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A Study of a Nineteenth Century Pohnpeian Word-List Collected by a Japanese Explorer

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Key words: Japanese, loanword, Micronesia, Pohnpeian, the Ten'yū-maru

1. Introduction

The Pohnpeian language (formerly Ponapean), one of the Nuclear Micronesian languages of the Austronesian family, is spoken by about 24,000 indigenous speakers mainly in the Pohnpei Islands of the Central Carolines, Federated States of Micronesia [ASHBY 1993:8].

In what is considered as the beginning of involvement of *Meiji* (明治) southward expansionism [PEATTIE 1988:16], the *Ten'yū-maru* (天祐丸 Heaven's Help), a 90-ton schooner with a crew of sixteen aboard, headed by *Nanto Shōkai* (南島商会 South Sea Islands Company) director, Ukichi TAGUCHI (田口卯吉) anchored off the ugly little Spanish town of Santiago del Asuncion (now Kolonia), *Ponepi-tō* 'Pohnpei Islands' on 10 September 1890, two weeks after sailing from the Palau Islands.

During their stay in Pohnpei, a native man called *Henrī Nanibe* holding the fifth (*sic*) ranking title acted as interpreter [TAGUCHI 1893: 208]. *H. Nanibe* can be identified with *Henry Nahnpei* born in 1862, whose grandfather was an English whaleman and grandmother was a Pohnpeian woman [LUELEN 1977: 116, FISCHER et al. 1977: 143].

Nantō Junkōki (南島巡航記 A Record of a Voyage to the South Sea Islands), published in 1893 as an account of Taguchi's expedition, contains information on the Pohnpeian language also [241,253-256]. For information on the Palauan language recorded in the same book, see [SAKIYAMA 1995]. But Taguchi's book was not the pioneering work on Pohnpeian. The first studies of Pohnpeian grammar and vocabulary

were written by the Rev. Luther H. Gulick, published in 1858 and 1880 respectively.

In this paper, the Pohnpeian List containing 110 words with some vocabulary cited in the contents will be studied, referring to Gulick's *Vocabulary*. The words written in *katakana* (the Japanese syllabic characters) have been romanized basically on the Hepburn system, the entries being numbered in contextual order. Unless the original

2. Word-List

	u-List		
(,	Taguchi's	Japanese	English
	scripts	meaning	meaning
1.	weichia	└─ ─」	one
2.	riyawo	Γ→ <u> </u> Γ <u></u>	two
3.	chirū	ſΞĬ	three
4.	bāwe	· <u></u>	four
5.	remawo	「五」	five
6.	wonou	污	six
7.	isshu	七	seven
8.	warō		eight
9.	chuawo	「九」	nine
10.	wejokku	[- - -]	ten
11.	weichakku	[+]	eleven
12.	weichukku wejokku-riyawo	[+=]	twelve
13.	•	'	twenty
13. 14.	riwei jokku	\ —	thirty
15.	chiri jokku	' <u></u>	·
	bāi jokku	「四十」 「五十」	forty
16.	rimai jokku	五十」	fifty
17.	wonoi jokku	「六十」	sixty
18.	injokku	「七十」	seventy
19.	warui jokku	「八十」	eighty
20.	tsuwai jokku	「九十」	ninety
21.	weoboka	「頁」、、	hundred
22.	kacherēdo	「今日は」	How are you?
23.	chawodakkumā	「左様なら」	goodbye
24.	ranchui	「今日」	today
25.	rakappu	「明日」	tomorrow
26.	pāru	「昨日」	yesterday
27.	kīwai	「上げやう」	I'll give it.
28.	kīto	「下され」	Give it me!
29.	ko-wōto	「茲に来れ」	Come here!
30.	ko-wōwao	「往け」	Go away!
31.	puria	「朋友」	friend
32.	pāpa	[父]	father
33.	nōno	「母」	mother
34.	riai	[兄弟姉妹」	brother, sister
35.	karaimu	[大]	big
36.	chukuchuku	[小]	small
37.	māwo	[善]	good
38.	chiue	「悪」	bad
39.	rimāuke	「私は好む」	I like it.
40.	i-kā	「私は好みます」	I like it.
41.	mamunamu	「食う」	eat
42.	петири	「呑む」	drink
43.	рī	「水」	water
44.	gijiniya	「火」	fire
45.	unga	「然り」	yes
46.	iakan	「否」	no
47.	toppō	「天」	sky

meaning is retained, the Pohnpeian meaning is shown, according to the orthography employed in Rehg and Sohl's *Ponapean-English Dictionary* [1979]. In this paper Gulick's entries are compared by simplifying his system of orthography with intricate diacritical signs.

Gulick's	Modern	Pohnpeian	
entries	Pohnpeian	meaning	
 ijok	eisek	ten	1.
riau	riau	1011	2.
jilu	siluh		3.
paiu	pahieu		4.
limau	limau		5.
wonu	weneu		6.
	isuh		7.
iju walu	waluh		8.
waiu tuau	duwau		9.
	auwau eisek		10.
eijok	eisek eisek-ehu		11.
eijok eu			12.
eijok riau	eisek-riau		12. 13.
riaijok	rie-isek		
jilijok	silih-sek		14.
paijok	pah-isek		15.
limeijok	lime-isek		16.
wonijok	wene-isek		17.
ijijok	isih-sek		18.
walijok	welih-sek		19.
tuaijok	duwe-isek		20.
apuki	epwiki	, s:	21.
kajalel-ta	kaselel-da	get fine	22.
jautik mau	soutik mwahu	good evening	23.
ranuet	rahn-wet		24.
lakop	lakapw		25.
pali	? pali	day after tomorrow	26.
kiwe	kih-wei	give there	27.
kito	kih-do	give here	28.
koto	koh-do	come here	29.
	koh-wei	go there	30.
pirien	pirien	brotherhood	31.
рара	pahpa		32.
nono	nohno		33.
ri	rie-i	my sibling	34.
kalaimun	kalaimwun		35.
tikatik	tikitik		36.
mau	mwahu		37.
juit	suwed		38.
limpoka	limpoak	love	39.
iuki	iou-ki	relish	40.
mongamonga	mwenge	eat	41.
nim pil	nim-pihl	drink water	42.
pil .	pihl		43.
kijeniai	kisiniei		44.
ei	ehng	yeah	45.
i kang	i kahng	l dislike	46.
tapok	depwek	cloud	47.

48.	ā-iya	「虹」	rainbow
49.	korutoku	[日]	sun
50.	chōnupo	「月」	moon, month
51.	ichu	「星」	star
52.	shē	海」	sea
53.	chāpu	ГЩ]	mount
54.	-		_
	wāru	「舟」	boat
55.	chō	「大船」	ship
56.	parō		bird
57.	māma	[魚]	fish
58.	painu	「買ふ」	buy
59.	riwō	「銭」	money
60.	katchu	「価」	price
61.	katagōwā	「同行する」	accompany
62.	nugai	私」	Ι
63.	kanuwa	「君」	you
64.	kuiran	「彼」	he
65.	wāto	「持て来い」	Bring it!
66.	kauru	「歌ふ」	
67.			sing
	kazukku	「踊る」	dance
68.	inmu	「家」	house
69.	kete	[犬]	dog
70.	machiwei	「面」	face
71.	chumowi	「鼻」	nose
72.	warunumacha	[目]	eye
73.	magoi	「頭」	head
74.	auwai		mouth
75.	raūi	「舌」	tongue
76.	kirinawa	「唇」	lip
77.	nuki	「歯」	tooth
78.	saraka	「耳」	ear
79.	pachi	「眉毛」	eyebrow
80.	rurunumacha	「睫毛」	eyelash
81.	pūnorui	「肩」	shoulder
82.		! /月 』 「嘘 !	
83.	pāi	「腕」	arm
	sente'nubai	指	finger
84.	senteraba	「拇指」	thumb
85.	sentetotokoi	「人指指」	forefinger
86.	sente'nanopo	「中指」	middle finger
87.	sente'nananopo	「くすり指」	ring finger
88.	sentechukku	「小指」	little finger
89.	furonshabi	「背」	back
90.	maromaro	「胸」	breast
91.	chichi	「乳及乳汁」	teat, milk
92.	topintaga	「股」	thigh
93.	nūi	「臑」	leg
94.	pokiai	「膝頭」	knee
95.	patennei	「足首」	ankle
96.	chiwentenui	「足指」	toe
97.	tānnui	「足の裏」	sole of foot
98.	tapunuworui	「首級」	severed head
		目秋]	severed nead
Ranking			
99.	naniken	「王位」	the throne
100.	nanumaraku	「二位」	rank 2
101.	ōjiawe	「三位」	rank 3
102.	nōshi	「四位」	rank 4
103.	dawoku	「五位」	rank 5
104.	nanibe	「六位」	rank 6
105.	jiwōmadawo	「七位」	rank 7
106.	jiōrikki	「八位」	rank 8
	,,	ار کائٹا ک	Tallix U

aia	ahia		48.
kotoka	koadoke	top, summit	49.
jaunipong	sounpwong		50.
uju	usu		51.
jet	sehd		52.
jap	sahpw	land	53.
war	wahr	canoe	54.
jop .	sohp		55.
Jop	peluhs	bird sp.	56.
man	mwahmw	on a op.	57.
	pwain	buy, pay	58.
pwin	? luwou	bracelet	59.
		worth	60.
	katep		61.
	kita kahluwa	we guide	62.
nai	ngehi		63.
komwi	kumwa	you two	
	Kiroun	a title	64.
wato	wa-do	carry here	65.
kaul	koul		66.
	kahlek		67.
im	ihmw		68.
kiti	kidi		69.
(maja)	mese-i	my face	70.
(tumwa)	tumwe-i	my nose	71.
pwor en maja	pwoarenmas	eyeball	72.
(monga)	moang-ei	my head	73.
(auwa)	hu-i	my mouth	74.
(laua)	lahu-i	my tongue	75.
kilin auwa	kilinau		76.
ngi	ngih		77.
(jalonga)	salenge	its ear	78.
V	padi		79.
rir en maja	ririnmas	evelash	80.
tapinwora	? tepin-were	its neck	81.
(pa)	pah-i	my hand	82.
janti en pa	sendin peh	its finger	83.
janti lap	sendi-lepe	9	84.
J	?		85.
	sendi nanapwohng	middle finger	86.
	?		87.
	sendi tikitik		88.
ponjakari	pohn sowe	its back	89.
mwaramwar	mwarmware	its chest	90.
tit	dihdi	its breast	91.
tapintonga	tepin-denge	its thigh	92.
(ne)	neh-i	my leg	93.
, ,	pwukie	its knee	94.
pukian ne	<u> </u>	my foot	95.
*. *	patehn neh-i	my toe	95. 96.
janti en ne	sendin neh-i	my sole	97.
	? nan neh-i		98.
tapinwora	tepin-were	its neck	30.
			00
nanakin	Nahnken	the highest chief	99.
nanamaraki	Nahnmwarki	the highest chief	100.
wajai	Wasahi	2 nd title	101.
	Noahs	4th title	102.
tauk	Dauk	3rd title	103.
nanapei	Nahnpei	6th title	104.
•	Soumadau	a title	105.
	Soulik	a title	106.

107.	nāṇuwo	「九位」	rank 9
108.	nankurō	「十位」	rank 10
109.	nanshawo	「十一位」	rank 11
110.	manponebe	「平民」	commoner

3. Linguistic Observations

The noteworthy relationships between Pohnpeian sounds and the Japanese transcription are as follows:

The Pohnpeian /r/ and /l/ are transcribed as /r/ except 67 and 89, because Japanese has no phonemic distinction between [r] and [l].

It is observed that the Pohnpeian /s/ undergoes varying degrees of palatalization and sound like $[s^y]$. Therefore, it stands to reason that the Pohnpeian /s/ is often transcribed by ch [tf]: $cha \neq \forall (11,23,53,72,80)$, $chi \neq (1,3,14,38,70,96)$, $chu \neq \exists (51)$, $che \neq \pm (22)$ and $cho \neq \exists (50,55)$, with its voiced counterparts j [d3]: $ja \neq \forall \forall (none)$, $ji \neq (44,101,105,106)$, $ju \neq \exists (none)$, $je \neq \exists (none)$, and $jo \neq \exists (13-20)$, putting aside a small number of examples with s[s/f] such as $sa \neq (78)$, $sha \neq \forall (89,109)$, $shi \Rightarrow (102)$, $shu \Rightarrow \exists (7)$, $se \neq (83-88)$, $she \Rightarrow \exists (52)$. There are also words such as chakao written for sakau 'Piper methysticum' which is used for making kava-like alcoholic drinks, and kijiniyon for kisinioang 'Curcuma sp.' which is edible, and was reported to be used as an insect repellent oil [TAGUCHI 1893: 245-246].

Since the majority of Japanese dialects have no sound [ti] or [tu], the Pohnpeian di/ti/ is usually written as $chi \neq (79,91)$, or $te \neq (69,83-88)$ in the word medial, and du/tu/ as $chu \neq \pm (9)$, $tsu \vee (20)$, respectively. The Pohnpeian retroflexes ti/ti/ te/te/, and tu/tu/, also are written as $chu \neq \pm (36,60,71)$.

With regard to the Pohnpeian grammatical categories involved in the entries, the phenomenon of possession appears in some cases. The Pohnpeian nouns employed to express body parts, both of people and animals, as well as parts of plants and things have the possessive pronoun suffixed directly to the noun, as in *ine-\varphi* (zero-morph) 'his or her mother,' parallel to *ine-i* 'my mother,' *ine-mw* 'your mother' with suffixes attached to the unpossessed (or free) form *ihn* 'mother,' etc. The same examples are found in 34,70,71,73-75,78,81-83, and 89-98. Informants are usually apt to respond with a concrete form instead of the indefinite form. Gulick's entries for 70,71, 73-75,78,82, and 93 are given in the unpossessed forms. See also note for 54.

Pohnpeian has several directional suffixes which are characteristic of the Oceanic

Nahnawa	5th title	107.
Nahn Kirou	a title	108.
Nahnsou	a title	109.
Nahn Pohnpei	a title	110.

languages. Only two of them are found in this List: -do affixed to verbs of motion with the meaning 'here, by me' (28,29,65) and -wei to verbs of motion with the meaning 'there, by you' (27,30).

It is known that in Pohnpeian the use of honorific speech is tied to the rank of titles. But it seems that such a differentiation is not reflected in the List, and all entries are shown by the common language form. Similarly the Japanese honorific phrases like 27,28, and 40 do not correspond with the Pohnpeian honorific expressions.

4. Annotations

- 1. This entry represents 'ten' incorrectly. See also 10. 'One' should be eh-.
- 22. The sufix -da indicates the onset of a state. The present 'formal greeting' kaselehlie is derived from kaselel 'precious' + -ie 'superlative suffix,' which originally means 'the most precious.'
- 26. *Pāru* is unclear. This may be close to *peilah* phonetically, which has a symmetrical meaning: 'two days after tomorrow' or 'two days before yesterday,' but 'yesterday' is said *aio*, and *peilah* (*en daken aio*) means 'two days before yesterday.'
 - 39. Gulick gives the meaning 'a term of endearment.'
- 40. The suffix -ki is used to make adjectives into transitive verbs. This sentence is written in the polite style, as opposed to 39 in the plain style with the same meaning.
 - 42. This item was elicited by showing the action of drinking water.
- 47,49. These items were evidently answered by mistake. 'Sky' should be *lahng*, and 'sun' *ketiping*.

Japanese ten 「天」 'sky' was borrowed to indicate a position deng, as opposed to another position naisi 'homeland' (from Japanese naichi 「内地」), in the marble game anaire brought in from a Japanese game anaire 「六入れ」.

- 50. Etymologically, sou-n 'time (-of)'+pwohng 'night.' Another word maram means 'moonlight, the moon.'
- 54. The traditional canoe with the outrigger cannot be seen anymore, instead, all kinds of Japanese boats have been brought in with vocabularies such as *ransi* 'launch' (ranchi 「ランチ」), pwoampwoamw 'boat with hot-bulb engine' (ponpon-sen 「ほんぱん

船」), demma 'lighter' (tenma-sen「天馬船」), daiasu 'boat made of steel' (Daihatsu「大発」, a Japanese engine-company), etc. But, wahr is now used as a categorical classifier for vehicles as is in were-n nansapw 'lit. canoe-of on land = car.' Further, when the relationship between the possessor and the thing possessed is considered to be 'inalienable,' were sidohsa 'his car that he owns,' is different from ah sidohsa (ah: general classifier) 'his car that he is working on,' in which the relationship is 'alienable.' Sidohsa is borrowed from Japanese jidōsha [自動車].

- 55. From English *ship*. Pohnpeian had considerable interaction with English speaking whalers, traders, missionaries during the early contact period from 1828 to 1885 [Rehg & Sohl 1981: 16]. This word also belongs to that era.
- 56. Peluhs, transcribed also as balus or balux [HAMBRUCH 1932: 357] means 'Phlogoenas kubary, bird species, brown and white in color.'
- 57. Flounder-like fish reported as $m\bar{a}mu$, which is not eaten by natives, because in the beginning of Pohnpei, the God called an'ji (sic) threw away the fish into the sea after eating one side of its body, because it didn't taste good [TAGUCHI 1893: 252-253]. It should be 'stingray sp.,' judging from the description; the dark gray side has meat and eyes, the other white side has a mouth, and its size ranges from 2 feet to 1 or 2 inches. An'ji must represent Pohnpeian eni 'malicious ghost,' and it is probable that $m\bar{a}mu$ here wrongly indicates mwahmw as a general term for fish. Rehg & Sohl's Dictionary gives the entry sakana 'fish' borrowed from Japanese sakana 「魚」 'fish (general name),' but I could not confirm the use of this word.

Nevertheless, several fish names have been borrowed from Japanese in present-day Pohnpeian, such as asi 'jacks (general name)' (aji「鰺」), samma 'Decapterus maruadsi' (maru-aji「まるあじ」, sanma originally meant 'mackerelpike' 「さんま」) as distinguished from Pohnpeian pedihdi 'Selar crumenophthalmus, bigeye scad' (me-aji「めあじ」). Other commercially valuable fishes manguro 'Thunnus sp. tuna' (maguro/manguro 「鮪」) and kasuwo 'Katsuwonus pelamis, skiplack' (katsuo 「鰹」) have been introduced, threading through the Proto-Micronesian originated Pohnpeian karangahp 'Thunnus albacares, yellowfin tuna'(ki-hada 「きはだ」).

59. The currency used at the time, silver coins of Mexico, England, Germany, Spain, and on rare occasions, those of White Russia, Chile, or Japan were afloat [TAGUCHI 1893: 219], and long ago a kind of shell called *puake* is said to have been used as money [YANAIHARA 1940: 88]. But it is unclear the reason why *luwou* was

mentioned here.

- 61. *Kita* (dual, inclusive) is differentiated from *kiht* (dual/plural, exclusive) and *kitail* (plural, inclusive). The investigation must have been carried out by two people.
 - 63. Kumwa (dual) is differentiated from kowe/ko (singular) and kumwail (plural).
- 64. Somebody referred to elicit the pronoun for the third person was answered by his title. Kirou(n) means 'keeper (-of),' now ranked lower in the Nahnmwarki line, one of the two highest chiefs. There are several Kirou(n) titles [FISCHER et al.1977: 157].
 - 72. Etymologically, pwoahr 'hole' + (e)n 'of' + mahs 'eye.'
 - 77. Etymologically, kihl 'skin' + (e)n 'of' + ahu 'mouth.'
- 81. $P\bar{u}norui$ may possibly represent tepin-were 'its neck' with the first element te-missing. Etymologically, tapi 'root' + (e)n 'of' + were' neck.' See also 98.
- 85. Sentetotokoi is unidentified. In present-day Pohnpeian, 'forefinger' is called sendimesemese 'finger of eyes,' or sendi temwe 'finger of forehead.'
- 86. Sente'nanopo should be nan-awpohng send, the former being a preposition, and it means 'among the fingers.' But, the modern name for the 'middle finger' is tihmwe.
 - 87. Sente'nananopo is unidentified. 'Ring finger' is presently called tahmwe.
 - 88. 'Little finger' is also called sendi sohkatepe 'useless finger.'
 - 89. Gulick's *ponjakari* 'back' corresponds to (*pohn*) sikihri 'tail bone area.'
 - 92. Etymologically, tapi 'root' + (e)n 'of' dahng 'thigh.'
- 98. This entry word seems to be unusual. But the same word is found in the diary on 21 September 1890, where the author wrote that he felt horrible when he watched the 'head' of a Pohnpeian leader called *Kororenda* (*sic*, unidentified) being 'severed' and peeled by a Spanish naval surgeon [TAGUCHI 1893: 219,265]. This massacre that Taguchi happened to witness on the warship *Morina* (*sic*) gave rise to a continuous series of incidents in which, on 17-19 September 1890, *Oa* (or *Ohwa* village, in northern *Madolenihmw*) was assaulted and completely destroyed by Spanish parties, and on 22-23 November, the Spanish defeated 500 Pohnpeian entrenched in *Madolenihmw*[LUELEN 1977: 122-123, FISCHER et al. 1977: 109-110]. This shocking entry must have been reflecting Taguchi's fearful experiences.
- 99-110. Titles and their ranking described here seem to be complicated. On Pohnpei there are the families of chieftains which are divided into two gentes which are

related to the *Nahnmwarki* and to the *Nahnken*. But titles of rank for people under the *Nahnken* are not conferred by the *Nahnken* himself, but by the *Nahmwarki*, and reversely, it is *Nahnken*, and not the *Nahnmwarki*, who confers titles on the latter's people [Yanaihara 1940: 182-183, Imanishi 1944: 160]. Titles numbered 100 to 110 must be conferred by *Nahnken*, notwithstanding the disagreement of the present twelve titles in the *Nahnmwarki* line such as 1. *Nahnmwarki*, 2. *Wasahi*, 3. *Dauk*, 4. *Noahs*, 5. *Nahnawa*, 6. *Nahnpei*, 7. *Nahn Kiroun Pohn Dake*, 8. *Nahlik Lapalap*, 9. *Nahnihd Lapalap*, 10. *Lempwei Lapalap*, 11. *Saudel*, and 12. *Oundolen Ririn*, clearly upgraded or replaced in their fixed order [Rehg & Sohl 1981: 360-361]. And *Nahn Ponhpei* (110) stated as 'commoner' was elevated and has obtained the tenth ranking title in the present *Nahnken* line.

5. Conclusion

On 7 October 1914, the thirty-year Japanese administration of Pohnpei began with Executive Officer, Shizuo MATSUOKA (松岡静雄) as the first governor and eighty Japanese naval troops as an occupation force, and ended with the surrender to the Allies on 15 August 1945 [ASHBY 1993:86].

As for loanwords from Japanese, Rehg and Sohl's *Dictionary* contains approximately four hundred items [Rehg & Sohl 1981:14]. From the results of my research, this number seems to be underestimated. After the Japanese Mandate began, Pohnpeian, along with to Palauan, adopted a considerable number of loanwords from Japanese. Interestingly enough, a number of games for children introduced at Japanese elementary school are still played among Pohnpeian children with Japanese terms and shouts! An old Pohnpeian told me that school children had greater fun at arithmetic, physical education, and singing than learning the Japanese language in the school regular course. Details will be discussed in my other papers.

Here I will only refer to some regrettable examples. Kairu 'toad' (kaeru「蛙」) originally brought by the Japanese for insect control, seem not to have disturbed the ecosystem, though kairu dying in wells, catchments and drains cause a stench and a possible health hazard. The word kairu can be used in compounds such as pepen-kairu 'swimming with the breast stroke' (kaeru-oyogi「蛙泳ぎ」). But dendenmwosi 'the giant African snail' (denden-mushi「でんでん虫」), which was first introduced around 1937 by a Japanese as a commercial venture and was originally raised in boxes, is said to be the

worst pests because of their ability to eat almost anything, and causes the most damage during rainy months [ASHBY 1993: 177-179]. These unwelcome nuisances seem to die hard now along with their names!

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