. 84.10.
- Jotik (*Soh-tik*) ‘. . . .-the-Lesser’ – a man, came with third canoe to Ponape; helped start house building. cf. Pakilap. 1.14.
- Joulaipeip (*Sou-la-ipeip* [?]) ‘Master-’ or ‘Not-’ (?) – name or title of the Micronesian starling sent after the Yap banana; the less persistent flyer. cf. Muanlaipeip. 6.2-3.
- Jounkiti (*Sou-n Kiti*) ‘The Kiti Clan’, ‘Masters-of Kiti’ – a subclan of the Creature Clan which formerly provided the high chiefs of central Kiti (i.e., Kiti-proper). 60.2, 3.
- Jutakono (*Suh-dak-o-no* [?]) ‘Mast of the Waves (?)’ – man, member of crew discovering Ponape, cf. Japkini. 1.2.7. Esoteric name for mast. 1.3.

K

- Kaja (*Kasa*) – formerly a lesser priest in Mant, Kiti, whose task it was to make one of the two bowls used to serve the Master of Kiti. Nowadays the title of the section head of Mant. 83.3.
- Kalauanaiau (*Kalew-en Aiau*) ‘Root-of the-Banyan’ – a place visited by Luk-of-Heaven during his wanderings, perhaps near Paniau Harbour. 64.3.10 [j].

- Kamar** (*Kahmar*) — a section of modern Net, inland from Kolonia. Perhaps more extensive in olden times, including more of the central mainland part of Net. 26.5.5; 27 [C] 5; 70 [D] 4. Jauiap's servant Uarikitam's body forms the foundation of this area. 39.7. Ruled by Jau Kamar. 46.3.11; 55 [B] 2.
- Kampa** — the period of seven holy days in the pre-Christian cult of Uone. 74.9-10.
- Kanikienjamtakeria** 'Steward of . . . ' — Foreign Clan boy, adopted by parents of Jaujamtakeria to take his place when he died. Also named Lakam. 80.3-4.
- Kanikienjapauaj** 'Steward of Japauaj' — one of the titles in the first line (the Royal Men) of state titles. 83.10 [D] 8.
- Kaniki en nioror** (*Kaniki-hn Ni-Oaroahr*) 'Steward-of the-Shore' — title of the mud-skipper that went on the Tiripeijo feather quest. 84.5.
- Kanikiennririn** 'Steward of the Gate' — one of the titles of the second line (the Royal Children) of state titles. 84.1 [B] 2.
- Kaniki en Tapau** 'Steward of Tapau' — one of two men who transformed a rock into a canoe that was later taken up into Heaven. 70 [H].
- Kanikienui** (*Kaniki-hn Wehi*) 'Steward-of the-State', 'Steward-of the-Turtle' — one of the titles of the second line of state titles. 84.1 [B] 7.
- Kanikiniapatang** (*Kaniki-hn Iap-a-dang*) 'Steward-of Iapatang' — name of one of the flying men who stole Kirau Mair's bananas. Lived at Iapatang. 37.7, 11, 13.
- Kankapir, Kanikapir** (*Keh-n Ke-pir*) 'The-Bridge-of Twisting', 'Twisting Bridge' — a bridge over the hole Pueliko, between the Underworld and the Third Heaven. Spirits of the dead had to pass over this bridge and were shaken into the hole if they could not sing sweetly. 56.16; 85 [M].
- Kapijau** (*Kepi-sewi*) — a place mentioned in the Song of the Good Lizard. 70 [C] 5.
- Kapilang** (*Kep-ih-leng*) 'Bottom-of-Heaven' — the central part of Kiti, i.e., Kiti-proper, ruled over by Jaukiti. 27 [B] 2; 53 [A]; 59.1; 60.1; 65.2. Sometimes extended to include the western part of modern Kiti. 38.3.
- Kapine, Kapinne** (*Kep-in-ne*) 'Bottom-of-the-Leg (?)' — name applied to two sections, one in central Matolenim, 57.2, and one in Uone, Kiti, 66.4.5; 82.3.
- Kapiro** (*Kep-i-roi*) 'Bottom-of Roi' — a section of southern Matolenim. 52 [H] 3; 57.6; 82.12.
- Kapitau Rairai** (*Kepidau Reirei*) 'Long Channel' — the channel running from the mouth of the Letau River through Matolenim

- Harbour to Na Island; occupied for its 5-mile length by the file of sting-rays that took revenge on the Kiraun en Letau. 85 [L] II.
- Kapteinpij 'Captain Benjamin Pease' — an associate of Captain 'Bully' Hayes; lived at Lot Harbour, 1868-71. 82.0, 4.
- Kareraua — see Peinkareraua.
- Katau, Kotou — see Kataupeitak.
- Kataupaiti (*Katau Pei-di*) 'Downwind Katau' or 'Downwind Igneous-Rock' — an island to the west, or perhaps a general term for any large island to the west. Perhaps Truk or Yap. 5.1; 21.0; 22.1; 24.0; 41.7; 43.2.
- Kataupeitak (or simply 'Katau') (*Katau Pei-dak*) 'Upwind Katau' — the island of Kusaie; a high island to the east of Ponape; possibly also the Marshall Islands. Translated generally as Kusaie. 23.2; 44.19; 48.1-3, 14, 20; 62.3; 71.1; 81.1.
- Katengenior (*Ka-teng-en-i-oar*) 'Stabiliser-(or "Making-Stable")-of-the-Shore' — the barrier reef, esoteric name. 1.8.
- Katinganik — esoteric name for mangrove swamp. 1.8.
- Katinlang (*Ked-in Leng*) 'Mistress-of Heaven' — first wife of the god Luk; her co-wife was Liatijap. 37.32-45; 70 [G] 2.
- Kat-niue (*Ked-in Nih-we*) 'Mistress-of Niue' — the mother of Lien-peilang. Her husband was Jau-niue. She and her husband killed and ate their daughter's lover, the eel Muajenlang. 45.1.
- Kat-nok (*Ked-in Nok*) 'Mistress-of Nok' — woman visited by the god Luk; received kava from him; lived at Pejiko on Na Island; wife of Jau-nok. 40.5-6.
- Kelepuaall, Kelepäll (*Kel-e-pwel* [?]) 'Earth-Wall (?)' — one of the artificial islets in the Nanmatol group, where the last Jauteleur quartered Ijokelekel and his party. Across a canal from Pankatira. 48.11; 70 [A] 4.15.
- Kepara (*Kepara*) — an island off the southwestern coast of Kiti, on the barrier reef. 35.1.
- Kereejlang (*Kerehs-i-leng*) 'Kereej-of-Heaven' — son of Lipalapanlang and Jau-ingkonpaiej. A magician who wounded himself and went to Heaven with his mother and aunt. Also called Jaupeiajaj. 38.6-12.
- Kerengke (*Ke-rengk-e* [?]) — the residence of Jaujetenroti, the foster-father of Nalapanien, on Tamon Island. 54.6.
- Kerepung (*Kerepwung* [or *Koropwung?*]) — place name, possibly a waterfall in Matolenim. Possibly the full and proper name is Pan Kerepung. 57.7.
- Keuj (*Ke-us*) 'Who-art-thou?' — title of guardian of the gate at the residence of the Lords of Teleur. 23.2; 71.2.
- Kientakipuel (*Ki-en Dak-i-pwel*) 'Shell-Adze-of . . . -Earth' — an adze, evidently the name of a specific ceremonial adze used by

- Jaukijanlang and Jaulikin Ant to cut down the canoe that refused to fall in Airika. 50.2; 85 [N] IV.
- Kijiniangonlang (*Kis-in-iaoang-en-leng* [?]) 'Bit-of-Turmeric-of-Heaven', 'Turmeric-of-Heaven' — some turmeric supposed to be used by Lipereutik and Lipereulap in anointing some fish, presumably sacred. 64.3.7 [k].
- Kijinintamau (*Kis-in Nta Mwau*) 'Bit-of Good Blood' — a daughter of one of the Lords of Teleur, lured away by the anthropophagous demon Taimuan. 34.4-11.
- Kilop (*Kiloap* or *Kuloap*, dialectal variants) — one of the titles in the first line of state titles. 83.10 [D] 5.
- Kinakap (*Kin-a-kapw*) 'New-Kin (?)' — a section in northern Matolenim. 36.4, 6; 40.5; 52 [E] 2; 66.18.
- Kinakap Ridge, Ulul en Kinakap (*Uluhl-en Kin-a-kapw*) 'Ridge-of Kinakap' — a hill or mountain in Kinakap section of Matolenim. 36.4.
- Kintakenmolujai (*Kin-dak-en Mwoaluhsei*) 'Strengthening-of Molujai' — name of a spell used in preparing the foundation of the breakwater Nanmolujai at Nanmatol. 22.5; 23.5. Used also for foundation of Japtakai by Kiteumanien and probably for the Corner of Jokaj at Pankatira.
- Kiolap — a person in the Underworld encountered by Luk-of-Heaven. See also Jaukiolap. 64.3.3 [r, s].
- Kipar (*Kipar*) 'Pandanus Palm' — a section in Kiti where a large earth mound occurs; it is said to be a grave of the Kaona, or giants. See also Pankipar. 49.3.
- Kirau Mair, Kiraumair (*Kirou Meir*) 'Keeper-of the-Interior' — ruler of the interior area of Nanmair under the Lord of Teleur, an area now uninhabited. 26.5; 27 [D] 1; 37.3-6, 11, 13; 44.7-8, 11, 14; 46.3.10; 57.8.
- Kiraumant (*Kirou Mand*) 'Keeper-of Mant' — an eel fisherman from whom the Lajjalap ancestress, Muajanpatol, fled and hid. 44.13.
- Kiraunaip (*Kirou-n Aip*) 'Keeper-of the-Drums' — title of the official in charge of the state drums of Kiti. Also the official who maintained the state drums of Matolenim and who led the installation party for the Nanmariki of Matolenim. 83.8; 84.6.
- Kiraun en Letau, Kirauenletau (*Kiroun-in Leh-dau*) 'Keeper-of Letau' — the ruler of Letau, a section of Matolenim formerly of greater extent. 27 [A] 5; 46.3.9; 54 [C] 2; 66.18, 20; 85 [L] II.
- Kiraun en Palap (*Kiroun-in Pah-lap*) 'Keeper-of Palap' — title of a member of the crew that went on the Tiripeijo feather quest. 84.5.
- Kirauroi (*Kirou Rohi*) 'Keeper-of Roi' — title of a chief of Roi section, encountered by Naliam, the barracuda. 70 [E] 3.

- Kitam (*Kitamw*) — a section of central Matolenim. 52 [F] 2.
- Kiteumanien (*Kideu-menien*) — a kind of fern, but used here as the name of the master stone-fitter from Jokaj who built the Corner of Jokaj at Pankatira. Other names and titles: Konjai, Japaltito, Jaujapal, Japalatak, Lampuajok. 23.3-5; 71.3.
- Kiti (*Kiti*) — one of the five states of Ponape. Name formerly applied only to the central part of the state ('Kiti-proper'), before its union with Uone. 23.2-5; 26.4; 32.14; *et passim*.
- Kiti Clan — see Jounkiti.
- Kitoroilang, Kitaronlang (*Kitoar-oi-leng*) 'Eaves-of-Heaven' — the horizon. Cf. Tapuajjo. 1.1; 37.31, 33.
- Kolonia — modern name for the town established by the Spanish at Mejeniang and called Jantiako (Santiago). 73.3; 85 [D] 1.
- Konjai (*Konsai* [?]) — name given to Kiteumanien after he rode from Jokaj to Matolenim on a length of stone. 23.3; 71.3.
- Konopuel (*Kono-pwel*) '...-Earth' — captain of second canoe to reach Ponape; husband of Likarepuel; helped provide earth for the island. 1.13.
- Kuor, Kuer (*Kuor*) — a name occurring in the song or spell of Ch. 57. Possibly a spirit connected with a chicken? 57.1, 6, 9.
- Kusaic — see Kataupeitak.

L

- Laiminpei (*Laimw-in-pei*) — sister of the god Luk. 37.31-40; 70 [G] 2.
- Lajialap (*Lasi-a-lap*) 'The-Great-Eels' — a clan. The original ancestress was the eel Muajanpatol. Various branches include Jaunlipuantiak, Lajietong, Lajiekotop, etc. 44.16; 54.1-2; 83.10 [A] 2, [C] 2; 85 [K] 1.
- Lajiekotop (*Lasi-e-kotop*) 'The-Kotop-Palm-Eels' — one of a number of subclans of the Lajialap clan. Named after the kotop palm (*Clinostigma ponapensis*). 44.16.
- Lajietong (*Lasi-e-dohng*) 'The Toong-Tree Eels' — one of a number of subclans of the Lajialap clan. Named after the toong tree (*Camposperma brevipetiolata*). 44.16.
- Lakam — another name of Kanikienjamtakeria. 80.4.
- Lampuajok (*Lempwei Sok*) '...-Alighting' — title (name?) given to Kiteumanien after he settled down again in his home district of Jokaj. 23.4; 71.4. Title of feudal ruler of Jokaj Island under the Lord of Teleur. 26.5.1; 27 [C] 1.
- Lampuai lapalap — one of the titles in the first line of state titles. 83.10 [D] 1.
- Lampuain ijipau (*Lempwei-n Isipau*) — one of six titles whose

- holders were in the immediate retinue of the Nanmariki. 55 [E] 1.5; 73.3.12.
- Lampauin uajai (*Lempwei-n Wasai*) — the second of four titles in the immediate retinue of the Uajai. 55 [E] 2.2.
- Lamuak, Lamak (*La-mwahk*) 'Male- . . . ' — a gardener in the reign of the Lords of Teleur; born at Nanpaniep, moved to Japalap, where he offered first fruits of a banana to Lapanmor. 33.1-4, 11; 84.3.
- Lang (*Lahng*) 'Heaven' — the sky world or worlds. Common as the last morpheme of names, e.g., Takainlang, 24.2. Also occurs in the form of Nanlang or Nalang, 'In Heaven', e.g., in Jaunalang. See also Langapap, etc.
- Langapap (*Lahng-apaht* [?]) 'Suspended-Heaven' (?) — a layer of Heaven fairly near earth where the high gods are said to have lived. 56.23.
- Langina (*Lang-ih-na*) 'Heaven-of-Reef Islands' (?) — the residence of Poloti and Polota, two spirits encountered by Luk-of-Heaven on his spirit voyage. See also Lienilangina. 64.3.11 [v].
- Langperen (*Lang-i-peren* [?]) — man, member of crew discovering Ponape, cf. Japkini. 1.2.6.
- Lang puek (*Lahng-pwek* [?]) 'Cloudy-Heaven' (?) — a place visited by Luk-of-Heaven on his spirit trip. 64.3.11 [m].
- Langtaire — name of person who refused to join the Tiripeijo feather quest. 84.5.
- Lapananimuan (*Lep-en Eni-mwahn*) 'The-High-One-of Animuan' — the ruler of Animuan under the Lord of Teleur. 53 [E]; 54.16 [C] 1.
- Lapanmor (*Lep-en Moar*) 'The-High-One-of the-Land' — (Mor means land away from the beach, but not only or mainly the most interior parts.) One of the main feudal subordinates of the Lord of Teleur. 26.2.1; 27 [A] 2; 33.1-6, 9; 46.3.6; 48.24; 53 [E]; 54 [C] 3; 81.1; 82.10-12; 84.3-5.
- Lapannot, Lapan Nat (*Lep-en Net*) 'The-High-One-of Net' — the feudal ruler of the state of Net or Net Peninsula until Japanese times, when Nanmariki title used. 26.5.3; 46.3.12; 55 [B] 3.
- Lapanpalikir (*Lep-en Palikir*) 'The-High-One-of Palikir' — the feudal ruler of the Palikir area of Jokaj under the Lord of Teleur. 26.5.2; 27 [C] 2; 46.3.7; 55 [B] 1; 70 [B] 1.
- Lapanririn, Laparirin (*Lep-en Ririn*) 'The-High-One-of the-Gate' — formerly fourth title in the second line of chiefs, headed by Naniken. Nowadays seventh or eighth in the various states. 55 [D] 4; 73.3.2; 83.10 [C] 4.
- Lapanteleur (*Lep-en Deleur*) 'The-High-One-of Teleur' — the title of the ruler of Teleur area after Ijokelekel's conquest; also a title used in Kiti and Net. 55 [A] 3.

- Lapanuanik (*Lep-en Wenik*) 'The-High-One-of Uanik' — ruler of the State of U or Uanik, under the Lord of Teleur. 26.2.2; 27 [A] 3; 46.3.8; 53 [E]; 55 [C] 1; 72.0-1.
- Lapinjet (*Lep-in-sed*) 'Stretch-of-Sea' — an area of south Matolenim under a single chief at the time of the Teleur rule. 27 [A] 6; 52 [I]; 53 [E]; 54 [C] 4; 59.1; 82.12; 84.2. Included the sections of Lot and Uapar. 52; 84.2.
- Laponge (*La-poange*) 'Man- ' — an evil man with supernatural powers. Killed by the brothers Jarapuau and Monimur. 24.3-7; 70 [F] 7.
- Latak (*Ledek*) — a Ponapean clan. 73.3.
- Lautik (*Laua-tik*, or *Lau-a-tik* [?]) 'Small-Lau' — name of a section of Kiti, where the seed which produced the eel Muajanpatol was found. 44.1; 83.1. Also name of a former section of Matolenim, now part of Ponaulang section. 52 [H] 1; 57.6.
- Lauinpaniep (*Lau-in Pah-n-iep* [?]) ' -of Paniep' — another name of Lamuak. 33.1; 84.3.
- Leeak (*Leh-iaak*) 'Mangrove-Pool' — a section of Matolenim on Tamon Island. 82.8.
- Leenkajame (*Leh-n Ka-sam-e* [?]) 'Pond-of Throw-here' — a pond or river in Matolenim where Jarapuau and Monimur drowned Laponge. 24.5-7.
- Leen paaini (*Leh-n Pah-i-ni*) 'Pool-of the-Coconut-Frond' — place visited by Naliam, the barracuda. 70 [E] 3.
- Leenpuel (*Leh-n-Pwel*) 'Pool-of-Earth' (?) — old name for the Palang area, western third of Kiti. 26.4.3; 27 [B] 3.
- Leg Peak — see Tolenne.
- Lejtak, Lejtak (*Les-i-dak*) ' -Up' — name of Monimur when he and his brother killed Laponge. 24.7.
- Lenjapani 'Pool of Japani' — a place where Naliam, the barracuda, washed ashore. 70 [E] 1.
- Letau (*Leh-dau*) 'Channel-Pool' — a section in Matolenim, once of greater extent, on the shores of the channel of the same name (especially the south shore). 24.3-4; 27 [A] 5; 34.1; 36.7; 44.16; 46.3.9; 52 [F] 1; 54 [C] 2; 57.6; 59.1; 85 [L].
- Liajanpal, Liejanpal (*Li-es-en-pal*) 'Living-Woman-of-Pal' — one of four sisters, each ancestral to a subclan of the Creature Clan; her descendants known by her name and also as Inanuaiaj; the subclan which overthrew the Liajanpalap and became rulers of Kiti in their stead; now extinct. 60.12-13; 84.6-10.
- Liajanpalap (*Li-es-en-pah-lap*) 'Living-Woman-of-the-First-[Coconut]-Leaf' — one of four sisters, each ancestral to a subclan of the Creature Clan; her descendants known by her name, also called Uputenpa- ini; once ruled Kiti, overthrown by Liajanpal. 60.12-13; 84.9-10.

- Lian — short for Lianenjokala.
- Lianenjokala (*Li-ahn-en Sokele*) — the turtle mother of the two boys, Jinekie and Jinekia; sacrificed by her sons at Nanmatol. 51.4.5; 70 [D].
- Liarkatau (*Li-ar-katau*) 'Woman- -Kusaie' — a clan; the clan of one of the queens of Ijokelekel. 54.1.
- Liatijap (*Li-edih-sapw*) 'Woman-Snatched-from-Land' — the earthly second wife of the god Luk. 37.36-41; 70 [G] 1-2.
- Liaunkapintal (*Li-ou-n Kep-in-dal*) 'Watch-Woman-of Bottom-of-the-Cup' — name of the mangrove crab Lijariap when she resided at Likop in Matolenim. 35.2.
- Liauntanimuek, Liauntanmuek (*Li-ou-n Denimwek*) — another name for Ilakentanimuek. 37.2, 15, 17-18, 23.
- Liejineng (*Li-e-sihneng*) 'Woman-of-Jineng' — a guardian of the Twisting Bridge, the entrance-way to the afterworlds. 85 [M] III.
- Lielele 'Woman of Calm' — companion of the Good Lizard during her wanderings. See also Lieulele. 70 [C] 7.
- Lienilangina (*Li-en Lang-ih-na*) 'Woman-of Heaven-of-Reef-Islands' (?) — one of two women, the other being Lienkolaem, encountered by Luk-of-Heaven on his spirit voyage. See also Langina. 64.3.11 [p].
- Lienimajajak (*Li-en-Masasak* [?]) 'Woman-of-Majajak' — evidently a female spirit connected with curative medicine. Encountered by Luk-of-Heaven. 64.3.4 [a].
- Lienimangil (*Li-en Mangil*) 'Woman-of the-Handle' — evidently a female spirit encountered by Luk-of-Heaven on his spirit journey. 64.3.6 [a].
- Lienipataka (*Li-en Padahk* [?]) 'Woman-of Teaching' (?) — female spirit encountered by Luk-of-Heaven on his spirit journey. 64.3.14 [a].
- Lienipotakai (*Li-en Takai* [?]) 'Woman- -Rock' (?) — a female spirit encountered by Luk-of-Heaven. Evidently resided at Lorani. 64.3.15 [e].
- Lienkatautik, Lienikatautik (*Li-en-katau-tik*) 'Woman-of-Little-Rain' — woman, member of crew discovering Ponape; cf. Japkini. Helped Lieulele secure wind for the sail. 1.2.6; 1.5; 85 [C].
- Lienkolaem (*Lien Kolaem* [?]) — one of a pair of women encountered by Luk-of-Heaven on his spirit voyage, the other being Lienilangina. Evidently carried in the hair knot of some larger spirit or god. Possibly resided at Nan Kaon. 64.3.11 [q].
- Lienlama (*Li-en Leme*) 'Woman-of Thinking' — mother of the brothers Jarapau and Monimur. 24.1; 70 [F] 1.
- Lienpeilang (*Li-en Pei-leng*) 'Woman-of the-Heavenly-Altar' (?) — daughter of Jau-niue and Kat-niue, sweetheart of the eel Muajenlang. 45.

- Lienpuel (*Li-en-pwel*, *Li-en-pwehl* [?]) 'Woman-of-Earth' — resident of Japani; mother of Lijoumokaiap and Lijoumokalang, also of a son, unnamed. Jaurakim clan. 5.1; 43.2.
- Lieulele (*Li-eu-lehle*) 'Woman-of-Clear-Weather' — woman, member of crew discovering Ponape; cf. Japkini. Helped Lienkatautik secure wind for the sail. 1.2.7; 1.5; 85 [C].
- Lijapikini (*Li-sap-i-kini*) 'Woman-Turning-over' — member of crew discovering Ponape; cf. Japkini. Wife of Japkini? 1.2.1. Turned the canoe over, 1.3; 85 [C].
- Lijaproi (*Li-sap-rohi*) 'Woman-Facing-Roi' — a woman mentioned in the song of Naliām, the barracuda; possibly one of the daughters of Lijoumokiap. 70 [E] 2.
- Lijara (*Li-sara*) 'Squirrelfish-Woman' — one of two medicine women, the other being Limo, who helped Nanullap. Another name for the fish Jara. 37.23-25.
- Lijaramanpuel, Lijoramanpuel (*Li-sar-a-man-i-pwel*) 'Woman- . . . -Earth' — woman, member of crew helping discover Ponape. cf. Japkini. Helped Lioramanpuel cover rocks with earth to make land. 1.2.9; 1.9.
- Lijarapajet (*Li-sar-a-pah-şed* [?]) 'Woman- . . . -Underworld' — a giant, evidently a woman, encountered by Luk-of-Heaven. 64.3.2 [a].
- Lijariap (*Li-sar-lap*) 'Woman-Departing-Yap' (?) — a mangrove crab which came from Yap to Ponape. Also named at various stages of her travel Lipeingatik, Litautaulik, Lipeipanjap, Lipapana, Liuerna, Liaunkapintal. 35.1.
- Lijiir (*Li-sihr*) 'Dart-Woman' — mentioned as a companion of the Good Lizard during her travels. Perhaps same as Good Lizard's daughter, Lijirei. 70 [C] 7.
- Lijipuake (*Li-si-pwake* [?]) — a supernatural, evidently female, encountered by Luk-of-Heaven. 64.3.2 [i].
- Lijiralang — a daughter of Liajanpal, who founded the Inanuaiaj subclan of the Creature Clan. 84.6.
- Lijirei (*Li-sihr-ei*) 'Fire-Dart-Woman' — daughter born to the Good Lizard during her travels. Perhaps same as Lijiir. 70 [C] 5.
- Lijirelang — a daughter of Liajanpal, who founded the Inanuaiaj subclan of the Creature Clan, twin of Lijiralang. 84.6.
- Lijirmutok (*Li-sihr-mwudok*) 'Dart-Woman-of-Mutok' — one of four sisters, each ancestral to a subclan of the Creature Clan; her descendants known by her name; the subclan of Jekijmunto, who was Nanmariki of Kiti when Luēlen was writing. 60.12-13; 84.10.
- Lijoumokaiap, Lijaumokaiap (*Li-sou-mok-a-iap*) 'Woman- . . . -of-Yap' — eldest daughter of Lienpuel, sister of Lijoumokalang; came to Ponape on sixth voyage. Jaurakim clan. Mother of the

- girls Liponjapani and Lipeijapani and the sacred fish Naliam. 5.1-3; 21.1.
- Lijoumokalang, Lijaumokalang (*Li-sou-mok-e-leng*) 'Woman- . . . -of-Heaven' — younger daughter of Lienpuel, sister of Lijoumokaia; came to Ponape with the sixth voyage. Jaurakim clan. 5.1-3; 6.1; 21.3.
- Likamatau 'Woman Causing to Think' (?) — one of two women with whom Ijokelekel slept at Ant on his way to conquer Ponape, and who instructed him in things Ponapean. 85 [E].
- Likapar (*Li-kapar*) — name of one of the corners of the artificial island of Pankatira; built by a Matolenim stone fitter. 23.2; 71.1.
- Likapijino (*Li-kep-i-sino*) 'Woman-of-the-Bottom- . . . ' — a species of Holothurian, or bêche-de-mer. Ancestral to the Creature Clan. 60.2, 11; 69.1; 80.1-2.
- Likapinjet (*Li-kep-in-sed*) 'Woman-of-the-Bottom-of-the-Sea', 'Sea-Floor-Woman' — evidently a female spirit encountered by Luk-of-Heaven on his spirit journey. Paired with Lipungjet. 64.3.8 [v].
- Likarajet (*Li-karah-sed* [?]) 'Woman- . . . -Sea' — one of two women, the other being Likerekerejet, encountered by Luk-of-Heaven on his spirit trip, and living at Auankap. 64.3.9 [q].
- Likarepuel (*Li-kar-e-pwel*) 'Woman- . . . -Earth' — woman who came with second canoe to Ponape; husband was Konopuel; helped provide earth for island. 1.13.
- Likej (*Likes*) — a peak in Letau section, Matolenim. See also Panlikej. 24.4.
- Likerekerejet (*Li-kereker-e-sed*) 'Dripping-Sea-Woman' — one of two women, the other being Likarajet, encountered by Luk-of-Heaven on his spirit trip, and living at Auankap or Mouth-of-the-Sea-Bottom. 64.3.9 [p].
- Likinjuan (*Lik-in Suan*) 'Outside-of the-Juan' — evidently an esoteric name for a shell knife or cutting tool used in gardening by Lamuak. See also Nanjuan and Nantapanganjuan. 33.3.2.
- Likinlamalam (*Lik-in Lamalam*) 'Outside Proper-Ways' — ancient, esoteric name for Palikir area of Jokaj. 26.5.2; 46.3.7; 53 [B] 1; 59.1; 70 [B] 1; 84.7.
- Likinmaal (*Lik-in Mall*) 'Off-the-Shore-of Mall-Island' — from Eng. 'Small' Island; an islet on the reef of Matolenim, south of Tamon Island; where Liatijap was fishing when she was scooped up into Heaven by the god Luk. 37.36. Probably same as Ponpikalap, where the same events occur in 70 [VI] 1.
- Likinmoli, Likinmeli (*Lik-in Mveli*) 'Off the-Boulder-Stretch' — the equivalent of the state of U; sometimes only Nan U; sometimes Nan U, Tian, and Jauna; one of several places where Oljipa and Oljopa tried unsuccessfully to perform their ceremonies. 22.3; 46.3.8; 52 [C] 2.

- Likinpikeniap (*Lik-in Pik-en-lap*) 'Outside-of the-Sandbar-of-Yap' — an ancient name for Jokaj and Net together. 53 [B].
- Likitikitpaj (*Li-kidikid-pehs*) 'Scratcher-of-Ashes' — one of two worms (or women in some versions), who helped Kijinintamau in her escape from the demon Taimuan. 34.11-12. See also Lirokorokpaj.
- Likonpanui — a woman of Matolenim, composer of the Lament for the Jaumatau of Jokaj. Christian name Atina. 85 [D].
- Likop (*Lik-oap, Luk-oap*) 'Middle-Place' (?) — a section of northern Matolenim where the crab Lijariap resided for a while. 35.2; 52 [E] 5. Also a group of six sections of modern Kiti which took part in the Kiti-Uone wars. 53 [A]; 83.6.
- Limalulu (*Li-maluhlu*) 'Woman-of-Malu' — evidently a female spirit residing at Nanimalu. Her companion (sister?) was named Nalikeneuneu. 64.3.2 [x].
- Limatinjet — name, female, appearing in the account of Luk-of-Heaven's spirit journey, context unclear. 64.3.12 [j].
- Limau (*Li-mwau*) 'Good-Woman' — a companion of the Good Lizard during her wanderings. 70 [C] 7.
- Limeitinpalakap, Limejinpalakap (*Li-meid-in Pal-a-kapw* [?]) — a woman who accompanied the Airika canoe back to Heaven. 50.6; 85 [N] IV. Her companion was Jaumangai.
- Limo (*Li-mo* [?]) 'Goatfish-Woman' — one of the two medicine women who helped Nanullap, the other being Lijara. Another name for the fish Iomo. 37.23-25.
- Limoolejet 'Woman Sitting (in the) Sea' — mentioned in the paddle dance song of 85 [P].
- Limotalang (*Li-mwohd-e-leng*) 'Woman-Sitting-in-Heaven' — one of the native goddesses of Ponape. Connected with the Great Clan. 56.3.9.
- Limuetu (*Li-mweh-tu* [?]) 'Woman-.....' — member of crew discovering Ponape; first settler of Ponape; Creature Clan ancestress; cf. Japkini. 1.2.5; 1.10-11; 2.1-3; 25.1 85 [C]. Turned into a bird or flying insect at death.
- Linginair 'Brightness (?) of the South' — a person mentioned during Luk-of-Heaven's travels. 64.3.13 [a].
- Lioramanpuel (*Li-or-a-man-i-pwel*) 'Woman-....-Earth' — woman, member of crew discovering Ponape, cf. Japkini. Helped Lijaramanpuel dig up earth on to the rock to make the land. 1.2.8; 1.9.
- Lipaietret (*Li-pai-e-ret* [?]) — one of the two women to whom the god Luk gave one of his wife's fish. See also Lipalapanlang. 37.43-47; 38.1, 13, 18-20.
- Lipaireue — a woman possessed by Luk-of-Heaven on his spirit trip. Paired with a man, Eueretik. 64.3.16 [c].

- Lipalapanlang (*Li-pah-lep-en-Leng*) — one of the two women to whom the god Luk gave one of his wife's fish. See also Lipaieret. 37.43-7; 38.1-20. Wife of Jau-ingkonpaiej. Mother of Kereejang.
- Lipalikini (*Li-pal-i-kini*) 'Woman-Hewing-' — woman, member of crew discovering Ponape; cf. Japkini. 1.2.2. Hewed out the centre of the canoe. 1.3; 85 [C].
- Lipanmai, Lipanmei (*Li-pah-n-i-mei*) 'Under-the-Breadfruit-Woman' — mother of Ijokelekel, whom she conceived as a result of tasting a sour citrus fruit given to her by her clan god, Nanjapue. 48.1; 72.2.
- Lipapana (*Li-pahpah-Na* [?]) — name of the mangrove crab Lijariap when she arrived off Na Island, Matolenim. 35.1.
- Lipatak tau (*Li-padahk-dau*) 'Woman-Teaching-the-Channels' — one of two women with whom Ijokelekel slept at Ant on his way to conquer Ponape, and who instructed him in things Ponapean. 85 [E].
- Lipeijang Katau (*Li-pei-sang-Katau*) 'Woman-Floating-from-Kusaie' — a Kusaiean woman of Marshallese ancestry who moved to Ponape and settled in Jainuar section of Kiti with her sister, Lipeitato, and became the ancestress of a branch of the Lipitan Clan. Married to Akau. 62.4-5.
- Lipeijapani (*Li-pei-Sapahni*) 'Woman- . . . -Japani' — daughter of Lijoumokiaiap, sister of Liponjapani and Naliam. Ancestress of one of the subclans of the Rakim clan. 21.1; 70 [E] 1.
- Lipeingatik (*Li-pei-Ngetik*) 'Woman-Floating-to-Ngatik' — one of the names of the mangrove crab Lijariap. 35.1.
- Lipeipanjanjap (*Li-pei-Pah-n-sapw*) 'Woman-Floating-Downwind-of-the-Land' — name of the mangrove crab Lijariap when she arrived off Keparu Island, Kiti. 35.1.
- Lipeitato (*Li-pei-dah-do*) 'Woman-Floating-Up-Here' — a Kusaiean woman of Marshallese ancestry who moved to Ponape and settled in Jainuar section, Kiti, with her sister, Lipeijang Katau. Ancestress of the Lipeitato branch of the Lipitan Clan. Married to Marak. 62.4-5.
- Lipereulap (*Li-pereu-lap*) 'Woman-of-the-Coral-Bedrock, Greater', 'Greater-Rock-Woman' — evidently a female spirit encountered by Luk-of-Heaven. Paired with Lipereutik. 64.3.7 [g].
- Lipereutik (*Li-pereu-tik*) 'Woman-of-the-Coral-Bedrock, Lesser', 'Lesser-Rock-Woman' — evidently a female spirit, mentioned in the account Luk-of-Heaven's spirit journey. Paired with Lipereulap. 64.3.7 [f].
- Lipitan (*Lipitahn*) — name of a clan, of high rank in Kiti. 32.14; 60.5, 10; 62.6; 65.1; 83.10.
- Liponjapani (*Li-pohn-Sapahni*) 'Woman-Above-Japani' — daughter of

- Lijoumokaiaap and sister of Lipeijapani. Ancestress of one of the subclans of the Rakim clan. 21.1; 70 [E] 1.
- Liponralong (*Li-poh-n Roah-long*) 'Woman above Ralong' – one of four sisters, each ancestral to a subclan of the Creature Clan; her descendants known by her name. 60.12-13.
- Lipoproi (*Li-pwopw-roi*) 'Woman-Falling-At-Roi' – a woman mentioned in song of Naliam, the barracuda; possibly one of the daughters of Lijoumokiap. 70 [E] 2.
- Lipuantiak (*Lipw-en Tiak*) 'Trace-of Stepping', 'Footprint' – name of a hole in the Kiti River, in Mant or Jalapuk, made by Muajanpatol, ancestress of the Great Eels clan, and the place where she gave birth to her eldest daughter, who became the ancestress of the Jaunlipuantiak subclan. 44.13-14.
- Lipuektakalang, Lipuekitakalang (*Li-pwek-dak-en-leng* [?]) 'Woman-Raising-Up-of-Heaven' – member of crew discovering Ponape; cf. Japkini. Wife of Nipalatakenlang? 1.2.4; 85 [C].
- Lipuulinmair (*Li-pwil-in Meir*) 'Woman-Originating-from the-Interior' – daughter of Kirau Mair and Ilakenmair. Wife of Jaupualu and mother of the god Luk. 37.4, 11-17.
- Lipungjet 'Woman- . . . -Sea' – evidently a female spirit encountered by Luk-of-Heaven on his spirit journey. 64.3.8 [u].
- Lirokorokpaj (*Li-rokorok-pehs*) 'Scoop-of-Ashes' – one of two worms who helped Kijinintamau in her escape from the demon Taimuan. See also Likitikitpaj. 34.11-12.
- Litakika 'Woman' – squid or octopus, met by canoe which discovered Ponape. 1.6.
- Litapinmalekelek (*Li-tep-in Malekelek*) 'Woman-at-the-Base-of Malekelek' – sister of the cannibalistic demon Taimuan. Helped his victim, Kijinintamau, to escape. 34.1, 7-10.
- Litarnakanok – evidently one of several female spirits with medicinal powers encountered by Luk-of-Heaven on his spirit journey. 64.3.8 [f].
- Litautaulik (*Li-daudau-lik*) 'Woman-Passing-Along-the-Exterior' – one of the names of the mangrove crab, Lijariap, when she reached Ant Atoll. 35.1.
- Liteme (*Li-teme*) – name of one of the women of Heaven who brought kava from Pejiko to Heaven, the other being Litopra. 40.11-13.
- Litopra (*Li-tepw-ira*) – one of the women who brought kava to Heaven from Pejiko, the other being Liteme. 40.11-13.
- Litorkini, Litorikini (*Li-dor-i-kini*) 'Woman-Weaving-' – woman, member of crew discovering Ponape; cf. Japkini. Wove sail for canoe from banana fibre. 1.2.3; 1.3.
- Liuerna (*Li-wer-i-Na*) – name of the mangrove crab Lijariap when she went ashore at Na Island and lived there. 35.1.

- Liuetinpar (*Li-uet-in Par*; or *Luet-in Par?*) – one of two women (the other being Luetiniro) who went fishing off Iro and found the stone that produced the eel Muajanpatol. 44.1.
- Longene (*Loang-en Ne*) ‘Leg Range’ – name of a range in Uone running north from Jamai section through Muakot to Toletom. 58.2. (Probably same as the range shown on the map as Longen Jamai).
- Longen Kiti (*Loang-en Kiti*) ‘Canoe-Supports-of Kiti’ (or ‘Range-of Kiti’ [?]) – place of residence of man who sent two birds for the Yap banana. 6.2; 43.1. Located in Tiati section of Kiti.
- Longontipel ‘Above Tipel’ – a place mentioned in the song of the Good Lizard. 70 [C] 1.
- Longtakai (*Loangtakai*) ‘Stone-Canoe-Supports’ – a place in Nantamoroi where Aunjapauaj, the murderer of his cousin, Nanaua of Matolenim, lived. 82.5-6, 10.
- Lord of the Masters of the Sea – see Nanjaujet.
- Lord of the Sea of Palang – see Namaton Palang.
- Lord of the South – see Jaun Air.
- Lord of Teleur – see Jauteleur.
- Lorani – a place visited by Luk-of-Heaven. Connected with Marain Pajong. 64.3.15 [c].
- Lot (*Lohd*) – name of the southern end of Matolenim; at present divided into two sections: Upper Lot (*Lohd Powe*) and Lower Lot (*Lohd Pah*). See also Lot Channel. 38.1, 4; 51.1-2; 52 [I]; 57.5; 63.1; 64.3.10 [d]; 65.7; 82.0-1, 4-5, 12-13.
- Lot Channel, Kapitau en Lot (*Kep-i-dau-en Lohd*) ‘Channel-of Lot’ – the large channel through the reef at Lot, suitable for the entry of whaling ships. 63.1; 64.3.10 [d].
- Lower Lot, Lotpa (*Lohd Pah*) ‘Lower, or Downwind, Lot’ – a section in Matolenim on the border of Kiti. See also Lot. 65.7; 82.5.
- Luanenputoi (*Luwen-in Pwudoi*) – formerly a lesser priest in Putoi, Kiti, whose task it was to make one of the two bowls used to serve the Master of Kiti. Nowadays the title of the section head of Putoi. 83.3.
- Luanmuar (*Luh-en Mwar*) ‘Remainder-of the-Titles’ (?) – one of six titles whose holders were in the immediate retinue of the Nanmariki. 55 [E] 1.3.
- Lue – a personage mentioned in the song of the Good Lizard. 70 [C] 1.
- Luetiniro (*Luet-in Iro*; or *Li-uet-in Iro* [?]) – one of two women (the other being Liuetinpar) who went fishing off Iro and found the stone that produced the eel Muajanpatol. 44.1.
- Lujuj of Yap (*Luhsuhs-en Iap*) – a magical, self-propelled boat, belonging to the Lords of Teleur, mentioned in the Song of the Good Lizard. 70 [C] 6.

Luk (*Luhk*) 'Middle', 'Centre' (judging meaning from cognate names in Trukese and Mortlockese; meaning no longer apparent in Ponapean). A god. Grandson of Kirau Mair and Ilakenmair; son of their daughter Lipulinmair and her husband, Jaupualu, a flying man. Later went to live in Heaven, where he married Katinlang and Liatijap. His sister was Laiminpei. 37; 40; 50.4; 56.3.4; 70 [G] 1-2; 85 [G] 7.3, [N]. See also Jaun Luk, Tipuinluk, Lukeijet and Lukalalalap.

Luk Clan — see Tipuinluk.

Lukalalalap (*Luhk-a-Lapalap*) 'Luk-the-Great' — one of the native Ponapean gods. See Luk. 56.3.7.

Lukeijet (*Luhk-ei-sed*) 'Luk-of-the-Sea' — one of the native Ponapean gods. See Luk. 56.3.5.

Luk en muei mau (*Luhk-en Mwei-mwau*) 'Luk-of the-Good-Reign' — the death name of a Nanmariki of Kiti who ruled in the mid-nineteenth century. 65.6, 8.

Luk en muei u (*Luhk-en Mwei U*) 'Luk-of the-Whole-Reign' — the death name of a Nanmariki of Matolenim who ruled in the mid-nineteenth century. 65.6.

Luk-of-Heaven, Luk en Lang (*Luhk-en Lahng* [?]) — a Uone, Kiti man whose spirit visited various mythological locations when he was sick. 64.0-1. Composer of the song in 64.3.

M

Majaunpajet (*Mweseu-n Pah-sed*) 'Eel-of the-Underworld' — evidently a spirit animal encountered by Luk-of-Heaven during his journey. 64.3.8 [y].

Majijau, Majijou (*Mes-i-hsou*, or *Mes-ih-sou*) 'Calophyllum-tree-Face' or 'Face-of-the-Reef' — a section in northern Matolenim. 5.2; 52 [E] 8; 54.14; 57.2.

Majoor — a Uone man of the Lipitan clan who fought against the Palang people in the war to regain Kiti, and was rewarded with the title Nanliklapalap. 60.5-6, 10.

Malaikete — a bowl, made by the priest Kaja, in Mant, to serve food to the Master of Kiti. One of two such bowls, the other being named Muanlaekeik. 83.3.

Malanlukpailong (*Mell-en Luhk Pei-long*) 'The-Barrens-of Luk Facing-In' — the place in Panaij section, Kiti, where the foster parents of the eel Muajanpatol lived. 44.2.

Mall Island — see Likinmaal.

Mallanut, Malanut (*Mell-en Uhd*) — antique name for the section of Jalatak, in U. Sometimes means Jalatak and Roi together. 40.1, 8, 13; 52 [C] 3.

- Malok (*Mwoalok*) – formerly a section of Jokaj, now part of Pingelap Village. 85 [D] 3.1.
- Malpur (*Malipwur*) – an unidentified, perhaps mythical fish or sea animal; its shell or scale was the subject of a quest by Jatokauai, who had offended the Lord of Teleur. 32.4-14.
- Maninjapitik – name of the drum in Uapar, looked after by the Kiraunaip, that played a part in the installation of a new Nanmariki of Matolenim. 84.6.
- Manin Jiek – personal or animal name occurring in the spirit journey of Luk-of-Heaven. Possibly same as the Jiok bird. 64.3.7 [a].
- Manintolenne (*Men-in Dol-en Ne*) ‘Creature-of Leg Peak’ (or, *Mwahn-in Dol-en Ne* [?]) ‘Man-of Leg Peak’ – a man who lived on the peak Tolenne or Toletom. 58.1-4.
- Man of Leg Peak – see Manintolenne.
- Mant, Maant, Muant (*Mahnd*) – a section of Kiti, where the eel Muajanpatol was frightened by Kiraumant. 44.13. Graves of the giants located there (actually a large earth mound). 49.3; 66.4.2. A priest, Kaja, kept a bowl there in which was served the food of the ruler of Kiti. 83.3.
- Marain pajet (*Merei-n Pah-sed*) ‘Dance-Ground-of the-Underworld’ – a place visited by Luk-of-Heaven. 64.3.3 [m].
- Marain Pajong (*Merei-n Pasong*) ‘Dance-Ground-of Pajong’ – a place visited by Luk-of-Heaven. 64.3.15 [b].
- Marak (*Marak* [?]) – the husband of Lipeitato. 62.4.
- Master of Areu – see Jau Areu.
- Master of Kiti – see Jaukiti.
- Master of Part – see Jaukijanlang.
- Master of Part of Heaven – see Jaukijanlang.
- Master of Uone – see Jauene.
- Masters of Ant – see Jaunant.
- Masters of Jamaki – see Jaunjamaki.
- Masters of Kauat – see Jaunkauat.
- Masters of Kiti – see Jounkiti.
- Masters of Rakim – see Jaurakim.
- Masters of Roi – see Jaunroi.
- Masters of the Side of the Water – see Jaunpalianpil.
- Masters of the South Clan – see Jaun Air.
- Matatar – a cliff mentioned in the Song of the Good Lizard. 70 [C] 5.
- Matau (*Madau*) Could mean either ‘Sea’ or ‘Thinking’ – a high title of Uone, converted to Tauk of Kiti after the Uone-Kiti wars. 60.10.
- Matip (*Metipw*) – a section in Matolenim, north of the main harbour. 52 [E] 6; 57.2.
- Matolenim (*Moadol-en-ihmw*) ‘The-Intervals-of-the-Houses’ – one of

- the five independent states of Ponape. Named after the ruins of Nanmatol, the legendary capital of all Ponape. 23.0; 33.1-2; 36.1; *et passim*.
- Mejeniang, Mejeniang (*Mes-en-ieng*) 'Face-of-the-Wind' — name of the area where modern Kolonia is located in Net. 38.17, 19; 39.2; 66.9; 85 [D] 4.II. Perhaps also a mythological location? Visited by Luk-of-Heaven on his spirit travel. 64.3.1 [b, k]; 64.3.3 [p]; 64.3.6 [h].
- Mejia (*Mesia* [?]) — man who came in the fifth canoe to Ponape, introduced fire-making. 4.2.
- Meri-An 'Mary Ann' — wife of Nanku, the Naniken of Kiti in the mid-nineteenth century. Daughter of an Englishman named James Headley and a woman who herself was the daughter of a former Nanmariki. Her son was Henry Nanpei. Of the Jaunant subclan. 65.8, 10.
- Meteriap ' . . . from Yap' — man, in fourth canoe to reach Ponape, introduced ivory nut. 1.15.
- Molojai — see Nanmolujai.
- Monimur, Monmur (*Mwoh-n-mwur* [?]) 'Before-After' (?) — son of Lienlama, brother of Jarapuau; was later named Lejtak. Competed with Laponge and helped kill him. 24.1-7. Also an early name of Luk, 37.25.
- Monjap (*mwo-hn-sapw*) 'First-of-the-Lands' — equivalent to the men of the first line of state titles; same as Oleijo (or Royal Men). Sometimes means 'chief' in general. 79.7.
- Monmuei (*Mwohn-i-mwei*) 'First-of-the-Reign' 'Foremost-of-the-Age' — the second Lord of Teleur, following Oljopa. 29.1.
- Mountain of Land's End — see Pontolenimuinjap.
- Muajangap (*Mwasangap* [?]) — a place in Jalapuk section of Kiti; residence of Jaom en Muajangap. 41.1-2; 56.3 [A]. Also name of one of the islets of Nanmatol.
- Muajanpatol, Muajenpatol (*Mwas-en Pah-dol*) 'Worm-of Patol' — one of the eel ancestors of the Lajialap clan. Married Kirau Mair and gave birth to ancestresses of various Lajialap subclans, including Jaunlipuantiak, Lajietong, Lajiekotop and others not named by Luelen. 44; 81.1.
- Muajenlang (*Mwas-en-Leng*) 'Worm-of-Heaven' — a male eel from whose corpse's head sprang varieties of breadfruit and banana. Sweetheart of the girl Lienpeilang. 45.
- Muangpaiei 'Outer Taro' — one of two islets off Palikir, created from a package of taro that the god Jangoro let fall from his shoulder. 84.7.
- Muangpailong 'Inner Taro' — one of two islets off Palikir, created from a package of taro that the god Jangoro let fall from his

- shoulder. 84.7.
- Muanlaekeik — a bowl, made by the priest Luanenputoi, in Putoi, to serve food to the Master of Kiti. One of two such bowls, the other being named Malaikete. 83.3.
- Muanlaipeip (*Mwahn-la-ipeip*) 'Male- . . . ' — name or title of the mountain starling sent after the Yap banana; the more persistent flyer, cf. Joulaipei. 6.2-3.
- Muant paiti (*Mwand pei-di*) 'Downwind Muant' — lagoon island constituting a section of U. 52 [B] 4; 85 [O].
- Muant peitak (*Mwand pei-dak*) 'Upwind Muant' — a lagoon island constituting a section of U. 52 [B] 3; 85 [O].
- Muariketik (*Mwar-e-ki-e-tik, Mwar-e-ke-h-tik*) 'The-Lesser-Muariki' — one of six titles whose holders were in the immediate retinue of the Nanmariki. 55 [E] 1.1; 73.3.3; 83.10 [D] 7.
- Muaintok — a member of the crew of the canoe that the Lord of Teleur sent to fetch the Lapanpalikir who had the form of a chicken. 70 [B] 2.
- Mueit en Kiti (*Mweid-in Kiti*) 'Reef-Opening-of Kiti' — a pass between Ponkaim (No. 17 in Luelen's list) and Panmueit (No. 30), two neighbouring islets in the Nanmatol cluster. 70 [A] 4.
- Mueitenualiual (*Mweid-in Weliwel*) 'Reef-Opening-of the-Yellowfin-Tuna' — a pass between Panui and Kapenot, two neighbouring islets in the Nanmatol cluster. (The word mueit is also used for a ridge or range of mountains.) Place where the hero of the Malpur quest caught a yellowfin tuna. 32.2; 70 [A] 4.
- Mutok (*Mwudok*) 'Off-shore-Isle' — an island, comprising also a section, in Uone, Kiti. The adjacent large channel called Mutok Channel enabled nineteenth-century whaling vessels to anchor here. 63.1; 84.9.
- Mutokalap (*Mwudok-a-lap*) 'Great-Off-shore-Isle' — a small island, between Tamon Island and the coast of Tamoroi section, Matolenim. Ijokelekel discovered his son, Nalapanien, here. 54.6.
- Mutoketik (*Mwudok-e-tik*) 'Little-Off-shore-Isle' — a small island just south of Tamon Island, where the Uajai of Matolenim who killed Aunjapauaj lived. 82.8, 10-11.

N

- Na (*Na*) 'Reef-Island' — a sand island, formerly a section of Matolenim, located south of the entrance to Matolenim Harbour. 26.5, 6.1; 27 [D] 1; 35.1; 40.5; 46.2, 3.2; 51.1; 54 [B] 1; 85 [L] II.
- Naariting (*Nah-n Riting*) — man who made the crewless canoe named Uaramaipual that lured the Great Eel ancestress away from Japalap to halt her anthropophagous activities. 44.17-18.

- Nakap (*Nah-kapw*) 'New-Reef-Island' — little island in Matolenim, owned by a man who was sent to retrieve the body of the murdered Nanaua. 82.9.
- Nalaim, Nanlaem (*Nah-la-imw*) 'Lord-of-the-House-Men' — formerly the title of the highest priest of a state, nowadays the second title in the second line ('Royal Children') of state titles. 83.10 [B] 1.1.
- Nalap (*Nah-lap*) 'Great-Reef-Island' — a small island off Ronkiti section of Kiti. 66.4.1. Another Nalap Island is in Matolenim, off Lot. 65.7.
- Nalapanien (*Nah-n Lep-en-ien*) — name of the son of Ijokekel, who married his father's sister and assumed the title of Nanmariki of U, leaving the same title in Matolenim to his son. 54.16.
- Nalapenlot (*Nah-lap-en Lohd*) 'Great-Reef-Island-of Lot' — a small island off Lot section, Matolenim. Site of a battle which Matolenim lost to Kiti in about 1850. 65.7. Another Nalap Island is in Kiti. 66.4.1.
- Naliam (*Nah-liam*) 'Lord-of- . . . ' — barracuda fish, sacred to the Masters of Rakim clan; son of Lijoumokaiap, brother of Liponjapani and Lipeijapani. 21.1; 70 [E] 1.
- Naliejenlam — honorific title of the sting-ray sent by the Jaulikin Na to take revenge upon the Kiraun en Letau for sending him a corpse instead of bananas. 85 [L] II.
- Nalikeneuneu (*Nah-li-keneuneu*) — evidently a female spirit, residing with Limalulu at Nanimalu. Visited by Luk-of-Heaven. 64.3.2 [y].
- Nalipuijet (*Nah-li-pwih-sed*) 'Lady-Woman- . . . -of-the-Sea' — a supernatural female being visited by Luk-of-Heaven. 64.3.2 [c].
- Namalek (*Nah-malek*) 'The-Place-of-Chickens' — a place in Nanjokala where the demon Taimuan lived with his sister in a rock shelter. 34.1.
- Namanair, Namaniair, Nam en Air (*Nemw-en Eir*) 'Harbour-of the-South', 'Southern Harbour' — visited by Luk-of-Heaven. Located in Land of the South; where the Creature Clan originated. 64.3.1 [j]; 64.3.8 [t]; 69.1.
- Naman Erek (*Nemw-en Erek*) 'Erek Harbour' — residence of Poloti and Polota. 64.3.11 [w]. Cf. also Japuerak.
- Namani (*Nemw-en Eni*) 'Ghostly Harbour', 'Harbour-of Spirits' — a place visited by Luk-of-Heaven on his spirit trip. 64.3.12 [b].
- Namanijor (*Nemw-en Sohr* [?]) 'Harbour-of Jor' — a place visited by Luk-of-Heaven. 64.3.2 [u].
- Namanikiep (*Nemw-en Kiep*) 'Harbour-of the-Spider-Lily' — a place visited by Luk-of-Heaven on his spirit journey. 64.3.5 [b].
- Namani Paniau (*Nemw-en Pah-n-iau*) 'Harbour-of Paniau' — see also Paniau. A synonym for Mutok Harbour. 64.3.10 [g].
- Namaniuaait (*Nemw-en Weid*) 'Harbour-of Cruelty' — a place visited

- by Luk-of-Heaven on his spirit journey. 64.3.5 [c]. Paired with Namanikiep, possibly a synonym for it.
- Naman Kuru (*Nemw-en Kuru*) 'Harbour-of Kuru' — place visited by Luk-of-Heaven on his spirit trip. 64.3.11 [d].
- Naman Paraj (*Nemw-en Par-ahs* [?]) 'Harbour-of Paraj' — a place visited by Luk-of-Heaven. 64.3.2 [n]. Compare also Jauparajaj.
- Naman Takaiior (*Nemw-en Takai-ioar* [?]) 'Harbour-of Shore-Rock'— place visited by Luk-of-Heaven on his spirit trip. 64.3.11 [c].
- Namataun tet, Namatonitet (*Nah-medo-hn Idehd*) 'Lord-of-the-Sea-of Eels' — formerly the third title in the second line of chiefs, headed by Naniken. Nowadays fifth, in each of the five states. 55 [D] 3; 83.10 [C] 3.
- Namaton Palang, Namataunpalang (*Nah-medo-hn Peh-leng*) 'Lord-of-the-Sea-of Palang' — ruler of the area of Palang under the Lord of Teleur. 26.4.3; 27 [B] 3; 53 [F]; 55 [A] 4; 60.2.
- Namenjaulangi 'Harbour of Jaulangi' — place visited by Naliam, the barracuda. 70 [E] 1, 2.
- Nam en Kalangi 'Harbour of Kalangi' — place where Naliam, the barracuda, grew up. 70 [E] 1.
- Nam en Nanjilop (*Nemw-en Nan Silop* [?]) 'Nanjilop Harbour' — a place visited by Luk-of-Heaven on his spirit journey. 64.3.6 [g].
- Nam en pani kapinjak (*Nemw-en Pahn-i-kep-in-sapw*) 'The-Deep Below-the-Land's-End' — the deep in the lagoon floor off Na which is said to have been created by the thrashing about of the sting-rays that killed Kiraun en Letau for the trick he played on Jaulikin Na. 85 [L] II.
- Nam en ran (*Nemw-en Rahn*) 'Harbour-of Day' — a place visited by Luk-of-Heaven on his spirit journey. 64.3.9 [g].
- Nami Tipan 'Tipan Harbour' — visited by Luk-of-Heaven. 64.3.1 [I].
- Namo — an island in the Marshalls, Ralik chain. See also Rulujennamou. 62.1.
- Namueiaj (*Namw-ei-as*) 'Lagoon-(or Reef-pond)-of-Life' — a mythical atoll on present site of Ponape. 1.7. Also name of a pool on the artificial islet of Peikap. 84.1 [A].
- Nanaimual — place in Alokap section, Matolenim, built by the brothers Jarapuau and Monimur, where they deposited their provisions. 24.2; 70 [F] 3.
- Nanajan (*Nah-n Esen*) — a high ranking warrior accompanying Ijokelekel on his invasion of Ponape. 48.20; 62.3.
- Nanan Nanjapue (*Nahna-hn Nah-n-Sapwe*) 'Mountain-of the-Thunder-God' — a part of the barrier reef northeast of Nangingi Island, off Matolenim; here and at Auankap the Kusaiean invaders under Ijokelekel stopped to read an augury as to whether to enter Matolenim. 48.10.

- Nanapaj (*Nah-n-a-pas*) 'Lord-of-the-Residence' — formerly title of the second-highest priest of a state, nowadays the fourth title in the second line ('Royal Children') of state titles. 83.10 [B] 2.2.
- Nanaua (*Nah-n-awa*) — a state title in each of the five states, ranking fifth in the first line of titles. 83.10 [B] 4. A man holding this title in Matolenim was leader of that state's forces in a war with Kiti held about 1850. 65.7. Another Nanaua of Matolenim, brother of Uajai, was killed by his cousin, in consequence of which a civil war took place. 82.5-11. A third Nanaua of Matolenim, leader in an attack on a British vessel, the *Falcon*, in 1836, was hanged; a song celebrates this event. 85 [O].
- Nanauaijo (*Nahn-a-wa-iso*) — a priestly title. 83.10 [B] 7.7, [D] 9.
- Nanauanmutok, Nanaua of Mutok (*Nah-n-awa-hn Mwudok*) — personal name of the man who, in 1864, succeeded Nanku as the Naniken of Kiti. 65.10.
- Naniak (*Naniek*) — a Ponapean clan. 73.3.
- Nanijopau (*Nah-n Iso-pau*) 'Lord-of the-Nobles' — one of the native Ponapean gods. Equated in the text with Jangoro. (Cf. also Ijipau, a title of the Nanmariki of Matolenim; probably a separate word although maybe related etymologically.) 56.3.6.
- Naniken (*Nah-n-i-ken*) 'Lord-of-Ken' — the highest title in the second line of chiefs in each of the five modern states of Ponape. First held by Ijokelekel's son, Nalapanien. 54.10-16; 55 [D] 1; 60.10; 62.5; 65.1-10; 66.1, 4-5; 74.1; 82.0-3; 83.10 [C] 1; 84.6-7.
- Nanilol (*Nan Iloal*) 'At' — place in Puaipuai section, Kiti, where there is a landing place; the sisters Lijoumokaiaip and Lijoumokalang landed here on the sixth canoe to reach Ponape. 5.1-2.
- Nanimalu (*Nan Malu* [?]) — place visited by Luk-of-Heaven. Evidently the residence of a female spirit named Limalulu. 64.3.2 [w].
- Nanitenlang (*Nah-n Id-en-Leng*) 'Lord-of the-Eels-of-Heaven' — one of two inhabitants of Heaven who planted the first kava received in Heaven. 40.11-13.
- Nanitenpatanlang (*Nah-n Id-en Pat-en-Leng* [?]) 'Lord-of the-Eels-of Patanlang' — one of the two inhabitants of Heaven who planted the first kava to reach Heaven, the other being Nanitenlang. 40.11-13.
- Nanit lapalap (*Nah-n-ihd Lapalap*) 'High Lord-of-the-Eels' — the ninth-ranking title in the first line of state titles. 83.10 [B] 8.
- Naniuauaiap (*Nan-i-wou-n-Iap*) 'In-the-Valley-of-Yap' — a place mentioned in the song of the Good Lizard. 70 [C] 1.
- Nanjamol (*Nah-n Samwohl*) 'Lord-of Chiefs' — designation of the sacred eel kept in the pond at Itet to which the turtle-mother, Lianenjokala, was sacrificed. 70 [D] 5.

- Nanjaom en Palap 'Lord of the Masters of the Oven of Palap' — title of the person who refused to join the Tiripeijo feather quest. 84.5.
- Nanjapue (*Nah-n-Sapwe*) 'Thunder-God' (the ordinary word for 'thunder') — the Thunder God, imprisoned by one of the Lords of Teleur. 46.6; 48.1-3; 56.3.1. Connected with the Under-the-Breadfruit Clan. Identified with Taukatau. Resided in the Second Heaven. 56.5-9, 25, 30; 74.4; 84.3; 85 [G] 7.1.
- Nanjau en Leak 'Lord of the Masters of the Mangrove Swamp' — title of the cockroach that went on the Tiripeijo feather quest. 84.5.
- Nanjaujet (*Nah-n Sou-sed*) 'Lord-of the-Masters-of-the-Sea' — a title in the first line (the Nanmariki's line) of titles, in all of the states of Ponape. 83.10 [D] 12. Nanjaujet of Net: a holder of this title assisted the nobles of the Creature Clan in regaining central Kiti from the Palang people. 60.3-7, 10. Nanjaujet of Palang: a holder of this title led the Palang soldiers who conquered Kiti and were in turn defeated by Uone. 60.4-6.
- Nanjaum 'Lord of the Masters of the Oven' — a priestly title. 83.10 [B] 5.5.
- Nanjauririn (*Nah-n Sau Ririn*) 'Lord-of the-Masters-of the-Gate' — formerly second title in the second line of chiefs, after Naniken; nowadays third, after Nalaim, in each of the five states. 55 [D] 2; 83.10 [C] 2.
- Nanjelang (*Nahn Sehleng*) — a god concerned with fishing and breadfruit; alternatively, with canoes. 85 [M] III.
- Nanjilop (*Nan Silop* [?]) — a place visited by Luk-of-Heaven during his spirit journey. See also Nam en Nanjilop. 64.3.5 [g], 6 [g].
- Nanjokala (*Nan Sokele*) — the large interior valley of Net, where the demon Taimuan, 34.1, the magician Jomenkapinpil, 39.1-6, and the turtle-woman Lianenjokala, 51.3, all lived, and where the magic canoe of the god Luk was hewn, 50.2. Alternate name for Kamar, 46.3.11. The Jokala River flows through it, forming the large Channel (or Estuary) of Jokala, the Taujokala (*Dahu Sokele*), 57.3; 70 [C] 5; the crab-woman Lijariap once lived there, 35.2; it formerly was the border between ancient Jaupaip and Matolenim, 51.1-2. Once part of Jokaj, 53 [B] 3; 70 [C], when the Lady of Good Lizards lived there. Gives its name to the Insult of Jokala, 34.14.
- Nanjou uei, Nanjau uei 'Lord of the Masters of the Turtle' — a priestly title. 83.10 [B] 8.8, [D] 11.
- Nanjuan (*Nan Suan*) 'In the-Juan' — evidently an esoteric name for a shell knife or cutting tool used in gardening by Lamuak. See also Likinjuan and Nantapanganjuan. 33.3.1.
- Nankai — title of the third-ranking priest. 83.10 [B] 3.3.

- Nan Kaon (*Nan Kaon*) – probably the residence of Lienilangina and Lienkolaem. 64.3.11 [r].
- Nankieililmau (*Nah-n Kieileil-mwau*) ‘The-Lady-of the-Good-Lizards’ – a lizard whose daughter married a Lord of Teleur and who died by fire when he looked at her face and became frightened. 70 [C].
- Nankiraunpeinpok (*Nah-n Kirou-n Pei-n Pwohkk*) ‘Lord-of the-Keepers-of the-Sacred-Stone-Structure-of Pok’ – the Ponapean name of Henry Nanpei. 65.9.
- Nankiraun pontake (*Nah-n Kirou-n Poh-n-dake*) ‘Lord-of the-Keepers-of the-Reserve’ – the seventh-ranking title in the first line of state titles. 83.10 [B] 6.
- Nanku (*Nahn Ku*) ‘Lord-of Ku’ – a man of the Lipitan clan, who became Naniken of Kiti in the mid-nineteenth century. His wife, named Meri-An, was daughter of an Englishman, James Headley. Father of Henry Nanpei and grandfather of Oliver Nanpei. Nanku is also a state title in each of the five states. 65.2-8; 82.0-1; 84.1 [B] 6.
- Nanliklapalap, Nanlik Lapalap (*Nah-n-lik Lapalap*) ‘High Lord-of-the-Exterior’ – title ranked eighth in the first line of titles (the Nanmariki’s line) in each state of Ponape. 83.10 [B] 7. In Kiti it was the title taken by the Nanjaujet of Palang when Palang conquered Kiti; and it was later awarded to the hero Majoor for his part in retaking Kiti. 60.6, 10.
- Nanlikop – a place in Upper Lot where the Nanaua of Matolenim stopped while en route to visit his cousin, Aunjapauaj, who murdered him. 82.6.
- Nanmailap – a place on the reef between Upper Lot and the islet Pikenkit. 82.6.
- Nanmair (*Nan Meir*) ‘In the-Interior’ – district or valley in the interior of Ponape where the first settlers allegedly lived; one such place in Kiti, one in Net. 2.4; 26.5.1; 27 [D] 1; 44.7; 46.3.10.
- Nanmariki, Nanmarki (*Nah-n-Mwar-e-ki*) ‘Lord-of-Controlling-Titles’ (?) – the supreme chief of one of the modern states of Ponape. 53 [D]; 54.0-1, 14-15, [A] 1-4; 55 [D] 1, [E] 1; 56.10.4; 56.28, 30; 60.1, 10; 65.1-2, 5-8; 66.4, 14-16; 67.7; 74.1, 7; 78.1-2; 82.9; 83.1, 5-9, 10 [B]; 84.2, 6-7, 10; 85 [K], [N].
- Nanmatol (*Nan Moadol*) ‘In the-Intervals’ – the town, built on artificial islets, the capital of Ponape in legendary times, from which Matolenim takes its name. 25.2; 27 [A] 1; 31.1; 32.1; 37.3, 10.
- Nanmatolenim – (*Nan Moadol-en-imw*) – apparently the equivalent of Nanmatol in 36.10, of all Matolenim in 51.1.
- Nanmo – one of the non-mortal passengers in the heavenly canoe of the god Luk. 85 [N] IV.

- Nanmolujai, Nanmalujai (*Nan Mwoaluhsei*) 'At ' — seawall or landing place for canoes at Nanmatol. The Great Breakwater. 22.5; 57.9; 70 [A] 1, 4.26. Same as Molojai? 72.2.
- Nanpaien lam — place in Nanpalap, Uone, where Liajanpal encountered the god Jangoro. 84.7.
- Nanpalap — a section of Uone, Kiti, owned by the Nanpei family. 66.4.6; 84.7.
- Nanpaniep, Paniep, Paaniep (*Nan Pah-n-iep*) 'At-the-Frond-of- ' — the birthplace of the gardener Lamuak. Lauinpaniep, another name of Lamwahk. Inanpaniep, a kind of banana. 33.1, 4; 57.3.
- Nanparatak (*Nah-n Par-a-dak*) 'Lord-of Sprouting-(of-Coconuts)' (?) — one of two high-ranking warriors accompanying Ijokelekel on his invasion of Ponape from Kusaie. He pinned his foot to the ground with his spear in order to rally the invaders when they were retreating. 48.20-21; 62.3; 72.2.
- Nanpei (*Nah-n-i-pei*) 'Lord-of-the-Sacred-Stone-Structure' — the sixth title in the first line (that headed by the Nanmariki) in each of the five states. 83.10 [B] 5. Also the family name of Henry Nanpei and his descendants.
- Nanpeinlang (*Nan Pei-n-leng*) 'At the-Sacred-Stone-Structure-of-Heaven' — the residence or homestead of the god Luk in Heaven. 37.36; 70 [G] 1-3.
- Nanponmal (*Nan Poh-n Mall*) 'At the-Top-of the-Barrens' — ancient or esoteric name for Lower Anipein section of modern Kiti, formerly part of Likop. Also the modern name of a section in Palikir, Jokaj. 60.8.
- Nanponpei 'Lord of the Top of the Sacred Stone Structure' — one of the titles of the second line of state titles. 84.1 [B] 4.
- Nanpuajaj (*Nan Pwahasahs* [?]) — a place visited by Luk-of-Heaven. 64.3.3. [I].
- Nanputak (*Nah-n Pwutak*) 'Lord-of the-Boys' — an additional title of the Uajai. 55 [E] 2.
- Nanrolong — place in Paj section, Uone, formerly a section; where Liajanpal's senior clansmates and oppressors lived. 84.8-9.
- Nantamoroi — a former section, now part of Lower Lot, Matolenim. Where Aunjapauaj, who murdered Nanaua, his cousin, lived. 82.5.
- Nantapanganjuan (*Nan Depeng-en Suan* [?]) — evidently an esoteric name for a shell knife or cutting tool used in gardening by Lamuak. See also Nanjuan and Likinjuan. 33.3.3.
- Nantauaj (*Nan Douwas*) 'At the-Speaking' (?) — the major enclosed artificial island of Nanmatol. 22.5; 51.1; 70 [A] 1-2. Also Tauaj. 72.2.
- Nantaumokota 'In the Channel of Mokota' — the channel between Jokaj Island and the mainland of Ponape. 70 [C] 4.

- Nantiati (*Nan Diadi*) — the cape which forms the southeastern extremity of Lower Lot. Temporary residence of Lipalapanlang after she fell out of Heaven. 38.1; 65.7.
- Nantu (*Nah-n tu*) 'Lord-of-Meeting' — one of the lower-ranking titles of the first line of state titles. A leader of the installation party of the Nanmariki of Matolenim. 83.10 [D] 4; 84.6.
- Nan U (*Nan Uh*) 'At U' — same as Nanuein u. 54.16.
- Nanuein u (*Nan Wei-n Uh*) 'At The-Capital-of U' — the central part of U, usually reckoned as a section; nowadays more often called Nan U. 52 [C] 2.
- Nanullap (*Nah-n Ul-lap*) 'Lord-of the-Great-Men' (Ullap by itself normally means 'mother's brother', but etymologically appears to mean 'great man') — the god of the sea. 37.22-23, 26-27; 64.3.3 [n], 3.11. [l].
- Net, Nat, Not (*Net*) 'Selling' (?) — one of the five independent states of Ponape in recent times: especially the Net Peninsula. Ruled by Lapannot until recently. 22.3; 42.1; 44.19; 46.3.12; 53 [B] 4; 55 [B] 3; 59.1; 60.3-4; 63.1; 66.9; 83.10.
- Ninkap (*Nin-i-kapw*) — a god, probably synonym for Ijopau; helped Nanjapue escape from the Lord of Teleur. 46.6.
- Ninlepuel (*Nin-leh-puel*) 'At-the-Taro-Swamp' — place in Ononmakot section, Uone, where the Masters of Part were buried. 78.9.
- Nipalatakenlang, Nipaletakenlang (*Nih-pale-dak-en-leng* [?]) '.... of-Heaven' — a man who was a member of the crew discovering Ponape; cf. Japkini. 1.2.4; 85 [C].
- Noj (*Noahs*) — fourth title, after Nanmariki, Uajai, and Tauk, in the first line of titled chiefs in each of the five modern states. 55 [D] 4, [E] 4; 83.10 [B] 3.

O

- Oa, Oua (*Ohwa*) — a section in northern Matolenim, near U. 52 [E] 4; 57.2; 66.2, 6, 17-18.
- Olapal (*Ol-e-pel*) 'The-Sacred-Man' — a section in Uone, Kiti. Paler, the place of installation of the title of Master of Part, is located here. 56.29; 74.3; 84.2.
- Olapat, Olapaat (*Ol-a-pahd*) 'Man-....' — the trickster god of the Carolines. Connected with the Creature Clan. 56.3.3; 85 [G] 7.4.
- Olejjo (*Ole-iso*) 'Royal-Man' — a designation for the first line of state titles, headed by the Nanmariki. 79.7; 83.9; 10 [B], 10 [D].
- Olenjineng (*Ol-en-sihneng*) 'Man-of-Jineng' — a guardian of the Twisting Bridge, the entrance-way to the afterworlds. 85 [M] III.
- Oljipa, Ol-Jipa (*Ohl-sihpe* [? or *Ol-o-sihpa*]) 'Man-....' — one of

- two leaders of the seventh immigration to Ponape; one of two founders of Nanmatol. Came from Kataupaiti or Yap. Comrade or perhaps brother of Oljopa. 22.1-5; 25.1-2.
- Oljopa, Ol-Jopa (*Ohl-sohpa* [?] or *Ol-o-sohpa*) 'Man' — one of two leaders of the seventh immigration to Ponape; one of two founders of Nanmatol. Came from Kataupaiti or Yap. Comrade or perhaps brother of Oljipa. 22.1-5; 25.1-2. Became the first Lord of Teleur. 29.1.
- One Stone — see Takaieu.
- Ononlang, Onolang (*Ono-hn-leng*) '-of-Heaven' — an alternate name for Uone, sometimes for all of Kiti. 26.4; 32.14; 46.3.3; 48.24; 50.2; 53 [A], [F]; 56.3 [A], 31; 58.0; 59.1; 60.1, 12; 65.2; 74.2; 83.6; 84.10.
- Ononmakot — a section in Uone, Kiti, where the Masters of Part were buried. 78.9; 82.9.

P

- Paatol, Patol (*Pah-dol*) 'Under-the-Mountain' (?) — a place in Panaij section, Kiti, where the eel Muajanpatol spent her infancy. 44.2.
- Paian jaurakim (*Pai-en Sou-n Rekihmu*) 'The-Fortune-of the-Clan-of Rakim' — a kind of protective magic involving the ree patil grass; applied by Lienpuel to her son on his voyaging to Ponape after his sisters. Originated in Jaurakim clan. 5.3.
- Paiej (*Paies*) — the northernmost section of Kiti, on the border of Palikir. Residence of Jau-ingkonpaiej. 38.3; 51.2.
- Paiian Jaunair (*Pai-en Sou-n Eir*) 'Fortune-of the-Masters-of the-South' — evidently a spell or magic which Luk-of-Heaven expected to receive from the spirit Lijipuake. The implication is that Luk-of-Heaven was probably of the Masters of the South clan. 64.3.2 [1].
- Paipalap of Jokaj, Peipan Jokaj, (*Paip-a-lap-en Sokehs*) 'The-Great-Rock-of Jokaj' — a high cliff on the north end of Jokaj Island, where the man-eating bird sent by Juiap stayed. 39.2; 85 [D] 4.II.
- Paire — a member of the crew of the canoe that the Lord of Teleur sent to fetch the Lapanpalikir who had the form of a chicken. 70 [B] 2.
- Pajau — see Puajau.
- Pajaulap — see Puajau.
- Pajautik — see Puajau.
- Paj en mok — ancient or esoteric name for Muant peitak. 52 [B] 3.
- Pajet (*Pah-sed*) 'The-Marine-Below' — the Underworld, a land at the

- bottom of the sea, or underground. The temporary abode of the spirits of the dead. 5.1; 56.2, 8, 12-14, 17, 19; 64.3.1 [f], 3.3 [b, d, f, m], 3.4 [c], 3.8 [y], 3.9 [l]; 70 [F] 1-2; 84.7; 85 [M].
- Pakanut, Pakaanut (*Paka-hn Uht*) 'Splashing-of Bananas' (?) — place where the starling dropped the seeds of the Yap banana. 6.3.
- Pakein (*Pakein*) — Pakin Atoll, northwest of Ponape, attached in recent times to Jokaj. 26.5.4, 6.3; 27 [C] 4, [D] 3; 39.4; 46.2, 3.5; 53 [C]; 54 [B] 3.
- Pakilap (*Pak-i-lap* [?]) '....-the-Greater' — came with third canoe to Ponape, helped make walls of houses or frames. 1.14. cf. Pakitik.
- Pakitik (*Pak-i-tik*) '....-the-Lesser' — came with third canoe to Ponape, helped start house-building. 1.14. cf. Pakilap.
- Palang, Balang (*Peh-leng*) '....-Heaven' — the westernmost of the three main subdivisions of Kiti. 6.2; 26.4.3; 27 [B] 3; 33.1; 53 [A], [F]; 55 [A] 4; 57.3; 59.1; 60.1-5; 83.1, 6.
- Palap — a locality in Janipan, central Matolenim. 84.5.
- Paler, Paleer (*Pal-ehr* [?]) — the site for the inaugural ceremony for the title of Master of Part, in Olapal section. 56.29; 74.3; 84.2.
- Paliapailong — indicated as a farmstead owned by Henry Nanpei, but nowadays regarded as a section of Kiti. 66.4.1 [l].
- Paliejet (*Pali-e-sed*) 'Sea-Side' (?) — evidently a place connected with Nanullap, visited by Luk-of-Heaven on his spirit trip. 64.3.11 [l]; 64.3.13 [c].
- Palienlikatat (*Peli-en Li-kahtaht*) 'Side-of-....' — place of Lijou-mokaiap in Kiti; possibly the same as Ronkiti section. 21.1; 60.8.
- Palikir, Paliker, (*Palikir*) 'Carrying-on-the-back' — the mainland area of modern Jokaj. Under the rule of Lapanpalikir. 27 [C] 2; 46.3.7; 53 [B] 1; 55 [B] 1; 57.3; 66.16; 85 [D] II.
- Panaij (*Pah-n Ais*) 'Under the-Parinarium-Tree' — a section in Uone, Kiti; location of Paatol. 44.2. Home of Liajanpal, founder of a branch of the Creature Clan. 84.8-9.
- Panakualap (*Pah-n Aku-a-lap*) 'Under the-Great-Aku' — name of the westernmost point of Tamon Island, in Matolenim, where the canoe taken by the gods from Airika made a temporary appearance again. 50.4; 85 [N] IV.
- Paniau (*Pah-n-iau*) 'Under-the-Mouth' (?) — an island at the entrance to Mutok Harbour in Uone, Kiti. Sometimes Paniau is used as synonym for Mutok Harbour. 58.1; 64.3.10 [g].
- Paniep, Paaniep — see Nanpaniep.
- Panikapinjap (*Pah-n-i-kep-in-sapw*) 'Below-the-Land's-End' — a place in Na, the beginning point of the file of sting-rays that took vengeance on the Kiraun en Letau at the behest of the Jaulikin Na. 85 [L] II.

- Pankatira, Pankatra, Bankatira (*Pah-n Kedira*) 'Below . . . ' – an island in Nanmatol; traditional residence of the Lords of Teleur. The four corners of the island are named Likapar, Peinkatau, Kiti, and Jokaj; the gate of entry is named Ririn. 23.1-2; 32.12; 33.4, 9; 34.1-5; 44.7-8; 48.11; 50.1; 51.3; 54.1, 4, 10; 70 [A] 5, [B] 5, [C] 6; 71.1; 84.2.
- Pankipar (*Pah-n Kipar*) 'Under the-Pandanus' – a place in Peil section of Kiti, where the eel Muajanpatol hatched from a small stone. 44.2.
- Panlikej (*Pah-n Likehs*) 'Below Likehs' – a place in Letau section, Matolenim, where the boys Jarapuau and Monimur plotted to kill the magician Laponge. See also Likej. 24.4.
- Panpueiti (*Pahn Pwei-di*) 'Will Sleep' – name of a place or house, apparently in Matolenim, where Lapanuanik slept on his abortive trip to Kiti. 72.2.
- Pantakaipuetepuet (*Pah-n Takai Pwetepwet*) 'Under the-White Rock' – formerly a section of Japalap, central Matolenim, nowadays uninhabited; residence of the magician Jau-majamaj apual. 42.1.
- Pantopuk – supposedly a section of Kiti owned by Henry Nanpei, but nowadays part of Nanpalap section. 66.4.7.
- Papa-Tree Clan – see Tipuinpapa.
- Paraina (*Par-ai-na*) – a place visited by Luk-of-Heaven on his spirit trip. 64.3.11 [o].
- Patanlang (*Pat-en-leng* [?]) – a place in Heaven where the garden plot Tiuienlang was located. See also Nanitenpatanlang. 40.11.
- Pauto (*Pwoudo*) – a title of the Nanmariki of Net. 83.10 [A] 5.
- Peak of Kiti, Tol en Kiti (*Dol-en Kiti*) – a peak adjacent to Peinkareraua, the ancient seat of the Master of Kiti. Apparently the same as Jamaki Peak. 83.5.
- Peiangata (*Peiang-a-da*) – another name for Jamanlo. 35.3.
- Peiic – a beach in Uapar where the title-installation party of a new Nanmariki of Matolenim would land on the way to Peipuel. 84.6.
- Peikap (*Pei-kapw*) 'New-Sacred-Stone-Structure' – a farmstead on Mutok Island, Kiti. Owned by Henry Nanpei. 66.4.2.2. Also an artificial islet at Nanmatol. 70 [A] 4.11; 84.1.
- Peilam (*Pei-lam*) – a place on the reef, just east of Mutok Island in Kiti, from which came some kava that Luk-of-Heaven saw during his spirit trip. 64.3.11 [f].
- Peilapalap, Beilapalap (*Pehi-Lapalap*) 'Great-Sacred-Stone-Structure' – 1. Name of an island in Nanmatol where the hero of the malpur quest lived with his mother. 32.1-2; 70 [A] 4.7. Also where Ilakenpeilapalap, the great-aunt of the god, Luk, lived. 37.3.

2. Another place of this name in modern Kolonia, ancient Mejeniang. 39.2.
- Peinkareraua 'Sacred Stone Structure of Kareraua' — the ancient seat of the rulers of Kiti-proper, before its union with Uone to create modern Kiti. Was adjacent to the Peak of Kiti; its stone structures now vanished. 83.1-5; 84.2.
- Peinkatau (*Pei-n Katau*) 'Sacred-Stone-Structure-of Kusaie' — name of a corner of the island of Pankatira built by a Kusaiean stone fitter. 23.2; 54.12; 70 [A] 4.35; 71.1. Alternative name for Pankatira, 70 [A] 5.
- Peinkiten 'Sacred Stone Structure of Kiten' — one of the artificial islands of Nanmatol where Ijokelekel is allegedly buried. 72.2; 84.1 [A].
- Peinmēt (*Pei-n Med*) (?) 'Sacred-Stone-Structure-of Met' — one of the artificial islets of Nanmatol. Said to be the place of residence of Ijokelekel's sister, whom his son, Nalapanien, married. Peinmet and Peinkatau are the two places in Nanmatol mentioned in the Spell of the Walking Cup. 54.12; 70 [A] 4.34.
- Peinnamueiaj (*Pei-n Namw-ei-as*) 'Sacred-Stone-Structure-of Nam-ueiaj (Reef-Pond-of-Life)' — name of one of the two pools on Peikap Island that Ijokelekel used as mirrors. 84.1 [A] 2.
- Peipei — a place in Letau, the termination of the file of sting-rays that took vengeance on the Kiraun en Letau at the behest of the Jaulikin Na. 85 [L] II.
- Peipuel, Peipel (*Pehi-pwel*) 'Sacred-Stone-Structure-of-the-Earth' — place, in Uapar, of installation of the Nanmariki of Matolenim. 84.2, 6.
- Peirani — esoteric or ancient name for the lagoon island of Tapak, which constitutes a section of U. 52 [B] 2.
- Peirot (*Pehi-rot*) 'Dark-Sacred-Stone-Structure' — name of one of the two pools on Peikap Island that Ijokelekel used as mirrors. 84.1 [A] 1.
- Peitoo (*Pei Doh* [?]) 'Far Sacred-Stone-Structure' — one of the artificial islets of Nanmatol. 70 [A] 4.24. Here (but possibly at another place of the same name) Lapanuanik moored his canoe. 72.2.
- Pejiko (*Pesihko*) — apparently a place in the south part of Na Island; the residence of Jau-nok and his wife, Kat-nok. 40.5, 11.
- Perenu (*Per-en Uh*) — Man, member of crew discovering Ponape; cf. Japkini. 1.2.5.
- Pikeniap (*Pik-en-Iap*) 'Sandbar-of-Yap' — an ancient or esoteric place name for part or all of Jokaj. 26.5; 51.5; 53 [B] 2; 59.1.
- Piken Jero (*Pik-en Sehr*) 'The-Beach-of the-Light' — place visited by Luk-of-Heaven. 64.3.1 [o].

- Pikenlenpong (*Pik-en Leh-n Pwong*) 'The-Beach-of the-Pond-of Night' — place visited by Luk-of-Heaven. 64.3.1 [p].
- Pik marain (*Pikk Marain*) 'The-Bright Beach' — mentioned in Luk-of-Heaven's journey. 64.3.8 [c].
- Pil en Puar (*Pil-en pwar*) 'Water-of Appearance' — place visited by the Good Lizard, perhaps in Auak. 70 [C] 6.
- Pingale — a member of the crew of the canoe that the Lord of Teleur sent to fetch the Lapanpalikir who had the form of a chicken. 70 [B] 2.
- Pirik lang - ancient or esoteric name for Muant paiti. 52 [B] 4.
- Place of No Return — see Uajanjoupur.
- Pok (*Pwohk*) — section in Kiti. 57.4; 66.4.4.
- Poleti — a place in Jaunkraun section of Uone, Kiti. 62.5.
- Polota — one of two spirits — boys? — mentioned by Luk-of-Heaven in connection with his spirit trip, the other being Poloti. Evidently resided in Langina at Naman Ere. 64.3.11 [u].
- Poloti — one of two spirits — boys? — mentioned by Luk-of-Heaven in connection with his spirit trip. The other is Polota. Evidently resided in Langina at Naman Ere. 64.3.11 [t].
- Ponaulang (*Pohn-auleng*) — a section in southern Matolenim. 52 [H] 1; 82.12-13.
- Poneit (*Poh-n Eid*) 'Above Eit' — name occurring in the spell used by the god Luk to drive away sharks. 37.35.
- Poniaij (*Poh-n-i-ais*) 'Above-the-Parinarium-Tree' — the place where the woman Lipaieret landed when she fell out of Heaven. In Paliaij section of Net. 38.1.
- Ponjalili — place in Panaij section, Uone, from which the god Jangoro shouted, thus frightening away the Liajanpalap subclan, whose places as rulers of Uone Liajanpal and her descendants took. 84.9.
- Ponmoli (*Poh-n Mweli* [?]) 'Above the-Boulders' (?) — a mountain in Ronkiti section where Nanku, the Naniken of Kiti, erected a house. 82.2.
- Ponnamueiaj (*Poh-n-Namw-ei-as*) 'Above-the-Lagoon-of-Life' — reef on which Ponape was built according to myth. 1.7; 85 [C]. See Namueiaj.
- Ponnintok, Ponintok (*Poh-n Nin-Tok*) — name of a reef in the lagoon off Majijau at a place called Pulipajang en Nanmariki, where Nalapanien parted from his sons, who were also his paternal cross-cousins. 54.15; 84.2.
- Ponpei, Bonpei (*Poh-n-i-pei, Poh-n-pei*) 'On-the-Sacred-Stone-Structure' — name of main island of Ponape. 1.9, 16, *et passim*.
- Ponpeimajak (*Poh-n-pei Masak*) 'Ponape is-Afraid' — name of a house owned by Nanku, the Naniken of Kiti. 82.2.
- Ponpikalap (*Poh-n Pik-a-lap*) 'On the-Great-Sand-Bank' — probably

- same as Likinmaal. The place from which Liatijap was scooped up into Heaven by the god Luk. 70 [G] 1.
- Pontanmai (*Poh-n Teh-n-i-mei*) 'Above the-Leaves-of-Breadfruit' – place in Majijau section, Matolenim, where the brothers Jarapau and Monimur took a stone. 24.2.
- Pontip (*Poh-n-Dipw* [?]) 'Above-the-Grass' or (*Poh-n-Tipw* [?]) 'Above-the-Point' ('point' meaning either a point of reef or of mangrove swamp, if applicable) – a place in Ant Atoll where the eel who ate Jau Areu settled. 36.11.
- Pontolenimuinjap (*Poh-n Dol-en Imw-in-sapw*) 'Above the-Mountain-of the-End-of-the-Land' – a hill on the shore of Kapine section, Matolenim. The brothers Jarapau and Monimur here deposited a stone column that they had used as a vessel. 24.3; 70 [F] 7.
- Pontol lap (*Pohn Dollap*) 'The Great-Mountain' – central peak of Jokaj Island, 276 m high. 85 [D] 5.III.
- Poreti – place in Ronkiti where Nanku, the Naniken of Kiti, had a house. 82.2.
- Poroj – a place, apparently a spring, in Nanmatol, where the eel that ate Jau Areu stayed for a while. 36.10.
- Puaipuai, Buaipuai (*Pweipwei*) – section in Kiti. 5.1-3; 21.2; 66.4; 70[E] 1.
- Puaja – see Puajau.
- Puajau—probably same as Pajau and Puaja. Ancient name for modern sections of Upper Anipein (Pajaulap, or Great Pajau) and Jamai (Pajautik, or Little Pajau). 37.3; 57.4. One of four or, at other times, five major parts of Kiti, 53 [A]; 55 [A]; but sometimes considered part of Likop, 60.8. Ruled by Jau puaja, 55 [A] 2.
- Pueliko (*Pweliko*) – a deep hole between the Underworld and the Third Heaven, over which the spirits of the dead had to pass via the Twisting Bridge; if they could not sing sweetly the bridge would capsize and they would fall into the hole and forever remain there. 56.14-15; 85 [M] III. Also an islet south of Na.
- Puilipajang en Nanmariki (*Pwil-i-pe-seng-en Nah-n-mwar-e-ki*) 'Separation-of the-Nanmarikis' – a place in the lagoon off Majijau section, where Nalapanien parted from his children, who were also his paternal cross-cousins. See also Ponnintok. 54.15.
- Puilitik (*Pwil-i-dak*) 'Flowing-Up' 'Originating' – name of Jarapau when he and his brother killed Laponge. 24.7.
- Puilok – a place mentioned in connection with kava during Luk-of-Heaven's journey. 64.3.3 [u].
- Pukieniap (*Pwuki-en-lap*) 'Knee-of-Yap' – a place mentioned in the song of the Good Lizard. 70 [C] 4.
- Puplik (*Pwupw-i-lik* [?]) 'Falls-Outside' (?) – a son of Liajanpal, who founded the Inanuaij subclan of the Creature Clan. 84.6.

- Purepurenijau 'Balsam-Tree-Drill' — a place visited by Luk-of-Heaven during his spirit travels. Possibly the whirlpool of the same name off the eastern coast of Ant. 64.3.10 [e].
- Putak (*Pwutak*) 'Boys' — a title of the Ujai. See also Nanputak. 55 [E] 2.
- Putoi (*Pwudoi*) — a section of Kiti. 83.1-3, 5.
- Puton — a clan, alleged to be the one from which the Naniken of U should come. 83.10 [C] 3.

R

- Raipuinlang (*Raipw-in-leng*) ' . . . -of-Heaven' — one of the Lords of Teleur, noted for his wealth. 29.5.
- Raipuinloko (*Raipw-in-loko* [?]) — one of the Lords of Teleur; reputed to be a cannibal. 29.6.
- Rakim Clan — see Jaurakim.
- Ralik — the western chain of the Marshall Islands, nearest Ponape of the two main chains. 62.0-1.
- Ramot — a son of Liajanpal, who founded the Inanuaij subclan of the Creature Clan. 84.6.
- Ratak (*Rahdak*) — the eastern chain of the Marshall Islands. 62.0-2; 85 [P].
- Ririn (*Ririn*) — name of gate to the house or courtyard of the island of Pankatira, the residence of the ruler of all Ponape. 23.2; 71.2.
- Roi (*Rohi*) — a section in Uone, Kiti. 60.1; 83.6; 84.9. Also name of a section of U. 52. Roiniap (*Roi-en Iap*) 'Roi-of Yap' refers to Roi section of Uone in 60.1 and 83.6, to Roi section of U in 52 [C] 4. Roienkiti 'Roi of Kiti' possibly means Ronkiti section. 21.1.
- Roienkiti — see Roi.
- Roiniap — see Roi.
- Roj (*Ros*) 'Finished' — name of a small island off Anipein in Kiti. 37.35.
- Roja (*Rohsa*) — an additional title of the Nanmariki of Kiti. 53 [D] 2; 54.16 [A] 4; 56.10.4; 74.1.3; 83.10 [A] 3.
- Ronkiti (*Roh-n Kiti*) 'Carrying-Pole-of Kiti' (?) — a section in central Kiti. 63.1; 65.2-3; 66.4.1, 6; 67.8; 82.1-2; 83.6.
- Royal Child, Royal Children — see Jerijo.
- Royal Man, Royal Men — see Oleijo.
- Rulujennamou, Rilujennamo (*Rulus-en Namu*) — name of a clan in the Marshall Islands, said to have originated on Namu; ancestral to the Lipitan and Naniak Clans of Ponape. 48.20; 62.3-5.

S

- Scoop of Heaven — see Teunlang.
- 'Sea Goddess of the Great Breakwater' — see Ilaki Malujai Lapalap.
- Second Heaven, Lang kariau (*Lahng Ke-ria-u*) 'The-Second Heaven' — residence of the god or gods Nanjapue, Taukatau, etc. 56.6-7. Identified with the Underworld. 56.12-14.
- South, Land of the South — see Air.
- Southern Harbour — see Namanair.
- Standing Stone — see Takaieu.
- 'Stars' — names of a number of stars are given in 57.10. These are not given again elsewhere, and the identification and phonemicisation are in doubt for most, so they are not repeated in the Glossary.
- Stone of Heaven — see Takainlang.
- Stone of Ilol (*Takai-n Iloal*) — a stone brought by the sisters Lijoumokaiaip and Lijoumokalang in the sixth canoe to reach Ponape. Originally known as Stone of Jauar. 5.1-2. See also Nanilol.
- Stone of Jauar (*Takai-n Sauar* [?]) — a stone brought by the sisters Lijoumokaiaip and Lijoumokalang in the sixth canoe to reach Ponape. Also known as Stone of Ilol, after its location on Ponape. 5.1-2; 6.2.
- Stone of Yap — see Takainiap.

T

- Taimuan, Taiman, Taeman (*Tai-Mwahn*) 'The-Man-Tai' — a cannibalistic demon living in Nanjokala with his sister, Litapinmalekelek. He married the daughter of the Lord of Teleur in order to lure her to his place and eat her, but failed in his scheme. 34.
- Tairalang — name of a member of the crew that went on the Tiripeijo feather quest. 84.5.
- Tairemau — name of a member of the crew that went on the Tiripeijo feather quest. 84.5.
- Taitaire — name of a member of the crew that went on the Tiripeijo feather quest. 84.5.
- Takaieu, Takaiieu (*Takai-eu*) — 1. 'One-Stone' — a section of U consisting of a mountainous island. Also called Takainiap. 24.2; 52 [B] 1; 70 [F] 5.
2. 'Standing-Stone' — a prominent rock on the north shore of Matolenim Harbour; allegedly the remains of a high mountain that the brothers Jarapuau and Monimur began to build, planning to reach Heaven. 24.3.

- Takainiap (*Takai-n Iap*) 'Stone-of Yap' — apparently same as Takaieu section (and island) of U; allegedly brought from Yap by two boys. 24.2; 52 [B] 1; 70 [F] 4.
- Takinlang (*Takai-n-Leng*) 'Stone-of-Heaven' — a stone with which the brothers Jarapuau and Monimur played. 24.2; 70 [F] 2.
- Takaitingiting (*Takai-n Dingiding*) 'Dripping Rock' — a rock shelter, where the eel Muajanpatol devoured her foster parents. 44.5.
- Tamon (*Temwen*) — the island at the entrance to Matolenim Harbour, off which Nanmatol was constructed. Equated with Jaunlang. 51.1; 82.5.
- Tamoroï (*Tamw-o-roï*) — a section of Matolenim on the south side of the main harbour. 52 [H] 4; 54.2-3; 57.5; 82.12-13.
- Tangaukuk (*Danga-ukuhk* [?]) — a mountain in Palang, Kiti, from which two birds were sent on the quest for the Yap banana. 6.2.
- Tanimuek, Tanmuek (*Denimwek*) — residence of Liauntanimuek. 37.15, 24.
- Tanipei (*Denipei*) — formerly a section of Jokaj, now part of Mokil Village. 85 [D] 3.I.
- Tanmek (*Denimek*) — a variety of Swimming Fire magic, which consists of sending flames to an enemy. 85 [K].
- Tapa — a place-name, borne also by a river, between Akak and Tamoroï sections, in south Matolenim. 57.5. Also a place mentioned during Luk-of-Heaven's spirit journey. 64.3.5 [a].
- Tapak (*Dehpehk*) — a volcanic lagoon island which constitutes a section of U. 52 [B] 2.
- Tapau — an islet at Nanmatol where Kaniki en Tapau and Aun Tapau transformed a rock into a canoe that was later taken up into Heaven. 70 [H].
- Tapuaijo (*Dapwa-iso* [?]) — place name, horizon or place on horizon. cf. Kitoroilang. 1.1; 85 [C].
- Tariak of Kusaie — method or cause of death of Ijokelekel, apparently suicide. 72.2; 84.1 [A].
- Tauaj — see Nantauaj.
- Tauenaring (*Dew-en Ering*) 'Ripe-Coconut Channel' — a channel at Majijau section, Matolenim, supposed to have been made by the first coconut on Ponape, which drifted ashore there. 79.2.
- Tauk, Taok (*Dauk*) — third title, after Nanmariki and Uajai, in the first line of titled chiefs, in each of the five modern states. 55 [D] 3, [E] 3; 60.10; 83.10 [B] 2.
- Taukatau, Taukata, Taokatau, Taokata (*Dau Katau*) '...-of Kusaie' — one of the major Ponapean gods, often defined as the god of rain, sometimes as god of thunder; at times identified with the god Nanjapue. 41.1; 53 [F]; 56.6, 25; 74.4.
- Taukieil (*Dahu-Kieil*) 'Lizard-Channel' — a channel between two of

- the islets of Nanmatol. In the Song of the Good Lizard the channel is made by her. 70 [C] 9.
- Taukir (*Dau-kihr* [?]) — a young Ponapean warrior who wounded Ijokelekel in battle; later promoted to the title of Lapanmor. 48.23.
- Tauna — a name occurring in a song. 57.9.
- Taupontauaj (*Dau Poh-n Douwas*) '... Above Tauaj' — the official in charge of Nantauaj under the Lords of Teleur. 70 [A] 2. cf. Nantauaj. Perhaps the same as the Jau-pontauaj of 31.1.
- Tekeniang (*Deke-hn-ieng*) 'Isle-of-the-Wind' — place mentioned during the first voyage of discovery under Japkini. 85 [C].
- Teleur (*Deleur*) — an ancient area within what is now Matolenim, centring around Nanmatol or Matolenim Harbour. Perhaps meaning especially Tamon Island. 25.2; 26.0-1; 32.8; 46.3.1; 51.1; 55 [A] 3.
- Teunlang (*Teu-n-leng*) 'Scoop-of-Heaven' — name of the scoop with which the god Luk scooped up the woman Liatijap. 37.36; 70 [G] 1.
- Third Heaven, Lang Kajilu (*Lahng Ke-sū-u*) 'The-Third Heaven' — the residence of the nameless supreme deity of native Ponape. 56.2, 8. Eventual destiny of the more fortunate spirits of the dead. 56.14.
- Thunder God — see Nanjapue.
- Tian (*Dien*) — name of a pond, apparently between Akak and Tamoroi sections of Matolenim. Also name of sections in Kiti and U. 57.5.
- Tiati (*Diadi*) — two sections bear this name, one in Kiti, 43.1, and one in Matolenim, 52 [G] 2.
- Tierenjap (*Dier-en-sapw*) 'Bit-of-land' — name of a lump of coral on the mythical reef on which Ponape was built. cf. Tierenjau 1.7.
- Tierenjau (*Dier-en-sou*) 'Bit-of-reef' — alternate name of lump of coral on mythical reef on which Ponape allegedly was built. 1.7.
- Tipuankapei — ancient or esoteric name for Auak. 52 [C] 1.
- Tipuantanuol 'Point of ' — place visited by Luk-of-Heaven on his spirit journey. Connected with Jangaul and Namani. 64.3.12 [d].
- Tipuantongalap (*Tipw-en Dong-a-lap*) 'Mangrove-Bay-of the-Great-Campnosperma-Tree' — esoteric name for the 'Centre of Net', i.e., the peninsula east of the Jokala estuary on which Net mountain is located. 26.5.3; 27 [C] 3; 46.3.12; 53 [B] 4. Also name of a place in centre of Ponape.
- Tipuilap (*Dipw-i-lap*) 'Great-Clan' — a Ponapean clan; its goddess is Limotelang; the man Uitanngar was a member of it. 40.1; 56.3.9; 83.10.

- Tipuinluk (*Dipw-in Luhk*) 'Clan-of Luk' – probably the same as Jaun Luk. Associated with the god Luk. 40.2; 56.3.4; 85 [G] 7.3.
- Tipuinman (*Dipw-in-i-men*) 'Clan-of-Creatures', 'Clan-of-Birds', 'Clan-of-Flying-Insects' – the 'Creature Clan', consisting of Limuetu's descendants; formerly called Jaun Air. Descended from a trepang, Likapijino. Contains various subclans, e.g. Liajanpalap, Liajanpal, Liponrolong, Lijirmutok. 2.3; (25.1); 56.3.3; 60.2, 4, 11; 69.4; 73.3; 83.10; 84.7; 85 [G].
- Tipuinpanmai (*Dipw-in Pah-n-i-mei*) 'Clan-of Under-the-Breadfruit' – the clan of Ijokelekel and the high chiefs of Matolenim. Connected with the Thunder God. 56.3 [A] 1; 73.3; 83.10 [A] 1, [D] 3; 85 [G] 7.1, [K] 1.
- Tipuinpapa (*Dipw-in Pehpe*) 'Papa-Tree Clan' – the clan that ruled Palang and to which the Lord of the Sea of Palang belonged. 60.2, 4.
- Tipuinuai (*Dipw-in Wai*) 'Foreign Clan', 'Clan-of Abroad' – a clan to which one of Ijokelekel's queens belonged. Clan of the boy, Lakam, from whose adopted brother's grave the coconut tree sprang. 54.1; 56.3.2; 69.4; 79.1; 80.3-4; 83.10 [C] 1; 85 [G] 7.2, [K] 1.
- Tiripeijo (*Der-ep-e-iso, Dir-ip-e-iso*) 'Princely-Errend' (?) – a mythical bird living in a foreign land. The Lord of Teleur assigned to Lapanmor the task of procuring the bird or its feather, as a punishment for the latter's laxity in forwarding a first-fruit offering. 33.5-8; 48.24; 81.1; 84.4.
- Tiuienlang (*Diwi-en-Leng*) 'Garden-Plot-of-Heaven' – the place in Patanlang in Heaven where the first kava was planted. 40.11.
- Tolapuail (*Dolopwail*) – a section of Matolenim, north of the main harbour. 52 [E] 7.
- Tolenikatau (*Dol-en Katau*) 'Peak-of Kusaie' – a peak, said to be in Palikir, Jokaj. 70 [B] 4.
- Tolenne (*Dol-en Ne*) 'Leg Peak' – a mountain in Uone, Kiti. Also called by the more recent name of Toletom. 58.0-2.
- Toletik (*Dol-e-tik*) 'Little-Mountain' – an island off the coast of Kiti. 62.4.
- Toletom (*Dol-o-tomw*) 'Apology-Peak' – a mountain in Uone, Kiti. Formerly called Tolenne. 58.4.
- Tukenijau (*Tuk-in Isou*) 'Scrap-of Calophyllum-Tree' – place in Ronkiti section, Kiti, where the missionary Sturges settled with his wife. 65.3.4.
- Tumenpuel (*Timw-en-ipwel*) 'Nose-of-Earth', 'Earth-Cape' – place at the end of Net Peninsula, opposite modern Kolonia. 63.1. Some whaling ships anchored in the neighbouring channel of this name.
- Twisting Bridge – see Kankapir.

U

- U (*Uh*) – one of the five independent states of Ponape. 54.16; 55 [C]; *et passim*.
- Uajai (*Wasai*) – second title, after Nanmariki, in the first line of titled chiefs in each of the five modern states. In Jokaj for a period of time no Nanmariki existed and Uajai ranked first. 55 [D] 2, [E] 2; 56.10.3; 60.10; 82.5, 8-14; 83.10 [B] 1; 85 [D] I, II, III.
- Uajaiijo – a god worshipped on the atolls of Ant and Pakin. 53 [C].
- Uajaklang – composer of the dance song concerning the first voyage of discovery. 85 [C].
- Uajalalalap (*Wasa-Lapalap*) ‘The-Great-Place’ – a title of address of the Nanmariki of Matolenim. 53 [D] 1; 54.16 [A] 1; 56.10.1; 74.1.1; 83.10 [A] 1.
- Uajanjoupur (*Wasa-hn Sou-Pwur*) ‘The-Place-of No-Return’ – another name for Pueliko. 56.16; 70 [B] 4.
- Ualik – a son of Liajanpal, who founded the Inanuaiaj subclan of the Creature Clan. 84.6.
- Uanik (*Wenik*) – an old name for U, one of the five main independent states of Ponape. Usually means same as Uanik peitak; in 72.2 appears to mean Uanik paiti. 24.2; 26.2.2; 27 [A] 3; 40.8; 46.3.8; 52 [A], [D]; 53 [E]; 54.16; 55 [C] 1; 59.1; 72.2; 74.1. Also name of a section of Kiti.
- Uanik kariau (*Wenik Ke-ria-u*) ‘The-Second Uanik’ – also referred to as Uanik paiti or Downwind Uanik; equivalent to modern Net and Jokaj. 24 [A] 7.
- Uanik paiti (*Wenik Pei-di*) ‘Downwind Uanik’ – also referred to as Uanik kariau or the Second Uanik; modern Net and Jokaj. 27 [A] 7; 35.2; 72.1.
- Uanik peitak (*Wenik Pei-dak*) ‘Upwind Uanik’ – modern U. 27 [A] 3; 40.1; 59.1.
- Uapar (*Wapar*) – a section in Matolenim, south of Matolenim Harbour. 57.5; 82.8; 84.2, 6.
- Uaramaipual (*War-a-mai-pwal* [?]) ‘Split-Breadfruit-Canoe’ (?) – name of the crewless canoe made by Naariting that lured the Great Eel Clan ancestress out to sea from Japalap. 44.17-18.
- Uarikitam (*War-i-kitam* [?]) – a giant sent from Yap to Ponape by Jauiap to look for the latter’s pet bird. Killed by Jomenkapinpil; his body forms the foundation of Kamar section, in Net. 39.
- Uaupajet (*Wou-n Pah-sed*) ‘Valley-of the-Underworld’ – a place mentioned during Luk-of-Heaven’s spirit voyage. 64.3.3 [f].
- Uena (*Wena* [?]) – one of two boys of Pakin who gave raw fish to the giant Uarikitam, the other being Ueni. 39.5.

- Ueni (*Weni* [?]) – one of two boys of Pakin who gave raw fish to the giant Uarikitam, the other being Uena. 39.5.
- Uitanggar (*Widen-i-ngar*) ‘Rinse-the-Kava-cup (?)’ – old man of U, member of the Great Clan, worshipper of the god Luk, involved in the origin of kava. 40.
- Ukalek (*Uk-ahlek*) ‘Wild-Cane-Net’ – a stretch of land covered with wild cane in Palikir, said to be a large seine which was transformed by the spirit-magician Jaupeiajaj. 38.14.
- Ultai (*Ulidei*) – an islet southwest of Famon, where Aunjapauaj was tortured and killed by the Uajai of Matolenim in revenge for the murder of his brother, the Nanaua. 82.13.
- Under-the-Breadfruit Clan – see Tipuinpanmai.
- Underworld – see Pajet.
- Uone, Uene (*Wene*) – the eastern third of Kiti. Also called Ononlang. 26.4.1; 27 [B] 1; 35.3; 44.0-1; 46.3.3; 50.2; 53 [A], [F]; 55 [A] 1; 56.3 [A], 4, 31; 57.4; 58.0; 60.3, 5, 7; 10-11; 62.5; 64.1; 65.1-2; 74.2-3; 78.8; 82.3, 8-9; 83.6-7; 84.2, 7-8, 10; 85 [N].
- Uorepal – ‘Sacred Canoe (?)’ – perhaps the name of a person or spirit. 57.9.
- Upper Anipein, Anipeinpoe (*Eni-pein Po-we*) ‘Female-Demon, Upwind’ – a section of west central Kiti. 37.3. Anciently known as Pajautik (or, according to another version, Pajaulap). 60.8. See also Anipein.
- Upper Lot, Lotpoe (*Lohd Po-we*) ‘Upper, or Upwind, Lot’ – a section in southernmost Matolenim on the Kiti border. 82.0, 4, 6.
- Upwind Katau – see Kataupeitak.
- Upwind Uanik – see Uanik peitak.
- Utunjatau – a place at Na Island. 70 [B] 4.

Y

- Yap – see Iap.

Biological Glossary

In this glossary the plant names given in Chapters 9-16 have not been repeated, unless they occur again elsewhere. Likewise, the names of the varieties of coconuts that form the subject of Chapter 81 are not listed again here.

Identifications are from Bascom, 1965, Christian, 1899, Glassman, 1952, Hambruch, 1932-6, Mayr, 1945, Moore and Fosberg, 1956, Riesenberg, 1948, and Anon. 1947. A number of members of the staff of the various biology departments of the Smithsonian Institution were also able to suggest some identifications, and a few identifications are suggested on the basis of apparent recognition by Ponapeans who were shown illustrated books on Pacific fauna.

Aak, ak (*ahk*) 'Mangrove' — *Rhizophora apiculata* and *R. mucronata*. 1.8; 60.9; in place-name Leek, 82.8; in title Nanjau en Leak, 84.5.

Aiau (*aiiau*) 'Caroline Is. Banyan' — *Ficus carolinensis*. Also in place-name Jaukeniau, 8.4; 64.3.10 [h-i]; and in place-name Kaluanaiau, 64.3.10 [j].

Aij (*ais*) — tree with oil-bearing nut used in painting canoes, etc. *Parinariium glaberrimum*. Occurs in place-names Ponaij and Panaij. 38.1; 44.2, 9; 84.8.

Alek (*ahlek*) 'Wild Cane' — *Saccharum spontaneum*. Also in place-name Ukalek. 38.14.

Alimong (*ali-moang*) 'Mangrove Crab', 'Samoan Crab' — *Scylla serrata*. 8.5; 35.1-2.

Alocasia — see Ot.

Ants — see Kakilej and Kat-tik.

Aringij (*ering-ihs*) — a kind of lagoon fish; possibly an esoteric name for a common variety. 40.4.

Arrowroot, Polynesian — see Mokimok.

Balsam tree — see Ijau.

Banana — see Ut, Utmot, Uteiap, Utmuaj, Kutut, Inanpaniep, Iapmuan.

Banyan — see Aiau, Nin.

Barracuda — see Naliam, Jarau.

Bass — see Jau.

Breadfruit — see Mai.

Butterfly fish — see Liarpuater.

Cane, sugar — see Jeu.
Cane, wild — see Alek.
Cassytha filiformis — see Kotokotajau.
Chestnut, Polynesian — see Marop.
Chicken — see Malek.
Clinostigma ponapensis — see Kotop.
Cockroach — see Kool.
Coconut — see Ni.
Colocasia — see Jaua.
Conger eel — see Lapuet.
Cordyline — see Tingueita.
Crab — see Impuel, Alimong.
Cyrtosperma — see Muang.

Dog — see Kiti.
Dove — see Kinuet.

Eel — see Kamijik, Lapuet, Laji, Majau, It.
Erythrina — see Paar.

Ficus carolinensis — see Aiau.
Ficus tinctoria — see Nin.
Fowl — see Malek.
Freshwater eel — see Kamijik.

Giant swamp taro — see Muang.
Glochidion — see Muek.
Grass, paddle — see Ree patil.

Hibiscus — see Kalau.

Iapmuan — a banana plant, probably of magical significance.
64.3.6 [j].
Ijau (*isou*) 'Balsam tree' — *Calophyllum inophyllum*. Occurs in place-
names Majijau, Tukenijau, and Purepurenijau. 52 [E] 8; 54.14;
57.2; 64.3.10 [e]; 65.3-4.
Impuel, Umpuel (*mpwel*) 'Mud-crab' — 33.6; 84.5.
Inanpaniep (*in-en Pah-n-iep*) 'Mother (?) of Paniep' — name of a

- variety of banana brought from Jokaj to Matolenim by the gardener Lamuak. 33.1.
- Iomo (*iomo*) — a goatfish, perhaps *Mulloidichthys*. 37.25.
- It (*id*) — kind of eel; occurs in names and titles Nanit, Nanitenlang, Nanitenpatenlang, Nanit lapalap, Nanmatonitet, Itcet. 40.11; 55 [D] 3.3; 70 [A] 3, 4.14; 72.2; 73.3.8; 83.10 [B] 8, [C] 3.
- Ivory nut palm — see Oj.
- Jaip (*saip*) 'Sardine' — occurs in name of channel Anganjaip. 44.11.
- Jakau (*sakau*) 'Kava' — *Piper methysticum*. The 'national beverage' of Ponape is made from the roots of this plant. 39.9; 40.1, 6-13; 54.11; 56.28; 64.3.3 [u], 11 [f]; 72.2; 79.5; 82.7; 84.8-9.
- Japalang (*sepeleng*) — a kind of reed. *Miscanthus floridulus*. 24.1.
- Japau — a species of fish, unidentified. 57.7.
- Jara (*sara*) 'Squirrelfish' — *Holocentrus leo*. 37.25.
- Jarau 'Barracuda' — *Sphyræna barracuda*. Occurs also in name Jarauanmor. 21.1; 70 [E] 2.
- Jaua (*sawa*) 'True Taro' — *Colocasia esculenta*. 1.14; 18.1; 47.3; 58.3-4.
- Jau (*sawi*)
 1. 'Sea Bass' — perhaps *Variola* sp. or *Plectropomus* sp. 48.2.
 2. 'Trumpet Shell', 'Conch' — *Charonia tritonis*. 44.17.
- Jeu (*sehu*) 'Sugar-cane' — *Saccharum officinarum*. 40.7, 9-10; 84.7-8.
- Jeu-nair (*seu-n eir*) 'Southern sugar-cane' — a variety of sugar-cane. 40.7.
- Jie (*sie*) 'Ponape mountain starling' — *Aplonis pelzelni*. 6.2.
- Jiok (*sioahk*) 'Micronesian starling' — *Aplonis opacus ponapensis*. 6.2-3; 8.4; 44.1.
- Kaamaa (*keh-mah*) — a kind of forest tree. *Terminalia carolinensis*. 18.1.
- Kaanmant — hard wood useful for spears, which are also called Kaanmant. *Geniostoma stenurum*. 68.3.
- Kajapal — a shallow water fish of moderate size; *Gerres baconensis* or similar to that species. 54.8.
- Kakilej (*kakiles*) — a common species of ant. 38.3-4.
- Kalau (*keleu*) 'Wild Hibiscus Tree' — *Hibiscus tiliaceus*. 4.1; 47.1; 72.2.
- Kamijik (*ke-misik*) 'Freshwater Eel'. Literally, 'Making-afraid', i.e., 'The Fearful one' — *Anguilla* sp. 35.2; 36.2-11; 44.2-19; 45.1.
- Kampanial (*kemp-en-i-al*) 'Kamp of the Paths' — *Psychotria carolinensis*. (Spelled Kaimpanial in 10.1). 34.8, 10.

- Kangit (*kehngid*) 'Mango' — *Mangifera indica*. 18.1.
- Kap (*kehp*) 'Yam' — *Dioscorea alata*, *D. esculenta*, and *D. bulbifera* are recognised by Glassman; the last is a wild yam, probably not referred to as Kap. 5.2; 18.1; 47.3; 78.2.
- Kap en pajet (*kehp-in pah-sed*) 'Underworld Yams' — a variety name. 5.1-2.
- Kapmot en pajet (*kehp-mwot-en pah-sed*) 'Short Underworld Yams' — evidently a subvariety of Kap en pajet. 5.2.
- Kapnair (*kehp-in Eir*) 'Southern Yams' — a variety name. 24.2.
- Karat (*karat*) — a kind of banana with deep yellow flesh and short, thick fruit. See also Ut. 37.4; 40.3.
- Karer (*ka-rer*) 'Making-Shudder' or 'Shudderer' literally. Used currently for orange (*Citrus sinensis*), lime (*C. aurantifolia*), and possibly other related species. See also Motokoi. 48.1.
- Katai (*kadai*) — a wild palm tree with edible nuts. *Ptychosperma hosinoi* and *P. ledermanniana*. 47.3.
- Katar (*kadar*) 'Tree Fern' — *Cyathea nigricans* and *C. ponapeana*. 24.5-6.
- Katieu (*ketieu*) — a shrub or small tree, hard wood useful for making spears, which are also called Katieu. *Ixora casei*. 48.17; 68.3.
- Kat-tik, katitik (*kat-i-tik*) — a small variety of ant. 34.8; 38.3-4.
- Kava — see Jakau.
- Kieil 'Lizard' — a kind of skink. 70 [C]. Contained in name of the Good Lizard, Nankieililmau, and in channel name Taukieil, 70 [C] 9.
- Kiep (*kiop*) 'Spider Lily' — *Crinum* sp. and *Hymenocallis littoralis*. Occurs in place-name Namanikiep. 64.3.5 [b].
- Kij (*kihs*) 'Octopus', perhaps also 'Squid'. 1.6.
- Kijinjiong (*kis-in-ioang*) 'Turmeric', literally 'Bit-of-Turmeric' — see Ong. 64.3.7 [k].
- Kimuar (*kimwer*) — kind of wild Pandanus, fibres from the roots of which were formerly used in making fibre skirts. *Pandanus cominsil*. 47.1.
- Kinuet (*kinued*) 'White-throated Ground Dove' — *Gallicolumba xanthonura kubaryi*. 8.4.
- Kipar (*kipar*) 'Pandanus Tree' or 'Screw Pine' or 'Screw Palm' — *Pandanus* sp., probably *P. dubius* or *P. tectorius*. Occurs also in place-names Kipar and Pankipar. 18.1; 37.33-35; 44.2; 47.2; 49.3.
- Kiteu — *Microsorium scolopendria* or *Rumohra aristata*. 85 [O]. Also in name Kiteumanien, 23.3; 71.3.
- Kiti (*kidi*) 'Dog' — *Canis familiaris*. 18.2; 32.3; 48.24; 51.4; 57.7; 80.4.
- Kitik (*kitik*) 'Rat' — *Rattus exulans*. Introduced by Europeans are also *R. norvegicus* and *R. rattus*. Occurs also in title Jaukitik. 18.2; 40.9; 57.8; 81; 85 [M].

- Kong (*Koahng*) – a fish, unidentified. Also in title Jaukong. 26.5.3.3; 85 [K] I.
- Kool, koll (*kull* or *koll*, dialect variants) – ‘Cockroach’. 33.6-9; 84.5.
- Koomuje – unidentified tree, allegedly imported to Jainuar section, Kiti, from Kusaie. 62.4.
- Koto (*koatoa*) ‘Mangrove’ – *Sonneratia caseolaris*. 32.6.
- Kotokotajau – a strand vine. *Cassytha filiformis*. 64.3.4 [d].
- Kotop (*kotop*) – a native wild palm. *Clinostigma ponapensis*. Occurs also in name of Lajiekotop, a subclan of the Lajialap clan. 24.5; 44.16; 48.6.
- Kutoar, kitoar (*kutoar*) ‘Kingfisher’ – *Halcyon cinnamomina reichenbachii*. 39.2-3, 8.
- Kutut – variety of banana. 38.12; 84.3.
- Laji (*lasi*) ‘Freshwater Eel’ – *Anguilla* sp. Now obsolete; kamijik is the common term currently. Occurs in names of the Lajialap clan and some of its subclans, in the Patenlaji basket name, and in some titles. 33.6; 44.16; 54.1-2; 81; 83.10 [A] 2, [B] 8; 85 [K] I.
- Lamer (*lamwer*) ‘Gecko’ – *Lipidodactylus lugubris*. In title Jaulamer, 85 [M].
- Lapuet (*lapwed*) ‘Saltwater Eel’, ‘Conger’ – *Conger* sp. 57.4.
- Liarpuater (*li-ar-pwater*) ‘Butterfly Fish’ – a kind of reef fish. *Chaetodon* sp. 58.1.
- Likantinkap (*li-kend-in-kep*) ‘Sting-ray’ – 48.17-18.
- Likapijino (*li-kepisino*) – a kind of Holothurian (trepan, sea-cucumber, beche-de-mer, etc.), probably *Thelanota ananas*. 60.2, 11; 69.1; 80.1-2.
- Limanman en jeri (*li-menimen-in-seri*) – a kind of lizard; also called lipairer. *Perocheirus articulatus*. 38.6-9.
- Lipuai (*li-pwei*) – a small edible cockle. *Anadara antiquata scapha*. 4.3; 62.4.
- Litak (*litak*) ‘Mud-skipper’ – *Periopthalmus* sp. 33.6; 84.5.
- Lizard – see Kieil, Limanman en jeri.
- Mai, maii (*mahi*) ‘Breadfruit’ – *Artocarpus atilis*. 4.3; 7.1; 8.1, 4; 17.1; 18.1; 45.3; 47.2-3; 57.8, 10; 78.1-2; 82.6-7. Also occurs in canoe name Uaramaipual, 44.18; in woman’s name Lipanmai, 48.1 and 72.2; in place-name Pontanmai, 24.2; and in clan name Tipuinpanmai, 48.7; 56.3 [A] 1; 73.3; 83.10 [A] 1, [D] 3; 85 [G] 7.1, [K] I.
- Mail – possibly synonym of Aak. Occurs in Kaloanmail, ‘Roots of Mail’. 48.17.

- Mainue (*mei-ni-we*) — general term for smooth-skinned, firm-fleshed, early varieties of breadfruit. 45.3.
- Majau (*mweseu*) 'Green Sea Eel' according to Hambruch. 64.3.8 [y].
- Malek (*malek*) 'Chicken' — *Gallus gallus*. Also in place-name Namalek, 18.2; 34.1; 57.1. Also in personal name Litapin-malekelek, 34.1, 7-10.
- Malpur (*malipwur*) — an unidentified marine animal, considered rare and valuable. 32.4-14.
- Mango — see Kangit.
- Mangrove — see Aak, Koto, Mail.
- Mangrove crab — see Alimong.
- Marop (*merepw*) 'Polynesian Chestnut' — *Inocarpus fagiferus*. 18.1.
- Microsorium* — see Kiteu.
- Mokimok (*mwekimwek*) 'Polynesian Arrowroot' — *Tacca leontopetaloides*. 1.14.
- Morinda citrifolia* — see Ueipul.
- Motokoi — same as Karer. 48.1.
- Muaj (*mwahs*) 'Worm', general term — occurs in names of two totemic eels of the Lajialap clan: Muajanpatol and Muajanlang. 44.0; 45.0-1; 81.
- Muang (*mwahng*) 'Giant Swamp Taro' — *Cyrtosperma chamissonis*. 1.14; 4.3; 18.1; 37.15-16; 44.8; 47.3; 84.7. Also occurs in name Aunpanmang, 37.16; and in place-names Muangpaiei and Muang-pailong, 84.7.
- Mud-crab — see Impuel.
- Mud-skipper — see Litak.
- Muek (*mwehk*) — *Glochidion ramiflorum*. (Hambruch gives *Psychotria* as *muerk*, I:352. Glassman lists several species of this genus but does not give a similar Ponapean name.) Occurs in place-name Panmuek. 70 [A] 4.12.
- Muroi (*mwuroi*) 'Micronesian Pigeon' — *Ducula oceanica townsendi*. 8.4.
- Naliam (*nah-liam*) — young form of the barracuda. 21.1; 70 [E] 1.
- Nanjamol 'Eel' — esoteric name for It. 70 [D] 5.
- Needle fish — see Taak.
- Neuneu 'Scorpion Fish' — *Scorpaenopsis* sp. 64.3.8 [1].
- Nii, ni (*nih*) 'Coconut Tree', 'Drinking nut' — *Cocos nucifera*. 36.10; 38.14, 19-20; 40.2; 49.4; 59.2; 60.9; 64.3.2 [k]; 67.3-4; 69.3; 70 [E] 3; 79.1-10; 80.4; 81. Also in title Jauni, 26.5.4, 6.3; 27 [C] 4, [D] 3; 46.3.5; 53 [C] 2; 54 [B] 3.
- Nin (*nihn*) 'Banyan' — *Ficus tinctoria*. Name also used for a kind of headband, made from the bark of this tree. 1.14; 8.4; 47.1.

Nitik (*Nih-tik*) 'Small Coconut' — a variety of coconut with clusters of numerous small nuts, difficult to husk. 38.20.

Octopus — see Kijj.

Oj (*oahs*) 'Ivory-nut Palm' — *Metroxylon amicarum*. 1.15; 60.6; 66.8.

Ong (*oahng*) 'Turmeric' — *Curcuma domestica*. Glassman (1952:106) gives names of five local varieties. A wild ginger, *Zingiber zerumbet*, is also classed as a kind of Ong. 24.1; 64.3.7 [d]; 70 [D] 5, [F] 2; 84.7; 85 [O].

Ot, uot (*ohd*) 'Dry land taro' — *Alocasia macrorrhiza*. 1.12, 14; 4.3; 47.3; 48.2; 85 [P]. Also in place-name Peiniot, 70 [A] 4.4.

Paar, par (*pahr*) 'Flame Tree' — light wood, grows in swamps. Two species called Paar collected by Glassman; *Erythrina fusca* and *E. variegata orientalis*. 57.10.

Paddle grass — see Ree patil.

Pako (*pako* or *poake*, dialectal variants) 'Shark' — any of several varieties 1.14; 47.3.

Palapal — an unidentified fish. 'Cut-cut' per Bascom (1965:121) because of its spines. 44.11.

Palaii — a kind of wild yam. *Dioscorea sativa*. 1.14; 47.3.

Palm — see Katai, Kipar, Kimuar, Ni, Oj, Kotop.

Pandanus — see Kipar and Kimuar.

Papa tree (*pehpe*) — *Melicope ponapensis* or *Eurya nitida*. Occurs in clan name Tipuinpapa. 9.38; 60.2, 4.

Parinarium glaberrimum — see Aij.

Pearl oyster — see Puaii.

Pelikenna, pelik en Na (*pelik-en-na*) — an unidentified shellfish used as a cutting tool; perhaps same as Lipuai. 17.2; 33.3; 47.2.

Pig — see Puik.

Pigeon — see Muroi.

Polynesian arrowroot — see Mokimok.

Polynesian chestnut — see Marop.

Ptychosperma palm — see Katai.

Puaii, puai (*pwahi*) 'Pearl Oyster' — Bascom (1965:126) distinguishes pwahi-e-mai (black pearl oyster, *Pinctada margaritifera*) and pwahiaka (*Atrina* sp.) 4.3; 47.2.

Puik (*pwihk*) 'Domestic Pig' — *Sus* sp. 20.1.

Rat — see Kitik.

Ree patil (*reh padil*) 'Paddle Grass' — a kind of grass with wiry stems. *Ischaemum chordatum*. 5.3.

Samoan crab — see Alimong.
 Scorpion fish — see Neuneu.
 Sea bass — see Jauí.
 Shark — see Pako.
 Short banana — see Utmot.
 Short underworld yam — see Kapmot en pajet.
 Southern sugar-cane — see Jeu-nair.
 Southern yam — see Kapnair.
 Spider lily — see Kiep.
 Squid — see Kíij.
 Starling — see Jiok and Jie.
 Sting-ray — see Likantinkap.
 Sugar-cane — see Jeu and Jeu-nair.
 Swamp taro — see Muang.

Taak (*dahk*) 'Needlefish' — *Belone platyura*. 48.2.

Taro — see Muang, Ot, Jaua.

Terminalia carolinensis — see Kaamaa.

Ting ueita (*dihng-weita*) 'Red-ti' — *Cordyline terminalis*. 64.3.6 [1].

Tiripeijo (*der-ep-e-iso*) — a legendary, valuable and rare foreign bird; possibly a kind of red parakeet. 33.5-9; 48.24; 81; 84.4.

Toong, tong (*dohng*) — a tall forest tree, *Camposperma brevipetiolata*. 44.16. Occurs also in subclan name Lajietong, 44.16, and in place-name Tipuantongalap, 26.5.3; 27 [C] 3; 46.3.12; 53 [B] 4.

Topako 'Tobacco' — *Nicotiana tabacum*. Sometimes cultivated. 63.3.

Tree fern — see Katar.

Turmeric — see Ong and Kijiniong.

Turtle — see Uei.

Ualiual 'Yellowfin Tuna' — *Neothunnus macropterus*. 32.2. Also in place-name Muecitenualiual, 32.2; 70 [A] 4.

Uei (*wehi*) 'Sea turtle' — *Chelonia mydas* and *Eretmochelys imbricata*. Also in some titles. 51.3-5; 70 [D]; 83.5, 10 [B] 8, [D] 11; 84.1 [B] 7.

Ueipul (*weipwul*) — *Morinda citrifolia*. 1.12, 14; 18.1.

Ut (*uht*) 'Banana' — *Musa paradisiaca*, also *M. textilis*. 1.3; 5.1; 6.1-3; 7.1; 18.1; 33.1, 4-5; 37.3-5; 38.12; 39.3; 40.3; 45.3; 47.3; 57.8; 70 [C] 1; 82.6; 84.3-4. Also in place-name Pakanut, 6.3.

Utmot (*uht-mwot*) 'Short-banana' — apparently same as Uteiap. 45.3.

Uteiap (*ut-en-iap*) 'Yap-banana' — a variety. 6.1-3; 45.3.

Utmuaj 'Worm (?) banana' — a variety. 45.3.

White-throated ground dove — see Kinuet.

Wild cane — see Alek.

Wild yams — see Palaii.

Yams — see Kap and Palaii.

Yap banana — see Uteiap.

Yellowfin tuna — see Ualiual.

Volumes in the Pacific History Series

- 1 A Cruize in a Queensland Labour Vessel to the South Seas.

W. E. Giles. Editor, Deryck Scarr

- 2 The Works of Ta'unga.
Records of a Polynesian Traveller
in the South Seas, 1833-1896.

Editors, R. G. and Marjorie Crocombe

- 3 The Trading Voyages of Andrew Cheyne,
1841-1844.

Editor, Dorothy Shineberg

- 4 A Residence of Eleven Years in New Holland
and the Caroline Islands.

James F. O'Connell. Editor, Saul H. Riesenber

- 5 The South Sea Islanders
and the Queensland Labour Trade.

William T. Wawn. Editor, Peter Corris

- 6 The Marquesan Journal of Edward Robarts,
1797-1824.

Editor, Greg Dening

- 7 The New Guinea Memoirs of
Jean Baptiste Octave Mouton.

Editor, Peter Biskup

- 8 The Book of Luelen.

*Luelen Bernart. Editors, John L. Fischer,
Saul H. Riesenber and Marjorie G. Whiting*