

A HISTORY AND SOME TRADITIONS OF PINGELAP,
AN ATOLL IN THE EASTERN CAROLINE ISLANDS

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS
IN PACIFIC ISLANDS STUDIES

AUGUST 1977

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To Lesihna, Nohno Lilihn, and Nicholas
who were a constant source of joy.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Only with the support of many institutions and people was this study possible. The East-West Culture Learning Institute awarded me a grant under which most of this work was completed. Both the East-West Culture Learning Institute, Dr. Verner C. Bickley, director, and the Population Genetics Laboratory, University of Hawaii, Dr. Newton E. Morton, director, provided me with generous support for work in the field.

Librarians at the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia; the Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts; and the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, were extremely generous with their assistance on very short notice.

In Honolulu, I received a great deal of help from the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library. Ms. Elizabeth Larsen, librarian, was kind to grant me ready and continued access to the Library's collection of unpublished letters from missionaries in Micronesia. Ms. Lela Goodell showed unflagging interest in the Micronesian missions and search diligently for references to Pingelap. The Library Committee generously granted me permission to quote from the unpublished letters in their collection. I would also like to thank the director and staff of the Pacific and Asian Affairs Council for their patience and encouragement during the past several months.

Dr. Norman Meller, Dr. Albert Schütz, and Dr. Carl Daeufer of the University of Hawaii, and Ms. Lyn Anzai, Mr. Gregory Trifonovitch, and Mr. H. Van Buren of the East-West Culture Learning Institute were constant in their support. Dr. Jerry Boucher and Mr. Michael Hamnett of that institution spent many hours discussing my work. Mr. Kenneth Rehg of the University of Hawaii provided me with valuable information about current linguistic research in Micronesia, and Drs. Christian Schmitt, Maria Brandl, and Irene Hussels translated portions of ships' logs and ethnological materials from the German.

I most especially wish to thank Dr. Saul H. Riesenbergr of the Smithsonian Institution for sending me his unpublished Pingelap field notes.

Many Pingelapese people, both in Honolulu and in Micronesia, gave of their time and knowledge. Among them were the late Nahneken of Pingelap, Mr. Aiel Diopolus, his son and current Nahneken, Rev. Albert Diopolus, Mr. Elias Robert, Mr. Yosimi James, Mr. Isao Frank, Mr. Weldis Welle, Mr. Ideia Sakrayas, Mr. Lemuel Ohry, Mr. Stenson Solomon, Mr. Kiyohsi Phillip, Mr. Lianter Albert, Mr. Job Micah, Mr. Ieske Iehsi, the Honorable Kikuwo Apis, Mr. Doses Diopolus, and the Honorable Ambilos Iehsi. I would also like to thank the many Pingelapese people who demonstrated great understanding and tactful concern for me during the two years I lived among them.

And finally, I must thank the three people who urged me

to finish this work: Ms. R. Renée Heyum, Curator of the Pacific Collection of the University of Hawaii Library, who has taught me a great deal of what I know about the Pacific; Ms. Lareida Buckley, who edited the manuscript; and Professor Bacil F. Kirtley, my committee chairman, who turned the last rugged mile into a stroll down a Texas lane.

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INTRODUCTION

Since a people's cultural identity is determined by its irreplaceable heritage, an urgent need for salvage ethnology has arisen in the areas of the world where protection of cultural property has been heretofore neglected. Traditional societies today face social and cultural changes which contact with the West brings, and these changes threaten the perpetuation of a people's basic identity. Without immediate concerted effort in recording and preserving their various cultural forms, societies facing rapid social change may find themselves denuded of important knowledge of their own historical past.

Pingelap atoll in the Eastern Caroline Islands, between Ponape and Kosrae, has received very little attention from modern investigators, or earlier from Western observers, including whalers, missionaries, and adventurers. In the last few years, several elderly men and women who knew well stories of the past have died, and thus left the culture with only fragments of information about its origins. In 1969 and 1970, however, it was still possible to record in the form of stories, chants, and songs, substantial amounts of information about the traditional culture. This information is presented

here, and an attempt has been made to put Pingelap's oral tradition into a historical context.

Pingelap atoll (6°12' N. Lat., 160°53' E. Long.) consists of three tiny coralline islets in a vast lagoon. Its total land mass is barely six-tenths of a square mile, and its population as of the 1970 census was 800. Pingelap lies between the high volcanic islands of Ponape and Kosrae at the eastern tip of the extended Caroline archipelago, which--together with the Marianas Islands to the northwest, the Marshall Islands to the east, and Nauru and the Gilberts to the southeast--make up the entity which for geographical and anthropological purposes is called Micronesia, or "small islands."

While the Gilberts have long been controlled by the British, and Nauru has been independent since 1968, the rest of Micronesia has been dominated by a succession of Spanish, German, and Japanese colonialists for the past hundred years. Since World War II, the Marianas (excluding Guam), the Carolines, and the Marshalls have been held in strategic trust by the United States through a United Nations trusteeship. Reference to Micronesia in this study will refer to the above area, currently administered by the U. S. Department of the Interior as the United States Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

From June of 1968 until June of 1970, I served as a Peace Corps Volunteer in the community of Mand, which was settled in Madolenihmw Municipality, Ponape, Eastern Caroline Islands by the Pingelapese in 1954. During the spring of

1969, I was invited to accompany a scientific research team¹ on a field expedition to Pingelap, 165 miles to the south-east, in order to collect ethnological data which would clarify the origins of and support the findings on an eye disease that plagued more than five per cent of the population.²

Presented here is a traditional history of Pingelap, shown against a documentation of Western contact and observation. In an attempt to provide a historical context for the indigenous history, the documented contact with the West is presented first, as Chapter I, while an interpretation of the traditional, indigenous history follows as Chapter II. Source materials from which the interpretation of the traditional history is taken are presented as an appendix. A description of how an account of Pingelap's legendary history, written in the vernacular, was discovered and used in this work introduces Chapter II. "*Liamweimwei*," an example of a Micronesian epic chant,³ is presented as Chapter III.

"*Liamweimwei*" has no story line. The function of the chant is not to create narrative suspense or to involve the listener or reader in a lengthy story. Rather, the chant systematically describes geographical points and evokes historical and mythological associations which one might make while circling the islands and reefs of the atoll. The final chapter depicts Isoahpahu, the Pingelapese epic hero, in a series of legends in which he is portrayed as the typical legendary trickster-hero of folk literature, revealed as an embodiment of both overridingly selfish impulses and

altruistic interests.

For the most part the materials included in the oral history were collected in two situations, the first on Pingelap in 1969, and the latter in Honolulu in 1970. During our expedition's five weeks on the atoll in 1969, we were shown a ledger containing a transcription of the epic chant, "*Liamweimwei*," as well as the account of the origins of Pingelap, entitled "*Duen Tapida en Wein Pingelap*." An interpretation of the historical account appears as Chapter II, and "*Liamweimwei*" is presented here as Chapter III, while a typescript of the material found in the ledger appears as an appendix to this work.

The information retained in the ledger was apparently recorded in the early 1950's by Salo, whose title was *Nahlik*.⁴ A high-ranking villager, Salo was able to read and write Ponapean. He recorded information as it was dictated to him by Dison Aia, also known as Dison Liwi, whose title was *Nanno*, and who was Pingelap's recognized historian.

During the summer of 1970, Aiel Diopolus, an elderly Pingelapese who held the prestigious title of *Nahneken*, came to Honolulu as a consultant to the Population Genetics Laboratory at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, the same organization which had conducted the several field trips to Micronesia during the two preceding years. Every day for a month, the Nahneken and I met in a workshop. I showed him a typescript of the information in the ledger which he

and the other elders had shown us on Pingelap the year before (Appendix A). Two young adolescent brothers, Kiyohsi Phillip and Ieske Iehsi, had copied the materials in the ledger by hand. This copy was then checked and taken to Honolulu, where it was typed and returned to Elias Robert of the Ponape Education Department, who is Pingelapese, for translation. Because of the difficulties with orthography and language encountered by Salo, the first person to reduce the information to writing, a word-for-word translation would have been, it was decided, of little value. The translator apparently endeavored to make only literal sense out of the transcript, and added no information to clarify the bald text.

The Nahneken read and wrote Ponapean, and had an obvious facility with language, picking up English directions readily, and offering bits of German and Japanese that he had acquired during the years of foreign domination in Micronesia. Thus, every morning, when I read the Ponapean/Pingelapese script to him, endeavoring to enlarge on it as best I could from the information gained in reading Robert's translation, the Nahneken would repeat the story to me in modern Pingelapese, which I was then able to translate into English. The Nahneken's stories and our dialogue about them were recorded on a cassette tape recorder. In the afternoons, while the Nahneken was resting I would study the tapes with Yosimi James, who would check my accumulated translation. In this way, if

there was something which I had been unable to make clear from the various sources available to me, we were able to ask the Nahneken about the material later in the day. This method was the best we could devise. Although we would have preferred that Yosimi James be present for the entire recording session in the morning, he was at the time an East-West Center participant and was only able to share a few hours a week with us.

The preceding description of our method of sorting out the legendary history applies also to "*Liamweimwei*," the epic chant, although in "*Liamweimwei*" was the added complication of archaic language, which probably was handed down fairly intact for generations, while the language of oral history is more obviously that of one man. The many versions of "*Liamweimwei*" we were able to collect, however, were more or less similar. No one's version of the legendary history was as complete as Dison's. And, unlike the chant, the legendary history did not lend itself to recitation. Another reason the history was easier to decipher than "*Liamweimwei*," is that the history had none of the connecting syllables, important in the recitation but so confusing to the explication of "*Liamweimwei*."

The collection of folktales about Isoahpahu is the easiest to describe. Most of the characters contained in these stories were familiar figures to the Pingelapese, and I had heard them mentioned repeatedly during the two years I had

spent with the Pingelapese. The Nahneken told these stories into the tape recorder and I translated them from the tapes. Yosimi James verified my translations. As there were no recorded texts with which to compare the new materials, the process of translation was simplified. Though these stories change from *raconteur* to *raconteur*, Yosimi James sees our narratives as "typical" of Pingelapese ghost stories.

As many difficulties arose in the deciphering of the Pingelapese text as occurred in the interpretation of the material. No standardized orthography has yet been devised for Pingelapese. Conventional Ponapean orthography and language are taught in the schools of Ponape District, and although it is sometimes used for Pingelapese, writing in the latter language has never been encouraged--a fact which is illustrated by the curious combination of Pingelapese and Ponapean throughout the ledger.

Pingelapese and Ponapean are mutually unintelligible, although only minimal effort is required on the part of a speaker of either of them to learn clues that are keys to the comprehension of the other. Few make this effort, for the individual's reluctance is culturally acquired and is a subtle and ill-defined sentiment. The Pingelapese need Ponapean for their daily affairs. Ponapean is used in church and in most of the schools in the district. Until the island of Kosrae became a separate district in January, 1977, Kosraean, Kapingamarangi, and Ponapean were the official languages of Ponape

District. In these languages ordinances were published and news broadcasts translated. Pingelapese is not an official language, and speakers are forced to use Ponapean as their means of official communication. This situation exists despite the fact that the Pingelapese outnumber the Kapingamarangi population three to one and equal half the population of Kosrae. Only the Ponapeans who marry Pingelapese or who live among them as traders, teachers, or as visiting ministers and are forced by linguistic reality, learn Pingelapese properly. The few Ponapeans who do learn Pingelapese usually exaggerate its already noticeable intonation. Town Ponapeans have heard and learned the most characteristic differences in intonation between the two languages. In order to amuse themselves, they combine these with Pingelapese's most obvious phonemic variation, in which an unidentified proto-Ponapean consonant became a /t/ in Ponapean and an /s/ in Pingelapese, and in this way deftly caricature the language.

Few Ponapeans have sufficient reason or interest to learn the Pingelapese language properly, and their reasons for caricaturing the Pingelapese people are many. Pingelapese are, and describe themselves as shorter and darker than Ponapeans. They tend to be more highly social (a fact which stems, no doubt, from the necessity of getting along with others under severely cramped atoll living conditions). Pingelapese children are academically and socially aggressive. Later, as educated adults, they are frequently successful at attaining

government positions. Pingelapese are affected with the highest rate of leprosy in the Trust Territory, and the symptoms of the eye disease afflicting many of them are easy to ridicule. Although Pingelapese homesteaders on Ponape have attempted to blend into the alien society, they are noticeably different from their Ponapean neighbors and are seemingly never fully accepted by them.

Although Pingelapese is only now being investigated with modern linguistic methodology, significant syntactic and vocabulary differences are clearly known to separate it from Ponapean. A comprehensive study of the language is currently underway at the University of Hawaii by Elaine Good and Weldis Welle.

FOOTNOTES

¹Led by Professor Newton E. Morton, Director of the Population Genetics Laboratory at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, the field team included Dr. Irene Hussels, an ophthalmologist from Johns Hopkins University; Dr. David Greene, a physical anthropologist from the University of Colorado; Ms. Yoko Imaizumi of the Population Genetics Laboratory, University of Hawaii; Ms. George Little, School of Public Health, University of Hawaii; and Dr. Israel Roisenberg, Population Genetics Laboratory, University of Hawaii.

²See Bibliography for articles by Morton, *et al.*, Carr, Imaizumi and Hussels.

³Cf. Lessa, 1961, for other Micronesian examples.

⁴Titles will be italicized only upon first usage.

CHAPTER I

DOCUMENTED CONTACT WITH THE WEST

In his introduction of *Of Islands and Men*, H. E. Maude (1968, p. xviii) points out the rising need felt among Pacific-interested people--Europeans and islanders alike--to develop "textbooks and teaching materials on local and general island history," but he is quick to emphasize the more immediate need for research "based on the primary source material which is now coming to light in such profusion" (Maude, p. xix). Maude continues:

The Pacific Islander himself must come to the centre of the picture and our studies must be concerned to a greater extent than before with his cultural development: with his social and economic life, his politics, technology, religion, customs, beliefs, values, and behavior patterns, both at and after the coming of the European.

The need for a more island-oriented historiography would seem urgent if our work is to stand the test of time and not be rejected as imperialistic rationalization by the people of the independent nations that are coming into being in the new Pacific.

The present study makes an effort to present materials furnished by Pacific Islanders themselves. An attempt is made to place the Islanders in the focus of their own terms and interests, bringing in occasionally, for added clarity, relevant supplementary views of observers from outside the culture. The events of history here presented, however, are those which the Pingelapese consider memorable and which,

throughout their history, they have recalled with sufficient frequency to transmit them to succeeding generations.

Typically, however, the retrievable historical information regarding Pacific islands is, as Maude (1968, p. xix) says, "largely concerned with their local representatives." However, we find that in the case of Pingelap even this kind of history is notably sparse. Adequate historical documentation of the island did not begin until quite late. Even missionary writings were not numerous until the 1870's.

Why Pingelap Was Bypassed

There are perhaps three important reasons for Pingelap's scanty and belated representation in the literature covering the eastern part of Micronesia. The most obvious cause is that Pingelap lies between the high islands of Ponape and Kosrae. Certainly there was no need for early whalers to call on a tiny atoll with difficult access, when safe harbors, ample water, and the varied facilities and distractions of burgeoning port towns lay slightly more than a day's sail beyond Pingelap in either direction.

Julian Dana (1935, p. 94) describes a typical reaction, that of New Zealand's Captain Harris, aboard the *Belle Brandon* in 1880:

His course brought him close to Pingelap. Still, he had no intention of landing since he intended to give his men a good run ashore at Ponape before sailing to colder seas. Ponape in those days was called "The Sailors' Paradise," and whalers were in the habit of resorting there to take on supplies of fresh meat and vegetables and give the men a holiday ashore.

The second reason for infrequent or undocumented landings on Pingelap is mid-nineteenth-century stories about murders of whites there, for these tales were quick to reach such far-flung points as Sydney, Hong Kong, and Boston.

And finally, Pingelap's high incidence of leprosy, coupled with that of a congenital eye disease called achromatopsia, or the Pingelap eye disease (*seumwahu en Pingelap*), may well have contributed to a lack of enthusiasm for closer contact with the inhabitants of the atoll.

Sightings and Initial Western Contacts

The first sighting of Pingelap may have been as early as 1527, when Alvaro de Saavedra was sent from Mexico by Cortes to find traces of Magellan's company (Sharp, 1960, p. 16). On his second trip, de Saavedra found remnants of the company of the explorer Loisa in the Moluccas, and while attempting to return to North America, he passed two islands commonly held to be Ponape and Ant, but because they were described as low, they may have been any combination of Ngatik (5°50'N. Lat., 157°11'E. Long.), Mokil (6°41'N. Lat., 159°47'E. Long.), or Pingelap.

Such mistakes in identification, often resulting from inaccurate chartings, were not unknown. Stackpole (1953, p. 373) notes that:

Admiral Krusenstern, the Russian explorer, writing from St. Petersburg in January, 1837 to the "Commander of the Exploring Expedition of the United States" (who was to be Lt. Wilkes), stated that the Caroline Islands, though well surveyed by Duperrey (sic) and Lutke, con-

tained several islands whose positions were not correctly charted, while others had only been seen by one navigator.

There is no specific early Spanish mention of Pingelap.

The answer may be given by Dorothy Shineberg (1971, p. 9) in her introduction to *The Trading Voyages of Andrew Cheyne 1841-1844*, where she observes that "many of the Caroline islands became known to the crews of the Spanish galleons on the long trip from Acapulco to Manila, but the Spanish appear to have taken little interest in these new discoveries."

She further describes missionary expeditions to Sonsorol and Ulithi in the Western Carolines in 1710 and 1731 which were "shortlived and disastorous" (*Ibid.*), and resulted in the disappearance of all the missionaries. The Spanish leave no other records of attempts to contact these people, and although explorers and buccaneers of other nationalities followed the galleon route in the middle of the 18th century, almost as little was known of the region as of any in the South Pacific (*Ibid.*).

According to Sharp (1960, p. 175), the atoll of Pingelap was first shown as two small islands close together at $6\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}\text{N}$. Lat., $159\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}\text{E}$. Long., on a chart by A. Arrowsmith, London, 1798, from the first sighting by a Captain Musgrave aboard the British ship *Sugar Cane* in 1793. Throughout the 19th century, the atoll was commonly called McAskill's Island after the captain of the ship *Lady Barlow*, which "fell in with the atoll in 1809 on her way from Port Jackson to China" (Lubbock, 1931, p. 248).

Although 19th century usage of the name McAskill is frequent, a search of available ships' records at the Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand; the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia; and the University of Hawaii Library, Honolulu; failed to reveal any mention of the *Lady Barlow*. Morton, *et al.* (1973b, p. 324), who mention this ship, apparently got their information from the Pacific adventure story by Basil Lubbock (1931), but such difficulties are perhaps understandable, as Maude (1968, p. 122) suggests:

Logs and newspaper accounts are available for America, but it appears almost without exception that the British logs have been destroyed, while the local newspapers of the period showed little interest in the activities of the southern whaling fleet.

There would be little chance for record of additional sightings until later because:

...the first whaleship, the *Amelia*, entered Pacific waters in 1788...but for many years, ships kept to the on-shore grounds close to the coast of South America (*Ibid.*, p. 121)...and Australia, and it was not until 1819 that they first reached Honolulu (*Ibid.*, p. 235).

The Fate of the *Nimrod*

Toward the second quarter of the 19th century, Western contact with the Eastern Carolines began to increase, although references to Pingelap remain sparse.

In 1824, a French government expedition aboard the corvette *LaCoquille* under Captain Duperrey, for whom the atoll of Mokil was named, sighted Pingelap (Maude, 1968, p. 119). A Honolulu newspaper *The Friend* published a May, 1853, article suggesting that the *John Bull* was lost about 1827 at McAskill,

or Pingelap. "This information is attributed to the British Consul-General Miller of Honolulu. But there is much better information that the vessel met its fate at (Nauru) Pleasant Island 800 miles eastward" (O'Connell, 1972, p. 15). No indigenous sources for Pingelap mention such an event.

The first whites on Ponape reportedly were two runaway sailors from an English whaleship about the year 1828 (Shineberg, 1971, p. 192), and between 1833 and 1840 some forty-seven American and English whalers and other vessels visited there, probably plying past Pingelap on their runs to and from the whaling line.

The story of the *Nimrod* and her captain, McColliff or McAuliffe, was written up in the *Sydney Gazette*, April 8, May 8, and November 28, 1834. Captain Joseph White anchored at Kiti, Ponape, in 1832, Master McColliff having been killed, along with two of his crew, three days before at McAskill's Island. According to the Sydney accounts, on the "19th or 20th of November the captain had put ashore two boats' crews to obtain produce. The natives at first appeared friendly, but suddenly the captain was knocked out by a club and killed. Thomas Cox, a passenger from Kosrae, was also killed. The three officers of the crew were wounded and five of the natives killed" (O'Connell, 1972, p. 25).

Captain White said that he had brought to Ponape nine whites who had been on Pingelap and had assisted him with the natives there before the murders had occurred (*Ibid.*,) p. 26). James O'Connell, the famed Irish castaway, and

probable escaped convict, who had supposedly lived on Ponape for eleven years, does not mention their arrival on Ponape when Captain White brought the nine in from Pingelap. He is, for the most part, silent on the subject of all whites.

Well after these deaths, the reported murder of Captain Lewis and five of his crew of the whaler *Boy* of Warwick, Rhode Island, in 1851 (Ward, 1967, p. 536), and the 1863 death of John Higgins of Massachusetts (Gulick, 1869, p. 9), resulted in Pingelap's becoming notorious as the scene of murders.

Others probably sighted Pingelap without making a record. "Unfortunately whaling captains too often omitted to report their discoveries," states Maude, who adds that such islands as Pingelap--unsuitable for refreshment--"were in any case to them little more than obstructions to navigation" (Maude, 1968, p. 122).

Whalers found Ponape and Kosrae, with their abundant natural resources and growing port towns, far more attractive islands of call than the atolls in between. The heavily populated low islands were equally poor choices for traders, planters, and settlers, because they were "ill-equipped to provide further sustenance or saleable commodities" (Farrell, 1972, p. 37).

Even such careful observers as William Wawn (1874), whose journal of his 1871 voyage from New Caledonia to Kosrae includes elaborate drawings of houses, costumes, and landscapes throughout the Pacific and who describes a run from

Kosrae to Mokil, does not mention Pingelap, which lies between the two. He could not be expected, however, to wax eloquent about an atoll which may have been known to him only as a briefly visible thickening of the horizon.

Between 1835 and 1850 the number of whites on Ponape rose from 25 to a maximum of 150 (Maude, 1868, p. 145), indicating that the number of ships calling in had also risen sharply. Contact with Pingelap similarly increased, as we learn from Christian (1899, p. 150):

Pingelap used to be a favourite recruiting place with whaling captains plying northward, who found the men docile and hardworking, and better able than many other islanders to stand the cold of the Arctic regions.

"Massacre" at Pingelap

Lesson (1828, p. 192) describes the Pingelapese as "kindly, generous, friendly, and smooth," but reports of the murders in 1833 of Captain McAuliffe and his crew, described above, and of the incident involving Captain Luce or Lewis and the whaler *Boy* out of Warren, Rhode Island, contradicted this good notice.

First reports of the latter incident appeared in June of 1851, when the *Boston Daily Advertiser* and New York newspapers reported that the *Boy* had reached Ascension (Ponape) under the command of the first officer, Thomas Merry, who stated that the Captain Obed Luce and crew members had been murdered on January 18, 1851, in the Caroline Islands (Ward, 1967, p. 534).

Further details became available. The *Boston Daily Journal* of July 7, 1851, reported that on January 23, 1851:

Captain Luce of the barque *Boy* of Warren, with a boat's crew, was cut off by the natives. The boat had been on shore the day previous without the natives showing any hostility. A second boat's crew was sent to endeavor to learn something of the fate of the Captain and his boat's crew. They were attacked by the natives, and a white man from the shore warned them to leave. He also informed them that the Captain and crew had been killed (*Ibid.*, p. 537).

The *Boston Daily Advertiser* of July 16, 1851, says that Captain Luce was warned by a white man on the island that it was unsafe to visit the shore, but he landed and neither himself nor the five white men were afterwards heard from (*Ibid.*, p. 540).

The *Alta California* of San Francisco published an August 1, 1851, account of the incident by George Dawson, Captain Luce's second officer, who reported that when they had arrived off the island on January 18, 1851, the *Boy* was boarded by two men who advised Luce that the islanders were hostile towards strangers and that he should not seek provisions on Pingelap, as only green turtles were available there.

Luce ordered a boat and called for volunteers. Four of his men joined him, and they were "accompanied by one of the strangers who were sailors, and had been stopping on the island for two years" (Ward, 1967, p. 542). Captain Luce ordered a boat to come the next day.

When the party, including the other local sailor and two of the ship's crew, tried to go ashore in the morning, the natives refused to let the boat land or the resident to return to Pingelap (*Ibid.*, p. 542). Dawson concluded that the crewmen, James Mackay, James Sweeny, William Taylor,

Edward Rion, and Captain Luce had probably been killed because the two resident sailors and the two Pingelapese they had taken with them to the barque had failed to return to the island the night before and were assumed to have been killed by the foreigners (*Ibid.*, p. 543).

Captain Hammet of the HMS *Serpent* reported eighteen months later that the *Boy* had been cut off "either owing to its having taken some fowls or other stock from the natives, or else for the sake of the boat" (Eilers, 1934, p. 413).

Eilers in 1910 observed "a number of fine canoes on the beach, from which it would not be likely that they murdered Captain Lewis (Luce) for the sake of obtaining his boat" (*Ibid.*, p. 413).

These newspaper accounts antedated by nearly a year the advent of the Hawaii Evangelical Association into Micronesia. The progenitors of the Micronesian mission, consequently, probably knew well the potential hazards of landing at the notorious atoll of Pingelap. Yet, such knowledge may also have shetted their intentions to encourage the inhabitants in following the ways of their foreign, New England God.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions

The holdings of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library contain numerous letters referring to attempts to begin a mission station at Pingelap. This library is the official archives of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, which was formed in 1853 to take up support of the Sandwich Islands Mission when the Boston-based American Board of Commissioners

for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) declared its intention to withdraw sponsorship of the mission in Hawaii, which it had begun in 1820. Both the HEA and the ABCFM contributed to the support of the Protestant missionaries who first ventured out into the Central Pacific to fulfill the mandate of the New Testament, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every living creature" (Mark 16:15), and the prophecy of Isaiah, "The isles shall wait for His law" (Isaiah 42:4). The missionaries landed on Kosrae and Ponape in 1852.

First Missionary Visit

Letters deposited in the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library indicate that the first missionaries' landing on Pingelap was in 1856 (Doane, 1885, MS.). The company's leader, the Reverend Albert Sturges writes of calling in on the way from Ponape to Kosrae in 1856. He speaks of the company's apprehension as it approached Pingelap, fully aware of the killings a few years earlier (Crawford, 1967, p. 83).

Sturges writes that the Pingelapese received the group warmly and that they heaved the small boat in which they made their way to the shore upon the "shoulders of Pingelapese who carried them in to be introduced to the King" (*Ibid.*, p. 82). Sturges perceived that the people responded favorably to a service which he conducted in Ponapean (*Ibid.*, p. 84).

A missionary named Edward Doane used Ponapean as he and fellow missionaries Benjamin Snow, Dr. George Pierson,

and Captain Moore went ashore. They reported that the king (Okonomwaun by our reckoning) who was "60, well-built, and valuable" said that "he wanted a missionary to come and live on his island" (*Nautical Magazine*, 1858, p. 455, from Eilers, 1932, p. 455).

In 1856, Sturges writes that, aboard the *Morning Star II*, which had left Boston in February of 1871, he stopped at Pingelap to arrange for two Ponapean teachers, "in accordance with the plan developed earlier and defeated by circumstances beyond his control" (Crawford, 1967, p. 180). No doubt he was worried that the very existence of Bully Hayes was such a circumstance.

On October 3, 1871, Sturges writes from Ponape to the Reverend Pogue in Honolulu that the missionaries could not land a Ponapean teacher-couple because, days before, when Bully Hayes had landed, a white man appeared and was wildly insistent that the king bring out a paper which he had signed prohibiting anybody from landing on the island for ten years. The king prevented the landing (Crawford, 1967, p. 181).

Here we have the first reference to Captain Bully Hayes, who for nearly half a century of trading and occasional pirating, terrified and intrigued Pacific islanders and Westerners alike. According to Sturges, Hayes had persuaded the king Okonomwaun to sign a ten-year agreement to ban missionary activity (Crawford, 1967, p. 180).

The Reverend Hiram Bingham II, stationed at Apalang in the Gilberts, had spent a few hours in Pingelap some years

earlier. "The wildness, crudeness, almost entire nakedness, uncouthness, friendliness, and inquisitiveness of the natives will not soon be forgotten" (Crawford, 1967, p. 181). Sturges calls this "incongruity." And in 1873, the Reverend Doane (1873, MS.) writes from Ponape to the Reverend Pogue in Honolulu of the progress on Pingelap:

Good news, too comes from McAskills--poor people--they are groping for the light...None save two or three of their own number have "come to Jesus"--and are now following him--themselves holding up the light...It is too populous an island to leave long to such poor help.

By 1881, a church had been built on Pingelap and had two hundred seventy-one members (Doane, 1881b, MS.). By that time, the Ponapean Thomas, who had started his work in 1873, had returned to Ponape for additional training, Sturges (1878, MS.) wrote from the *Morning Star*. Contact with Ponape was picking up. Many Pingelapese were by this time going to school on Ponape, some returning to Pingelap, and others not.

Reverend Doane (1881a, MS.) wrote from Ponape:

Good word comes from Pingelap, a small people but terribly in earnest. The school is run there nearly the whole year round. And other work is pushed forward with equal zeal. It is an interesting island--a growing Christian people.

Four years later, in a letter from Ponape, Doane (1885, MS.) describes continued progress to Reverend Judson Smith in Boston:

The teacher Thomas is a noble man...is well spoken of. A heavy cyclone struck the island early in the fall, sending inland a heavy sea that swept off some dwellings --destroying a large amount of taro...the mainstay of the

people for food. Acres of this precious material was entirely ruined; it will we fear be a famine or near that for the people the coming year. The people have suffered some from sickness.

Doane spoke of meetings that were held day and night, and of the extreme generosity of the people. He went on to say that it was:

...pleasant to see how well in clothing they keep themselves, and to see their long stone slab, coral stone walk, between rows of dwellings. The church is large and cool. The cyclone mentioned above came near destroying it. Large school has been kept in good order. O, the changes on this island since we first landed here in 1856--landing simply to look at things, but the women and children fleeing from us like frightened deer. We could not get near one--today they are all well dressed, the girls and boys largely attend school, the whole mass attend church sabbaths. There are not such bloody scenes as once were on that island, the murdering of a boat's crew on landing, or the killing of some poor storm tossed native driven to sea and set adrift by a gale. The blessed Lord has been treading on the shores of that island (Doane, 1885, MS.).

In a speech delivered in Hilo, Hawaii, November 7, 1886, Dr. Charles H. Wetmore (1887, p. 17) reports that:

...on Pingelap, just before our visit here, a man had broken the Seventh Commandment and had been banished to an uninhabited island, there to live a long time alone and thus atone for his offense. When the spirit of God has entered the heart (and I believe it has there entered many hearts,) conscience has been awakened in them...

confirming that within seven years of its organization, the church was strong enough at least to establish social sanction, or to function as the new rationalization for the old social sanction.

Wetmore (1887, p. 25) describes the resistance, and then the ambivalence with which the *Dokosa*, the Pingelapese

king met Christianity before a classical conversion sequence of illness--enlightenment--healing, after which experience he finally embraced Christianity:

At Pingelap there was a sacred island. On one occasion the king retired to it "to have his Gods prevent the coming of the missionary God." He was there afflicted with severe pains and nearly died. Despairing of life, he sent for the native missionaries Thomas and Tepit. The king soon revived and not long afterward embraced Christianity.

The Traders

While missionaries wrote voluminously about the conditions in the Micronesia which they encountered, traders regrettably left few records. The logs of ships' captains, with their narrow concern with meteorological and geographical descriptions and trading reports, do little to illuminate the picture of life in Pingelap during this period. Traders' accounts, however, can be valuable. Shineberg (1971, p. 7) enlarges:

An intelligent trader's description has merit as consequence of his need to establish a practical relationship of barter with the people. The trader was forced to shed his ethnic skin...to discover what the islanders wanted rather than what he thought they ought to want...had to refrain from interference with local usages...sometimes conformed to them.

Early in 1874 Doane wrote two candid, telling letters to Mr. Pogue in Honolulu. The first (1874a, MS.) written on February 25, tells that:

Good news comes from Pinalap. Hayes of infamous notoriety called there a few days since--on the Sabbath--and as the boat went ashore not one called to visit it--but passed by on the other side of the church...God can draw where a boat crew can't. And, yes, but recently the reverse would have been the case, as a boat is usually to these islanders on its arrival a great event. Lots to

see and trade.

But the Pingelapese cared less for trade that day than to hear the story of the cross. And yet, perhaps I am putting this too strongly.

In another letter that year, Doane (1874b, MS.) displays a prickly and competitive sense of territoriality:

...Again, a few days after another ship called to trade to get nuts--cocoa nuts. None to sell. "What?" the question is asked pointing to a cask that belongs to Jesus. That must first be filled before we sell any nuts. All hail to Pingelap that is stiffening up with such a backbone. Revenge is sweet--you know 'tis said. Well I do feel like clapping a little when one of these beachcombers and wicked sailors of high sea robbery--the natives of an island can themselves come down and meet them with the spirit and implement of Christ's warefare. I like such revenge as that.

An adventure story tells a later tale about G. E. L. Westbrook, trader at Majuro, 1877, 1878, who claimed to have been on Pingelap for one year after Charles Robers, a trader friend of Sturges, had been there in 1874.

Westbrook sailed as a supercargo and traded directly with islands where no trader resided. Aboard the *Belle Brandon* out of Auckland, Westbrook sailed from Arno to Pingelap, where the ship was met far beyond the reef by islanders still waiting for a Captain Harris, who had promised six months before to land a resident trader (Dana, 1935, p. 65).

Here again, Pingelap's poor anchorage is mentioned, and in December of 1878, "a native who had sailed with Bully Hayes on *The Leonora* had said that in a population of 1500, women outnumbered men two to one. Some years before the blackbirders had captured many of the men and carried them away to distant Peru" (*Ibid.*, p. 67).

Westbrook mentions a chief, Narbusa, but no similar name appears in Pingelapese history, legendary or actual. The derivation, however, may be a distortion of the term *na pwusak*, which is a term of patrilineal affiliation and descent, meaning "his son." While the king of Nahmwarki is still alive, his eldest son undergoes a ceremony in which traditional *sakau* (kava) is drunk and *mwaramwar* (flower garland) is placed on his head (personal communication, Albert Diopolus, Nahneken of Pingelap, 1973). Westbrook called Narbusa the king and was probably referring to Okonomwaun, who was Nahmwarki during the time of initial contact with the missionaries.

Westbrook perceived a growing power struggle on Pingelap. The missionaries who arrived from Ponape tried to convince Narbusa to embrace God, and the local priests, afraid of losing their power, tried to dissuade him. According to Westbrook, "the white man would bow his head in submission and depart, hoping for a more plastic turn of mind the next year, as they sailed disconsolately away" (Dana, 1935, p. 70).

Bully Hayes, mentioned above, was actually William H. Hayes, a colorful mid-nineteenth century Pacific pirate, who figures in a considerable number of stories staged in the Caroline Islands. In a book appearing in 1935, *Bully Hayes, South Seas Pirate*, Basil Lubbock devotes an entire chapter, entitled "Tragedy at Pingelap," to difficulties encountered by Hayes' trader, S. Biggs, during 1873-74.

Lubbock (1935, p. 247) observed about Hayes: "Though he showed no mercy in his dealings with white men, (he) was very

unlike most South-seas traders in his attitude towards the natives." Although he occasionally kidnapped natives for ransom or to use as laborers:

...he never bullied or ill-treated them. Besides which he again and again helped them and played the Samaritan, where other white men would have taken advantage of them. It is this treatment of the natives which made the South Seas pirate so popular throughout the Carolines, Marshalls, and Gilberts. The "Big Captain," as the natives called him, was recognized as their friend, a man who was always ready to take their part against the bullying trader (*Ibid.*, p. 247).

Lubbock further writes that "according to (author Louis) Becke, these Pingelap islanders had always been slavish admirers of Hayes, who went ashore to remind them of how he had "brought them to his ship and fed them. (Had) they forgotten who it was that carried them to Ponape and there let them live on his land and fed them on his food until they grew tired of a strange land and then brought them to their home again?" (Lubbock, 1935, p. 249). Rather than turn on him, they "showed by their outstretched hands and bent heads that they were on the captain's side." This feeling, Becke adds, was in part owing to superstitious fears, because since the arrival of the *Morning Star*, an epidemic of measles had carried off some 50 or 60 islanders (*Ibid.*, p. 250).

Since Bully Hayes was committed to protecting his own interests against his "weak-kneed, gin-drinking" incompetent trader, and against the missionaries (who had already convinced the Pingelapese that Hayes was the devil), and from other traders, he took the king (Nahmwarki Okonomwaum), the missionaries,

and others aboard *The Leonora* and regaled them with tales, dances, and a feast (Lubbock, 1935, p. 248).

Westbrook claimed that he had an important business relationship with Narbusa, saying that, "Narbusa was most fearful that if anything happened to me, it might never be possible to persuade another trader to make his quarters on Pingelap" (Dana, 1935, p. 88). He also suggested that the training of the two Pingelapese on Ponape as missionary apprentices in 1874 (according to Crawford, 1967, pp. 180-182) was a "new missionary strategy." According to Westbrook, the local priests were enraged at the infringement on their prerogatives, and only family intervention could prevent the priests from having the apprentices killed. The youths were banished to one of the small islands, where the priests alone could visit them. Finally, they were allowed to return. At the same time Narbusa took ill, and the wily priests let it be known that they had seen him praying with the Christians.

Climactically, to crush the new religion utterly, the priests made a proposal: the young Christians should come try their prayers on the dying Narbusa. If he died, they must be killed with him. The priests were not worried, for they were convinced that Narbusa would die and that, finally, they would find themselves free from the menacing competition of Christianity. The Christians came, however, and prayed and administered simple missionary remedies to Narbusa, and he, quite unpredictably, lived, a prodigy causing the immediate conversion of him and all his people to Christianity.

According to Westbrook, the most important resulting social change of the Pingelapese conversion to Christianity was the redistribution of wives, which also caused a leveling of social distinctions. Within six months, people were wearing clothes, a church was built, and, quite predictably, the priest Pupu became a powerful lay preacher. A Captain Hoopstone, aboard the barque *Fleetwing* out of New Bedford, Massachusetts, picked up the ill Westbrook after a year on Pingelap. Years later, he apparently returned, remarking on the technical skills that people had acquired and the new landing jetty the people had built (Dana, 1935, p. 94).

The primary difficulty with the kind of information Dana provides is not that it is the tale of a trader, for the traders often knew well the ways of the people with whom they lived, but rather that it is secondhand. This story of George Westbrook's has been told to us by Julius Dana, a professional writer of yarns for armchair adventurers. Some dates agree with those we have from other sources, while others do not. However, the chief importance of the story lies in the difference of its perspective from that of the missionaries, who dominate the extant written record of those times of early contact with the West.

Although this story about Westbrook is reasonable and is told also by D. L. Crawford in his *Missionary Adventures in the South Pacific*, both Dana and Crawford fail to provide either references or specific dates. Quotation marks whet the reader's curiosity for specific and corroborating

information, but one can never be sure of a particular author's source.

Colonial Administrations

As early as 1860, the German firms Godeffroy, Capelle, and Hernsheim had begun trading activities in the Carolines (Fischer, 1970, p. 34). In 1885, when the Spanish attempted to regulate the activities of these companies, Germany sent warships to raise her flags in these islands, and in the same year she annexed the Marshall Islands, which were to be administered by the Jaluit Gesellschaft, created as a result of a merger of several trading firms (Fischer, 1970, p. 36).

Although Spain accepted the German takeover of the Marshalls, the question of proprietorship over the Carolines was submitted to Pope Leo XIII, who ruled in favor of Spain, which had discovered the group 350 years earlier (Fischer, 1970, p. 36).

During the German period, a Liebenzeller missionary named Syringe (1930, p. 4) writes of a nine year contract with the Pingelapese between 1911 and 1920. During that time, many Pingelapese sailed back and forth to Ponape to visit the mission at Oua on Ponape's leeward coast. Syringe speaks of a visit from Samuel and Klara, missionaries from Mokil, and of David, the singing master of the mission on Ponape. Virtually all of the people had adopted Christianity, and there was an active young people's group, the *Jugenbund*. Syringe was convinced that, "God had done something great there."

Another German language source regarding Pingelap is that of Dr. Anneliese Eilers, who provides a detailed ethnographic account of her brief visit to the atoll during the Godeffroy Expedition, 1908-1910 (see Eilers, 1934).

The Spanish rule of the Eastern Carolines that followed Pope Leo's arbitration was turbulent, primarily because of the constant friction between Catholics and Protestants. Missionaries sent by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions often were in the midst of the fray, and tempers flared as Spanish demands and requirements were disregarded by the ABCFM, and the governor after governor left the colony at Ponape.

In 1905, Japanese firms returned to trade in the Eastern Carolines after a brief exclusion by the Spanish. These firms later merged to form the Nanyo Boeki Company (South Seas Trading Company), which became a government sponsored monopoly during the Japanese occupation (Fischer, 1970, p. 49).

In that same year of 1905, a devastating typhoon battered Pingelap, and six years later after the Sokehs rebellion on Ponape, the rebels' land in Sokehs Municipality on Ponape was distributed to those people of Pingelap, Mokil and Trukese atolls who had been left homeless, and they were transferred to Ponape on German ships, after the typhoon (see Aiel Diopolus's account in Chapter II).

In 1914, the Japanese declared war on Germany and seized her Pacific holdings. Organized open resistance to foreign rule by Micronesians ceased with the end of the German period,

and the history of the Japanese regime is less disorderly than that of earlier periods. The Japanese remained in control of Micronesia until the close of World War II, when the United States took over the trusteeship of the Carolines, the Marianas (excluding Guam), and the Marshall Islands.

The next available documented English language source of contact with Pingelap is reported by Dr. Harold St. John (1948, p. 97), of the University of Hawaii, who in December of 1945 landed on Pingelap from LCI 567. St. John related that "our ship was the second to visit in four years. Three months before, a United States Navy ship had repatriated some seventy-five of the men who had been working for the Japanese as forced agricultural laborers on the plantations on Ponape, where large numbers of Japanese had lived."

The next mention of U.S. administration of Pingelap is in Weckler (1949, p. 35), who states that in September of 1946 the USS *Orca* arrived on Mokil to proclaim the U.S. military government authority on Mokil and to leave a quantity of supplies. A report of the military inspection made upon Pingelap from August 22, 1946, to October 2, 1946, was made available to me by Dr. Saul H. Rosenberg, and this visit may have been made from the same ship. And, finally, the following visits were made to Pingelap atoll: Drs. Norman Sloan and Robert Worth studied the incidence of leprosy among the Pingelapese in the late sixties, and Drs. Morton, Hussels, Brody, Carr, and Siegal examined the Pingelapese eye disease throughout

the early part of this decade.

In 1954, families from Pingelap were offered homesteading land in Madolenihmw Municipality on Ponape, and a village called Mand was incorporated there the following year. During the American times the administrative position of Chief Magistrate was established and elections every two years were initiated. During the last decade, several men, including the present Nahmwarki, have held this position.

Pingelap Eye Disease

Fifty-seven Pingelapese and Mokilese people affected by congenital achromatopsia with high myopia were discovered during several field visits by various U. S. medical teams between 1969 and 1973. This investigation and the 1967-71 study of leprosy among the Pingelapese required an exhaustive inquiry into the island's past, with the researchers analyzing relevant pedigrees, gene frequencies, historical documents, and legends. These investigations resulted in numerous publications (cited in this work's bibliography).

The eye disease patients examined during the 1969 field trip were found in all age groups. Evidence that the Mokilese cases are descended from Pingelapese carrier migrants has been presented elsewhere (Morton, Hurd, and Little, 1973). During the 1969 field trip to Pingelap, we found that some of the oldest informants, especially Dison Aia (Liwi), could trace genealogies back to survivors of the typhoon

Lengkieki, which struck Pingelap around the year 1775 (Morton, Roisenberg, Lee and Yew, 1971, p. 350).

Historical information indicates that there were no affected Pingelapese in the first three generations after the typhoon *Lengkieki*. The incidence rose to 2.70 per 100 in generations four and five, however, and to 4.92 per 100 in generations six through nine, figures which coincide with incidence estimates of 4.91 per 100 among the examined Pingelapese on Pingelap. Thus, roughly 5% of the Pingelapese are affected by this disorder (Morton, *et al.*, 1972, p. 4).

Historical Genetics

Six Nahmwarkis ruled Pingelap from 1790 to 1964, for an average of 29.0 years per reign. This is close to the mean generation time, estimated as 29.1 years. Assuming that the average Nahmwarki ruled for one generation, the first leader, Mwoimok, would have been born in 1236 A. D., and the leaders of the legendary expedition against Nan Madol (if correctly assigned to six generations before *Lengkieki*) would have been born in 1557 (Morton, 1973, p. 361).

Morton, Roisenberg, Lew, and Yee (1971, p. 360) caution, however, that it is:

...impossible to judge the precision of these estimates on present evidence. The reign of a Nahmwarki might well have averaged less than a generation, which would shorten time span. On the other hand, the legendary first leader may not have been the first inhabitant, and the early Nahmwarki's are so surrounded with animistic myths that each may have corresponded to several generations.

Thus, genealogies suggest that Pingelap has been occupied for at least twenty-five generations and perhaps longer than 1000 years. This would give sufficient time for a succession of typhoons, famines, and immigrations, and kinship to approach equilibrium, although perhaps with large chance fluctuations.

Variations in consultants' style and the details of their accounts of the past are discussed in another chapter. However, one might understandably ask here is the facts on which Morton, *et al.* based their estimates are reasonable to present day Pingelapese. In reply to this query, Morton and his co-authors (*Ibid.*, p. 351) assert that they discussed their estimates "with several informants with whom rapport seemed to be excellent and there was 'agreement that the frequency of error (in the genealogies from which our estimates were made)' is unlikely greater than five percent."

Archaeology

Although no archaeological work has yet been undertaken on Pingelap, excavations on Nukuoro, a Polynesian-populated atoll some 300 miles southeast of Ponape, by Janet Davidson of the Auckland War Memorial and Museum have proven that atoll archaeology--once scoffed for its paucity of results--can be fruitful. The elevation above sea level of the southern end of Pingelap's present village site is higher than on other atolls and may provide valuable archaeological information (Davidson, personal communication, 1973).

In the absence of carbon dating for Pingelap, however, several estimates of the atoll's occupancy are provided by genealogies by Morton (Morton, 1973, p. 361). There is also a 12th century radiocarbon date for the famous ruins of Nan Madol, the ancient Ponapean site constructed by huge basalt logs, with the various structures separated by extensive canals (Long, 1965, p. 253).

CHAPTER II

AN INTERPRETATION OF THE LEGENDARY HISTORY OF PINGELAP

As the introduction indicates, the 1969 field team that visited Pingelap was presented with a ledger containing an account of Pingelap's legendary history, dictated by Dison Aia and recorded by Salo. Kiyohsi Phillip and Ieske Iehsi copied the history from the ledger in longhand, and their manuscript was carried to Honolulu, where it was typed. An unabridged copy of that typescript appears as an appendix to this study.

When Elias Robert, a Pingelapese educator, attempted to translate the typed copy of the legendary history, he found that to do so would also require his interpreting the text. His other professional responsibilities and funding limitations made it impossible for Mr. Robert to undertake the task. Several months later, while the late Nahneken, Aiel Diopolus, was in Honolulu, I asked him to explicate the oblique and indecipherable meanings of the typescript. I then attempted to translate the Nahneken's taped interpretation, which Yosimi James, then an East-West Center participant, read and corrected. James and I collaborated on the account that appears here, providing as accurate a translation as possible of the Nahneken's taped interpretation of the copy of Dison's

rendition of "*Duen Tapida en Wein Pingelap*" ("How Pingelap Began").

Pingelap¹ was originally a pile of sand which was discovered by Mwoimok and Palialap,² two navigator brothers from Yap. While Palialap prepared to travel on to Kosrae, Mwoimok set out to see if the sand reached as far as the horizon. After traveling all morning, he came upon two women carrying fishing baskets. Their names were Lepoud and Lipasapasan. They asked if he had sufficient food for his journey, and when he admitted that he had none, they offered him a bundle of preserved breadfruit too large for his canoe to carry. The women tore it apart, gave Mwoimok half, and disappeared over the horizon with their portion.

Mwoimok returned to tell Palialap of the barren land which did not reach the horizon. As he was leaving for Kosrae, Palialap mentioned that the area that Mwoimok had explored was very large (*lap*), and he named the island Pingelap.

When Inohpas, the son of Palialap, reached Pingelap, he brought the news that Mwoimok's three children, Riromau, Pikepik en Eir, and Pikepik en Epeng, had left Yap long before in search of their father. Mwoimok left Pingelap to look for his children. When he arrived on Yap, he married Damari. After the birth of their daughter, Nieri, they returned to settle on Pingelap, where Nieri grew up and gave birth to three daughters and a son, Iengir-sang-Eir. From

these daughters came all the people of Pingelap. Iengir-sang-Eir was selected as the first chief, or *Nahmwarki*.

Iengir-sang-Eir's wife, Langedi, gave birth to a son, Kaupene, who became the second Nahmwarki. *Kaupene* means "build together". It is said that two poles cannot stand separately, but if they lean against one another at the peak, they can support a roof. Kaupene's name, then, is symbolic of the fact that he organized a strong society. He made the huge taro pit.

During Kaupene's reign a man named Luken Epeng killed Lapwue in a quarrel over whose section, or which half of the island, had a greater wealth of food and goods. Kaupene directed all the people to bring together their possessions and to make things. The residents of Likinepeng, the north end of the island, had more land taro (*wod*) and pandanus (*kipar*), and won the competition.

Pakispok, the third Nahmwarki, was the son of Kaupene and Lienme. Pakispok declared war on Ponape and ordered the women and children to accompany the men into battle. The youthful warrior Selepas was dispatched to the hill on Temwen Island, located in Ponape's Madolenihmw harbor,³ where Isoahkelekel,⁴ the Kosraean conqueror, ordered him killed by a man named Soukampwul. Selepas lashed out at him with his *sihdoake oas*, a dual-purpose needle used both as a man's hair pin and as a roof-thatching tool, and gouged out the aggressor's eyes. Because of this display of bravery

and resourcefulness, Isoahkelekel spared Selepas's life. Selepas raced after the retreating Ponapeans and persuaded them to adopt him as their son.⁵

When the fleet returned to Pingelap, its members discovered that Penenmod, the son of Liok, was sneaking around Likinepeng stealing crops. In an attempt to capture him, the women of Kahkahlia went to the end of Likinepeng to fish and prepare a stone oven in the sand. As they dug out the oven, Penemod appeared, and the women choked him to death with a heavy cord.

Even as early as Pakispok, the title *Nahmwarki* carried a great deal of influence, and the bearer of the title has always received unequivocal respect. The other significant title is *Nahneken*, whose holder functions in a more political manner. This role is similar to that of a prime minister, for his power lies in his role as negotiator and arbitrator.

Ikilahmw was the Nahneken during the reign of Pakispok. He discovered Lisopopoud cowering by a pit. When he tried to urge her into marriage, she ran into the pit and he was unable to find her. Resolved to coax her out with food, he used bananas on the first day, taro on the second, and finally, on the third day, enticed her out of hiding with ripe breadfruit. He took her home and confined her closely by boarding her up in his house. It was he who gathered their food; he never allowed her to go out. These restrictions caused him to breach several important feasting customs, and

only when the Nahmwarki's emissary, Walapad, came and spat on them in disgust was Ikilahmw sufficiently shamed that he allowed Lisopopoud to join in at feasts. This tale may well be meant to illustrate the supremacy of the will of the Nahmwarki, even over the Nahneken, in matters of custom.

The son of Pakispok and Liekemwahu, Inenikas, was the fourth Nahmwarki of Pingelap. He married Lilok, who gave birth to a son, Isoahpahu. *Isoa* means "noble," and this man was aptly named. Not only was he the son of Inenikas, the fourth Nahmwarki, but in superhuman form he is the most renowned spirit (*eni*) of Pingelapese legend.

According to one source, he once was taking a walk on Deke and came upon Naliawaise, the prettiest girl on the island, who was pounding bait from hermit crabs (*ihpwa*). He sat and helped her with her task, but Naliawaise implored him, a nobleman, not to do so. She feared that her father, Pungpunclam, who was fishing outside the reef, would discover them and accuse her of having no respect for Isoahpahu.

Despite Naliawaise's protests, Isoahpahu finished Naliawaise's work for her and swam out to her father carrying a basket (*kilek*) of bait. At that time the young men of Deke, the center island of the atoll, were building a new men's house (*kedera*), and Isoahpahu helped Pungpunclam and Naliawaise prepare their contribution of coconuts, breadfruit, and fish to feed the workers. Despite this gesture, when Isoahpahu asked Pungpunclam's permission to marry Naliawaise,

Pungpunglam explained that, while he was honored by the request, it was impossible, for Isoahpahu was of royal birth.

That night Isoahpahu and Naliamwaise stole away from the festivities at the *kedera* and swam to Sukoru, the tiny islet in the atoll. They walked on the dark reef to Pingelap, where Isoahpahu told Naliamwaise to sit while he informed his father of his intention to marry her. Inenikas, the Nahmwarki, was not any happier to receive the news about his son than was Pungpunglam. Inenikas complained that Isoahpahu already had three wives and many children to care for.

While his father was speaking, Isoahpahu sat upon the pandanus retainer for the gravel floor (*woasawoas*) with his head in his hands. A geckho fell dead from the rafters--a very bad omen. Inenikas looked up and realized that right before him Isoahpahu had quietly died of a broken heart.

Inenikas called all the islanders together, for leaves and fruit were falling from the trees, and fish were jumping out of the sea. Isoahpahu's spirit spoke to the people, telling them that he had died. He then returned to the grieving Naliamwaise, whom he placed under the rock where she had been waiting, and there she died. Isoahpahu's spirit disappeared after her death, and not until the reign of the Nahmwarki Mwahuele did it again appear, according to the legendary accounts.

A variant account is preserved. It retains the idea that Isoahpahu is a dominant spirit, but in the story of his

life and death, it relates that when Inenikas asked his son why he had brought Naliawaise as his wife, Isoahpahu suddenly fell dead, and his spirit returned to Naliawaise and killed her. From then on, both spirits resided under the rock where Naliawaise had waited for Isoahpahu.

The Pingelapese were unable to bury Naliawaise and Isoahpahu because of a devastating typhoon which is variously called *Lenglahme*, *Lenglapalap*, or *Nohlik*. Inenikas died during this storm. He had asked Nakelam and Masamol to prevent his body from floating away. The island was now chiefless and in a state of famine.

This alternative account goes on to describe how Isoahpahu's spirit (*eni*) manifested itself throughout later legendary and early historical events, and became an object of worship. This spirit, the account shows, inhabited the bodies of prominent islanders, especially Nahmwarki Okonomwaun. Isoahpahu himself remained free of blame for his frequent philanderings, which, of course, were attributed to those people in whose bodies he resided and over whom he exerted supernatural influence.⁶

Mwungesamarou came from Kosrae with the navigator Waela.⁷ Finding the islands chiefless, he assumed the role and remained as Nahmwarki for four years. Akakailok, another navigator (*pali*), came from Kosrae, and Mwungesamarou ordered him to return to summon Sahu-en-Waleng to Pingelap. When Sahu-en-Waleng arrived with his fourteen children, Mwungesa-

marou returned to Kosrae. Sahu became Nahmwarki, and his son Saue succeeded him. Saue ordered Ikilahmw killed because the latter went body-surfing, rather than attend an important feast. When he returned, he found some bananas and coconut-apples under a mat, and his wife could not explain how these got there. The couple ate the food and fell dead instantly, illustrating the pre-historic belief that eating food deriving from one's affinal relations is prohibited and results in death.

The first break in the pattern of patrilineal inheritance of the title Nahmwarki came when Nahwedil, the son of Naniok, did not take the title, because he feared failure. History is not clear here, but some say that the title went instead to Mesou, who was either the son of the sister of the Nahneken or the son of Nahmwarki Naniok's sister.

Nahwedil was lazy. One day as he was admiring his reflection in a puddle at the bottom of his canoe, his father came upon him. As Nahwedil was fixing his hair, Naniok made an enigmatic remark which he refused to clarify. When Nahwedil sought the significance, his uncle, Inos, told him that it meant that he was lazy and should go out and do some productive work.

Nahwedil cultivated a garden. He gathered the people of Mweniap to clear the land from Doualap to Naserep. Some say that he uprooted big trees with one hand. He planted bananas but when the fruit was ripe, he neglected to harvest it, for

he wanted his father first to see his garden. Shortly after the fruit matured, Naniok told his family that he had discovered an unattended garden which was full of bananas. When Naniok described the rotting fruit, neither Nahwedil nor his mother revealed whose it was. Finally, Naniok discovered that the garden was Nahwedil's futile attempt to disprove his alleged laziness when his son presented him with five of the rotting fruit.

Nahwedil went to the home of Nahmahlun. They talked for five days and nights. Afterwards, they baked taro and pandanus in a ground oven (*uhmw*). They drank from coconuts. The following day they went out into the mud flats of the lagoon to gather *sile*, a shell fish. Because he was weak and lazy, Nahmahlun suggested that they shuck their *sile* and carry back only the edible portion. Nahwedil preferred to rest first before cleaning the bivalves. Later he urged Nahmahlun once again to try to lift their heavy canoe. Nahwedil eventually realized how very tired his friend had become, and he was ashamed that he had caused Nahmahlun to become so exhausted. When the tide came in, they paddled to Sukoru, where they cleaned their *sile*. Nahwedil suggested that they return to work on their land and that they go out fishing after two days. Nahmahlun was to paddle around Sukoru, while Nahwedil was to paddle around the southern end of Pingelap. They planned to meet off Pwukierek.

When Nahmahlun reached Deke, Nahwedil paddled out to meet him. They prepared a long fishing line, between eight

and nine hundred arm's lengths (*nap*). They fashioned a strong shell hook, and though three or four fish nibbled at their bait, they caught only one fish. They returned to Inipwoal and made another *uhmw* for breadfruit. Nahwedil decided to take the fins of the fish to Naniok, who had shamed him into working.

Naniok was outraged. Where, he demanded, was the meat? Why was his son so disrespectful? Because Nahwedil thus humiliated his father, he was disinherited and did not succeed Naniok as Nahmwarki. Rather, his cousin Mesou assumed the title.

Mesou was a very good man and an able ruler. There were no bad waves during his reign, which ended when Wonlap and Akakailok came from Kosrae. As they watched from well outside the reef, an *eni* ate Mesou and half the population of Mweniap.

Mesou's son, Sahu Nadaura, ruled the Pingelapese mercilessly. If a man cut taro or picked coconuts without first securing Sahu's permission, the man was executed. A great many people died during his reign. At that time, a massive wrestling contest took place between the Delewan⁸ invaders and the Pingelapese.

Mwakainge led the Pingelapese to victory by throwing Dunoni, the strongest Delewan, onto the reef. He then dragged him until his skin was raw. Their lives in danger, Mwakainge and the Pingelapese team fled. While they were swimming, Mwakainge's father, Liseunkedak, his mother and his children

were drowned. Mwakainge returned to shore and hid under a coconut tree. Mwakainge's sister discovered her brother and brought him food and a mat. She urged him to flee at nightfall to Pwikierrek, where he would be safe from the wrathful Sahu Nadaura. Before the second day had passed, however, they learned that Nikes had eaten Sahu Nadaura. Mwakainge was finally free to return to the village.

According to the late Nahneken, Sahu Nadaura and Napareda accompanied the Kosraean expedition, led by Isoahkelekel, to conquer Nan Madol, the imposing stone complex on Ponape. Mwaseudue was the son of Sahu Nadaura, according to the Nahneken. In Dison's version, however, he was the son of Mesou, and he was given a typical culture-hero's role. When Mwaseudue grew old, he ordered the people to dig a hole for his vomit and defecation. He would not have it taken to the ocean, as was customary. A breadfruit tree sprang up from this pit, and Mwaseudue died as it began to bear its first fruit. The tree was named Peken Mwaseudue, the waste of Mwaseudue.

Mwanokasa was the son of Mwaseudue. Because he was a kind and able leader, the Pingelapese said he was not really a Delewan. He fished regularly and worked in the taro patch. Long before he became Nahmwarki, he held the title *Nahlaim*. One day his brother-in-law, worried about his sister's health or perhaps intending to humiliate him, asked the Nahlaim what his family ate, since he spent the whole day out on the

ocean fishing. What did they eat with their fish? He received no reply. The brother-in-law, of course, did not know that after an exhausting day on the open sea, Mwanokasa worked in the taro patch. Later, when he asked the same question of Mwanokasa's wife, she also refused to answer him. Later, he went to his garden and brought back fifteen taro. According to custom, Mwanokasa's wife was obliged to accept this gift from her brother, but she did not tell Mwanokasa who was fishing beyond the reef. When he discovered the gift, he instructed his men to throw it in the ocean.

Then he ordered seven men to pick breadfruit, while he dug taro. He made thirty net bags and placed three taro in each of them. The men brought forty breadfruit in baskets. He used the net bags because only thus could old leafless taro be carried. The Pingelapese consider leafless taro an indication of prosperity. The owner has so much taro, that some is left unharvested to become very mature and leafless. All the taro of Ikilahmw, the brother-in-law of Mwanokasa, had been young, and he was unable to use such a net bag (*seu*). When Mwanokasa delivered the food, Ikilahmw was much humiliated. He had not realized that the future Nahmwarki was taking good care of his wife by fishing all day and planting and harvesting crops at night.

Widinenek, probably the son of Mwanokasa, was the thirteenth Nahmwarki of Pingelap. His reign was very difficult. The taro patches did not prosper, and day after day fishing

attempts proved futile. A huge *koakoa*, a delicious fish two arms-length long, jumped out of the sea on the back side of the island (*ilik*) and rotted before it was discovered by the hungry villagers. Even the fish in the sea could not live comfortably during these uncomfortable times.

The spirit of Isoahpahu flew from Widinenek to Mwahkadue, designating him Nahmwarki. The relationship between these two men is unknown. The people had banished Mwahkadue to the small island of Deke. He stayed in a section called Mediap. He fished daily outside the reef. He became very thirsty, but at last discovered water, which gushed up through the rock. This water source remains undepleted today. The people finally realized that he was a fine man and that they were wrong in banishing him and resenting his judgment.

Following the reign of Mwahkadue, Widinenek once again became Nahmwarki. His second reign was much better than his first, and during this period a calendar based on the season of night-fishing was devised.

Widinenek's son, Ikohkepel, followed him as Nahmwarki. Ikohkepel married Liokosang. A revolt by the Pingelapese against the Delewans, however, prevented their son, Ikosia, from becoming Nahmwarki.

Ikohkepel was being cuckolded by Sikimwas, a Pingelapese. One night Ikohkepel, who usually slept in the men's house (*kedera*), discovered that a man was with his wife. They fought, and Sikimwas threw him into a hole, but he reached up and grabbed the interloper's throat, for he hoped to make

a bruise by which he could recognize him the next morning.

When he assembled all the warriors the next day, none of them was marked. Realizing that Sikimwas alone was absent, Ikohkepel announced the young warrior's banishment. Poia and Liepwekil, the parents of Sikimwas, then took him to Likinepeng, the north end of the island. There, some men were restoring a spirit's house, by order of Ikohkepel. Forty men were unable to lift a single pole (*u^hrr*) which they had found at Likinepeng. They called Sikimwas, who lifted it easily upon his shoulders. Then he made a canal by kicking apart trees in the mangrove swamp with his knife-like foot.

Hearing of these feats, the jealous Ikohkepel ordered that Sikimwas be set adrift in a paddleless canoe. Poia and Liepwekil attached a long line to Sikimwas's canoe, and every night they pulled him back to shore. One night his parents and his brothers Semedue, Mwahuele, Isemedue, and Manuhse met him at Deke. He was very thirsty and he wanted to sleep. They urged him to stay awake, for they feared that the Delewans were going to kill him.

That day Losohmwahu and six Delewans arrived to kill him. Afraid that he would overcome them, they disobeyed Losohmwahu's orders to awaken Sikimwas first. They paddled toward him, and just as Losohmwahu stabbed him, Sikimwas awoke. Snapping the spear in two, he dived to the bottom of the lagoon. There they were unable to reach him; but, nevertheless, he died of his wound. ⁹

Poia and Liepwekil grieved at the loss of their son and begged the Delewans to kill them, too. The foreigners refused, as their mission had been only to kill Sikimwas. The tyranny of these Delewans continued until Semenuhwe and his brothers organized the Pingelapese people and rid the islands of them.

Ikohkepel's son, Ikosia, was in love with a Delewan woman, Limwarinepas, the wife of Semenuhwe. Kedeul, the wisest of all Pingelapese men, planned to wipe out the Delewans in order that Semenuhwe might rule as Nahmwarki. The spirit Isoahpahu, however, had admonished Semenuhwe's clan not to harm Ikohkepel and his wife.

At a feast honoring his father, Poia (who had returned from Deke to Pingelap), Semenuhwe announced that he wanted to seek revenge on the Delewans. At this feast, called a *derak*, Poia directed distribution of the food and held a discussion of the division of his land after his death. Both he and Kedeul knew the power of Isoahpahu; they listened silently to Semenuhwe's vow of revenge.

Later, Kedeul visited the house of Semenuhwe, who was making fishhooks, while in another area of the house, shrouded in mats, Ikosia was making love to Limwarinepas, Semenuhwe's wife. When Kedeul asked Semenuhwe about this, Semenuhwe spoke of Isoahpahu's edict. Ikosia was the son of the protected Ikohkepel. Cornered, Semenuhwe dared not harm him or expell the Delewans, although he wanted to revenge the death of Sikimwas.

Kedeul urged Semwenuhwe to end the oppression of the Delewans by enlisting the aid of two strong Delewans, Losohmwahu and Isipwa, known by their titles Nahlaim and *Sowel*. Kedeul advised Semenuhwe to remain on Pingelap, while he went on to Sukoru. He warned Semenuhwe to heed carefully the direction of the yell, which he would give, for it would indicate the area where the war was to begin. When Limwarenepas entered, Kedeul left, fearful that she would divulge the plan to Ikosia and his men.

Kedeul returned home and instructed his wife to prepare for a trip to Sukoru, where she would make an oven (*uhmw*), while her husband fished. Nukomo, the wife, prepared breadfruit (*mar*), which provided an enduring and rich nourishment for contests of endurance, especially if the warriors had to sustain direct blows. She was unable to understand why they were going to Sukoru, where they owned no land. Kedeul curtly replied that she did not need an explanation, and he stated that the following day would be his day of destiny.

As they finished eating, Kedeul told Nukomo to wait and follow him later. He took the Pahkeke channel, because the tide was low. When he approached the village, he stood on his canoe, drumming on the hull. Hearing him approach, the leaders gathered at the shore and asked him why he had not used the more common route through Lelu channel.

When Kedeul reached the shore, he went straight to the *kedera*, where he announced the *mensopwongreua*, or revenge.

He told them to unlash the banana stocks from the poles supporting the house. He announced that they would declare war immediately. Semenuhwe decided not to join them, because he preferred to wait and seek personal revenge on Ikosia alone. He ordered the Pingelapese to go to Pohdokodok and asked the Delewans, Nahlaim and Sowel, to join them. If they refused, he instructed, they were to be executed.

Wisere volunteered to meet with these two men. As he approached them, Nahlaim asked what was going on. Wisere answered that it was time for *mensopwongreua*. They asked if the conflict were island-wide, and hearing that it was, they climbed into their canoes to support the Pingelapese. They were sent ahead to confuse the other Delewans.

At daybreak the brothers of Sikimwas gathered with the other villagers at the shore. The Pingelapese faced the front rank of Delewans. The conventions of ancient combat required the warriors to meet one by one, each side beginning with its strongest fighters. The side whose warriors were initially defeated withdrew immediately. The Pingelapese, in this case, however, were stronger, and many of the Delewans fled in canoes.

Isipwa, the Nahlaim, fought against Kasikirahn. He hit and broke the leg of Kasikirahn, who retreated to his canoe and was replaced by his son, Depehrah. As the boy struggled against Isipwa, Isipwa shouted out, "When are you going to rot?" Deperahn replied, "Today!" At that moment Depehrah broke Isipwa's leg. Kasikirahn instructed his son to kill

Nahlaim. Instead, Depehrahnn released him, because he could not murder his fellow Delewan. More Delewans fled to their canoes, from where they saw Semenuhwe chasing Ikosia near Sakai Lapalap. Confident that Ikosia would defeat the Pingelapese, they waited for him and his wife, Losomwahu.

Ikosia, the son of the ousted Delewan leader, knew nothing of the withdrawal. As he left the taro patch, he met Semenuhwe, who was carrying a long spear. When Ikosia asked about the commotion which he had heard, Semenuhwe explained that this was the day of revenge. Ikohkopel, he said, had banished and killed Sikimwas, Semenuhwe's brother, and Ikosia had stolen his wife. Semenuhwe chased Ikosia to the water's edge at Sakai Lapalap, and then followed Ikosia into the latter's canoe. From a distance Ikohkepel and his wife saw that Semenuhwe was going to kill their son, but they were unable to interfere in this battle of honor.

Semenuhwe wanted to kill the boy before Ikohkopel's eyes. He disregarded the advice of his wife to let Ikosia swim after his parents' canoe. Instead, Semenuhwe speared Ikosia, who was eaten by sharks before he could reach the last of the forty Delewan canoes to disappear over the horizon.

Semenuhwe returned to the village with Losoamwahu. He advised Kedeul and the other leaders that a third brother of Nahlaim and Sowel named Lependengek should be killed before he caused trouble. They did not plan to harm Nahlaim and Sowel, but they feared Lependengek.

At nightfall they went to Keriadel, where they persuaded

Lependengek to climb the roof of a house to catch a chicken. As he climbed up, the Pingelapese tried to spear him. They missed, and he escaped. He ran back to their village to gather Nahlaim, Sowel's two children and their youngest brother, who had not yet married. This group was the last of the Delewans to disappear across the sea.

After the exodus of the Delewans, the titled Pingelapese met to determine who should rule. A flowered head wreath (*mwaramwar*) descended upon the head of Semenuhwe, signifying that he was to become Nahmwarki. Before agreeing to take the title, he portioned out all the land to the men, abandoning the custom that all land belonged to the Nahmwarki. Prior to this decree, everyone worked in the taro patch without boundaries. Now, Semenuhwe instructed the men to use only the produce from the land to which they had been assigned ownership. He also proclaimed that land would be handed down patrilineally to individuals, rather than to lineages. Later, in the time of Okonomwaun, women were allowed to take small parcels of their father's land to their husbands at marriage.

Semenuhwe's was a good reign. When he became old, he gave his title to Mwahuele, his brother, while he became Nahlaim. Semenuhwe died the day before the devastating typhoon *Lengkieki* (rough sky). He had told the people that some noteworthy event would mark his death.¹⁰

Mwahuele is not the real name of Semenuhwe's brother to whom the Nahmwarkiship went. Rather, it is the name by which he is remembered, for his times were good (*mwahu*), and he led

the Pingelapese out of strife (*ele* means "direction"). The Pingelapese were finally freed of the Kosraean invaders. When Mwahuele became Nahmwarki, the typhoon *Lengkieki* threw a huge block of coral onto the reef between Pingelap and Sukoru. The rock's name was Sakai Lapalap, or huge stone.

Mwahuele's two wives had six sons. Kied Pingelap, Weiesukoru, and Soukipar were the sons of Liedilwar. Wadekpene, Mwanekeda, and Mwanenised were the sons of Liewardak. Soakis was her daughter. Mwahuele's sons fought against the sons of Mwoise, who held the title *Wasai*. Soukipar and Mwanekeda went to the windward side of Pingelap to dig taro. Mwoise's son stole in while Mwanekeda was cooking and stabbed him in the thigh. Mwoise's other son, Simelaleiu, agreed that this was unwarranted and unpardonable behavior, and that attacks should be formal and forewarned, an opinion which later resulted in the Pingelapese sparing his life.

Mwahuele's family was distressed at the death of their son, and Soakis wanted to seek revenge for the death of her brother. When Soukipar returned to Deke from the taro patch, he and his siblings attacked Mwoise's children on Pingelap, driving them back to Deke. Afraid that sharks would eat them if they tried to escape over the horizon, Mwoise's sons hid on Deke, where Mwahuele's sons discovered and killed two of them.

Wadekpene, the son of Mwahuele, demanded the wife of Edinenmwar, one of Mwoise's sons. Although Wadekpene had carried her off, he realized that her husband went to her

every night while Wadekpené was sleeping in the *kedera* (men's house). After finding Edinenmwar's *mwaramwar* (lei) beside his wife's mat, Wadekpené confronted her and elicited a confession. Accompanied by his brother Soukipar, Wadekpené paddled after Edinenmwar, who had fled to Deke. From the bow of the canoe Soukipar shouted a warning for Edinenmwar to run faster, because he did not want to kill him. Wadekpené heard him, and he vowed to kill both of them. Finally, they subdued Edinenmwar, grabbed him by the hair, and he fell dead.¹¹ Wadekpené ordered Soukipar to carry the body back to his wife for burial. Thus, the sons of Mwahuele killed all the sons of Mwoise except Simelaleiu, the husband of their sister Soakis, whom they spared because he had been unwilling to kill Mwanekeda.

Mwanenised was the son of Mwahuele and Liawaidak, and he was a noted fisherman. During his reign as Nahmwarki, fruit and fish were plentiful. No longer were there any unjust deaths. No longer were people condemned to die in drifting canoes. Preferring to arbitrate differences, Mwanenised disliked fighting. He was extremely generous. All the people knew that his canoe was free for their use if they were in need of it. He initiated the clan *Sou* (clan) *Serawi* (sacred).

Mwanenised married Lienosed, and they had six daughters: Liameirir, Liowahapasang, Limoreidol, Liesaikerong, Ponedenwod, and Mekeinpeng. Their three sons were Sakelapalap, Pwekeles, and Mwungesamorou. At the time of Mwanenised's death, a

spirit appeared to him and gave him the title *sihlepen* Pingelap (the backbone of Pingelap). Mwanenised stressed that this designation was not meant to be an indication of wealth or physical strength. Rather, he was speaking of his large family, which was, indeed, the backbone of the population.

Because Mwanenised's oldest son, Sakelapalap, was still very young at the time of his father's death, and Lienosed preferred to keep her little boy by her side, Wadekpene, the brother of Mwanenised, became the next Nahmwarki. She feared that he would be eaten by a ghost if he ascended to the Nahmwarkiship. Instead, Sakelapalap became *Nanawa*, and Okonomwaun, Wadekpene's son, was given the title Nahneken.

Wadekpene married Liemeirir, the daughter of Lienosed but not of Nahmwarki Mwanenised. Their children were Kerua, Lingsai, and Likowok. Later, Wadekpene married Liemad. Their children were Okonomwaun, Isipwa, Liesohmwahu, and a daughter named Lienidek.

Wadekpene planned a feast to which each section was to bring only *seuia*, purple taro of the finest, oldest quality. Only Mweniap, the section of the Nahmwarki, was able to fulfill the requirement. The forty other kinds of taro brought from the other areas were divided equally among the people.

As he grew old, Wadekpene decreed that he should be succeeded by Pwekeles, who had served him well. By this time Sakelapalap had grown to adulthood. Upon hearing this news, he took a huge basket of twenty sprouted coconuts and a taro to Mweniap to court his uncle Wadekpene and to gain recog-

nitition as a contender for the Nahmwarkiship.

The right to the title had for generations been conferred by the spirit of Isoahpahu, which in this instance selected Okonomwaun for the position at that time in Pingelapese history. The human decree of the Nahmwarki himself was not considered sufficiently authoritative to determine succession. Sakelapalap's bid for the title, consequently, was in vain.

Wadekpene had been in the taro patch. When he returned and heard the news that Okonomwaun was to be Nahmwarki, he wandered angrily around the north side of the island, where he shook the land so strongly that everything was destroyed. The coconut trees ceased to bear fruit, and many breadfruit trees were ruined.

Isoahpahu found the stricken Wadekpene and urged him to rest. In the morning Wadekpene awoke blind. He said that he had become *Warensounpwong*, a canoe of the moon.¹²

Okonomwaun, the son of Wadekpene and Liemad, was designated by Isoahpahu to follow his father as Nahmwarki. Okonomwaun explained to the assembled Pingelapese that, although Isoahpahu had chosen him to rule, Sakelapalap's children would not lose their right to the title.

Okonomwaun's reign was on the whole long and prosperous, although seven years of famine occurred during his forty-eight years as ruler. He called himself Mweikos. *Mwei* means "time," and *kos* means "tight, stable, or secure." He firmly forbade missionary activity on Pingelap.¹³

During Okonomwaun's rule the spirit of Isoahpahu was at once noticeable and influential in its manifestations through the person of Okonomwaun. Merely as a mortal man, Okonomwaun's abilities were considerable; possessed by the ghost of Isoahpahu, his powers appeared awesome and superhuman, and extended to the capability of healing the ill (for which people often gave him land as gifts of thanks).

Okonomwaun had four wives. Losmweniap was the first. Her children were Joseph, Iengiringir, Kesenepwe, Soia, Elize, Moses, and Sakies. Lieperuku was the second, and her children were Kaiios, Siengpo, and Semor. Doakas was the third, and she gave birth to Esekiah, Robis, Emeneni, and Mwahkel. Mehkeisukuro was the fourth and had only one child, Weienepeng.

During the reign of Okonomwaun occurred one significant incident of foreign contact. Three Marshallese canoes went adrift from a course to Ebon and landed on Pingelap. The young nobleman, Kabua, was among them. Later, he would become an important *iroij*, or paramount chief, in the Marshall Islands.¹⁴ The Pingelapese did not recognize the fleet, and they were unable to communicate, although Asihm, a Pingelapese, shouted repeatedly a word that he thought that the newcomers would understand.

Each Pingelapese family chose to care for one Marshallese. As the Pingelapese prepared to go home, none of the Marshallese stood up to leave with the family which had chosen him because they were offended that no one had selected Kabua, who was only fourteen years old. Finally, Kerua offered to take him,

and the two later became very close friends.

When the Marshallese later decided to fight against the Pingelapese, Kabua objected, saying that the Pingelapese had been gracious and generous hosts. Learning of their plot, Okonomwaun became angry, and banished the Marshallese to Sukora. Impressed with the abundance of sea life and vegetation in Sukoru, the Marshallese vowed to conquer Pingelap one day. They no longer felt any gratitude toward the hospitable Pingelapese, and they began secretly to make weapons from coconut fronds.

Somewhat later, the Marshallese announced battle intentions, and at the commencement of the fighting, Nasar, the strongest Pingelapese, approached Ladimour, the choice of the Marshallese force. Each warrior held three spears as he stepped out onto the beach. Ladimour hurled his spears at Nasar, who managed to repel all three of them. The Pingelapese then hit Ladimour in the groin, and he fell to the ground. The Marshallese were able to surprise Nasar from behind and kill him. Then, they picked up the fallen Ladimour and dragged him back to Sukoru.

Okonomwaun ordered the Marshallese to make a huge, seventy-man canoe. The men made a keel and worked on the hull, while the women wove a strong sail. The Nahmwarki then ordered the Pingelapese to prepare food for the Marshallese, and they fixed taro, breadfruit, bananas and fish for a voyage. Finally, they launched the canoe, and the Marshallese prepared to sail.

Kabua remained with Kerua's family until the last possible moment, for he was genuinely sad to leave. Accompanied by two Pingelapese who navigated them away from the reef before returning to shore, the Marshallese set sail. A third Pingelapese, Lepele, continued on with them. They sailed as far as *Ujai*, a Marshallese atoll, where Kabua's men fought against the inhabitants and won the land for him.

When they reached Jaluit, it was clear that a number of the crew wanted to return to conquer Pingelap, because of its abundant flora and fauna.¹⁵ Influenced by his love for the family of Kerua and appreciation for the Pingelapese hospitality, Kabua refused to endorse this plan. During the night, he secretly slashed the twine which bound the joints of the outriggers to their canoes. Involved in preparations for their voyage, the men did not notice Kabua's knifework. As they pushed farther out into the ocean, the waves grew larger. Gradually, the outriggers loosened, and finally the canoes were broken up. All of the men were lost before they could reach land. Kabua had saved Pingelap from an invasion.

Kabua never returned to Pingelap, but when the relatives of Kerua visited the Marshalls, they were treated well. Lepele returned to Pingelap, carried on a mat, as a very old man. He had no children on Pingelap. Later, there was a journey to Mokil by the Marshallese. Kabua, however, did not join the travelers.

Finally, the heirs of Sakelapalap inherited the title of Nahmwarki. Okonomwaun's wife, Losmweniap, had a son by

Sasang, Sakelapalap's oldest child. Okonomwaun adopted this child, Iengiringir, whom he wished to follow him as Nahmwarki. Iengiringir became Nahmwarki in 1870, while he was married to Lieudirong Semedil, and Leueri.

Two years earlier, a delegation from the well-established Ponape mission had come to Pingelap, intending to convert the population, but Okonomwaun had refused them permission to settle. And again the following year he maintained his anti-church position against Berengis, a Ponapean who had been sent to convince him to change his mind. Later, the same year that Okonomwaun died, Iengiringir allowed the Ponapean to remain. Berengis was eventually accused of fathering a Pingelapese child and was banished.

With the coming of the missionaries, Iengiringir took the Christian name Solomon. His first wife, Liewiderong, had died after the birth of her seventh child. Mada (Semedil) was to remain his only wife during Christian times. It was Ana (Leueri) whom he relinquished, because of the Christian requirement of monogamy. Iengiringir was a fine, benevolent man. He is credited with the construction of the first church on Pingelap. Older informants recall stories of great mourning at the time of his death.

Sapwenepar, the son of Iengiringir and Lieudirong, followed his father as Nahmwarki. His formal name was Inapohn, but he preferred Napoleon Bishop in his dealings with Westerners. He was a short, strong man who wore a jacket styled after a German army uniform. A devout ,

non-smoking Christian, he required all the Pingelapese to be faithful in their church duties. He prohibited visiting and playing on Sunday, nor did he allow cooking, fruit picking, or any other form of work. He wanted to discontinue the tribute to the chief at feasts. As a mark of distinction, he preferred to distinguish the church elders with larger portions of food than the rest of the congregation. People feared and respected his strictness. Mr. Doses, the German governor, gave him permission to administer wedding ceremonies, and for each of these he received four marks. The people never argued with him. He was considered perfect and brave.

Before becoming Nahmwarki, Sapwenepar had stolen Lienwaru (Enginauarau) and stayed married to her until his death in 1924. He ruled the longest of all Nahmwarkis, and died as an extremely old man. He and Lienwaru had two children, a daughter, Mereia, and a son, Dicksalomon, the next Nahmwarki. They also reared a step-daughter named Pelorian.

Dicksalomon may have been the son of Loawiak, Sapwenepar's cousin. Generous and very humble, he was a good, quiet son who never misbehaved. If a man needed food, the Nahmwarki's land was always available to him without question. Produce was so abundant during his reign that pandanus and breakfruit often spoiled before the fruit could be harvested or preserved. Very few people became ill or died during his reign. All this good fortune is said to have been a result of his fine blood. Lienwar, the Nahmwarki's mother, was the daughter of Esekia,

holder of the second highest title, Wasai. Her marriage to the Nahmwarki was ideal in terms of social and kinship organization. It made no apparent difference to the Pingelapese that Dicksalomon may have been the son of Loiak. He was none the less royal.

Dicksalomon was given the title of chief magistrate by the Japanese administration and also a visit to Japan. On Ponape, under U.S. rule, he had conferred upon him the title of island judge, for Pingelap was made one of the municipalities of the Ponape District after the coming of Western rule.

He married Nosia, a Pingelapese woman who had a daughter, Dina. Later, against the wishes of his family, he married Karlihna from Mokil. They had three sons and three daughters.

Late in the 1950's, Dicksalomon became senile. His son, Dens, however, did not assume the title until the day of Dicksalomon's burial in 1964. As a boy, Dens was taken to Ponape, where he attended Japanese school. After five years he traveled to Palau to study carpentry. When he returned, he organized the Pingelapese into two work groups which contracted to build at low rates. The Nahmwarki would hold all profits until two months after the completion of a job, at which time he would divide the money among the men who had contributed to the work. These groups are currently in the forefront of the labor force of Ponape District.

Dens married Elsihner. Their daughters are Yesieu, Karsihner, and Densihner. Their sons are Yukuwo, Isao, Perens, Oliod, Denson, Persen, and Sidenson. Dens was

elected Chief Magistrate in 1954. He was replaced by Samis in 1956 for two years and was re-elected in 1958. Kisio Pedrus replaced him for two years from 1962-64. Dens served again in that position until 1970, when Smither Clark was elected for a two year term. Dimios Aisek has been Chief Magistrate since 1972.

FOOTNOTES

¹Albert Diopolus, present Nahneken of Pingelap, offers two interpretations of the atoll's name. The first is "big news" (*ping* news; *lap* big). He says that a spirit (*eni*) came up from stones and sand, which were washed together by waves. The *eni* found a shell lying in seaweed (*karaimes*) which grows on Pingelap (but not Ponape). He performed magic to increase the size of the shell and tried to travel to find what was beyond Pingelap, landing finally at Kosrae. Numerous stories described continued contact between Pingelap and Kosrae.

Lessa (1961, pp. 275-289) has an extensive comparative study of Micronesian island-creation motifs. See also Kirtley (1955, Motif A814.2. *Earth from sand strewn on primeval water*).

Diopolus's second interpretation is that the name has changed from Piklap (*pik* sand; *lap* big).

²*Pali* is the term for traditional navigator. *Mwei* is era; *mokmok* means very clean. Albert Diopolus interprets a very clean era to mean "a time of nothingness." Palialap and Mwoimok arrived on the desolate Pingelap during the *eni*'s excursion to Kosrae.

Cf. Palialap to Luomala's Paluelap, recurrent in Western Caroline tales (see Luomala, MS., p. 8) and Ppaluwelap (Elbert, 1971, p. 9). When Elbert asked his informant Tilime to tell any stories he chose, the first was about Ppaluwelap.

³Lessa's is by far the most searching and comprehensive study of Micronesian oral tradition, and he treats in depth many of the narrative themes included in this work.

⁴Isoahkelekel invaded the Sau Deleur settlement on Ponape and overthrew the chiefs at Nan Madol, carbon dated to the 12th century (Long, 1965, p. 253).

⁵This improvisation of making a weapon from a common tool is a frequent motif in folk-narratives.

⁶See Chapter IV for a discussion of his supernatural rationalization for unacceptable behavior among the Pingelapese.

⁷Nahneken Albert Diopolus tells a Kosrae related story of a rat named Wala, who began eating the people of Pingelap. Word reached Kosrae that people were hiding in the bushes from the rat. Nikes came from Kosrae to kill Wala. He and his Kosraean forces anchored their canoes by the channel across from Wala's Ihloang. Nikes called the rat, and Wala called out in answer. This calling and response was repeated by Nike's men throughout the night in an effort to exhaust the rat. Finally, the Kosraeans rushed in, speared Wala, covered the house with palm fronds and burned the rat to death.

⁸Mr. Nakibae Tabokai of the Gilbert Islands read the account and suggested that the names were not dissimilar to Gilbertese names, although he was not aware of the references to Pingelap in Gilbertese oral history. Nonetheless, he thought that Delewa might be a corruption of the Gilbertese island of Tarawa, a possibility which is not remote. Hornell, Riesen-berg, Lewis, and Chambers all support the notion, held Pacific-wide, that Gilbertese are outstanding canoe-builders and navigators. Morton *et al.* attest to genetic relationships between Gilbertese and Pingelapese, and Dyen and Marck provide information on the linguistic relationship between the two.

⁹Sikimwas, with his extraordinary strength and his knife-like feet (Cf. Kirtley, 1955, Motif 517.1. *Person unusual as to his feet*), is a typical trickster-hero.

¹⁰Morton *et al.* (1973, p. 327) estimate the date of this typhoon to be 1770.

¹¹This tale indicates, apparently, that the head is protected by taboo against touching.

¹²This story describes the beginning of the Pingelap eye disease. The phrase "canoe of the moon" is obscure.

¹³In the documented history, Chapter I, we find that it was not until the reign of Okonomwaun's son Iengiringir that Christianity took root.

¹⁴Members of the Kabua family of the Marshall Islands corroborate this story.

¹⁵Professor St. John (1948, p. 99) observed a greater variety and abundance of flora and fauna in Pingelap than in the Marshall Islands.

CHAPTER III

"LIAMWEIMWEI:" A NON-NARRATIVE CHANT

During the five weeks we spent on Pingelap, I collected ethnological data which would contribute to the study of an eye disease that affects more than ten percent of the population. The most interesting and important aspect of the work resulted from the discovery of the ledger containing not only the legendary history of Pingelap described in Chapter II, but also a transcription of "*Liamweimwei*," a Pingelapese chant.

Apparently written down by Salo, a Pingelapese who holds the traditional title of Nahlik and who is able to write Ponapean, the chant was recited to him by Dison Aia, born in 1882, and recognized in the community as Pingelap's historian. During the field visit, Dison contributed extensive genealogical information to the research team, but because he was very old and needed much time to rest, we were unable to ask Dison about "*Liamweimwei*." Other older people told us that Salo had recorded the chant in the early 1950's.

No orthography has yet been devised for Pingelapese, but because the sound system is similar to that of Ponapean--the language taught in the schools--Ponapean orthography is applied to Pingelapese sounds. Thus, the text of "*Liamweimwei*" is written in a curious combination of Ponapean and Pingelapese,

making the explanation which is found beside each verse particularly difficult to decipher. Salo must have transcribed Disson's Pingelapese into Ponapean orthography and changed some words into Ponapean, while spelling others phonetically. Sometimes the last syllable of one word is really the first syllable of the next, disguising words and even place names until the text is read aloud.

The chanter's delivery may have contributed to the difficulty of transcription. Recitation includes connecting sounds which are usually not noticed in normal speech and therefore are left unrecorded. Here they were recorded. These problems, combined with the transcriber's apparent difficulty in the writing of a second language, result in many of the verses of the written version seeming indecipherable.

On Pingelap, we were able to record the chant from two elderly Pingelapese. The first, Aiel Diopolus, was born in 1896 and held the title of Nahneken, sometimes translated as "prime minister." In this study he is called the Nahneken. The other, Raponei, was born in 1888, and held no title. During our team's investigation, there was more than the usual bustle of activity around the community house, a large cement block structure where the medical examinations were taking place. Many elderly people gathered there daily to ensure that proper hospitality was being provided their visitors, and from this vantage point they could monitor the curious activities of the research team.

Upon request, the old men agreed to sing various songs and chants for tape-recording. People wandered in and out unchecked, and a merry mood prevailed, as the men entertained themselves as well as those around them. During the interviewing, the Nahneken conceded that Raponei was the only living man who knew the entirety of "*Liamweimwei*." Indeed, Raponei delivered all 161 verses rapidly and without hesitation. His rendition was hampered only by the fact that he had no teeth. In contrast, the Nahneken recited ninety verses, but stopped to explain that he was omitting a considerable portion, and then went on to complete the last few lines. Later, however, he was able to interpret the entire chant for interested listeners.

Although the Nahneken was considered of sounder mind and body than Raponei and outranked him in the traditional status system, the Nahneken was silent during and after Raponei's recitation--perhaps in deference to both Raponei's superior delivery of the chant and to his age.

During the day, many songs and dances were performed at random; and it may be significant to note that the buffoonery which surrounded the other performances was absent when "*Liamweimwei*" was recorded. The fact that the chanters' tones of voice changed with this particular chant may speak only to the difference in genre, but it also may indicate that the chant is venerated. Unfortunately, we were never able to ask Disson about these possibilities. While we were on Pingelap, he was otherwise occupied, and he died the following

year at age 80.

In the summer of 1970, when the Nahneken visited Honolulu, he agreed to interpret Dison's written version of "*Liamweimwei*." The version which appears here is Dison's. Discrepancies between his and the Nahneken's rendition are noted with an asterisk and are described in the explication which follows the text. The Nahneken never insisted that his version was correct or implied that Dison's was incorrect. He simply noted the differences in accounts and requested that I do so also.

Explanations of each verse that accompany Dison's written version have been excluded. They are written in the combination of Pingelapese and Ponapean that is described above, and translated alone, they would not contribute to the understanding of the verses. Therefore, these written explanations, which are probably modern additions to the text of the chant, have been integrated with the Nahneken's clarifications. Usually one is an elaboration of the other. If, however, differences in meaning arise, their sources are quoted.

Elias Robert did the initial sparse translation of Dison's version, as it was recorded by Salo. Yosimi James listened to all the tapes related to the chant and edited my translations of all the information collected from the Nahneken. Both these men and Albert Diopolus, Aiel's son and the current Nahneken, emphasized that even after all the material was analyzed, there remain verses which hold no meaning for

the modern Pingelapese. Symbolically, the chant is becoming increasingly more important for its very existence, rather than for its content. These men shared a sense of urgency to preserve it.

LIAMWEIMWEI

Liamweimwei likileng

Wiewie paleng

Ani meir Sopeila

Pileu Sapweino

Selepas Seurek

5

Kirek na Serepw

Sapwalapw Wilies

Keleseu Apeneka

*Wisipas neniwis**

Kehpo Perisehno

10

*Wisen lanewo**

Doualap meisepwerek

Kepinparau

Mweang eh Ihlas

Mai pas Sapwaki

15

Pileu dekilahr

Meipas pa Mwalok

Moakis lepinepwel

Uho pahn epwin

<i>Wolong o pedongo</i>	20
<i>Nipas Mwedeneur</i>	
<i>Liol o Sepwenepeng</i>	
<i>Perar o me Daied</i>	
<i>Konopas likin Mwanok</i>	
<i>Malal likin Samwahu</i>	25
<i>Wodepas Dedep</i>	
<i>Welkis Aneke</i>	
<i>Mwarke ilaupas</i>	
<i>Eua kepise</i>	
<i>Merier Merier ringan o kepwehn epeng</i>	30
<i>Masaroam Ikoiko*</i>	
<i>Lepenkadam ihpweko</i>	
<i>Eringo Diene</i>	
<i>Mwipas Sapokop</i>	
<i>Lisepwerahk Lipweniki</i>	35
<i>Nakein Malekas</i>	
<i>Oun pes Pwoh Pwungal*</i>	
<i>Pwikierek</i>	
<i>Kepinihsol</i>	
<i>Meselus e pangepang</i>	40
<i>Koles keseuwak</i>	
<i>Nana sipwenepeng</i>	
<i>Lopwei mokis</i>	
<i>Imw o imwen Seuiap Peike likin Damap</i>	
<i>Oual kepela</i>	45
<i>Mau o keiar</i>	

<i>Keridi Aureri kereda Semwenien</i>	
<i>Konopas Mekeu</i>	
<i>Nahniken wodepas</i>	
<i>Sakai o Madiap*</i>	50
<i>Rarikin pik*</i>	
<i>Wopas nein Pahk</i>	
<i>Epwor likin wihder</i>	
<i>Leleu en kosele</i>	
<i>Sip en likin Sopwuk</i>	55
<i>Udi en Inimwek</i>	
<i>Mwomwene Woulap</i>	
<i>Daupas likin Inipwol</i>	
<i>Pwilapwil en Sipwehsed</i>	
<i>Is me pei na Sukur</i>	60
<i>Nakesi Kepihsaki*</i>	
<i>Ngurngur o Sepenia</i>	
<i>Nahua en alen keseu</i>	
<i>Siakidi noum mum mei</i>	
<i>Pangapangala ai tul</i>	65
<i>Pwururo dewe lengo</i>	
<i>Uhpo deweilohk</i>	
<i>Sisilamen nan nein Sikal</i>	
<i>Peipeila dare</i>	
<i>Dilidi pwarada</i>	70
<i>Aineme lapareu</i>	
<i>Sewod meir ai Peruku</i>	
<i>Mesen esung Inikanong</i>	

<i>Lakapas likin depwiahng</i>	
<i>Sesempas Pelenkeus</i>	75
<i>Padako mesenpe*</i>	
<i>Alepas elen kaudek</i>	
<i>Kuar oakada Peisik</i>	
<i>Ilimok o Mesedau</i>	
<i>Pweungalo sakai oko</i>	80
<i>Pwulapwulp lauardo</i>	
<i>Wo widid</i>	
<i>Wo wilik</i>	
<i>Wo lapalap</i>	
<i>Wo wilies</i>	85
<i>Sakain luk</i>	
<i>Saian U</i>	
<i>Sakain du</i>	
<i>Ikoros o mesen eir</i>	
<i>Ihpwa ehu pei isou</i>	90
<i>Sakoia weleikisen</i>	
<i>Pak man men mwaseik</i>	
<i>Delepomen keriak</i>	
<i>Mo mwau men eliek</i>	
<i>Mwomw serewi mwomw pwelel</i>	95
<i>Kinikin sehn ikonehd</i>	
<i>Ani men anien air songar oh lopwe</i>	
<i>Ani sapw nah Wilies</i>	
<i>Liang sik Wilies</i>	
<i>Kilikil Epeneka</i>	100

<i>Ideneik Neniawis</i>	
<i>Limenuk Perisenok</i>	
<i>English lanowo*</i>	
<i>Nitin pesik popoudek</i>	
<i>Kilo pwalong in kosu</i>	105
<i>Nito Serkarakapw *</i>	
<i>Limweileng semankoso</i>	
<i>Lasomwahno Mweniap</i>	
<i>Pwuhdo a akanau</i>	
<i>Mumawene en Peisik</i>	110
<i>Luwak o keilen pik</i>	
<i>Mwakainge wekedekeda</i>	
<i>Lienki talalpeseng</i>	
<i>Peni wa Pelenkeus</i>	
<i>Imwen waro Depwiang</i>	115
<i>Pwekerleng pah Pwelekelekel</i>	
<i>Metin was eu omw epeng</i>	
<i>Mesen Mwein nanawa</i>	
<i>Ngisti ngis en Peruku</i>	
<i>Nidierer weidu</i>	120
<i>Nidinerer meirpene</i>	
<i>Woa eu neme</i>	
<i>Wen eu Namahl</i>	
<i>Kesehpene eu imwin piki</i>	
<i>Lesapwil oh Sapwenpek</i>	125
<i>Tengeteng o nomior</i>	
<i>Duhla neulih pwarada dewin wol</i>	

<i>Pwiliki lepin Wehdel</i>	
<i>Kerak mesin Mwanok</i>	
<i>Kiep pwot mesen Samau</i>	130
<i>Kekekmen Sekerelap</i>	
<i>Keseuak men Aneke</i>	
<i>Pingilau Wedel</i>	
<i>Mwar Pingelap Wekidi</i>	
<i>Edek en Nehsipw</i>	135
<i>Wia Mweseleu Pangapang</i>	
<i>Dong ling likin Koti</i>	
<i>Lelu Lelu Sakan</i>	
<i>Pakiries eu inimadol</i>	
<i>Nanekin usun woa</i>	140
<i>Nalik peiong pahn war</i>	
<i>Poloseik mesedeki</i>	
<i>Palao war imwin pwiki</i>	
<i>Imwin pwiki Kepilong</i>	
<i>Pwili ware liekadek</i>	145
<i>Sekeisapengi</i>	
<i>Liol pwoh sopeila</i>	
<i>Nana eukein keu</i>	
<i>Seukuhk eu waresekeda</i>	
<i>Lelamen ewa ime saun inting</i>	150
<i>Sitpelepel Naneken</i>	
<i>Sokosokla sarawi</i>	
<i>Semwen wia mengei</i>	
<i>Wa rongen kahlek nah del woawe</i>	

Pil war oh war kapw

155

Deuli ong euinpesi

Mwakereker o soukapw

Sela sela sela kupurmen sela²

Lie kede kasakar pit

Kede likeia pwoh nait woal

160

Sela sela sela kupurmen sela

Explication of "*Liamweimwei*"

"*Liamweimwei*" is attributed to Isemedue, the brother of Semenue, seventeenth Nahmwarki of Pingelap, who reigned before the devastating typhoon *Lengkieki* leveled the atoll in approximately 1770, leaving only nine survivors. We do not know the conditions under which "*Liamweimwei*" was performed traditionally. The fanfare accompanying the Community House recitation suggests that it has been rarely performed in modern times. It is unaccompanied by musical instruments and is recited rapidly in no more than three tones with frequent changes in rhythm. The chant is considered a single unit and is not divided into separate stanzas or parts. The chanter breathes at the end of any verse.

Since Dison and the Nahneken both died before 1973, Raponei is the only living Pingelapese who can recite the chant in its entirety from memory. The meaning of some of the archaic verses is lost to all but the oldest members of the population. Dison, Raponei, and the Nahneken represented

widely disparate social positions, leaving no indication of whether or not social rank dictated the right to recite the chant traditionally.

"*Liamweimwei*" represents rather than describes a journey around the atoll, naming traditional divisions of land on all three of its islands in geographical order, although some of the place-names are nearly unrecognizable in the written version because of the problems described above. The chant has not been reduced to modern language by the Pingelapese. Rather, it is valuable to them as an historical and cultural entity, complete with its archaic words and allusions, and its incongruous mixture of Ponapean and Pingelapese. A partial and intermittent explication, therefore, is all that is possible here.

Like the Hawaiian "*Kumulipo*" and other Oceanic poetry, "*Liamweimwei*" shrouds its meaning in symbolism and rich imagery. Line one indicates the turbulence of wind and sea with huge waves visible on the horizon (*likileng*). The Nahneken says that *mweimwei* means "movement," but the written Ponapean account likens it to *mwelela*, which means "peaceful." The second line means "great surf under heaven." The Nahneken describes this line with the word *kurupud* (soapsuds). Curiously, Salo's written account reads "the sea is calm as far as one can see." The Nahneken insists that for rhythm's sake the first word must be *wiewiekis*.

The third line translates "a ghost (*eni*) slept at So-peila" at the very tip of the main island. The Nahneken,

however, elaborates. The *eni* has been asleep for two years, his penis as erect as a coconut tree with ants crawling in the moss and grass which has grown on it. A bird (*pares*) flying overhead alights on him and is spotted from below by a man who, in attempt to capture the bird, climbs hurriedly up the *eni*'s penis. The disturbance awakens the *eni*, who is embarrassed by his exposure. He becomes very thirsty, runs off and drinks the muddy water from the taro patch, and suddenly disappears.

Line four means that there is a water source at Sapweino, which is still used today. *Selepas* (line 5) means "rope." Seuerek is known for its many varied lengths of rope for climbing trees. *Kirek*, or *medap*, is a species of nut tree found in Serepw (line 6). In line seven *sapwalapw* means "big land"; Wilies is a huge division of land owned today by twenty-one people, according to the Nahneken.

Keleseu is Pingelapese for ironwood; many of these trees grow at Epeneka, which is spelled "Apeneka" in the written version (line 8). The Nahneken and Dison disagree on both the wording of the ninth line and its description. Dison's account translates "banana tree at Neniwis"; and the explanation adds that there are many banana trees there. The Nahneken's line is "*wodepas* Neniwis" and in his explanation he uses the word *sepwukin*, which, synonymous to *wodepas*, means "inedible land taro." Here we have the first difference in interpretation. *Wod*, when full grown, is often mistaken for banana plants. *Kehp* (line 10) is "yam;" *Perisehno* is the "land of

many yams." Yams have not been cultivated post-*Lengkieki*, while on Ponape they have always been a prestige crop. Line eleven is "bananas of Lanewo." At Doualap, or Doualam for the Nahneken, the largest variety of breadfruit on Pingelap grows, *meisapwerek*. The Nahneken says breadfruit was first brought from Sepwerek in Madolenihmw on Ponape by a mother and daughter. Line 13 describes the beginning of the land on which *meisepwerek* grows. *Mweang* (Line 14) is Pingelapese for "taro," which first grew at Ihlas and then spread to the rest of the atoll. *Mai pas* is a combination of Ponapean and Pingelapese; correctly in Pingelapese the word is *meipas* and means "breadfruit tree." Nahneken relates that the tree at Sapwaki bears fruit all year round. *Dekilahr* is the "far end of an island." *Pileu* means "some water." After working in the taro patch, the women would traditionally swim outside the reef on the back of the island to wash off the mud. Then they would bathe in fresh water to remove the salt (verse 16).

As in line 15, the Nahneken says that the large breadfruit tree that is Mwalok bears giant fruit all year round. *Lepinepwel* is the portion of the taro patch owned by the chief. Verse 18 refers to the grass that is used to fertilize this area.

A story accompanies the nineteenth line, the first word of which may be, instead, *uhmw*, or "earth oven." Nauwedil and Namalern came to Epwin for a four-or-five day rest. They went off to dig taro, and came back to make an oven. They lived off the food they had baked and went their separate

ways. This story is the Nahneken's elaboration of Dison's simple "two men came together and stayed." Line twenty refers to *pilenwoal* (literally "water of the woods"), a pool of clear fresh water, suitable for bathing, around which is planted taro. Such a pool is found at the place named in line twenty, but it is unclear which word refers to the place name. Many coconut trees can be found at Mwedeneur (line 21). Lightning struck Sepwenepeng, destroying many coconut trees (line 22). Thunder hit Daied (line 23). *Kono*, "a creeping vine," grows at the back of Mwanok (line 24). At the back of Samwahu there is a bare, grassless clearing with one or two trees (line 25). The next line refers to *wod*, the inedible land taro which grows wild at Dedep. Line 27 is the last in this portion of botanical descriptions and says that there is thick bush at Aneke.

The following four lines concern flowers. Line 29 states simply "three strands of flowers." In line 30 is one of the few references to people in the entire "*Liamweimwei*." A woman named Merier Merier has a wedding flower which comes from the northern part of the island (*lehpeng*). It is called *pwoh pwungal*. A person, Masaroma, is also named in the next line. His flower garland is made from *ikoik*, the flower of a banyan-like tree. The Nahneken's version gives him name as Mwasomwala. Lepenkadam always wore garlands made from the bud (*ihpweko*) of the *ikoik*.

Dried coconuts are plentiful in Diene, and breadfruit trees grow at Sapokop (lines 33 and 34). Lisepwerahk is a

tiny fish which stays practically still and eats sand. It is found in great numbers at Lipweniki (line 35). Nakein owns Malekas (line 36).

There is a disagreement on the next verse. The Nahneken says *oun* means a kind of clear shoreland with scattered mangrove, while the written account explains that Oun is a man who owns the land from Pwoh Pwungal, Ikilomw, to Pwikierrek. *Pwoh Pwungal* is previously given as the name of a flower. Line 38 is Pwikierrek, the name of the next section, and Kepin-ih-sol (line 39) is the section adjoining it. Dison describes line 40 as the place where the leaders get firewood. The Nahneken, however, says that it describes the area between the two islands Deke and Pingelap. Leaving Deke, he says, there is a place from which one can jump over the deep water of the channel and land in the shallow water at Pingelap.

The birds termed *koles* figure prominently in Pingelap's oral tradition. In line 41, there is a pair of *koles* along the shore. Line 42 concerns the reef of Damap. *Nana* means "many rocks." *Mokis* is a place for Lopwei (perhaps the title *Lompwei*) to rest, tired from a day's work (line 43).

Line 44 states that the house of Peike and Seuiap is at Damap. Line 45 refers to *oual*, a tiny fish which is caught in a v-shaped trap of rocks and net between Deke and Pingelap. *Mau* is "parrot fish," and *keiar* is a bird (line 46). Line 47 refers to the division between the islands. "Climb down from the reef at Aureri, and climb up at Semwenien, the section of the island of Deke which is closest to Pingelap." *Kono*, the

banyan-like tree, grows abundantly at Mekeu (line 48). Although the land in line 49 does not belong to the Nahneken, he has there the privilege of pulling up *wod*.

In line 50 *sakai* means "rock." Dison's account says that this is the place where an *eni* put Ngwnwar, a child, under a rock. The Nahneken says that there are so many rocks at this place that it is impossible to walk straight. In line 51 the Nahneken uses the word *larikin* which means "finger coral." *Pik* is "sand;" large sand dunes lie between the rocks on the windward side of Mediap. Line 52 refers to the channel in the reef which is part of Pahk on the windward side of Wehdu. Line 53 speaks of the largest sedimentary rock on the windward side of Wehdu. In the large holes eroded in these rocks rainwater accumulates. People drank from these pools of fresh water until the tide became too high and salt water filled them. Line 54 mentions a fishing basin on the windward side of Limakri, outside Deke. Line 55 describes a bay-like curve on the windward side of Sopwuk. *Likin* is "windward" or "outside." *Udi* is the point at Inimwek (line 56). Line 56 is about a good place to catch *mwomwene*, a fish. Line 58 is the channel at Inipwol.

The next few lines concern the sea. Line 59 tells how phosphorus shines in the water near Sipwehsed at night. Line 60 names a place in the ocean off the island of Deke. Nakesi, or Nakisik, in line 61 was a man who went fishing at Kepihskai, the big rocks beyond the tiny island of Sukoru. At the place named in line 62 waves break over rocks which the Nahne-

ken says are red. Line 63 alludes to a track between Sukoru and Pingelap. Prior to 1940, according to the Nahneken, races were run on a track from Mweniap to Sukoru. Any man who refused to race was jeered. The first ten contestants to finish were given recognition. Verse 64 goes on to point out that the racers follow the channel to a specially designated hole in the reef, where they pause before turning to run back. *Pangepang* in line 65 means to turn around.

The next several lines deal with fishing. Line 66 describes a moonlit fishing place. Line 67 describes a good place to stand and watch the fish before fishing with a net. It is at the end of one of the main channels, not the one the fish use. Line 68 points out that Sikal is a good spot for catching *sisil*, a small fish. The net, which is described as *dare* in line 69, is good luck, and will catch lots of fish. In line 70 is a description of how the fish can hide in deep holes in the reef, coming back up when they are out of danger.

The next lines speak of brightness. In line 71 the kind of phosphorus that is always visible is described, while in line 72, a channel that is always bright (*ai* means "fire") is said to contain many moonfish.

Line 73 alludes to an unusual rock near the reef at Inikanong. Lakapas in line 74 is the deepest depression in the flat part of the reef.

After the next three lines, which refer to trees and land, the following eighteen lines deal with the ecology of the sea. Line 75 identifies *sesen* as a tree which grows at

Pelenkeus, and in line 76 it is described as fragrant. According to the Nahneken, the line begins with the word *posiko* rather than *padako*. And finally, the description for line 77 is "a path on which only the high ranking people may tread."

During February and March, Pingelapese men fish at night in canoes by the light of torches. The men stand in the canoes swinging nets, and the flying fish jump at the light and are trapped in the nets. Line 78 of "*Liamweimwei*" explains that the torch (*kuar*) should be lit at Peisik. Line 79 refers to a place to surf at the opening of Pingelap's main channel. According to line 80, the deepest spot in this channel is designated by a rock (*sakai*). South of there is a small channel where there is phosphorescence (line 81).

The next four lines begin with the word *wo*, which means "crevasses in the floor of the ocean." Lines 82 and 83 are otherwise undefined. Line 84 is a large valley right outside the reef on the ocean floor. In line 85, *Wo Wilies*, is described simply as "the channel at Wilies."

Lines 86 through 88 begin with the word *sakain*, which is more precisely *sakai en*, "the rock of." In line 86, *luk* is described as a rock from which one can dive over the surf. Line 87 is a rock used as a watchtower, and line 88 describes "people who cannot body surf."

Ikoros in line 89 is a seashell found at Mesen eir. Line 90 describes a hermit crab (*ihwa*) under a banyan tree (*isou*), and with line 91 begins five lines about fish.

Line 91 refers to small skipjacks; line 92 contains the

word *mwaseik*, or "small fish." *Keriak* in line 93 is considered a delicious fish, and *eliek* in line 94 is described as good to eat. Line 95 describes fish that come in schools from the south.

In line 96 the word *seh* means "leaf." Here, a woman named Seika is described as having been at Sapweino, where she gathered leaves in which she wrapped *ikonehd*.

The next six lines deal with *eni*, or "spirits." A major *eni* is Eni en eir who figures in line 97. Line 98 states that there is an *eni* haunting Wilies. Line 99 describes that there is a second spirit there also. Line 100 tells that there is an *eni* at Epeneka. The Nahneken adds that the vegetation displays a variety of colors there. Lines 101 and 102 tell that there is an *eni* at Neniawis and one at Perisenok, as well. These are the places variously spelled and presented in lines 8 through 10, suggesting a side-step from the narrative's topical progression around the atoll. Perhaps the discussion of *eni*'s warrants their inclusion here.

There is great discrepancy in the two versions of line 103. The written version *English Lanowo*¹ is explained as follows: "When the first Englishmen came in 1892, they hung up a board with the words 'English land of war.'" There is no record of such a ship or such an event. The alternate version, *Ling elis Lanowo*, comes from the son of the Nahneken, Albert Diopolus, who since the death of his father has held the title. Lanowo is a place name. *Ling* means "beautiful," and *elis* describes both a tree and its beautiful white flow-

ers commonly used as garlands for ornamentation.

Neither the written source nor the Nahneken described line 104 or 107.

Line 105 describes how men stand in their canoes when they fish for flying fish. *Nito* in line 106 is a man's name, according to Dison. The Nahneken thinks that it means *nid eu*, or "animal cage."

Lines 108 and 109 deserve elaboration. They allude to the traditional role of the Nahneken, a title which is passed from father to son. Line 108, according to Dison, describes a sacred place where chiefs sermonized. The Nahneken says it is the place set aside traditionally for the tattooing of young men. Traditionally, the Nahmwarki, or chief, called the young men together, telling them that they were no longer children, and ordered the Nahneken to begin the tattooing process. Line 109 describes a sort of bell which was rung traditionally only by the Nahneken. When he rang the bell, the people would kindle the fires for their ovens, and they would bake food for the feast which would celebrate the tattooing of the young men.

Line 110 tells that there is a fish at Peisik, but no name is given. In line 111 the word *luwak*, which usually means "jealousy," may signify the need to appease spirits. The Nahneken explains that men who were planning to go net flying fish would gather at the men's house, or *kedera*, and stay there until the third night of the season without going out to their gardens. On the third night, the men from Mweniap,

Peisik, and periku would yell in a group to chase the bad spirits away. After that they could pass freely onto their land to harvest food without harrassment from the bad spirits.

No meaning is given by any source for line 112. The present Nahneken has explained that line 113 may begin with a woman's name, and that literally the line means that the women fell with their legs spread apart. Line 114 is described as people and land. The only distinguishable word here is the place-name Palenkeus. Line 115 describes a tiny piece of land between Kahkahlia and Inikonang called Depwiang on which a boathouse stood.

The written record stops abruptly at line 114. Beginning with the following line, the descriptions are those of the last and present Nahneken and the various people who were cited above. Although it has not been disputed that Dison knew the chant better than any of his peers, the record of his knowledge has been lost.

The people gather together and talk at Pwelekelekel, the border between two pieces of land (line 116). *Omw epeng* in line 117 is properly the place-name Amwepeng, where Mwakaenge planted a banana tree. Line 118 describes the jurisdiction of the authority of the Nanawa, a high-titled man who controlled Lepeng, the eastern end of the island. In line 119 *ngis* means a place for gathering and talking. Two women, Weilu and Meirpene, are described by the Nahneken. The first attended church. The second, whose name translates "to close ones eyes," did not. Line 120 the Nahneken describes as pertaining

to the "woman who went to church," while 121 mentions the one who did not. Clearly, these cryptic comments are the Nahneken's addition. They are not only post-contact, but they are post-missionary, circa 1857.

Line 122 describes a place where people meet to discuss their differences. The Nahneken notes that Lapel and his son, Kamesik, came here often to argue. Neme is far away from the site of the present, and presumably, the traditional village also. The Nahneken describes line 123, which translates "the dance at Namahl," as meaning that the wind blows the leaves of the coconut tree in such a way that they look like a *wen*, or men's rhythmic dance. His explication for line 124 is that when people die they are wrapped in mats and are weighted down and put into the ocean. Line 125 describes the wind at Sapwenpek as being so strong that coconuts fall to the ground before they are ripe. Line 126 tells that there is always wind at Nomior, or correctly, Namwioar. The mention of the wind has been prominent in these lines because they describe the eastern, unprotected tip of the island.

Line 127 reiterates that when people die, they are put in mats and dropped in the ocean. About line 128, the Nahneken said only that Wehdel is the name of an area of land, and line 129 tells that *kerahk* is a stone in the water opposite Mwanok. *Kiep* in line 130 means "lily." *Kiep* extend from the front shore to the back, and in line 131 *keken* is an animal which inhabits Sekerelap. *Keseuak* in line 132 is a bird at Aneke.

One definition of the word *ping* is "confusion" or "mess." *Ilau* is a flower, and *Wedel*, according to one interpretation, is a place-name. *Pingilau* in line 133, then, may mean a profusion of flowers through which it is impossible to pass. The Nahneken said that at *Pingilau* a man named *Elinon* killed *Wedel*.

Mwar means "title" or "lei." *Wekidi* is a place-name. Line 134 is otherwise unexplained. At *Nehsipw*, in line 135, there was a feast after a tattooing ceremony. Before the feast, the men performed their traditional dance or *wen*. Discussion of the feast continues into the next line. *Mwesel* is an honorific word for "eat." The Nahneken explains that the *samwaro*, or titled people, took their food from the feast and left it at *Pangapang*.

Line 137 translates literally. *Dongling* is to "pick a pretty flower," particularly used in leis. It grew outside (*likin*) *Koti*. *Lelu* in line 138 is a place-name. *Sakan*, a sharp rock, is found there. Line 139 offers an example of the problem of affixing syllables to the wrong words. *Kiries* is a fish; *pakiries* has no meaning. *Inimadol* is one way of saying "at *Madol*," but the syllables preceding the place-name are not written. The Nahneken's explanation of this line is that after singing songs, the Pingelapese angled for *kiries*, a kind of fish. None of the next three lines is explained by any one of the Pingelapese.

Lines 143 and 144 together describe a sand dune (*pwiki*) at *Kepilong* which the people enjoy visiting. Line 145 describes a crayfish (*liekadek*) which looks like a canoe (*war*) when it

swims. Line 146 is not explained.

Sopeila in line 147 is a place on the tiny islet of Sukoru which is inhabited by a spirit (*eni*) named Liohl Pwoh. In line 148 Keinkeu is a place where people fish. While one version of line 149 tells that *seukuhe* is a fish, the Nahneken adds another line to the chant: "*re inihn o maseda*," which means that "they roasted it, but it was rotten." Lelamen is a name which means either "thinker or giver of ideas." The last two words in line 150 mean "the one in charge of writing." The phrase is written in Ponapean and is not included in the oral rendition of the chant.

Lines 151 and 152 together describe a fluid or ink which the Nahneken makes from the ashes of the *uhmw* or "oven." He teaches the art of tattooing with this fluid to the Nahmwarki or chief, who was traditionally also called *Dokasa* or *Ewa*. The words of 153 mean "the father did it easily," but no explanation was given by the Nahneken or others.

Lines 154 and 155 together mention Nahlaim, a high-titled man who is the chief of protocol of the *kahlek*, or "spring-night fishing." He organizes and controls the entire procedure. He decides who will join each of the canoes, and he lights the first torch at a ceremony preceding the first night's fishing. No explanation has been given for line 156. *Mwakereker* in line 157 is the largest star in the sky.

The explanation for line 158 is identical to the last line of the chant. Line 159 is about respect. If one's children are disrespectful or disobedient, the adult cannot

speak. He is humiliated, and all he can do is sit and scratch his arms.

There is no explanation for line 160. The final line, which is identical to line 158, defines the word *kupurmen*. The last person to do something, to come into a race, or the last to arrive is the *kupurmen*. Sela is apparently a meaningless combination of syllables signalling the end of the chant. The last place and the final activity have been identified, and the descriptive trip around the islands of Deke, Pingelap, and Sukoru has been completed.

Despite post-European contact references, the chant is basically pre-contact. It is impossible for a foreign investigator to judge if "*Liamweimwei*" is sacred, or semi-sacred, because modern Pingelapese refuse to separate that which is sacred from that which is Christian. While they are usually quick to disparage anything that is pre-Christian for fear that a foreigner may discredit them by doubting their commitment to Christianity and therefore to modernity, subtle hints, such as the lowering of the voice upon reference to the chant, suggest that "*Liamweimwei*" is highly valued by the Pingelapese. Many young people recall their grandmothers and other older relatives telling it to them when they were tiny.

FOOTNOTES

¹Possibly "man of war."

²Cf. *selah*, which in Hebrew is a direction to Temple musicians to lift up their music or voices. The Pingelapese may have learned this from the Christian missionarie.

CHAPTER IV

ISOAHPAHU STORIES

Isoahpahu, the most renowned spirit in Pingelapese folk literature, figures prominently throughout the atoll's legendary history. He appears as the principal character in tales involving an unorthodox transference of the title Nahmwarki, he emerges as a paramour without equal in the folk history of the culture, and he plays an integral role in the narratives that rationalize the origins of the debilitating eye disease which has affected many Pingelapese for generations.

In the first story he is the son of Inenikas, the fourth Nahmwarki, and falls in love with Naliamwaise. Both apparently die of broken hearts because neither her father, a commoner, nor Inenikas, the chief, will permit a marriage between them.

While this first incident firmly defines Isoahpahu's royal position, it also portrays him as a tragic figure, a victim of a very human situation, where the separateness of chief and commoner is clearly illustrated, and the impossibility of breaching certain rules is firmly established. There is nothing superhuman happening here; yet signs soon emerge of Isoahpahu's supernatural qualities. When we hear

that the land shook at his death, we are forewarned of his future powers.

By the reign of Mwahuele, who was Nahmwarki during the 1770[±] typhoon *Lengkieki*, Isoahpahu stories were popular and colorful. At this time Isoahpahu's spirit began expressing itself through the actions of Pingelapese villagers. While Mwahuele was Nahmwarki, Isoahpahu inhabited the person of Doloamon, and by the 19th century, it was Isoahpahu who had the power to determine who would take the title Nahmwarki, despite the fact that the line of succession for the title was carefully prescribed.

Isoahpahu became visible during the reign of Okonomwaun, whom he chose to succeed Wadekpené as Nahmwarki in 1882, despite the rights of more than one other clan to claim the title. Isoahpahu inhabited the body of Nahmwarki Okonomwaun, and whenever Okonomwaun went fishing, the people took food and gifts to his house, where the spirit Isoahpahu awaited their homage. Only titled men were allowed to enter the home of Okonomwaun. Offerings were placed on a raised platform, before which they would eat and converse with the spirit (*eni*). If Okonomwaun were absent, the people believed that Isoahpahu would later tell him of their gifts. If a commoner entered Okonomwaun's house or dared to eat there, Isoahpahu would devour him.

Thus, Okonomwaun became wealthy and powerful because of Isoahpahu. Okonomwaun was at liberty to attract and impregnate as many women as he chose, because all such activities

were rationalized away as acts of Isoahpahu working through him. Isoahpahu was often given tracts of land for mending the ills of the Pingelapese. These and all other gifts that were meant for the spirit of Isoahpahu were inherited by Okonomwaun's children.

Several Isoahpahu stories illustrate the ways in which Okonomwaun exploited the people through the *eni*'s power. Although Isoahpahu was active in the affairs of men, he was accessible to them only after certain carefully prescribed procedures were attended to. First, anyone anxious to meet with Isoahpahu offered him a coconut from the island of Deke. Following this token, a substantial amount of food and a pledge of land were secured, and finally Isoahpahu would appear in the form of Okonomwaun to initiate action on the person's behalf.

When the leg of a wealthy land owner, Meneri, was punctured by a needlefish, the people suspected that the magic of Isoahpahu was the cause. A kind of bargaining began which secured for Okonomwaun a large area of land in return for the healing power of Isoahpahu, through him, applied to Meneri's festering wound.

The power of Isoahpahu influenced the late Nahneken, Aiel Diopolus, who died in 1972. The Nahneken was the grandson of Sukuwahu (the nephew of Okonomwaun), and described both Isoahpahu and Okonomwaun as real, powerful, and disreputable; but he was never willing to consign Isoahpahu to the role of personified rationalization, of ingenious pretext for unac-

ceptable behavior--at least not to me. Although Aiel and other Pingelapese never characterized Okonomwaun as a con artist, and they never intimated that they saw him as deceptive, they clearly described him as clever and seductive. Their inscrutability is baffling, and I am at a loss to say whether my naivete and language limitations make me yet another victim of Okonomwaun's ruse, or if modern Pingelapese conceive of Okonomwaun and Isoahpahu as separate, discrete entities.

According to Aiel, both Sukuwahu and Okonomwaun loved the same woman. She preferred Sukuwahu over the jealous Okonomwaun, who demanded that Isoahpahu put a hex on Sukuwahu. Aiel's family claims this malicious revenge was the reason for several violent deaths in its history.

Sukuwahu's sons Porokidi and Misesni sailed to Mokil and were chased away by hostile Mokilese. On their return they disappeared at sea, even though they were within sight of Pingelap. In the same family, Diopolus went off to pick breadfruit for a sick child. His brother-in-law told him of a huge turtle and urged Lehwa, Sukuwahu's oldest son, to help him capture it. They swam into the lagoon, approaching the animal with spears, but the turtle was too strong for them to hold. It dragged Lehwa, whose hand was tangled on a line, far outside the reef, where he drowned.

Pingelap was inhabited by other spirits which were neither so well tolerated nor so admired as Isoahpahu. Three particularly unpopular *eni* during this period were Lisokosok,

Nauilip, and Rurahri. Their amusement usually caused humiliation, if not injury, to the islanders. Isoahpahu is said to have spoken out against them. Lisokosok took the spirit of Seni, the daughter of Depoawa and put her in an old coconut shell (*isek*). Separated from her spirit, the child became very drawn, thin, and sickly. At the request of Depoawa, Okonomwaun sent Isoahpahu out to find the spirit of Seni.

Nauilip and Rurahi disclaimed any knowledge of the whereabouts of the child's spirit. Just as Lisokosok, too, was saying that she did not know, Isoahpahu heard Seni whimpering inside the *isek*. Lisokosok still refused to admit that she had the child's spirit. Tired of her deception, Isoahpahu went off to find Mela, an *eni* whom Lisokosok feared terribly. Again, Isoahpahu asked if she had the child, and Lisokosok admitted it, rather than be beaten by Mela's stick. Isoahpahu carried the coconut to Okonomwaun, who restored Seni's spirit to her body.

Several Isoahpahu legends dated from the time of Okonomwaun offer the traditional rationalization for the origin of the eye disease which continues to afflict the Pingelapese today. After the death of Doloamon, whom Isoahpahu had possessed during the reign of Mwahuele, Isoahpahu lay idle on the Nahmwarki's land in Mweniap. While Wadekpene was Nahmwarki, Isoahpahu began wandering around the three islands in search of a new medium through whom he could assert his power. Unsuccessful, he returned to Mweniap, where he encountered the distraught Okonomwaun, whose daughter, Lienidek, had died

and disappeared. Unlike the rest of the Pingelapese, she had not appeared before Isoahpahu to announce her new state as a spirit, and Okonomwaun dispatched Isoahpahu to look for her.

Lienidek had hidden in the form of an *idehde*, a fish that stays beneath the rocks at the outermost part of the reef. Unable to find her, Isoahpahu returned to Mweniap and lay down to rest. While he was there, a young girl appeared to him and asked why he was there; he explained his double difficulty and asked her name. She replied that she was Kiraraseu (which means "like the sun,") and that no one could look directly at her. When Isoahpahu discussed his difficulty, she advised him to go to Okonomwaun, who was about to become Nahmwarki. Isoahpahu agreed to live with Okonomwaun and soon learned that Wadkepene, his aging father, had climbed into a breadfruit tree at Lehpeng and performing magic in a final, frantic attempt to assert his power as Nahmwarki. He vowed to destroy all the pandanus, breadfruit, coconut trees, and papayas. Angered by the old man's behavior, and threatened by his magic, Isoahpahu warned Wadkepene that his childishness might cause the whole population to starve. In a rage, Isoahpahu thrust his foot in Wadkepene's face and blinded him. He bent over the fallen man and encouraged him to sit down peacefully and wait for the food and the comfort his children would soon bring. Isoahpahu told him that Liesohmwahu would come and feed him in the morning, and that later Sukuwahu would bring taro. He would be well taken care of. Thus, Okonomwaun became Nahmwarki before the death of his

father.

Remnants of evidence of Isoahpahu's angry pronouncements exist today. In one legend he was in love with Peisang. Eueda, a young Pingelapese man, desired Limenkedeked, who was married to Olik. Formerly, it was not unusual for a lover to join a married couple on a journey. Eueda accompanied Limenkedeked and Olik to Deke, where the wife made an *uhmw* (ground oven), while the husband fished.

Waiting for dinner, Eueda wandered toward the channel between Deke and Pingelap, where he discovered two sisters, Peisang and Sein, bathing. Eueda realized that while both he and Olik were absent, Limenkedeked had taken Sisa, Olik's brother, as a lover. Eueda's interest in these bathing maidens then increased, and he carried off Peisang.

Their life together was pleasant. Each enjoyed the daily tasks of gathering food and cooking. Isoahpahu was deeply offended by their liason, and he vowed to inflict the debilitating eye defect on their progeny. Today, four and five generations later, several affected descendants exist as a reminder of Isoahpahu's wrath against their ancestors.

Another eye disease legend tells of Sihpe and Delen, who came from Neme in the Mortlocks, west of Pingelap. They had quarrelled with a family, killed three people, and fled to Ponape. Finding no land available there, they set out for Pingelap, where they planned to settle. Instead of land, they saw some strange flying forms, which they did not realize were kites. They skirted Pingelap, never sighting the islands

there, and landed instead at Kosrae, where they remained for several years. Sihpe bore a son named Kileusa. When the child was two or three years old, they performed a sort of magic through which may be determined the right place for someone to reside. It was readily apparent that Kosrae was not the place for them to remain. After more delving, they became convinced that they should create a life for themselves on Pingelap. Sihpe and Delen stole away at night with the infant Kileusa.

The Pingelapese saw their canoe as it came into the lagoon, and all the people went to greet them. Okonomwaun wanted to take the child and care for him. Pwekeles, the son of Mwanenised, took Delen, while Narisos received Sihpe. Each was given land, and they all eventually married. When Delen married Kelingi, Sihpe remained single and cared for Kileusa until he was ten years old, when he went to live with Okonomwaun.

Another eye-disease story is found in continuing the life story of Kileusa, for he eventually married Dokis, one of the loveliest young women on Pingelap and one whom Isoahpahu had long admired. It was Isoahpahu who forced Okonomwaun to steal Dokis from her husband, Kileusa. Isoahpahu took Pehlis, Liekiari, and Pikinpohnpei, as well as Dokis. These unions between spirit and human beings are said to have resulted in the first victims of the eye disease.

In his research, Morton selects the tale about Dokis as the most interesting legendary story of the beginning of the

eye disease. The narrative tells that Isoahpahu fancied Dokis, and, as Okonomwaun, was able to take her. According to the rendition Morton collected, Dokis's four normal children were fathered by Okonomwaun, while her two affected children were fathered by Isoahpahu. This is "proven" by their apparently excellent, and decidedly ghost-like, night vision.

When a delegation of missionaries came from the well-established Ponape mission during the reign of Okonomwaun, the Nahmwarki refused to let them begin a mission on Pingelap. Isoahpahu was residing with Okonomwaun at the time, and we are told that he influenced the Nahmwarki in this decision. The following year the missionaries sent a Ponapean named Berengis to Pingelap. Okonomwaun maintained his position against the church. After Okonomwaun died, Iengiringir permitted the Ponapean to live on the island. Berengis was later accused of fathering a Pingelapese child, and he was consequently banished.

According to present-day church leaders, in 1869 five Pingelapese men went to work as apprentices to the missionaries at Rohnkitti, Ponape. Their names were Domas, Depis, Widwei, Kieseke, and Deniel. In 1872 when the missionaries went to Owa, they sent the five Pingelapese back to Pingelap to ask Iengiringir for permission to begin teaching Christianity. According to the Christians who tell the story, this king was not encumbered by the *eni*, Isoahpahu, who earlier had influenced Okonomwaun against accepting them. He readily agreed to the plan and greeted them warmly. They immediately

baptized him Solomon.

At that time polygamy was practiced, and when the new missionaries reached Pingelap, the young women showed their interest in them immediately. Although they are said to have been anxious to pursue these women, they decided it imprudent of them to do so before beginning their work. After accomplishing some good work, they reasoned, God would surely help them. Accordingly, they called all the people together at Mweniap, where they held a worship service. After the service (*serawi*), a young boy named Samuel climbed up a nearby coconut tree to pick nuts for the thirsty men. The people warned the boy to be careful, for always in the past, ants and centipedes had bitten anyone who had approached the tree. The boy slid down the tree, unbothered by the insects, which was a sign to the people that Isoahpahu, who had inhabited the tree, was either no longer powerful or was no longer there. The people then gathered old coconut fronds and built a bonfire around the base of the tree. Supposedly, Isoahpahu was inside. Frightened by the sparks, he was driven all the way to Palikir, on the high island of Ponape, over 150 miles away. With the coming of the missionaries, it is said, room no longer existed for heathen spirits on Pingelap.

Isoahpahu was the *eni* of Mweniap. *Eni* also inhabited the other sections (*pwehkil*) of the atoll. Lisokosok and her children lived in Mweniap. The missionaries went there, and the daughter, Liede, would not let them eat *par* (coconut apple), although the tasty fruit was plentiful. She claimed

that her mother would become very angry. There was a large rock that she said was so deeply embedded in the earth that no man could move it. When the missionaries boldly and effortlessly picked it up and moved it, Lieden suddenly fainted. Although the people were certain that she would die, the missionaries quickly restored her consciousness. They never encountered Lisokosok.

The group went on to Mweimok, where the *eni* Nahwihlip lived. This was a dangerous place. If people happened to go too close to a certain rock there, they would die. Depis first knelt in prayer. Then, he walked over to this tabu rock and picked it up. He built a fire next to it. As the rock burned, the *eni* fled from Pingelap.

Next, the missionaries reached Peruku, the home of the *eni* Rurahri, who lived in the soil but could not be heard. Often Isoahpahu came from Mweniap to chat with Rurahi, whose son, Selipwomus, lived on the beach. The boy heard the strange incantations of the missionaries, and he started to cry. He feared that they would kill his mother. When Depis and his group began building a fire, Selipwomwus became an *eni* and entered the ground. While the missionaries were busy tending their fire, Rurahi took Selipwomwus by the hand and led him away from Pingelap, probably to the Mortlocks, they say.

Finally, the missionaries went out to Sukoru, the smallest island inside Pingelap's reef. It was said that if people went there, the *eni* Nahlialpung would come down out of his

tree, eat them, and at night a fire in that tree would show that he was feasting. Domas and his colleagues sat under the tree and prayed. There was a great deal of movement and noise within the hole in the tree. The men continued their prayers, gathered palm fronds, stuffed them in the hole, and lit fire to the tree. Nahliapung leaped out of the hole and fled. Every *eni* on Sukoru left that evening. Seinihsed and Ele were sleeping on Sukoru and heard the *eni* crying, "Where can we go?"

Satisfied that they had at once seen the whole atoll and had rid it of *eni*, the missionaries under Domas returned to Pingelap. They agreed somewhat reluctantly that a Christian life on Pingelap would require that they limit themselves to one wife each. Later, Domas was visiting the village of Peh-leng on Ponape and heard that Isoahpahu had resumed human form there and was living at Palikir with a woman. Domas went to Palikir to meet Isoahpahu, who asked why Domas had banished him from Pingelap. Domas reminded the *eni* that he had tried in vain to convert him, and that Isoahpahu's response had been that *eni* do not like prayers. He then had fled to Ponape. During the Sokehs rebellion in 1910, Isoahpahu followed his woman to Yap, where she died. He is said to remain under a hill there today.

Clearly, no Pingelapese intended to leave the impression that Isoahpahu was utterly destroyed by Christianity. Rather, he was reconstituted into human form and removed from a scene where his destruction, symbolically or fictively, would have

eventually followed. Likewise, his current status as a quietistic and dormant spirit in far-away Yap is somewhat akin to that of a monarch in exile. Isoahpahu, it seems, is in abeyance. His value is plain; he represents a rationalization of *dissonant behavior* and a secondary, larger, though imaginary, reality, one richer in detail and action than daily life usually proves to be. Whether or not chance ever causes the event to occur, Isoahpahu is nevertheless available for rescucitation when an appearance by the *eni* becomes either convenient or necessary.

CONCLUSION

The portions of Pingelap's history and folk literature presented in this study are doubtless representative of the surviving information about traditional Pingelap. This work is not comprehensive, nor is it the entirety of historical information on Pingelap. It presents, however, many unpublished oral traditions, fragilely preserved, of the atoll. It is unlikely that anything dissimilar to the narratives presented in this work will ever come to light.

The element of the fantastic is largely lacking in these narratives. The telling and the form of the stories are not highly conventionalized. The stories, in fact, reveal the typical personality aspects of the Pingelapese, who are unpossessed by an antic imagination and who are rooted rather firmly in the world of material reality.

Perhaps this record will move the people who know Pingelapese culture best some day to correct what is presented here and to preserve their revised interpretation for the generations of Pingelapese who will be born into a society much different from that of yesterday and today.

APPENDIX

The material included in this appendix is "*Duen Tapida en Wein Pingelap*" [How Pingelap Began"], which is a legendary history of Pingelap atoll in the Eastern Caroline Islands. The origin of the material is described in the Introduction, and the text itself is interpreted in Chapter II.

Professor Newton E. Morton of the University of Hawaii at Manoa deposited a copy of the original typescript of this text in the library of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum in Honolulu after his return from the 1969 field trip to Pingelap during which we first collected the material.

"*Duen Tapida en Wein Pingelap*"

Pingelap dol en pihk eu. Ari Moimok of Palialap pali riemen ira, kosang Yap oh dierada tol en piko. Ari Moimok apw mondi, a Palialap kola Kusaie, ari Moimok mondi oh kaunda Pingelap. Palialap idek rehn Moimok iah duen sahpu lel ia, lel kilin leng de soh. Ari moimok sapeng me so. Ari Moimok padakiong Palialap, "komw pahn awi ia met I pahn rapahki duen me ke inda." Ari Moimok sapengla, "Pihk pwot sang menseng lel nin sewas e lel kilileng." Ni en Moimok lel kilin leng apw tuong lih riemen, ira wa ara kopwou poutok riau. Ari ira padakiong Moimok, "Mie omw kapin war omw?" Moimok sapeng me sohte. Ari

lih oko apw kiong Moimok lapalahn kein mar. Ari war en Moimok sohte uahta kein mar on. Lih oko peling peseng oh kiong Moimok apali oh ira apali daudala nin kilin leng. Eden lih riamen et Lepout, oh Lipasapasan. Ari Moimok puredo oh padakiong Palialap me sapw sohte lel leng, de kereniong leng, pihk me mie oh sohte suhke wasa mongaror mehlel. Palialap padakiong Moimok me omwi pali me lap, ime kareda Palialap kiongki ahd eu me adaniki Pingelap. Ari sang nih ansou et Pelialap samalahr Kusaie. Ari Moimok awiawi nah seri kan me mihmi Yap. Seri silimen. Ari irail sohte lel ih. Ari Inohpas nein Palialap me lel ih sang Uap oh padahki ong Moimok me noumwi seri kan kodo mahs wereilahr. Eden nein Moimok seri silimen: Riromau, Pikepik en Eir, oh Pikepik en Epeng. Ari seri ko sohte mie karehda Moimok purela Yap. Oh a pwoud kihda Tamari. Ari wiada serepein me ede Nieri. Ari ira apw pwuredo Pingelap oh Mehla ia. Ari Neiri apw neitik iada seri pahmen, pwutak oh ede Iengir sang Eir. Serepein ko sohte sansal ederail. Lih silimen oko me wiahda tohn wein Pingelap. Ari Iengir sang Eir, me irail kasapwilehda en Nanmwarki met. Ih me tepin Nanmwarki en Pingelap. Ari ah pwoud kihda Langedi, oh Langedi neitik ong Iengir sang Eir. Pwutak emen ede Kapene. Ari en Kapene pwoud Lienme. Ari Liekemahu ahpw wiahda nanmarki Ieneikas. Ari en Ienekas ah pawoud Lilok. Ari Lilok apw wiahda Isopahu. Ari Isopahu saikinte pwopwoud de onop. Apw kohla nin Deke oh alehda emen lih ko apw ah pahpa inda ong ih, "Lih, dahkot me?" Ansou oh Isopahu apw mehla. Ari Inenikas mahuki kohla kilang nein Pwunguhnglang serepein a diarada me ngen en Isopahu kemehla lio, oh

waikilong pahn takai ehu. Ansou oh me Ihlok tapida wiawi Pingelap. Ihme karehda irail sohte saripedi Isaphu, oh Naliamaise. Ansou me ihlok wiawiwi me Inenikas pil mehla. Ari Inenikas peki rehn Nakelam oh Masamol, ira en kilang ede apw peila. Sang ansou oh sohla kaunparail, oh irail kin kang, kang song en "wan mon," duete dipop ape. Lel ohl emen kosang Kusaie ede Mwunge Samorou. Ari ansou me Mwunge Samorou apw kilang me sohlar arail kaun. Apw mwondi rerail oh wiahla nanmarki, oh mimi ki sounpar paieu. Ari Akakailok kosang Kusaie kohdihdo oh padakiong Akakailak me en pwurela oh wahdo Sahu en Welang. Ari Sahu apw wa pwoud oh na seri koaros 14. Ari nah pwukak laud ede Saue. Ah Saue pwopwoud. Oh ih me pil wiahla nanmwarki en Pingelap. Ari Mwunge Samorou pil pwurela Kusaie. Ih ansou oh me mehn Kusaie ahpw kaparaparla PIngelap. Ah Sahu wiahda Saue oh Saue wiahda Naniok. Oh Naniok wiahda Nawedil. Ari Nawedil sohte nanmarki. Irail inda en nanmarki ah e kahng pwe dene ede "Dapwenkasala." Ari Naneken lel mehla, ari mwurin met Mesou uhd wiahla nanmarki, nein rien ah papa li wiahda Mesou. Ari melahn Mesou, liet me kangala. Ari nah pwutak emen uhd nanmarki ede Sahu Nataura. Nanmarki menet inenin kemehla aramas tohto. Pwe iet kahrepe. Ma e kilang aramas weir mwahng oh dou uhpw ape. eri e udahn kemehla irail. Ari mwuri nah pwutak emen ede Mwasoudue ahpw ud weliandi ih. Ahpw kaunda mwurin ah pahpa Sahu Nataura mehla oh Mwasoudue mehla nah pwutak Manakasa uhd wiahla nanmarki. Ari Manakasa mehla, Utinenek uhd weliandi ah pahpa, ari Utinenek nanmarki kalek pwheu. Isopahu apw kising ahn nanmarki a pwoud apw pihr kila rehn Makatue oh irail

wahdo Makadue Mweniap oh werein ah kaunda, kalek 14, apw pwurela rehn Utinenek uhd nanmarki. Ari Utinenek mehla nah pwutak Ikokepel uhd wiahla Ewa. Ime kaimwsek en men Kusaie pohn Pingelap. Ari ikokepel apw pwoudkida emen lih en Pingelap ede Liokosang oh e wia ong pwutak emen ede Ikosia me weliandi Ikokopel ah pahpa. Ari Ikosia sohte nanmarki, Semenue me uhd nanmarki. Semenue nain Poia. Semenue nanmarki ki kalek riesek, eh kola oh padakiong ria Mwauuele, me Mwauuele pahn weliandi ih. Oh epil mwahuki Wadek-pene en uhd weliand ih. Ari ih weliandi Mwanenised. Werenounpong wiahla nanmarki. Ohl menet ah pahpa Mwahuele. Ari Wadek pene mehla. Ah nah pwutak Okoamwahu uhd nanmarki, ohl menet nanmarki ki 48 kalek oh mehla, oh ime karhda eh masani ki me, "Ngei Mwei Kos." Mwurin met nanmarki Salomon e kaun ki par 37 oh mehla. Nanmarki Sapenepar kaun ki pahr 43 oh ih me sapwuleme pwutak Dickosalomon uhd kaunda. Dickosalomon mehla. Ah nanmarki Dens uhd kaunda lel rahn wet.

II. Duen Nanmarki Kan en Wein Pingelap Sang Mwohn Nahlik

1. Nanmarki Iengirsang Eir--sohte kosoi pe.
2. Nanmarki Kaupene--ih nanmarki me wiahda lehpwel nan Pingelap. Ari mwein king menet Luken Epeng oh Lapwue akamain pene. Ari Luken Epeng kemela Lapwue. Ari pwihn en Lapwue inda me pwihn en Luken Epeng sohte kanarail. Ah irail inda me ia duen sohte kanat pwehki seh kehlail sang komwail. Ihme karda King Kaupene mahsani, me mwahu, komwail en wie kepwe pene. Ari mehn Lepeir kohla wie kepwe Likinepeng. Ah mehn Likinepeng kohla

wie kepwe Lepeir. Ari mehn Likinepeng me pwaida, nih wie kepwe. Pwehki arail wod oh kipar me tohto sang en mehn Lepeir. Karada King Kaupene mahsani komwail sohte kak ong mehn Likinepeng. Met nih mwein King Kaupene.

3. Nanmarki Pakispok--Ihme diaradalihmen me ede Kosidohle. Lih menet nain mwas emen. Ah Pokispok men pwoudki ih. Ari Kosidohle inda, me eh kilisou, de sohte ah likou. Ari nanmarki inda me iet amw likou. Ari kareda lih oh nih ah lel nan kanihmw, tohn Pingelap inenin popohl ki pwehki lih o duehte ling-an en sounpwong. Ari en Kosidohle ah nohno apw likiliwerih Kosidohle. Ahpw tapida limwadek kohkohdo nan sed kainene en kanihmw, ahpw likiwer ih Kosidohle, oh pil ned pwohn Kosidohle. E pil kokohdo oh lel Mwaniap. Ih wasa me eh diarada nah serepein Kosidohle. Ari Kosidohle indang ah nohno, "Da me ke pahn wia?" Ari mwahs oh de ah nohno, sapengki me ih awi awi uk, ansou reirei kareda ih pwaredo. Ari Kosidohle apw karehla ah nohno, (mwahs oh) rehn nanmarki. Ari nanmarki apw kiong ih nan imwen peng, pwe imwen ani tikitik sang imwen peng. Ari mih ah mih nan ihmwo o, ihmwo inenin direkihla wen reirei en mwahso. Mwurin met irail kamadipw. Kaieu Pwekil Peruki manda apw sohte mehkot mie. Mwuri Pwekil Kakahlia. Kesilu pwekil Peisik. Kapahieu pwekil Mweniap kamadipw wet song tein arail wia apw sohte mehkot lue ni kepwe en kamadipwo. Ari manda ni menseng Kosidohle wia ah (dor). Ah nanmarki apw mwasahni me sohte aramas wasao. Ari nanmarki o kilang lang mwahso, ari mwahso inda, "Wawang in mesen kaurapas." Ari nanmarkio apw lipwong masala. Ahpw mwuri, epil mwahular, oh eh mahsani, Kitail

pahn isikala mwahs menet. Ari irail ahpw kihpene pahini oh isikala mwahso. Ari nih ansou o Kosidohle nan Air, ari manakahr kis lel pahn kepehn Kosidohle, ahpw e pehmada me ah nohno-O melahr. Ahpw tangala nahn kisinieio ahpw iang mehla.

B. Pil Nih Mwein King Pakispok Nanlaimw nain Rokum o serepein men Litokrengereng. Ari eh mwahuki pwoudki. Ari lio sapeng me mwahu. Ari kita sohte pahn kouson nan kanihm serepein o me inda. Ari serepein o indahng ah pwoudo, "Kom pahn wiahda imwata pahn pwoar wet." Mwuri ih apw liseianda serepain men. Ari nih ara pahn kohla dodohk, Rokum o pahn lang oh kiong seri o nan ahng oh kin inda: "Ngih rairai ngih rairai pangido Lisok, Lisok, Lisok, rengreng." Ni ansou me Nalaimw masani, a inda kaleke ke pene rokum-o wa seri-o kohkola. Nanlaimw weir wasao oh lio kohdo rong ngil en seri-o pil salongdi (dilidi) nan pwel. Nanlaimw weir pwehl oh sohte diar ih apw mehla.

C. Nih Mwein King Pakispok. Nanapas nih ansou e kohsang nan lehpwel ih kohla nan sehd oh diarada kutohr eu o i wahda oh i kohla pwilikihdi ong nan were wahr pwot. Ah manda rahn eu ahpw pwurela nan sed ahpw diar seri men nan wahro, aphw wahdo oh kieng Pasepei, pwe sohte naira seri. Ari eden seri o Nisosol. Ari Nanapas apwapwali lel serepein-o laudlahr, ari milakai ohl mwahuki pwoudki. Ari Nanapas masani, ma ohl emen me mwahuki pwoudki a en sohte wiawi, ah en mwei ong ie. Ari lio sohte pwopwoud lel a liseionda oh wiahda pputak emen, ade Selepas. Ari mwuri Nanmarki Pokispok mahsani, kitail pahn kohla oh mawin wet lih oh ohl kohla mahwian. Ari nahnapas oh a pwoud oh nah

seri riamen nisosol oh Salapas. Ari nih arail seisei kohla, Pasepei oh Selepas onon. Nahnapas oh Nisosol me seisei. Ari Pasepei kilang da lingan en mahn men pipihr pahn mwoten lahng. A inda, "A inda, "I apw men kapwatki win en mahn oh kerikida Ponape." Selepas ahpw pihrda oh koledi mahn pihr-o. Ah Nahn-a pas apw inda ong Pasepei, sei, kita pahn wahda rong en polo peida, irail lel irail awiawi Nahnapas. Nahnapas ahpw kadarda Selepas oh lel pahn dol en Daman, wasao ohl kehlail kei mie Selepas ahpw kesinenda (nanpwungarail e kesihnenda) pohn takai eu. Ari Isokelekel ahpw inda ong Soukampwul, kemehla aramas sakanakan menet. Ari Selepas koledi Soukampwul oh kemehla, oh kihsang sihdokios pwot ncn monge, oh kihsang pworen mesen Soukampwul pali koaros, ari nih ansou o irail ahpw tang, ari Selepas inda komwail kohdo I pahn wiala noumwail seri. Ari polo koaros pwuredo Pingelap. A Selepas te me mihmi Ponape. Ari mwurin arail pwuredo Pingelap, irail ahpw diarada nein Liok pwutak emen Pepepnmot. Ikilahm diarada nein Liok, a kin kohkohseli nan Likinepeng, oh kin kihsang kenen aramas mwenge, de pahn rukuruk seli nan Likinepeng. Ari eu rahn lih en Kah-kalia kei ahpw lemehda irail pahn kohla kilang. Ari ahpw koh-la uhmw oh laid, ari nih arail wokahda arail uhmw, ah e pwarda irail ahpw pei ong ih. Lih oko kemehla Pepenmot, salipene kep-pin wore oh kemela.

D. Nih Mwein Paskispok. Nahneken diarada Lisoponuot pohn lipw en Deuenmwas. Ari lio kilangada Naneken oh dilidi. Mwuri rahn kariapak e sohte diar. Ari rahn kasilu, eh lemehda me epahn kohla pangineki kisin mwenge. Keieu rahn e pahneki uht.

Kariaun rahn sawa del uht. Rahn kasilu mai mat ih ansou me pwuredo ah Nanaken apw parokedi. Oh Naneken apw inda, "Kita pahn pwopwoud." Li o ahpw inda, "Iaduen ai kilisouo." Naneken mahsani, iet omw likou. Ari Naneken ahpw karhla nih imwe oh didhda imwe, pwe lio endeher kohseli, oh sohte kak peikiong mahsenen Pakispok. Lel en Walapat a kandip di pohra. Ih ansou me Naneken ahpw kohla iang kamadipw.

4. Duen Nanmarki Inenikas

Nih mwein nanmarki menet, sohte kosoi pe mie. A iet me wiawi, leng lapalap, oh nah pwutak mehla oh i pil mehla nih ansou leng lapalap.

5. Nih Mwein King Mwungesamorou. (Kaieun nanmwarki mwurin Nahlik) Nanmarki menet sohte kosoi pe a iet duen me wiawi, e kohsang Kusaie ari Pali Waela me idando Pingelap. Ari ni a lel Pingelap, a e kilang me sohte kaun en Pinelap, apw lemeda en daunda irail. Ahpw kaunda irail lel par 4. Eh ineo ong Waela ma kom pwuredo, kom pahn was Sahu pwuredo. Ari eh kohla oh wahdo, Sahu ah pwoud, oh nah seri ehk pahmen (14). Ari en Sahu ah pwoud pil liseiandahr, met nain Sahu pwutak me kaieu laud, nih arail lel Pingelap, irail ahpw wahla Mungesamworou Kusaie, ari Sahu uhd nanmarki en Pingelap lel ah pwoula.

6. Nanmarki Sahu. Ohl menet sohte kosoi pe lel a pwoula.

7. Nih Mwein Nanmarki Saue. Ohl Menet sohte nohk laud kosoipe. Iet duen me wiawi nih a mwehi. E kemehla Ikilahm, karepen ah kemela Ikilahm, pwehki a sohte mwahuki iang kamadipw me re kin knda Diraso. Ari Ikilahm dakilok oh pwuredahl Likinepeng, rehn ah pwoud, ahpw e diarada mehkot pahn lirop ahpw idek rehn ah

pwoud, a lio sohte mwekid apw pahkada oh kilangada uht eu oh pahr kei, ahpw ale oh kang, sang nih ansou ote oh apw madang mehla. Ari met kasansalehda me mehn mwein Depel sohte kin kang mehkot me kohsang rehn soulap de akai wasa. Ma kiht soh-te kilang tiahk wet, Ikilahm me kamanamanela me sohte me pahn kang me.

8. Nanmarki Naniok. Ohl menet inenin mwahu, sohte ah kainsensued, me e wiahda. A iet me e wia. E kin insenohki, nah pwutak en pwerisek. Ihme ah padahkiong ah pwoud en padahkiong Namarkap, en dodohk. Ari e sohte insenohki apw kin kaurer o ohl o kohkohseli. Ari eu rahn e apw kilikilangedi ong nan war, ahpw kilangada a mwelimwel. Ari ansou o a pahpa inda ong ih, "Om mwelimwel inenin mwahu, apw luue la ekis. Ari sang mwurin met e apw kohla rehn ohl emen me ede Kepinpwel, o idek re we- wehn me a papa inda ong ih. Ni a lel ohlo, ohlo indang "Dahme iso re pahn wia?" Ari Namarkap apw sapeng me "Kom so ese lepin lakaia me Naniok indaong ie?" Ari Kapinpwel ap inda, "Ia?" Ari Namarkap inda me, Naniok indang ie lepin lokaia eu adaneki "Mwelemwuel en inenin mwahu apw (luelaekis." Ari ni ansou o sohte mehkot me Namarkap inda. Namarkap apw uhda oh kohkola, pweki Kapinpwel inda ong ih me, "Kom so pohnekahke?" Ihme kareda ih pwurela oh kipene pwekil en Mwaniap, irail en kohla oh mwetihda sang Doualap lel Naserep. Irail Mwetuada o isika-da dihpw karos. Irail idok re tuhke laud. E inda e pahn wia. I ari papali uhs oh kiksang tuhke karos. Ih namarki menet me wiahda masen me adaneki Papelus.

9. Nanmarki Mesou. Ohl ment nein rien Naniok. Nanmwarki menet me mwahu oh sohte kosoipe ari e kaun ki pahr waluh (8). Ari pwoulahn ohl menet liet me kangala. Ni ansou me liet kang ala apali men Mweniap me mehla. Karos tangala oh rukuruk Pwikierek. Ari liet o koukouson ia. Ih ansou me pali Akakailok kohsang Kusaie, apw kohdo oh kereda Woulap oh kokohdo o tuong liet o Sapeningi. Ansou o liet o inda kowe Akakailok. A liet o kangala tohn Pingelap karos a irail me riemen et ete so, ari liet o inda, kohdo oh I pahn pakid nan mongomw. Ari Akakailok apw por ong oh kieng monge liet o pakid, lao liet o apw meir la, apw pil waiasang pohn kepe o kohla edip ada dal en sed eu, pwe en kadu kihla mongen lieto. Ansouo lieto inenin meir kelikila mehlel. Apw kohkola Ilik kokola Inipwol. A mier pohn pereu en Waulap apw kilangala liet o apw kokohdo, ni ari ni a lel pohn were, lieto apw lopwuk sal en wererail. Liet o apw lus dila nan sed o pako apw kangala ih. Kilelang liet o lel a mehla. Akakailok oh na kan apw pwurela nan sapw, o rapahki pene tohn Pingelap, irail apw diarada me nanmarki me mela o akai mehn pwekil Mweniap.

10. Nih Mwein Nanmarki Sau Nataura. Kosoi pen nanmarki menet inenin sakanakan. Pwehki e mwahuki kemela aramas. Ma e ilaki emen aramas en weir mwang de deu uhp ape, ari ma aramas pwaund a e pahn kemehla. Mwurin met men Delewa oh men Pingelap, irail lemehda irail en pedor. Ari kaun en men Delawa kei adaneki Dunoni, o en men Pingelap Mwakainge. Ari ni arail kopene irail inda irail en paspet. Ni ansouo Dunoni, o Mwakainge me kopene. Ari Mwakainge me kana, pweki e kesedi Dunoni pohn

pereu o wurahki pohn pereu o apw katopwe sang kili. Ari seri en Delewa inda Kereke nain Aua. Ari ni arail wahdo rehn Sau Nataura, e apw inda komwail wahdo Mwakainge, o a pahpa, kitail pahn kohla popala, mwahu sang atail pahn kamakamala. En Mwakainge a papa adaneki Liseunketak. Ari ni arail pompap kohkola nan madau, a pahpa, ah nohno, oh ria pwutak riamen apw mehla nan madau. Ari Mwakainge apw pwuredo o onon pahn tok en ni pwot pon pik en Uilies. Ari ria lio apw laloid kohda oh rapahki i, oh lao e diarada i, ong indang i, keder mihmi met, kohla nan sapata Pwikierrek pwe i pahn apwali uk. Lio wahla kia lirop o kisin mwenge. Ari wasa apw pwong i apw kokola. Ari saikinte karaiau en rahn, irail apw rongadar me Nikes kangala Sau Nataura. Ari Mwakainge apw pwuredo nan kanihmw.

11. Ni Mwein Nanmwarki Masotue. Ohl menet ni a laud lahr, i apw inau kiong na pwutak Mwanakasa ma kanengen kapehdi pahn koda sang rehn na pwutak o sohte pahn wahla nan sehd, a saripweda eu pises nan sapwom (Mwoimok) Kakalia. Oh kede kesediong di pai lao ko pahn kilang da me pahn kohda lole. Ari Maseutue madnaur, a mai pot apw wosada nan pworu. Ari ni en Maseutue a mehla maio apw wah. Ari ni en Maseutue mehla Mwanokasa uhd wiahla nanmarki. Pwe mahs en Naneken a pahpa mehla Mwanokasa uhd wiahla nanmarki. Pwe mahs en Naneken a pahpa mehla apw wiahla nanmarki. Ari mai pwot mie, me irail kin inda "peken Maseutue en Manokasa pwe ih me kawoseda."

12. Nanmarki Mwanokasa. Ohl menet me mwei mwahu. Ihmw ka-rehda men Pingelap kauaneki ohl menet Kaidehn mehn Delewa.

Pwehki a mwei inenin mwahu, oh sohte kak lipwor iong aramas, oh sohte me ese imwilahn ohl menet.

13. Ni Mwein Awa Witinenek. E kaun ki kalek 4 wehweki pahr paieu. Mwein ohl menet inenin sued. Pweki ni a ansou me a kaunda e karkariai aramas oh sohte mwenge ansouo. Lehk laud kahreda Isopaku pihr sang re o pihr la rehn Mwakatue. Ari Mwakatue apw kohdo Pingelap oh wiahla Awa. Ari e Awa ki kalek 14 apw keredi.

14. Nih Mwein Mwakatue. Aua menet inenin mwei mwahu. Aramas inenin mwei med. Ari werein a kaun kahlek 14 apw keredi.

15. Utinenek Pwurong Aua. E inenin mwau la sang ansou me e kaun mahs ni ansou me e wereiki kalek 4. Ari mwurin met e inenin mwaula oh kaun ki kalek 18. Ari mwurin met i padahki irail en kamadip me irail kin inda Diroro me wehweki kamadip en dakilok. Ari mwurin ohl Menet mwahu lel mehla.

16. Nanmarki Ikohkepel. Sohte tohto kosoi pen ohl menet. Mahs e pwoud ki men Kusaie emen. E kesela o pwoud kihda lien Pingelap men, ede Likohksang. Iet me wiawi nan a mwei. E kemehla Sikimwas, pweki e mwhuki a pwoud, kirhda e kamehla. Ari mwurin met rien Sikimwas kan apw pil mwahuki pei ong Ikohkpel. Pweki eh kemela riarail Sikimwas. Eden periano Semwenwe oh Mwaweale oh Manuse. Tepin en Sikmwas kamekamela eh mwahuki en Ikoepel pwoud. Ari apw kodo reh nipwong. Ari Ikoepel apw diereda ih o koledi ih apw dokeda paliware koko-di apw kerepeda oh lel pohn moange apw poreda oh pokidi Ikoepel. Oh kesedi Ikoepel ansou-o. Ikoepel apw idek rehn a pwoud Is ohl menet? Me non kelailki me eh ale re oh

pwudungidi ie nan lipwen mar pwe eh men kemeiela. Eh udahn
 pan kemeiehla ari sote mekot I wia ong ih. Re kipeseng nan
 kawé ari menda. Apw kipene mahs. Pwekil Mweniap kitail en
 rapaki ih. Pwe kitail en kemela. Ari irail rapaki oh sote
 diar ih. Irail diarda uhr pwot ari ni rahn kariau irail apw
 kohla oh ale uhr o, oh irail sote kak pwekeda. Ansou oh
 Sikiwas apw pwurada pwe eh lemeda eh pahn kate irail. Ni
 arail kilangada i irail apw inda "kom kodo kitail pahn mwenge."
 Ni Ansou me eh kilang uhr eh apw sipediki apali ne. Ari uhro
 apw pireda oh i apw kapaikada kodido lel nan ahl en Malakas lel
 dau Sapwokopw. I ari kokohla a irail apw pedakiong ih en kola
 kilang omw kipar wonou (6) oh kopwou paieu. I ari mimi nan
 Pwikierék lao lel rie lio apw kodo oh pedakiong I me Ikokepel
 pahn kodo oh kemela. Ari apw indaing ah nono kowei oh wado
 apwat wahr. Ari ni en wahro wesikala re apw sei kokola nan
 madau ni pwongo. Eh inoukiong irail me eh pahn lao pwong pah-
 pwong ah eh pahn pwuredo. Ani keieu eh kodo oh lel ira. Ka-
 riau en ah kodo eh kamekamela, Losomwau me kemela, eh dokadi
 I oh lusda oh lel nah madau sote me diarada i. Ari ah papa
 oh nono apw sengiseng neira seri o ah mela. Ari Isipwa apw
 pedakiong rieko kaleke komwa wiaong pwopwoudo mekot. Ari
 mwuri, ira kodo Pingelap. Ari Semenue apw inda me mwau Derek-
 la atail papa. Nei mwahki suke sapahl. Darak wet Semenue
 kiong me mau rehn a papa Poia. Poia apw kiong me sued rehn
 aramas en wei. Irail apw indada me kareda ohlo wiaki met,
 kemadipw Kedeul me nehk. Ari eh sote inda mehkot, pwe ohl
 me lalokeng oh komwad. Ari eh ansou me Semenue apw pwopwouda

apw pwoudikida Limarenpas. Ari Ikosia kin kousan Akanau apw kohla Dapuiang oh kesihnen nan wel oh sansalla ong Semenue oh ah pwoud. Ari ni ansou Lienidok apw inda dame isoa re kilikilang. Ari ni en Limarenpar rong apw kokola. Ari eu rahn ohl emen apw kodo. Iet tiak me lio wia eden ohlo Kedeul. Ni ansou me ira wia ara Kiss apw idek rehn Semenue ih tiak wet me kin wiewia. A Semenue inda ei rahn karos tiak wet inenin wiawi. Ari Kedeul apw indang Semenue kita pan eri er kow. Lel wasa pwong. Ari komw pahn wada ata mehn sar dal. Ari ma eh sote kodo ari I pahn mihmi. Ari ma ke rong se ieu lakapw ke pahn idawenla wasa me seo mie ari ni ara kasokosai lio apw pwar-sang. I ansou me Kedeul apw kokohla. Oh Kedeul padakiong ah pwaud lakapw I pahn wa eu kehs oh ke pahn wa mahr oh kita pahn kola Sukoru. Ke pahn uhmw oh ngei pahn laid. Ari lio apw inda, Dahme kahrehda kita pahn kahkola wasao?" Pweki sapwen aramas. Ari Kedeul apw indang ah pwoud, ma ke pwand I pahn kemeiukala pwe ke sese me lakapw rahn en ai pahn mela. Ari ni a kodo sang ah laid ni pwong, apw indang ah pwoud ia koue? Lio sapeng, "Ngei inimeda ekei oh ekei te liwe." Ari Kedeul apw pelehdi tehnpaini riau oh wiada kopwou riau oh dauredi uhpw oh pil mwangas oh pwuredi pahn nio oh eh kodomeda pahr ari mwuri ira mwenge. Ari ira mwenge nekier, Kedeul indaing ah pwoud kita pahn kilang mesen rahn pwe kita pahn mwe-sela. Apw indang ah pwoud Nokimo, ko pahn mimi ah ngei pahn tiong mahs seila. Ah ke pahn seido mwiri. Ari ni en Kedeul an sei kodo eh sote sei nan Leleu. Eh sei pah Keke. Pweki uen ngalangal en sehd. Ari ni a sei kodo I ari uhda pahn

were oh kasi oh poki pohn waro. Ari ni ansouo tohn Periku kilangada oh inda, "Dame olo wia kei songo pweki an mi pahn Keke?" Ari ni ansouo mur en kaudek en pwekil kan apw pokon-pene Peisik pwe irail en idek dame kareda eh wiaki song duete met Pweki I mur en kaudek men apw wiaki songen Mwomw duete met. Ari ni a weida apw koda nan Kedera irail apw indang i dame me ke se-seki. I apw indang irail komwa de lokeia pwe Menropwongoua wewen en lokaia wet. Ma aramas wia ong ie me sued ari ngei apw sote pelian iapw awiawi lao mwur a apw pelian. Ari irail apw inda ong Kedaul dame kitail pahn wia. Apw indang irail kitail pahn pwilikidi uht me mimi ni long oh kohla pei. Ari ni arail pahn mwesel Semenue inda I sohte pahn iang komwail I pahn mimi met oh awiawi Ikosia. Oh eh pil inoukiong irail komwail kowei Pahdakadak oh ilaki emen en likiwer Nanlaim oh Souel en iang komwail ma irail sote iang a komwail kemla irail. Ari Wisere inda me ngei. Ni arail mi Pohdakadak Wisere apw kohla rehn Nanlaim oh Souel apw lel ira. Ni a lel ansou Nanlaim apw inda da isoa ren wia. Wisere apw inda Menropwongua. Ari Souel rong oh indang Nanlaim iaduen irail me mimi Deke. Ari Nanlaim inda komwa ese o pwe Welin poke keipene, kodo kita iang irail kohla. Ari ni arail lel ni orohr. Ohl ekei apw sei Kasikirahn, Deperahn, Liseuak Leki, pwe semasem ieu irail me seila, kodo mesen Depwiahng, pwe irail pahn seila, nan dau, ari ni arail kohdo irail ahpw pihr pene. Irail apw kin kadar wei Nanlaim oh Sowel. Ari Isipwa me pelian Kesikirahn apw peiong oh pokisang ne. Ari Kesikirahn apw pwurela pohn wahr. Ari na pwutak Deperahn uhd

weliandi oh peiong rehn Nanlaim. Ari Nanlaim apw inda ong Deperahn. Iahd me kak matela, a Deperahn apw inda, Rahn wet i pahn tepida. Ari ni ara pihr pene Deperahn apw pokisang nehn Isipwa. Ari ni ansou o a pahpa indahlahng Deperahn kemehla kadaului la. Ari Deperahn apw sote wia I kokohla. Irail apw seila. Ari ni arail seiseila rerail apw kileng en Semenue pwekepweki Ikosia kokodi limwan Sakai Lapalap. Ari irail pokon pohn Deueilok oh awiawi Isipwa oh Laosoamwau, pwe irail leme me irail pahn kaluedi mehn Pingelap. A Ikosia pahn soese irail. Ari irail apw diarada en Semenue pwakih Ikosia apw kokodo oh irail apw inda kitail pahn kola. Ni en Semenue pwekipweki Ikosia lel pohn Deweilak apw lusda pohn weren semen Ikosia me ede Ikokepel, apw indalang Ikokopel oh kas soh me ngei pahn werkidi kowmi pweki katiata pot me ngei wada. Irail apw darekedikila likin Woas. Ari Ikokepel apw werdado rehn Semenue kowm kola oh pedakiong Isipwa en kedaredo apwot wahr. Ansouo Souel rong oh inda sote pwe Nanlaim melar oh ngei pil pahn mela. Irail apw seila pah leng. Ari Semenue ale Lesomwau kodo nan kanimw. Ari Semenue indang ekei irail Mwar en Kaudek Kedeul ape rien Nanlaim oh Souel pwutak kasili-men me mimi ah pwutak men et pahn kelail ime mwahu kitail pahn kemela Lependengek. Ari irail apw inaukipene me irail pahn kola koledi maleko me mi pohn ihmw me mi Keriadel. Ari irail apw kapwongidi apw kola. Krail apw kiong Lependengek en douda oh ale maleko. Ari ansou irail apw dokaki Lependengek kikod pwot apw sote lel i. Ari eh tangodo nan kaniwm oh ale Nanlaimw oh Souel irail apw dakeda wahr pwot kokola. Arail

pwoud lih pahmen oh seri riemen oh pwutak tikitik rien ohl
oko sote pwopwoud. Ari Nanlaim sote na seri ah Souel nah seri
riamen. Irail me kaimwisek en mehn Delewa kola paleng.

17. Ni Mwein Nanmwarki Semenue. Kosoi pen King menet me te-
piada nehk peseng sapwasapw en Pingelap. Ari ni arail pahn
pilada I, I apw inda ong irail I pahn nehk peseng sahpu ah I
pahn kesepwilda mwuhr. Ari I apw inda ong irail komwail pahn
pilada emen pahn kaunda kumwail. Ari kesepwil wet irail
kesepwileda Semenue me Aua. A Wisere me Nanawa. Ari Enekewe
pwoudiki nein Nanawa serepein. Ari rien Enekewe me Sapwul.
Enekewe sote kin wesik en kahlekla rehn Nanawa. Kareda Nanawa
indang periano komwa kokohla. Ari irail apw dakehda wahr pwot
kokohla lao was pwong ira apw pwurodo oh keme Nanawa oh ira
apw pwurela paleng. Ari Nanawa mela, ah irail kiong ah pwoud
ren Semenue en pwoudiki, "kariemen en ah pwoud). Eden lio
Liesipelong, ah uhdan ah pwoud mahs Limwarenpas. Ari aramas
kan inenin kesempwal ki wiewia en Semenue oh inda ren rapa-
kido emen serepein. Ari mwurin met nein Manuse serimen apw
ipwidi apw kiong ede Alueu. Peis ue me. Ihme kareda Seme-
nue indang Mwawele kowei indang Manuse en dake were. Ari
Manuse apw dakeda were oh iangaki a pwoud oh na serepein emen
oh pil nah serepein me aputehn ipwidi me eh kiong eden Alueu.
Apw seido keredado oh tuong irail oh sote mehkot irail indang
ih. Ari pein Manuse me inda, Dame komwa isoa kan mamasani
ari sote me lokaia. Ari Semenue me inda ke peis ime kareda
ke dodo. Ari Manuse apw sapeng ei, I pahn kola Ari I mwahuki
kasale ong komwi ai peis komwail en ese pwe ngei uhdan kola.

Ohl oh seri me sote arail papa me sapwe mie. Ari ni ansoun kamadipw me sapwe mie, me so sapwe, mi nan ahl te ieu. Ari irail apw inda mehlel, me ke inda, pwe semen padahkiong Semenue apw sohte kak. Ari kom me kadehde a me mwahu. A ni ansou Semenue apw mahsani. E mwahu kitail pahn purong nehk sapw. Ih ansou li apw sapwasapwala, songen li karos, Ari ih ansou o me irail apw wadohng Smenue serepein men, ah Litu, pwehn pwolepwolong eh. Ari Semenue apw inoukiong a pwoud mehn mahsko, "Kaleke komwa ilaki lihmenet. Pwe kaiden ata pwe en mehn Pingelap. Ari ede sapwungala, ari mehn Pingelap apw kasehrehda kita." A Litu neitikiong Semenue Lieneuset. Ari nein Limarenpas ong Semenue Angongongong. Ari Limarenpas ilaki Litu ari Semenue sohte mwahuki, karehda e pirehdi wore. Ari Litu kapwaiada en Limarenpas a ilak oh kola idip pihl, me mi Sipwen Inkepwihte. Ari Semenue apw lipwor ong lanko, lao mwuri apw pein raphakila Litu, ni a lel ren Litu, apw indang Litu, menda ke kapwaiada en lih oko arail ilak. Pwehki i sohte mwahuki ken wia dodohk. Ni ansou en omw depwedepw ngehi me pahn idip om pihl. Semenue inda ong, "Ke sohte pahn dodohk, ma irail me ilaki uk. A ma ngei me ilaki uk a ke pahn wia." Ari Litu apw indahng, "Kanamenek." Semenue apw inda, "A kese ke pahn dudu a ngei idip om pihl. A menda ke dodok a ke ken wia." Ari mwurin met Limarenpas apw pwaredo oh wering di ira, apw inda, "Dahme komwa wiewia ansou?" Litu apw tang. Ari Limarenpas apw pwupedi nan pwehl oh kesesang a likou. Ari Semenue apw pil kiong a epil kapwuresang. Semenue apw lemeda a wiewia ihme kareda e ahklapalap ki. Ih eri kesedi Limarenpas.

Oh kohkola. Ari ni en Semenue kokola lio apw pwareda oh lio kilang lang mwurin Semenue oh ih alialu kekodo lemeda en lusiamela pwe sote sohu ai men. I en kowei re apw lusiamela pwe sote sohu ai men. I en kowei re apw lusiamela pahn en Ikokepel ah mahi me mi Depwiahng. Ari ni en Semenue kosang lio eh kodo oh mimi Peisik. Ekis werei apw indang Lisopal-ong en kola kilang Paspei. Se kodo ari eh pwand en kodido. Ari Lisopalang apw kola oh diarada me Limwarenpas lusiamela. I ari sote sair oh kodo padakiong Semenue me lio lusiamela. Semenuhwe apw Leser nah Aip irail apw pokon pene apw inda, "Komwail lopuk ong were oh komwail kate waro pwe en ola." Ari irail kate lao waro ola. A Imwen kero me luedi irail apw wala oh Erekaikeila I nan lamw. Ari mwurin arail pwurodo tohn Pingelap apw pil mwauki welianda lio pwe irail en pil silimen. Ari Semenuhwe sote mwahki pwe Litu pahn insensued ma lamalam wet pah wiawi. Ari Semenue apw inda me mwau I pahn kohla laid pwong wet. Ari Liospwolong apw indang Semenue komw pahn sote laid. Ari Semenue sote mwauki. I pahn laidiada emen mwamw lioko en tungole. Ari apw laid lao lel ni menseng apw pwurodo apw inenin koledi kidalap en mwamw. Ari I apw indang lio en inameda emen mwamw seriko en kang. Ari ansou me kisin ai saik mwole Angongong apw kiong kene mwamw pohn aio. Ari Liosपालong kesesang. Ari ni en Semenue apw rong apw inda dame komwa wiaong ih. Ari Likemwau apw indang Smeneue me Liosपालong kesesang kenerail mwamw nan kisin aio. Ari Semenue apw indang Litu, "Apwalih seri kan nein Pasepei." Ari ni ansou o Liosपालong rong masen wet eh

ngalis pene lewe oh mela. Ari Semenue apw pikir na aip a irail apw pokon pene komwail wado wahr. Ari kaleke komwa kate waro oh komwail kaneiong lio oh wawei Erekaikeila ih. Ari ni arail nekidala Liospwalong irail apw kodo oh indang Semenue me en pwoudki emen lih welipen Liospwalo. Ari Semenue inda ieremen eh Mwauer pwe Litu pahn kelehp. Pwe lioko mekihlahr insensued. Ari mwerin met tohn Pingelap apw pwekiala Angongon. Ari Semenue apw somwauda. Eden song somwau Pweisangedalwa. Ari ah somwauda paw kapokon pene tohn Pingepal oh pedakiong irail ma ngei pahn mela a kilel pei pahn mi remwail, met weliei. Ari ni ansoun a mela apw langada eden lengo Lengkieki. Ari ni pwongo takai laudo apw ludado pohn pereu. Ari iral karos pokon pene Pon Dakadok oh rong ngil en takai oh likamwete perar nan sapw. Ari irail apw indang Mwawele, "Kom peki mato." Ari Mwawele apw peki Masa-mol Nahkelam mwirin pekipek wet eh mwelela. Manda irail apw kilang takaio uhda pohn pereu. Ari mwirin Semenue mela. Ari Isopau apw sokala pohn Mwawele I ansou o me eh wiala nanmwarki.

18. Ni Mwein Nanmarki Mawele. Ni mwein ohl menet solar kisin mwenge. Ari re kola nan welin Namahl pwe ma aramas mela sote me pahn saripedi irail. I me Mawele masani pwe solar kisin mwenge. Mawele masani menseng koaros aramas me kelail kan ren kola rapaki pes oh dipoap oh wado irail en kang. Ari eu menseng ohl riemen pirida edera Pwekileman oh Soukipar. Irail lemeda oh nan pwungarail dahme re pahn wia. Ari Pwekileman apw inda kita pahn kola pang Widir. Ari Soukipar apw inda dame kita pahn pahniki. Ah ohl teio apw inda kita kola rapaki.

Ari ira kosang Mweimoak kakahlek oh kokola pali eir. Ari sote pahn ira diar. A ira diarada wades a ira kiong ni ara kehs oh ira kola laid oh ira inenin saikan melel rahno. Ari ira laid oh wado audepen ara kopwou riau. Rahn keriau ira wiada kopwou weneu (6) ari mwirin ara pwur kasilu. Pwekilemen ari lipwungmas pweki ah men mwenge Wasa me ira Pang ede Nah Nein Wasai Wilies. Ari Soukipur kidi olo mesen pwik apw kodo nan sapw apw kilang inenin amiuminla melel apw ele amuime keieu laud eh pele oh kiong rehn Pwekilemen. Ari Pekilemen apw kehnda wasa oh inda Soukipar kom kiong is met. Soukipar inda kom de lokelokea pwe mour inenin laud. Ari Pwekilemen indang Soukipar kida pahn saunda ekis kisin ai pwe I pahn kola wado Ua kita pahn sali ki. Ari Pwekilemen inda soh. I pahn iang wei pwe I pahn kilang oh kelailda oh kita pahn pwurodo oh inemada mwamw. Ari Soukipar indang Pwekilemen ni ai kilangda, I sote mwenge. Ari ansou wet I insenwmaula. Ari mwirin met ira patpene oh kola. Ni ara kola ira diarada mahi pwot wasa me ira mimi adaneki Epeneka oh Willies ira sohte kola Naserep ira mimite wasao. Ari ni ara diarada maio oh Soukipar daur edi oh kisang mahi 140. Ari ni ara pwurala ni oapoar Pwekilemen indang Soukipar kita pahn inemeda mahiko. Ari Soukipar inda ke leme eh pahn leo. Pwekilemen inda ma eh sote leu ah kita pahn wala rehn Mwawele en alokela oh pahn kang. A kita pahn selien Ao te a kita wala mahi ko rehn Mwawele. Ari mwiri ira apw sounda ara ai. Emen sounda raiau. Ari ira inemeda ara mahi oh mwamw. Ari Soukipar indang Pwekilemen kita pahn wala mahs en kilang. Ari mwuri ira inin ira apw dou uhpw oh

pada kopwou weneu riau en Awa oh en Leiden eu. Audepen kopwou pwukat uhpw, mahi, mwamw. Ari ira dou ahpw oh sote dauredi me toto ira dauredi me 16 en Awa 10 oh ara 4 en Leneni 2. Ari Pwekilemen inda kita sote pahn mwenge. Kita pahn kohla mwondi rehn Lenen pwe pwohn mwenge ned pwe Awa en ned pwoh esa mwenge. Soukipar apw inda iaduen ai men mwengedar. Mwau kita kokola pwe Awa en kilang mwau ari ansouo sote ihmw. Met i kin Kausok nahn sikasek. Awa, Pwekilemen, Soukipar, Lenen irail kausan nan ihmw te ieu pil en Mwahwele pwoud lih riemen Ni ara lel ni imwerail Soukipar oh Pwekilemen langada en Awa kopwu riau nahn dewira irail silimen apw mwenge. Ni arail silimen nehk silimen peseng mwenge Pwekilemen apw indang Lenen kitail pahn wendi oh ke pahn paukida ipahs en pwahtail oh ke pahn kilikilang irail ma en Awa oh ah pwoud pwar apw indang oloko me ira kokohdo. Oloko apw indang Lenen wandi pwe ihmw me irail me loale e peian sapw. Ari Awa mi apali oh irail mi apali. Ari ni en Mwaweale ah kodo apw pedelong ong nahn perehn oloko apw indang irail dame komwail onon ki oh sote iang sukpas oh sote woke la komwa nah Namahl. Liwaidak apw indang Awa dame ke lakelakeiong kiong irail kom sote kilang poseunman pwi likamweda ira inenin med. Kapeden Lenen inenin welek. Ari ni en Awa a pidelong ong nahn ah pere apw ned pwohn mwenge apw inda Pwohn Mwau in Sapw. Lenen apw indang Awa kom kilangada omw Mwesel wa peida. Ari Awa masani dame kareda iraik pele paini. Ari Lenen inda sapweu lepeir inenin mwingidi eken kepwe. Mwaweale apw inda kepwe pwukat pahn onon awiawi aramas kei me sakusuk pes irail en kodo

kitail en kilang mahs apw mweseli. Ari ni arail apw pokon pene Mwaweles apw pedakiong irail komwail pahn pwurala nan omwail sapw oh repaki mwenge ari sapw lepeir sote me pahn kola ie. SOukipar oh Pwekilemen te me pahn kola oh wado kepwen sapwo kitail pahn kang ah komwail pahn koowei Deke oh Likin Epeng oh wado Mwenge. Ma komwail diar nahn omwal sapw mwenge a komwail wado. Ari komwail ese ansou wet kitail sote pahn kawela mwahl kepwe met kesansaleda me mwein ohl menet inenin mwahu. Ohl menet mourki kalek 30 oh ohl menet inenin pesengenpwel oh eh sote akalap lel mehla en ohl menet ah pwoud Liwaidak. Ari nain Liwaidak Mwahnenised.

19. Nanmarki Mwansnised. Sote kosoipen ohl menet. Ari ah papa Mwaweles oh a nono Liwaidak. Eden ah pwoud Lieneused. Ari Lih menet neitikiong Mwahnenised pwutak 7 oh serepein 3. Ime kareda Mwahnenised masani, "Ngei me silepen Pingelap" irail indang dame komw masaniki silepen Pingelap. Ari Mwahnenised isote indangki kelail de kapwepwi. A I kapweiada sou Sarawi Pingelap. Ari ohl menet kaunki kalek 24 apw mela pahn nen apw ilek la rehn Saken en kodo Ewa. Ari Lieneused apw inda me Saken saikinte pwoaloapwoaldi enewa ani en Meniap kangela. I me kareda e ilekla rehn Wadekpene rie me tik sang I en weliandi. Ari Wadekpene kodo ari ansouo Wadekpene, Nanawa, ari ni ansou Mwahnenised indang Wadekpene ke pahn Awa da. Ari Wadekpene apw indang I aiduen pwe ngei me semwemwe en wiahla Awa. Ari Mwanised inda ia Pweikeles. Ime pahn upa kowe. Ari Wadekpene apw inda Sepenemwar en kokola. Ari met apw padakiong irail Saken pahn weliandi Nanawa. Ari Okonomwahn (Mweikoas) pahn

Naneken.

20. Ni Mwein King Wadekpené. Ohl menet sote kosaípe toto ni ansou me en kesepwílda. Eh wiada kemadipw eu apw inda kitail sote pahn wia kamadipw pikipik pa rong wewe kemadipw wet kemadipw en kesepwíl. Ari eh inda ai kamadipw kitail pahn uhmw in nah sounpwoung weweki me mwahng me se ieu. Ari Pwekil karos kauda suke papot irail pwekil paieu en sote wado eu songen mwahng. Seieu te me pahn wesikdo nin tuhke. Kitail en kilang met irair en nahn ai mwei. Ari ni arail wapene arail mwahng. Ari Pwekil karos sote me irail weirada ah Pwekil Mweniap me weirada mwahnge te eu. Irail wada mwahng 40. Ari irail apw nehk peseng mwahng kan ong Pwekil karos. Ari Wadekpené apw inda Mweniap me wiada mwahng karos. Ari mwirin met eh inda ong Pweikeles ma ngei pahn mela ah kowe me pahn Awa Pweki Pweikeles upa Wadekpené. Kareda eh indang ong I en Awa. Ari ni ansou me nein Mwahnenised, Saken apw rongdeda me Wadekpené indaniong Pweikeles en Awa. Ari ansouo Sakin apw wiada peikini eu oh wadido Mweniap. Ari audenpen kino pahr (20) mwahng 1. Ari Isopau apw soula pohn Okonomwahn. Ari Wadekpené mie nan lepwel lao pwaredo ah pwoud apw indang ong I me Isipau en soula pohn Okonomwahn. Ari Wadekpené apw rongdeda apw wendi oh lipopola lao pirada ni menseng apw maskunda. I me kareda e inda ngei Weren Sounpwong. Wadekpené kalek 9 a mela.

21. Ni Mwein King Okonomwahn (Mweikos) Ohl menet kapakon pene tohn Pingelap oh pedakiong irail duen Saken me Isopau inda me eh sote pahn nanmarki pwe eh kawehla masenin Awa

pil na seri kan pil pahn Awa ma mie kedeudaken irail kak Awa ma so ah me mwau. Ari ansouo apw wiahlaking. Ari ni mwein ohl menet inenin mwau eh kaunki par 48. Ime kareda eh mas-enki me ngei me Mweikos. A iet me wiawi nahn ah mwei: pahr isuh lehk. Ari ohl menet inenin mwei mwau lelmela.

22. *Ni Mwein Nanmwarki Iengiringir (Salomon)*

Ohl menet sote kosoipe toto a iet me eh wia ah pwoud inenin toto. A pwoud me silimen emen Lieudirong, Semtel, Leueri. Ari Lieudirong saik mela ah lamalam apw parada. Apw kadarela Semetel oh Leueri oh Lieudirong te me a poud. Ari eh kaun ki nan mwei sued oh pahr (20). A nan mwein lamalam pwarada e kaun ki pahr (12). Ari Werein a kaunda lel mela par 32.

23. *Ni Mwein King Sapepar. Mwein ohl menet inenin mwau pwe eh inenin Lehn Koht oh kesempwalki rahn Sarawi pwe eh sote mwahuki aramas en mwadong de mwemweit rahn Sarawi oh pil ni ansoun kemadipw eh sote mwauki pweise en me ah eh mwahki Sounpadak te en pweisen me. Nanmwarki menet sote kin smoke sang ni ah tikitik lel mela oh ni ah wiala Awa sote eu tiak me a wiada me kainsensued ong aramas o pil ni ansoun a Awa. Mr. Doses apw ilek dong en kola ari ni a kola Mr. Doses apw ilek dong en kola ari ni a kola apw king i en wia inou en kapwodwoud damas sote wia, a ime wia dodohk wet lel ah ohl laud lahr. Ari pwain en dodohk wet Mr. Doses ari inoukiong I Mahk paieu. Pwopwo ud eu en wauneki pahn sarawi oh ni ansou me ih pahn wia kopwopwoud nan Imw Sarai. Ari ni ah mwei aramas inenin masak pweki eh inenin tiak mwau. Ihme ni ansoun kapwung sote me kak pelian I. Pweki nanmarki menet*

inenin pwung oh komwad. Ari ohl menet kaunda ni ansoun lamlam pweida Pingelap. Ari ni ansou me eh saik wiala Awa eh kisang en Mwakneusak a pwoud liemen adanki Enginaurau. Ari eh paudki limenet lel mela. Ari Enginaurau (Kesewa) wiaong I seri riemen. Pwutako ede Dickshalomon. Oh serepein o adanki Mereia oh Peloriau e ani apwali. Ari King menet kaunda par (47) ime keieu kaun werei pweki ah ohl laud la apw wiala king lel mela. Ime keieu oh lelepek sang Awa. Karos in Pingelap.

24. Ni Mwein King Dickshalomon. Nanmarki menet inenin impai oh pakong aramas tikitik a sote ak lapalap. Ari ohl menet kaunda nin mwein Christ. Oh i mware sang Samorou Momodiso. De pil keieu nanmarki pwerisok. E wiahla nanmarki nan pahr 1922 lel 1964. Ari ansou me e kaun e kola Ponape oh aleda a dodohk en sounkapwung ni ansou me Menasa wie Sounkapwung. Ari ni ansou me e wia sounkapwung Menasa sohla wia Sounkapwung. Oh epil kohla Japan, nan eh wiahla nanmwarki. Ni a mwanakapw e pwoudki lien Pingelap men oh wiaong serepein men. Oh i kesehla oh pwoudkila lien Mokil emen oh neitikiong seri wenemen. Pwutak 3 oh serepein 3.

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