

# 27 *Some clan names of the Chuukic-speaking peoples of Micronesia*

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## 1 Introduction

This report considers the antiquity of the clan names of the Chuukic-speaking peoples. The Chuukic-speaking islands (Figure 1) constitute the largest region of cognate matrilineal or patrilineal clan names in Oceania. We are presently confronted with a diverse Chuukic clan situation. Clan numbers are small on the atolls, usually less than ten. New clans abound in Chuuk Lagoon where there are now more than 80 clans. Saipan and other Mariana Islands have more than others due to immigration in the historic period. Twenty-seven clan names were found that occur in two or more of the Chuukic-speaking islands (counting Chuuk Lagoon as a single island) (Table 1). As few as six show evidence that allow attribution to Proto Chuukic, the language spoken around the Chuuk Lagoon<sup>1</sup> ca. AD 500–1000 before spreading on to the atolls of what is now Yap State, Federated States of Micronesia, and the atolls of the Republic of Palau.

The 27 clan names reconstructed with what may have been their Proto Chuukic<sup>2</sup> sounds are listed in Table 1 along with a guess at what may have been their meanings in English. I do not believe all 27 are as old as Proto Chuukic but it is convenient to begin by indexing each with a Proto Chuukic spelling. Table 2 then gives these same names alphabetically with their distributions according to islands for which I found regularly or irregularly agreeing forms. Table 3 then gives these same names grouped according to pattern of island distributions.

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<sup>1</sup> And perhaps the Mortlocks, Chuuk State's 'Western Islands' and Chuuk State's northern atolls.

<sup>2</sup> The language spoken around Chuuk Lagoon some 1000 years ago or thereabouts at a time when those peoples were on the threshold of establishing permanent settlements on the atolls between Chuuk and Yap.

**Table 1:** The 27 clan names of this study given in Proto Chuukic orthography<sup>3</sup>

*faa-ni-mai	‘Under the Breadfruit Tree’
*imwa-o	‘House – ?’
*kainanga-i-liku	‘Clan from Outside’
*kainanga-i-sawa	‘Clan by the Pass in the Reef’
*kainanga-weneyaa	‘Clan of Woleai’
*ka-sama-anga	‘To Make the Outrigger’
*kaú-fanúa	‘Land’s Fishhook’
*luuka-(na)-fanúa	‘Centre of the Island’
*mwangau-ni-faca	‘Eaters of Pandanus’
*mwaoco	‘Ashes’
*pike	‘Sand Islet’
*pwalú	‘Taro Swamp’
*raki	‘Sailing Season’
*rape-fanúa	‘? – Land/Island’
*talasi	‘Loosen (?)’
*tapwo-ni-ppia	‘Village at the Beach’
*taro	‘Birthmark’
*tawu-afangi	‘People of the North/Winter Tradewind’
*tawu-alai	‘Tall People’
*tawu-fanaa-ciki	‘Little Needlefish People’
*tawu-pelaya	‘People of ?’
*tawu-pwolowasa	‘People of Puluwat’
*tawu-wene	‘Upright People’
*wao-ni-rae	‘Forest (People)’
*wii-sakaú	‘(People of) Namonuito’
*wi-TuuTuu <sup>4</sup>	‘Opened (?)’
*(wu)waa-ni-kara	‘Canoe of Sweetness (?)’

<sup>3</sup> Spelt ‘as if’ all are as old as Proto Chuukic which, I argue for many, seems unlikely.

<sup>4</sup> Proto Micronesian \*T is reconstructed by Jackson (1983, 1984) and Bender et al. (2003a, 2003b) as a sound somehow distinct from Proto Micronesian \*t. Upper case for \*T is abandoned in the data and reconstruction section where upper case is used to begin proper nouns.

**Table 2:** Distributions of the clan names<sup>5</sup>

	Pur	Fai	Uli	Wol	Ifi	Far	Lam	Pul	Pol	Mur/ Uno	Chk	Mrt	Pon
*faa-ni-mai	X		X					X		X	X	X	X
*imwa-o								X			X	X	
*kainanga-i-liku					X						X		
*kainanga-i-sawa						X		X	X		X		
*kainanga-weneyaa				X			X	X			X		
*ka-sama-anga							X	X	X		X	X	
*kaú-fanúa			X	X	X		X				X		
*luuka-(na)-fanúa				X						X	X		X
*mwangau-ni-faca			X	X	X	X	X	X			X		
*mwaoco									X		X		
*pike									X		X		
*pwalú				X	X		X	X	X		X		
*raki	X						X				X		
*rape-fanúa					X						X		
*talesa										X	X		
*tapwo-ni-ppia								X	X		X	X	
*taro				X				X	X	X	X	X	
*tawu-afangi		X		X			X	X		X	X		
*tawu-alai								X			X		
*tawu-fanaa-ciki			X	X	X	X	X				X		
*tawu-pelaya									X		X		X?
*tawu-pwolowasa								X			X		
*tawu-wene			X	X	X	X	X				X	X	
*wao-ni-rae								X			X		
*wii-sakaú								X		X	X		
*wi-TuuTuu							X		X	X	X		
*(wu)waa-ni-kara											X	X	

<sup>5</sup> Abbreviations: Republic of Palau: Pur – Pulo Anna. Yap State FSM: Fai – Fais, Uli – Ulithi, Wol – Woleai, Ifi – Ifaluk, Far – Faraulep, Lam – Lamotrek. Chuuk State FSM: Pul – Puluwat, Pol – Pullap (Pollap), Mur – Murillo (Hall Islands – north of Chuuk Lagoon), Uno – Unon (Namonuito Islands – north-northwest of Chuuk Lagoon), Chk – Chuuk Lagoon, Mrt – Mortlock Islands (south and south-southeast of Chuuk Lagoon). Pohnpei State FSM: Pon – Pohnpei.

**Table 3:** Chuukic clan names grouped according to distribution

	Pur	Fai	Uli	Wol	Ifi	Far	Lam	Pul	Pol	Mur/ Uno	Chk	Mrt	Pon
*faa-ni-mai	X		X					X		X	X	X	X
*raki	X						X				X		
*tawu-afangi		X		X				X		X	X		
*taro				X			X	X	X	X	X	X	
*kaú-fanúa			X	X	X		X				X		
*luuka-(na)-fanúa				X						X	X		X
*mwangau-ni-faca			X	X	X	X	X	X			X		
*tawu-fanaa-ciki			X	X	X	X	X				X		
*tawu-wene			X	X	X	X	X				X	X	
*pwalú				X	X		X	X	X		X		
*kainanga-weneyaa				X			X	X			X		
*kainanga-i-liku					X						X		
*rape-fanúa					X						X		
*kainanga-i-sawa						X		X	X		X		
*ka-sama-anga							X	X	X		X	X	
*imwa-o								X			X	X	
*tapwo-ni-ppia								X	X		X	X	
*tawu-alai								X			X		
*tawu-pwolowasa								X			X		
*wao-ni-rae								X			X		
*wii-sakaú								X		X	X		
*mwaoco									X		X		
*pike									X		X		
*tawu-pelaya									X		X		X?
*wi-TuuTuu							X		X	X	X		
*talesa										X	X		
* <i>(wu)</i> waa-na-kara											X	X	

Having given the 27 clan names to be considered, I now present:

- A section on Proto Oceanic and Proto (Nuclear) Micronesian linguistic subgrouping and culture history (i.e., matrilineality).
- A section on sources.
- The main data and reconstructions section considering each of the clan names in their turn.
- Conclusions categorising the clan names according to apparent source in place and time.

## **2 The Proto Oceanic and Proto (Nuclear) Micronesian linguistic and matrilineal heritage**

The clans of the Chuukic speakers are matrilineal as are the clans of most of Nuclear Micronesia (the geographical area of Nuclear Micronesian speech). The primary exception is found in Kiribati where there are neither matrilineal nor patrilineal clans. Pingelap atoll of Pohnpei State is also an exception in the sense that it has both matrilineal and patrilineal clans (Damas 1979, 1981; Schneider 1980), a situation referred to by anthropologists as ‘double descent’. The most isolated northwesternly Marshall Island atolls are patrilineal and are the final exception. Certainly this vast region of matrilineality is due to descent from matrilineal forebears in Melanesia (cf. Hage 1998; Hage and Marck 2002, 2003; Kayser, et al. 2006; Marck MS). The matrilineality model for Ancestral Lapita society/ Proto Oceanic society, Nuclear Micronesian society’s more or less immediate ancestor, is now ten years old (Hage 1998) and the evidence for it continues to grow in strength (Hage and Marck 2003; Kayser et al. 2006; Marck 2008).

A subsistence-based theory of Micronesian matrilineality has recently been developed by Petersen (2006). He suggests that a ‘breadfruit revolution’ of new hybrids emanating out of Kosrae and Pohnpei about a thousand years ago promoted and sustained matrilineality in much of Micronesia. I agree with Petersen’s suggestion that the breadfruit revolution facilitated a more abundant life on the atolls, the spread of permanent, ‘large’ populations to the central and western Chuukic atolls being of the same approximate age as the breadfruit revolution. But Hage and Marck (2003) and now Kayser et al. (2006) posit that Proto Oceanic society was matrilocal as did Hage and Marck (2002) for Proto (Nuclear) Micronesian society. Petersen (2006:fn.1) ignores this evidence of ancient matrilocality and the notion that the Proto Oceanic and Proto (Nuclear) Micronesian societies were matrilineal because they were matrilocal. Rather, he forges on with an ideology-driven notion of the Micronesian situation. Hage and Marck (2003) as well as Marck (2008) attribute that residential pattern to long absences of seafaring adult males and to a common response of human societies to migration (cf. Divale [1984]) whereby part of the general process can be a shift to matrilocality. This implies that the ideology of matrilineality flowed from residence rather than vice-versa.

Figure 2 is a subgrouping of Nuclear Micronesian languages and Chuukic dialects which adapts materials from Quackenbush (1968), Jackson (1983) and Bender et al. (2003a; 2003b). It includes only the Chuukic dialects for which I have found clan names. Northern Marianas Carolinian is omitted because that community was established only during the historical period, and their clan names are now from everywhere through the Chuukic dialect chain. As that is the case, the Northern Marianas Carolinian clan names tell us nothing about distributions in prehistory. However, the Carolinian clan names are given in the data on each clan name because they add to our knowledge of vowel length and other aspects of the pronunciation of clan names.

## I. Austronesian (An)

## A. MalayoPolynesian (MP)

## 1. Central and Eastern MP (CEMP)

## a. Eastern MP (EMP)

## 1'. Oceanic (Oc)

## a'. Nuclear Micronesian and Nauruan

## 1''. Nauruan (Nau)

## 2''. Nuclear Micronesian (Mc)

## a''. Kosraean (Ksr)

## b''. Central Micronesian (CMc)

## 1'''. Kiribati (Kir)

## 2'''. Western Micronesian (WMc)

## a'''. Marshallese (Mrs)

## b'''. Pohnpeic-Chuukic (PC)

## 1'''''. Pohnpeic (Pnp)

## a'''''. Pohnpeian (Pon)

## b'''''. Mokilese (Mok)

## c'''''. Pingelapese (Pin)

## d'''''. Ngatchickese (Sapwuahfik) (Ngk)

## 2'''''. Chuukic (Ck)

## a'''''. Mortlocks (Mrt)

## 1'''''. Namoluk (Nam)

## 2'''''. Nama (Nama)

## b'''''. Chuuk Lagoon (Chk)

## c'''''. Northern Atolls

## 1'''''. Murillo (Mur)

## 2'''''. Unon (Uno)

## d'''''. Western Atolls

## 1'''''. Pulusuk (Hok, Hogh, Sok, Sogh) (Psk)

## 2'''''. Puluwat (Polowat) (Pul)

## 3'''''. Pullap (Pollap) (Pol)

## e'''''. Satawal (Sat)

## f'''''. Central Chuukic

## 1'''''. Lamotrek (Lam)

## 2'''''. Ifaluk (Ifa)

## 3'''''. Woleai (Wol)

## 4'''''. Faraulep (Far)

## g'''''. Western Chuukic

## 1'''''. Ulithi (Uli)

## 2'''''. Fais (Fai)

## 3'''''. Pulo Anna (Pur)

## h'''''. Unclassified

## 1'''''. Elle Carolinian (Crl)

## 2'''''. Enne Carolinian (Crn)

**Figure 2:** A subgrouping of Nuclear Micronesian languages<sup>6</sup><sup>6</sup> Adapted from Quackenbush (1968), Jackson (1983) and Bender et al. (2003a; 2003b).

The subgrouping in Figure 2 implies an early period in Nuclear Micronesian prehistory where Nauruan first became distinct from the rest of Nuclear Micronesian. Then Kosraean became distinct from Central Micronesian. Then Kiribati became distinct from Western Micronesian. Then Marshallese became distinct from Pohnpeic-Chuukic. Then Pohnpeic and Chuukic became distinct from each other. Finally, Pohnpeic became internally diverse and Chuukic became internally diverse.

The language distribution and migration interpretation that I favour is one where, but for Nauruan, the most ancient split occurred between dialects spoken on Pohnpei and Kosrae, the Pohnpeic variety of speech then dominating in the settlement of Kiribati, then the Marshalls and then Chuuk, all due to a larger population available to migrate from Pohnpei than Kosrae and, in the case of Chuukic, Pohnpei's closer proximity. The early sequence of splits: Kosraean, then Kiribatese then Marshallese from what was then left, Pohnpeic-Chuukic (Jackson 1983) is now the standard model (Bender et al. 2003a, b). The reasons for the assertion of this sequence of splits is based upon consistent but limited wisps and threads of comparative linguistic evidence in contrast to the large body of shared innovations apparent for Proto Micronesian and for Proto Pohnpeic-Chuukic which had longer periods of common development (cf. innovations reconstructed by Bender et al. 2003a, b). The protolanguages posited as intermediate between Proto Micronesian and Proto Pohnpeic-Chuukic were apparently post Proto Micronesian dialects not greatly transformed from Proto Micronesian itself. Those splits occurred rather quickly one after another, perhaps only two or four hundred years in all passing between the Kosraean split, the Kiribati split and the Marshallese split. The period of common and uniquely shared Pohnpeic-Chuukic innovations was perhaps 300–500 years and may, similar to Proto Micronesian's theoretical spread between Pohnpei and Kosrae, have occurred over an area including Chuuk as well as Pohnpei, Chuukic becoming distinct as contacts between people of the two areas became smaller relative to those in continuous residence on one island or the other. The lexicostatistical age of Chuukic internal diversity is about 1000 years (cf. Jackson 1983:Table 10).

This grand guess about Nuclear Micronesian homelands and dispersals is within the range of what archaeological evidence might presently be taken to support. Rainbird (2004) has recently summarised the archaeology of Micronesia and taken a different view. On the basis of the oldest dates that he considers reliable for the Nuclear Micronesian islands and groups, Rainbird (2004:100) suggests that the earliest Nuclear Micronesian speakers in eastern Micronesia:

rapidly moved through the Gilberts and possibly reached the northern end of the Marshalls by 2500 to 2000 years ago. There may have been a brief hesitation here, perhaps over a couple generations, but not long enough to lose the knowledge of ceramics in these clay impoverished atolls, before the explorers located and seeded the eastern Carolines.

In any event, archaeological and linguistic interpretations agree that the greatest age of Nuclear Micronesian settlement was to the east or centre and that the development of uniquely Chuukic speech—and subsequently the emergence of that speech into the central and western Chuukic-speaking atolls—came later.

The settlement of Chuuk Lagoon is presently known to have begun by 2000 years ago or a few centuries earlier as is also the case for Kosrae and Pohnpei (Rainbird 2004:89–90). Rainbird (2004:168–179) gives the general history of Chuuk Lagoon archaeological research. King and Parker (1984) divide the history and prehistory of Chuuk into four periods:

- ca. 500 BC – AD 500 coastal sites with pottery
- ca. AD 500 – 1300 the ‘Long Gap’ where there is little evidence of human occupation
- ca. AD 1300 – 1900 coastal and inland sites with no pottery
- ca. 1900 – present colonial period and eventual independence

Rainbird (2004:171–172) interprets the Long Gap as being due to natural geomorphic processes which washed away the coastal sites inhabited during this period. Petersen (2004:85) notes that similar ‘long gaps’ occur for the same period of time in the archaeology of Kosrae and Pohnpei. Ignoring Rainbird’s geomorphic explanation, Petersen attributes the end of the long gaps to the breadfruit revolution. In any event, the evidence of linguistics is clear: early Pohnpeic and Chuukic were separating languages by about the beginning of the Long Gaps and flourished on Pohnpei and Chuuk Lagoon respectively throughout the Long Gap period.

The oldest known archaeological remains on what are now the central and western Chuukic-speaking atolls presently come from two atolls nearest Yap: Fais<sup>7</sup> and Ulithi. Fais had settlements or other human use as early as 1900 years ago (Intoh 1996; Rainbird 2004:165–166) and Ulithi has cultural deposits as old as 1400 years (Craib 1981; Descantes 1998; Rainbird 2004:164–165). Ulithi and Fais are immediately east Yap, Ulithi being a large target about one day’s sailing from Yap and Fais being a smaller target but only about 80 kilometres east of Ulithi. The archaeology of these islands connects them to Yap from the beginning. Pottery and pig, for instance, that came from Yap rather than Chuuk are found from the beginning on Fais. Thus the earliest occupations of Fais and perhaps Ulithi would not seem to be associated with Chuukic speakers.

Rainbird (2004:164) reviews just one radiocarbon date from what I here call the central Chuukic atolls—on a human bone from an excavation on Lamotrek dated to 780 years ago.

Summarising what is known for the archaeology of the apparent dispersal period of Chuukic language into the atolls, ca. AD 1000, is therefore short work: almost nothing is known for Chuuk Lagoon at the time or for the 500 years before or 300 years after and the only radiocarbon date from the central Chuukic atolls during those centuries is the Lamotrek date of 780 years ago.

I now turn to my sources and then methods in considering the history of the 27 Chuukic clan names of this study.

### 3 Ethnographic and dictionary sources

I first present a little background on the ethnography and sources for Chuukic’s relatives to the east. Nauruans have been described as matrilineal and matrilineal. Wedgwood (1936:372) gives the names of ‘the twelve’ matrilineal clans of Nauru but none seem to be cognate with other Micronesian matrilineal names. Kiribati had no matrilineal or patrilineal clans in the historic period. The Marshallese were, in the main, matrilineal and matrilineal although certain very remote islands in the northwest of the chain constituted exceptions. Abo et al. (1976) (*Marshallese–English dictionary*) give 65 matrilineal Marshallese clan names but none seem to have cognates beyond the Marshalls. Kosraeans were matrilineal and the kings were crowned according to rules of matrilineal succession. *Südsee* (below) produced no listing of the Kosraean clan names and no other listings seem

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<sup>7</sup> Fais is actually a small makatea (raised coral) island rather than an atoll.



to have been published. The Pohnpei sources employed here are Riesenbergh (1968) and Rehg and Sohl (1979) which give the same 19 matrilineal clan names, Rehg and Sohl's forms being those cited below as they are in the contemporary orthography. *Südsee* (below) did not report on the Pohnpeian clan names but the Pohnpeian clans are rather few, large and stable and the same 19 probably occurred on Pohnpei during *Südsee* times.

During German Times in Micronesia (1898–1914) major ethnographic research was conducted between 1908 and 1910 and published in many volumes collectively called here the *Südsee* sources. They are the only ethnographic sources for clan names I have for many of the islands as will be mentioned presently.

The Chuuk Lagoon is matrilocal and matrilineal (cf. Goodenough [1978 (1951)]). The *Südsee* sources are very useful for Chuuk Lagoon as they give multiple localities for which clan names occur and are, therefore, a good indication of whether a clan name is or was widespread around the Lagoon. *Südsee* gives 40 or 50 Chuuk Lagoon clan names while in their *Trukese–English dictionary* Goodenough and Sugita (1980) give all the clan names found in *Südsee*, do so in the modern orthography and include a few dozen clan names not given in *Südsee*, 88 in all, a few of which may be post-*Südsee* introductions from the atolls. In general, the Chuuk Lagoon situation most resembles the Marshalls where scores of new clan names seem to have emerged locally. Nauru and Pohnpei are at the opposite extreme with, respectively, their 12 and 19 clans.

For the atolls, starting from the southeast and moving northwest and then west we begin with the Mortlock atolls (Namoluk, Nama, Lukonor and Losap) southeast of Chuuk Lagoon. These islands are all matrilocal and matrilineal. There are *Südsee* sources for the Mortlock atolls just mentioned except Losap and Marshall (1972, 2004) give more recent information on Namoluk kin and community.

For the atolls north of Chuuk Lagoon (Unon and Murillo), which are matrilocal and matrilineal, I have only *Südsee* sources.

Chuuk State's 'Western Islands' (Puluwat, Pollap and Pulusuk) are also matrilocal and matrilineal. There are *Südsee* sources for Puluwat and Pollap but neither *Südsee* nor other sources I am aware of describe the situation for Pulusuk.

Satawal is matrilocal and matrilineal. Clan names for Satawal were not published in the *Südsee* materials and I know of no other source that has done so in a comprehensive way.

West of Satawal are what I here call the 'central Chuukic atolls': Lamotrek, Elato, Olimarao, Faraulep, Ifaluk, Woleai and Eauripik. All are matrilocal and matrilineal. I do not include Satawal in this group because Satawalese is of a relatively distinct dialect type compared to those of the central Chuukic atolls and what little I can discover of the Satawal clan name situation (what I was told while living on Saipan and what I have seen on the Internet) suggests a distinctive situation as well. As seen in the list of abbreviations below (Table 4), Lamotrek, Woleai and Faraulep clan names are available from the *Südsee* sources and Ifaluk and Lamotrek clan names are available from post-war ethnographic sources. There is also the *Woleaian–English dictionary* (Sohn and Tawerilmang 1976) which gives a slightly different list of clan names than *Südsee* and is also an important source with respect to the exact pronunciation of Woleaian clan names.

The Northern Marianas Carolinians were originally, in the main, from Satawal and the central Chuukic dialect area, a later group from Chuuk State's northern atolls established a second Carolinian dialect, and post-war migrants from the atolls and Chuuk itself have, in general, assimilated to one or the other of the dialects and there is a dictionary of the two modern dialects (Jackson and Marck 1991). That dictionary is used here as a source for

knowledge of pronunciations but not for pre-European clan distributions (since the Carolinian clans arrived to Saipan and other islands of the Northern Marianas only from Spanish Times<sup>8</sup> onward<sup>9</sup>).

Then there are what I here call the ‘western Chuukic atolls’: Ulithi, Fais, Sorol and Ngulu in Yap State, Federated States of Micronesia and Sonsorol, Tobi, Pulo Anna and Merir in the Republic of Palau. Ulithi is still matrilineal and has at least four of the matrilineal clans (Lessa n.d.) of the central Chuukic atolls and islands further east. But the Ulithians are patrilocal (Lessa 1966:20, 22), a situation Hage and Marck (2002:152–153) would ascribe to the decline of long distance voyaging by Ulithian men. Yap is just a day away by sea but contacts with Yap islands to the east of Ulithi were maintained by central Chuukic atoll visitors to Ulithi and not by the Ulithians themselves (Lessa 1950). Lessa (n.d.) counts over 40 sibs or lineages but only four ‘clans’ (*hailang* < PCk \**kainanga* ‘clan, lineage’). The four clan names are found on other islands (\**kau-fanua*, \**mwangau-ni-faca*, \**tau-fanaa-ciki*, \**tau-wene*), but only one of the sibs or lineages (\**faa-ni-mai*).

We know of matrilineal clans on Fais and Pulo Anna from the *Südsee* sources. Two of the Pulo Anna clans and just one of the Fais clans have the same name as a clan from an island to the east.

The abbreviations used in the data materials for the atolls and those of Pohnpei and Chuuk Lagoon are given in the following figure.

**Table 4:** Sources and abbreviations

ChkDic	Chuuk Lagoon dictionary (Goodenough and Sugita 1980)
ChkGeo	Chuuk Lagoon geographical distribution according to ChkSrc
ChkSrc	Chuuk Lagoon source (Krämer 1932)
CrIDic	Elle Dialect Northern Marianas Carolinian (Jackson and Marck 1991)
CrnDic	Enne Dialect Northern Marianas Carolinian (Jackson and Marck 1991)
FaiSrc	Fais/Feis source (Krämer 1937) (western Chuukic atolls)
FarSrc	Faraulep source (Damm 1938) (central Chuukic atolls)
IfaSrc	Ifaluk source (Burrows and Spiro 1957) (central Chuukic atolls)
LamoSrc	Lamotrek source II (Alkire 1965) (central Chuukic atolls)
LamSrc	Lamotrek source (Krämer 1937) (central Chuukic atolls)
LukSrc	Lukonor source (Krämer 1935) (Mortlocks)
McEty	‘Micronesian etymology’
MurSrc	Murillo source (Krämer 1935) (Chuuk State’s northern atolls)
NamaSrc	Nama source (Krämer 1935) (Mortlocks)
NamoSrc	Namoluk source II (Marshall 1972; 2004) (Mortlocks)
NamSrc	Namoluk source (Krämer 1935) (Mortlocks)
OLMc	<i>Oceanic Linguistics</i> Proto Micronesian (Bender et al. 2003a; 2003b)
PCK	Proto Chuukic
PolSrc	Pullap/Pollap (Tamatam) source (Krämer 1935) (Chuuk State’s ‘Western Islands’)
PonDic	Pohnpeian dictionary (Rehg and Sohl 1979)

<sup>8</sup> ‘Spanish Times’ – in Micronesian parlance, the period from Magellan’s first landing on Guam (1521) to the end of the period of Spanish administration in 1898.

<sup>9</sup> There was central Carolinian voyaging to the Marianas before Spanish Times but here we consider when there were first settlements (with women and children) in the Northern Marianas that continued up to the present.

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PulSrc	Puluwat/Polowat source (Damm 1935) (Chuuk State's 'Western Islands')
PurSrc	Pulo Anna source (Eilers 1935) (western Chuukic atolls)
UliSrc	Ulithi source (Lessa n.d.) (western Chuukic atolls)
UnoSrc	Unon source (Krämer 1935) (Chuuk State's northern atolls)
WolDic	Woleai dictionary (Sohn and Tawerilmang 1976) (central Chuukic atolls)
WolSrc	Woleai source (Krämer 1937) (central Chuukic atolls)

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#### 4 Data and reconstructions

Each of the 27 clan names reconstructed is given a separate subsection below. For purposes of presentation, the ancestral names are presented in their Proto Chuukic spellings, even if I believe the name may be of lesser age. The reconstruction is followed, where possible, by information on what morphemes the name is composed of and what those morphemes meant as common nouns, possessives or other parts of speech. Then the evidence is given from each locality for which a source has been identified. For example, the 'Land's Fishhook' discussion begins with:

##### \*Kau-Fanúa 'Land's Fishhook'

McEty OLMc PMc \*kau 'fishhook', \*fanúa 'land'

ChkDic Kofénú

LamoSrc Hofalu

IfiSrc Kovalú

WolSrc Gófalú

WolDic Gééfalúwa

I now turn to the 27 reconstructions.

##### \*Faa-ni-Mai 'Under the Breadfruit Tree'

McEty OLMc \*faa- 'under' + \*ni 'of' + \*mai 'breadfruit (tree)'

PonDic Dipwinpaanmei

ChkSrc Fánimeí

ChkDic Fáánamey

ChkGeo Iras, Metitiu, Sabuk

NamSrc Fánimeí

NamoSrc Fáánamey

MurSrc Fänemeí

UnoSrc Fengimi (Ham.); Fánimeí (Kram.)

PulSrc Fänimēi (dia.)<sup>10</sup>

UliSrc Fal Le Mei

PurSrc Féremäü (dia.)

CrIDic Fáálimáy

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<sup>10</sup> '(dia.)' – indicates that the *Südsee* source used complex diacritics not included in the present report.

This clan name gives the appearance of being at least as old as Proto Chuukic. Otherwise we can observe that the clan name is not found in the central Chuukic atolls while all the other clan names of the western Chuukic atolls which have any outside cognates have at least one cognate in the central Chuukic atolls.

**\*Imwa-O ‘House(?) of \_\_\_\_?’**

McEty OLMc PMc \*imwa ‘house’; no PMc word ‘\*\*o’ is presently reconstructed

ChkSrc Ivö / Imö (dia)

ChkSrc Imö oder Moánimö (dia)

ChkGeo Vidjap, Tunuk, Moen, Lúkula sam. Tol. Besitzer des Tóloman-Berges  
(Tóloman mountains)

ChkDic Imwó

PulSrc Umüa

*Südsee* notes that this is considered a recent clan on Puluwat as does Marshall (2004:37) in reference to Namoluk (and *Südsee* does not give this clan name for Namoluk or any atoll at all other than Puluwat, so I omit Namoluk data above). This clan name is therefore not well supported as a possible Proto Chuukic clan name.

**\*Kainanga-i-Liku ‘Clan from Outside’**

McEty PMc OLMc \*kainanga- ‘clan’ + PCK \*-i- ‘of (locative)’ + PMC  
\*-liku ‘outside’

ChkDic Eyinangeyinúk

IflSrc Kailangailúk

As there are only two of the islands for which sources give this clan name there is the question of whether this simple name, ‘clan from outside’, developed in both places independently. But both reflect the PMc locative \*i which is little used in the languages today and descends mainly from ancient constructions. So possibly the Chuuk and Ifaluk names are in fact related. Since this clan is not reported for Chuuk Lagoon in *Südsee* I am left wondering if this was first an Ifaluk clan name that came with an immigrant woman or women to Chuuk Lagoon between *Südsee* times and the time of the ChkDic work during the United Nations Trust Territory period.

**\*Kainanga-i-Sawa ‘Clan by the Pass in the Reef’**

McEty PMc \*kainanga ‘clan’ + \*i (locative) + sawa ‘pass in the reef’

ChkSrc Alegëitau (Elingeidaui)

ChkGeo Iras, Metitiu

ChkDic Enengeyitaw

PolSrc Elangeitaf (dia.) (sic. ?)

PulSrc Ellangaidau

FarSrc Ellan’aidjau (dia.)

CrlDic Alengeitaw

The Pollap final consonant is unexpected. Unless confirmed by other historic or contemporary sources it seems a possible a typesetting error where ‘u’ or ‘w’ would be expected. Once again we see the *\*kainanga-i-* construction with good evidence of antiquity (the Chuuk Lagoon, Puluwat, Pollap and the much more distant Faraulep) consistent with (but not necessarily as old as) Proto Chuukic. Comparison to the previous clan name and the clan name that follows results in the observation that something unusual has happened to the *\*kai-* of what I here posit as the first word of the name. If the most ancient pronunciation of this clan name was actually *\*kainanga-i-sawa*, it would seem that before the name had spread beyond Chuuk Lagoon, the pronunciation had become *\*alanga-i-sawa*. Perhaps it was, in fact, always pronounced *\*alanga-i-sawa* and it doesn’t have anything to do with *\*kainanga* ‘clan, lineage’. But Bender et al. (2003a, b) reconstruct no Proto Micronesian, Proto Chuukic or other word of the form *\*\*alanga* and I presently interpret this as an idiosyncratic development out of the *\*kainanga-i-* pattern.

**\*Kainanga-ni-Weneyaa ‘Clan of Woleai’**

McEty PMc OLMc *\*kainanga* ‘clan’ + *\*ni* (attributive) + Weneyaa ‘Woleai’

ChkDic Eyinangen Wéneya (eyinanga + ni + wéneya)

PulSrc Wonëi (‘von Oleai’)

LamSrc Gailang ali Oléa

LamoSrc Gailangúwoleai

WolSrc Gailang ali Voléa

WolDic Gailengaliweleyaa (gailangi + li + weleyaa)

This clan name is not mentioned for Chuuk Lagoon in *Südsee* and the *Südsee* Puluwat source notes the clan as coming from Woleai, which we would expect considering what the name means. So here we have excellent evidence that a clan originating in the central Chuukic atolls came to be present in Puluwat and the Chuuk Lagoon. Naming a (chiefly?) clan after its island is common around the Marshalls.

**\*Kasa-Maanga or Ka-Sama-anga**

McEty PMc OLMc unknown

NamoSrc Katamak

ChkSrc Kétevang/Ketemang/Kétémang

ChkGeo Moen

PulSrc Gadamän (dia.)

PolSrc Katamáng

LamoSrc Hatamang

WolDic Gatemaanga ‘name of a clan in Lamotrek and Satawal’

Crldic Kkatamaam

This form is distributed in what seem to be regularly agreeing forms from Chuuk to Woleai and there are also the Namoluk and Carolinian forms with their irregular final consonant agreements. None of the anthropological sources indicate vowel length but both WolDic and Crldic indicate that the third vowel was anciently long. *Südsee* gives the clan as occurring on Moen but the name is not mentioned in ChkDic.

Due to its antiquity or the origin of the name in uncommon words, it is not obvious what everyday words may have been the source of this clan name. There is no OLMc reconstruction of *\*\*kasa*, *\*\*kasama*, *\*\*sama(a)nga* etc. PMc and PCk *\*sama* meant ‘outrigger’ and *\*ka-* was the causative. There was a PMc nominaliser *\*-anga* which is seen very rarely but otherwise occurs in the important, ancient word *\*kai-n-anga* ‘matrilineal clan or lineage’. The only suggestion I have as to what this word may have once been is ‘people who make / facilitate the outrigger’ or something of the sort. The causative, *\*ka-*, would be seen to have made a verb out of *\*sama* ‘outrigger’ and then *\*-anga* would have been added as a new nominal meaning developed.

Because the clan seems absent from the central and western Chuukic atolls other than Lamotrek and not well distributed around the Chuuk Lagoon, there is the appearance that the clan may have had its origin in Chuuk State’s Western Islands or Satawal.

### **\*Kaú-Fanúa ‘Land’s Fishhook’**

McEty OLMc PMc *\*kaú* ‘fishhook’, *\*fanúa* ‘land’

ChkDic Kofénú

LamoSrc Hofalu

IflSrc Kovalú

WolSrc Gófalú

WolDic Gééfalúwa

UliSrc Hofalu

CrlDic Ghéfalúw

This clan name is apparently composed of the ancient forms *\*kaú* ‘fishhook’ and *\*fanúa* ‘land’. WolDic notes that aside from meaning ‘fishhook’, Woleaian *géé* also means ‘formal system of political ties which exist between islands and which is symbolised by exchanges of food and goods’—the *sawei* system (Lessa 1950) or aspects of it, apparently.

The first vowel seems to have shortened everywhere but Wol which does not have short ‘é’.

Such shortening is rather rare in Lagoon Chuukese but ChkDic shows a short vowel. So one is left wondering if the clan name was borrowed by Chuukese from the west. As the Chuukese dictionary contains the form but the *Südsee* sources do not, borrowing since *Südsee* times seems a possibility. It is not, after all, otherwise reported from the Mortlocks, Chuuk Lagoon or Chuuk State’s Western Islands. Like *\*Kainanga-ni-Weneyaa*, I take this clan name to be one that originated in what are now Yap State atolls.

### **\*Luuka-(ni)-Fanua ‘Centre of the Land’**

McEty OLMc PMc *\*luuka* ‘center, middle’, *\*ni* ‘of’, *\*fanúa* ‘island, land’

PonDic Dipwiluuk

ChkDic Sowunuuk

ChkDic Nuukan

ChkDic Nuukanap

ChkDic Nuukenfénú

MurSrc Lugonofánu, Lugefanú (Ham.)

WolDic Luugofalúwa

Note that both MurSrc and WolDic have the unusual change where the first \*-a- became -o- due to the vowel(s) *before* it rather than *after* it, adjustment to *following* vowels being the dominant pattern, when change occurs, in Nuclear Micronesian languages.

PonDic *Dipwiluuk* contains the \*luuka ‘center, middle’ word. But one might expect such a common meaning to be adopted into a clan name at different times in different places and not always to have come from just one ancestral clan name. Comparison of the fourth ChkDic and MurSrc raises the question of whether \*-na- existed at an ancestral level because Woleaian does not have it. This is perhaps another reason to wonder if the name developed independently at different times in different places.

No form of the clan name occurs in the Chuuk Lagoon *Südsee* sources. On the whole, this seems a candidate for independent developments.

#### **\*Mwangau-ni-Faca ‘Eaters of Pandanus’**

McEty OLMc \*mwangau ‘eat’ - \*ni ‘of, at’ - \*faca ‘pandanus’

ChkSrc Mongülufadj ‘von Lámotrek oder Póloat stammend’  
(‘of Lamotrek or Puluwat origin’)

ChkGeo Tol

ChkDic Méngúnúfach

PulSrc Mongölifäl (dia.)

PolSrc Mangaulifadj ‘von Póloat stammend’ (‘of Puluwat origin’)

LamoSrc Móngalífach

IfIsrc Mangaulevár

WolSrc Mongaulifadj

WolDic Mengaulifasha

FarSrc Mon’ólifer (dia.)

UliSrc Mongolfach

CrIDic Mwongoulufasch, Mwongounufarh

In its *Méngúnúfach* ‘clan name’ entry ChkDic mentions *méngú* ‘pandanus leaf’ and references the form to OLMc<sup>11</sup> PMc \*mangu ‘pandanus leaf’. But certainly the name was borrowed into the Puluwat area out of the central Chuukic atolls and came to be pronounced differently/incorrectly in the Chuuk lagoon area when the clan became known there.

The suggestion of borrowing from west to east is required not only because the ‘fullest’ form is found to the west, but because sources (in data listing above) to the east mention knowledge of the clan coming from the west and because the clan is very rare around the lagoon and not reported at all in the Mortlocks, Unon or Murillo. So this is another clan name that we posit to have originated in the atolls of what is now Yap State.

#### **\*Mwaoco ‘Ashes’**

McEty OLMc PCK \*maoco ‘coals, ashes’

ChkSrc Módj/Mot

ChkGeo Iras, Vinepis, Lugan

ChkDic Mwóóch

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<sup>11</sup> Which was under development at the time of ChkDic’s publication.

ChkDic Sowumwóóch

PolSrc Modj

CrlDic Kkemwóósch

CrlDic Mwóósch

The sound correspondences between Chk, Pol and Crl are regular but since the clan is not distributed much beyond Chuuk Lagoon, this seems a possible recent extension of the clan out of Chuuk Lagoon to Pollap or vice versa.

**\*Pike ‘Sand Islet’**

McEty OLMc PMc \*pike ‘sand islet’

ChkDic Piik

UnoSrc Pig (Ham.); Bik (Kram.)

PolSrc Pik

CrlDic Piigh

The final vowel is known from the ‘sand islet’ reconstruction. West-southwest of Unon and west-northwest of Pullap is the islet known as Piik or Pikelot. Possibly this clan name originated there at a time when the islet was inhabited (it has not been inhabited through the historic period due to its small size).

**\*Pwalú ‘Taro Swamp’**

McEty: OLMc PCMc \*pwalú ‘taro swamp, soil as found in taro swamp’

ChkSrc Boën (dia.)

ChkGeo Sabuk

ChkDic Pwéén

PulSrc Böl

PolSrc Boál, Böl

LamSrc Boll

IfIsrc Bwél

WolDic Béélú

CrlDic Bweel

The vowels of the CrlDic form are unexpected. One would expect ‘ée’ but there is also *bweel* ‘taro swamp’ so the irregularity occurs in both the proper and common nouns.

With cognate/regularly corresponding forms from Chuuk Lagoon, Chuuk State’s Western Islands and the central Chuukic atolls, this form can probably be attributed to Proto Chuukic, but we should remain cautious in light of the limited ChkGeo distribution.

**\*Raki ‘Sailing Season’**

McEty OLMc PMc \*raki ‘year, sailing season’

ChkSrc Rak / Rek / Rëg

ChkGeo Sabuk, Tol

ChkDic Ráák



LamSrc Rak  
 LamoSrc Rakh  
 PurSrc Rékiri Saralé(sa) (dia.)  
 CrlDic Ráágh

With regularly agreeing forms in the Chuuk Lagoon and Lamotrek and a possible cognate in Pulo Anna, this form seems a possible Proto Chuukic candidate.

**\*Rape-Fanúa ‘? Land/Island’**

McEty OLMc PMc \*fanua ‘land, island’  
 ChkDic Ropéfénú  
 IflSrc Rapevelú

This clan name is composed of PMc \*fanua ‘land’ added to a second word, \*\*rope or \*\*rape, for which no ancient meaning is presently reconstructed. The IflSrc mentions that *rape* is an Ifaluk word meaning ‘chief’ but not ‘high(est) chief’.

The clan is reported only for Ifaluk and for Chuuk Lagoon in ChkDic but not from *Südsee* times. Perhaps this distribution involved an Ifaluk woman who married into Chuuk lagoon some time after the *Südsee* materials were collected.

**\*Tulasi ‘Loosen’**

McEty OLMc PMc \*talasi ‘loosen something’  
 ChkDic Sanet  
 MurSrc Salet; Zelet (Ham.)

As this clan name is found only in Murillo and, more recently, in the Chuuk Lagoon, it would seem possibly to be a Murillo clan that came to Chuuk after *Südsee* times.

**\*Tapwo-ni-Ppia ‘Village at the Beach’**

McEty OLMc PMc \*tapwo ‘district, village’—\*ni ‘of’—\*pipia ‘sand, sand beach’  
 ChkSrc Sabúnubi  
 ChkGeo Moén, Mëtitui, Iras, Lëaua, Vídjap, Vinepis  
 ChkDic Sópwunupi  
 NamSrc Sabúnubi  
 NamoSrc Sópwunupi; plus four Südsee spellings not entered.  
 NamaSrc Thau a bunn  
 PolSrc Haubúnubit - source notes Chuuk Lagoon Sabúnubi  
 PulSrc Haubónibi (dia.) (‘Ausgestorben ist die ainang Haubónibi’—(‘died out’)  
 CrlDic Sabwoloppi  
 CrnDic Habwonoppi

Due to its wide distribution around the Chuuk Lagoon (ChkGeo) and its presence in the Mortlocks and Chuuk State’s Western Islands, there is the appearance that this clan name is old and well established. Perhaps it was a Proto Chuukic clan that did not participate in the settlement of the central and western Chuukic atolls. It is also possible that it was part

of the dispersal to Satawal and further west but died out in those areas as the PulSrc says it had on Puluwat (by *Südsee* times).

The final consonant of the PolSrc may be a *Südsee* typo. A suspicious consonant ends the previously listed clan name as well.

Here again a vowel has changed due to the vowel *before* it rather than the vowel *after* it (NamSrc, NamSrc, ChkDic, ChkSrc, PolSrc, CrlDic, CrnDic). Data from all relevant witnesses other than PulSrc suggest an intermediate \*sapwo-nu-ppi (where \*-ni- is expected rather than \*-nu-).

#### **\*Taro ‘Birthmark’**

McEty ChkDic *sóór*, *sóro-*, PulDic<sup>12</sup> *hór* (sic – one would expect *hóór*),  
CrIDic *sóór* ‘birthmark’

ChkDic *Sóór*

ChkSrc *Sorr*

ChkGeo Moén, Lëaua, Vídjap, Sābuk, Peliëséle, (Pélia Kub), Pada

NamSrc *Sorr*

NamSrc *Sór*

NamaSrc *Sorr*

MurSrc *Sorr*; Tsor (Sor) (Ham.)

PolSrc *Sorr*

PulSrc *Sär* (auch *Här*)

LamSrc *Sorr*

LamSrc *Saur*

WolSrc *Sor*

CrIDic *Sóór*

This is a very widely distributed and apparently ancient clan name within Chuukic. While WolSrc lists this as a clan name WolDic does not. Possibly the clan died out between the times of the two works.

#### **\*Tawu-Afangi ‘People of the North / Winter Tradewind’**

McEty OLMc PMc \*tawu ‘master, expert’, PMc \*tau ‘people’,  
PMc \*afangi ‘north, winter tradewind season’

ChkSrc *Sáuefang*

ChkGeo Moen, Fefan, Udot, Lekutanufidj, Sabbou

ChkDic *Sowuwefeng*

MurSrc *Sáuefang* (dia.); *Zauupang*, *Zóufang* (Ham.)

PulSrc *Sauúfan* (dia.)

WolDic *Sauwefangi* ‘name of a clan in Outer Islands (including Woleai)’

FaiSrc *Mataliefang* (\*mata ‘face’ + \*ni ‘of’ + \*afangi ‘north, winter tradewind’)

CrIDic *Sóufang*

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<sup>12</sup> Elbert (1972).

ChkDic notes that this is the ‘local name for the Sowupwonowót clan formerly on Romónum Island’ but *Südsee* gives a wider distribution and a status independent of any other clan name. It is curious that the name only occurs on Woleai and not any of the other central or western Chuukic atolls (except perhaps on Fais where an imperfect agreement is found). It is also curious that WolDic relates that it is a clan of the Outer Islands (of Yap State) and Woleai itself when *Südsee* did not list this as a clan of Woleai and neither *Südsee* nor later ethnographic sources mention the clan in any of their lists of central and western Chuukic atoll clan names.

**\*Tawu-Alai ‘Tall People’**

McEty OLMc PMc \*tawu ‘master, expert’, PMc \*tau ‘people’, \*ala(i,ú) ‘tall, long’

ChkDic Sowuyáney

ChkSrc Sáuanei, Souëlei

ChkGeo Meititiu, Vidjap, Pellia, auch Udot, Pollap

PolSrc Soualei, auch Souëlei

PulSrc Sauwälei (dia.)

CrlDic Sówualey

While this form is well distributed around Chuuk Lagoon, it is otherwise reported only for the Western Islands (Pol, Pul) and seems not to have participated in the dispersals to the central and western Chuukic atolls.

**\*Tawu-Fanaa-Ciki ‘Small Needlefish People’**

McEty OLMc PMc \*tawu ‘master, expert’, PMc \*tau ‘people’,  
PCMc \*fanaa ‘a kind of needlefish’, PMc \*ciki ‘small, little’

ChkDic Sowufanachik

LamSrc Saufaládjik

LamoSrc Saufalacheg

IfIsrc Sauvelárik

FarSrc Saufaläs’ik (dia.).

WolDic Saufelaashigi

WolSrc Saufaládjik

UliSrc Soflachikh

CrlDic Sówfelááschigh

CrnDic Sówfenaarhig

There are two reasons to believe that this clan name originated in the central or central and western Chuukic atolls and was borrowed into Chuuk Lagoon, presumably with the arrival of a central or western Chuukic atoll woman after Südsee times. The first involves the sounds of the Chuukic clan name. If \*tawu-fanaa-ciki was a name from around the Chuuk Lagoon which the Lagoon Chuukese always had or had from an early time, we would expect the modern Chuuk Lagoon pronunciation to be \*\*sowufanááchik but instead we find ‘-a-’ instead of ‘-á-’ and the second one is short rather than long. So the name seems borrowing into Chuuk Lagoon speech. The second reason borrowing from the central or western Chuukic atolls is suggested is distributional: the name is found only there except in Chuuk Lagoon (ChkDic) but was not reported from Chuuk Lagoon during

Südsee times and has not been reported from Chuuk State's Western Islands. Finally, the origin of the name is said by Burrows (1957) to mean 'People of Falárik', Falárik being a village of Ifaluk. So possibly the clan name originated on Ifaluk or the village took the name of the clan of some of the people who lived there.

**\*Tawu-Pelaya 'People of - ?'**

McEty OLMc PMC \*tawu 'people', PWMc \*palia 'side'

(PonDic Sounpeliempil)

ChkDic Sowupinay

PolSrc Soubelëi, Hóupílei

CrIDic Soupeley

This is a clan name with a very limited distribution, problems with the agreement of sounds between the forms identified and no obvious source of the second word in the compound. It resembles a Pohnpeian clan name but only vaguely—the vowels beyond those coming from \**tawu*- do not actually agree. It is reported in ChkDic but not in *Südsee*. The CrIDic form most resembles the first PolSrc form while the ChkDic form most resembles the second PolSrc form. On balance, there are no good grounds for attributing any great antiquity to this clan name.

**\*Tawu-Pwolowasa 'People of Puluwat'**

ChkDic Sowupwonowót

PulSrc Saupölowat

WolDic Saubwulowata 'name of a legendary chief who lived on an island in the eastern part of the Caroline Islands'

CrIDic Sóubwulowat

This clan was not reported for Chuuk Lagoon from *Südsee* times and is found only on Puluwat and in the Chuuk Lagoon. Its name suggests that it originated on Puluwat and later, perhaps since the *Südsee* fieldwork, came to be established in Chuuk Lagoon.

**\*Tawu-Wene 'Upright People'**

McEty OLMc PMc \*tawu 'master, expert', PMc \*tau 'people',  
PCK \*wene 'straight, upright, honest, true'

ChkDic Sowuwen, Sowuwén

NamoSrc Souwon

LamSrc Sael

LamoSrc Sauwel

FarSrc Sauwöl

IfISrc Sauwél

WolSrc Sael

WolDic Sauwele

UliSrc Sawol

CrIDic Sóuwel

Proto Chuukic \**n* rather than \**l* is reconstructed on the basis of NamoSrc. None of the other languages above still distinguish the \**l* and \**n* sounds of Proto Chuukic. But the clan is not mentioned by *Südsee* for Namoluk, any of the other Mortlocks or Chuuk Lagoon so it is possible that the clan came, since *Südsee* times, to Chuuk then Namoluk from, ultimately, the central or western Chuukic atolls. So this is another candidate for a clan name that originated in the central and western Chuukic atolls and came to Chuuk Lagoon after *Südsee* times.

If that were the case and the clan subsequently became established on Namoluk, we lose our reason for suggesting that Proto Chuukic \**n* rather than \**l* was involved since only *n* would have been present in post- *Südsee* Lagoon Chuukic speech and it would have been introduced to Namoluk with an *n* even if the earliest pronunciation was with an *l*. In any event, there is no early or Proto Chuukic \**wele* reconstructed while we do have a secure reconstruction in Proto Chuukic \**wene* ‘straight, upright, true’.

**\*Wao-ni-Rae ‘On the Branch’**

McEty OLMc PCK \**wao-* ‘on’, \**-ni* ‘of’, \**rae* ‘branch, stick’

ChkDic Wóónirá

PulSrc Wonirä

CrIDic Weliirä

This clan name is not mentioned in the *Südsee* sources for Chuuk Lagoon and does not extend beyond Chuuk except for on Puluwat. The ChkDic and PulSrc spellings suggest PCK \**wawo-ni-rae* which would mean something like ‘on (a) branch (of a tree)’. The CrIDic spelling shows an unexpectedly short first vowel and an unexpectedly long second vowel. The clan name shows no evidence of having been present in the central or western Chuukic atolls.

**\*Wii-sakaú ‘(People of) Namonuito’**

McEty OLMc PMc \**sakau* ‘reef, reef island’, ChkDic Nómwun Wiité  
‘Namonuito Atoll (excluding Ulul Island)’

ChkSrc Vida

ChkGeo Sabuk, Tunuk, Mëtitü, Iras, Moen, Vidjap, Lëseráda

ChkDic Wiitéé

MurSrc Uida (dia.); Uiza (Ham.)

PulSrc Wuído

CrIDic Wiité

This clan seems never to have become established in the central and western Chuukic atolls. The clan name is the same as the adjectival part of the name of the island of Namonuito atoll, is reported as a clan name by *Südsee* for Puluwat and numerous localities in Chuuk Lagoon, but is not reported at *Südsee* as a clan name on Namonuito itself. Perhaps \**wii-sakaú* had some special meaning in early Chuukic that came to be a clan name around Chuuk Lagoon and an atoll name to its north. No special meaning for PCK \**wii-* is reconstructed in the OLMc works. In Lagoon Chuukese *wii-* refers to being on the top of things. We see something like it again at the beginning of the next clan name below.

**\*Wi-Tuutuu**

McEty OLMc PCk \*Tuu ‘to be open(ed)’; ChkDic *wi-* ‘pulled up, extracted’, *wiiwi-* ‘uprooted’, *wi-* ‘situation, locus, manner’, *wii<sub>1</sub>-* ‘replaced, succeeded, exchanged’, *wii<sub>2</sub>-* ‘arrange, plan’, *wii<sub>3</sub>-*, *wi-* ‘(at) the top (of)’; WolDic *wiiwii* ‘to pull, uproot, extract’; CrLDic *wi-* ‘to be fat’, *wi* ‘to uproot, remove or place’

ChkSrc Uisüsu

ChkGeo Iras, Metitiu, Tunuk, Leaua, Sabuk, Lúkula, Tol

ChkDic Wisuusu

MurSrc Uisusu; Uitsutsu (Ham.)

PolSrc Uisúsu

LamSrc Uisúsu

CrLDic Wisusu

The \*T sound of PCk was rather rare and the agreements for it are consistently regular through the languages that have this clan name so it seems likely that the main word in this clan name had to do with things that are ‘open(ed)’. But there is no \*wi(i)- reconstructed for PCk in OLMc and the forms from ChkDic, PulDic, WolDic and CrLDic that I show above give us no one meaning to combine with PCk\*TuuTuu (which may have meant, most precisely, ‘[be] opening’) that would result in a meaning which strikes me as having to do with people and their situations (‘[People] Under the Breadfruit Tree’, ‘Village by the Beach’, ‘People of the Northern/Winter Tradewind’ and so on).

The distribution suggests a clan spread widely in the Chuuk Lagoon clan that did not spread widely into the central and western Chuukic atolls. It is a bit of a curiosity that it occurs on Lamotrek but is reported from none of the other central or western Chuukic atolls. LamoSrc makes no mention of the clan being small or recent.

**\*(Wu)waa-ni-kara ‘Sweet Canoe (?)’, Burnt Canoe (?)’**

McEty OLMc PMc \*waxa ‘canoe’, \*-ni ‘of’, \*kara ‘burnt’, PCk \*waa ‘canoe’, \*kara<sub>1</sub> ‘burnt’, \*kara<sub>2</sub> ‘sweet’; ChkDic *wu<sub>1</sub>-* ‘male person’, *wu<sub>3</sub>-* ‘pierce’, *wu<sub>4</sub>-* ‘throw water on something’, *wu<sub>5</sub>-* ‘fish trap (in compounds)’

ChkSrc Uenakar, Valigar

ChkGeo Peliéséle

ChkDic Wuwáánikar

NamSrc Venegar

NamoSrc Wáánikar

NamaSrc Uannigar

CrLDic Wwaleghár

This distribution suggests a clan originating in Chuuk Lagoon or the Mortlocks that never extended into the central and western Chuukic atolls. The meanings suggested, ‘sweet canoe’ or ‘burnt canoe’, are just the most obvious guesses. We have, in both the ChkDic and CrLDic spellings, evidence that there was an additional syllable at the beginning of the word—something like ‘\*wu-’—so perhaps the original meaning didn’t have to do with canoes at all.

## 5 Distributions, categorisation and conclusions

The first group of clan names I shall discuss are those which are candidates for Proto Chuukic age:

- \*Faa-ni-Mai 'Under the Breadfruit Tree'
- \*Kainanga-i-Sawa 'Clan by the Pass in the Reef'
- \*Ka-Sama-nga 'To Make the Outrigger'
- \*Pwalú 'Taro Swamp'
- \*Raki 'Sailing Season'
- \*Taro 'Birthmark'
- \*Tawu-Afangi 'People of the North / Winter Tradewind'
- \*Wi-Tuutuu 'Opened (?)'

There are no phonological or distributional reasons to suggest that these are anything but Proto Chuukic clan names although the rarity of the final two in the central and western atolls leaves open the possibility that they arrived later and in small numbers to the few atolls involved. But we cannot distinguish this possibility from that which would have them amongst the earliest names but less widely distributed than the others nor from a possibility that those clan names were once spread more widely in the centre and west, only to have died out in one or more localities.

The second group I would nominate as old but perhaps not as old as Proto Chuukic or perhaps Proto Chuukic clans which never spread west beyond Chuuk State's Western Islands:

- \*Tapwo-ni-Ppia 'Village at the Beach' (Chuuk Lagoon, Namoluk, Puluwat, Pollap)
- \*Tawu-Alai 'Tall People' (Chuuk Lagoon, Puluwat, Pollap)
- \*Tawu-Pelaya 'People of ?' (Chuuk Lagoon, Pollap, (?) Pohnpei)

A third group of eight clan names seem to have had their origins in the central and western atolls. These distributions suggest that old clans from the Proto Chuukic times dispersal to the centre and the west sometimes took new names in the centre and west. We can imagine that they might have done this upon arriving to a new place or due to some other event in their history. We can imagine that they might have done this when a clan became large and one or more of its lines came to be called by distinct names, eventually becoming clans in their own right. The clan names that I assign to this group are:

- \*Kainanga-ni-Weneyaa 'Clan of Woleai' (Woleai origin)
- \*Kainanga-i-Liku 'Clan from Outside' (Ifaluk origin)
- \*Kaú-Fanúa 'Land's Fishhook' (central Chuukic atoll origin)
- \*Luuka-(ni)-Fanúa 'Centre of the Island' (Murillo, Woleai)
- \*Mwangau-ni-Faca 'Eaters of Pandanus' (central Chuukic atoll origin)
- \*Rape-Fanúa '? Land/Island' (Ifaluk origin)
- \*Tawu-Fanaa-Ciki 'Little Needle Fish People / People of Fanaa-cik' (Falarik 'Little Needlefish' island origin [central Chuukic atolls])
- \*Tawu-Wene 'Upright People' (central and western Chuukic atoll origin)

Then there are five clan names that may have their origins on atolls other than those I here call the western and central Chuukic speaking atolls:

- \*Pike '(People) of Pike Island' (Unon, Pollap)
- \*Talasi 'Loosen (?)' (Murillo origin)
- \*Tawu-Pwolowasa 'People of Puluwat' (Puluwat origin)
- \*Wao-ni-Rae 'On the Branch' (Puluwat origin)
- \*Wii-Sakaú '(People of) Namonuito' (Namonuito origin)

There is at least one clan said by the sources to be a recent introduction to certain atolls from Chuuk Lagoon and two more with similar sorts of distributions:

- \*Imwa-O 'House-?' (Chuuk Lagoon origin, recent arrival to Namoluk and Puluwat)
- \*Mwaoco 'Ashes' (Chuuk Lagoon origin, recent (?) arrival to Pollap)
- \*(Wu)-waa-ni-Kara 'Sweet Canoe (?)', Burnt Canoe (?)' (Chuuk Lagoon, Nama and Namoluk)

So this study ends with about ten clan names that give the appearance of being oldest and perhaps as old as Proto Chuukic, a number similar to Nauru's 12 clans and not much fewer than the 19 presently populating Pohnpei (taking into consideration that modern Pohnpei has had about 1000 years longer than Proto Chuukic for new clans to arrive from elsewhere or to emerge by a splitting of an existing clan). After the settlement of the central and western Chuukic-speaking atolls, eight new clan names seem to have emerged in the centre and west. Some new names, we must imagine, emerged by changes in clan names and some new names, we must imagine, came from some clans splitting into two over time. Other of our 27 clan names seem never to have been present in the central and western Chuukic atolls. The geographical proximity of these Chuuk State atoll clans to Chuuk Lagoon leaves us, in most instances, with a very uncertain picture of their antiquity.

The approximately ten clan names which seem most clearly to be candidates for Proto Chuukic age show that clan names can and do survive for a thousand years or more. But comparison to Pohnpeian suggests clan names have more difficulty surviving periods approaching two thousand years. But for two or three exceptions, the original clan names shared between the Pohnpei and Chuuk populations have died out or changed in Pohnpei, Chuuk or both.

The eight clan names which appear to have arisen in the central Chuukic atolls suggest there may have been change upon immigration from what is now Chuuk State but we cannot distinguish this, by any method but oral histories, from cases of bifurcation or, for instance, that one of more have their origin in an entirely different population such as Yap. Indeed, we cannot distinguish central Chuukic atoll origin clan names from Proto Chuukic clan names that died out in Chuuk Lagoon or simply came, there, to be called by a different name.

Of the eight clan names with an apparent central/western Chuukic atoll origin, one has a name suggestive of a sparse atoll environment. Does 'Eaters of Pandanus' come from a time before the breadfruit revolution? Is it the chiefly clan on Lamotrek because it is the oldest clan that hasn't died out. In fact it was near extinction at the time of Alkire's (1965) research and its highest ranking female was chief of the island as she had no brothers or mother's-sister's-sons to take the position. Were the Eaters of Pandanus part of an early central Chuukic atoll population that were maintaining way-stations on the route to Yap



more than they were a stable population in the sense we have seen in the historic period, a lifeway which had changed for the better after the breadfruit revolution?

I found nothing to shed light upon the 'Achaw' period (Goodenough 1986). None of the 27 clans names are clearly intrusive to the Chuukic language area and the *Achaw* clan names that I know from Saipan are apparently from Satawal and/or Pulusuk and do not show up generally around the Lagoon or elsewhere.

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