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The Natives of Nauru (South Sea)

A Critical Study¹ By P. AL. KAYSER, MSC, presently at the Mission House Oeventrop, Westphalia

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The small island of Nauru (properly *Nápeŕo*), barely known by name until a decade ago, has been torn from its concealment in recent years and, thanks to the enormous, very high-percentage phosphates found there, has become the focus of interest in the business world. The scholarly world was also made aware of the island by Dr. Paul Hambruch, who presented the results of his research in a monograph on the island. Hambruch visited the island twice. The first time was for only “a few days” and the second time was “from the beginning of October to the middle of Novem-

ber 1910” and in this short period of six weeks – “because nothing was able to be obtained here in the May days of 1909 due to other obligations except a small collection” – two extensive volumes with a total of about 772 pages were created. A grammar with a dictionary was also able to be drawn up systematically and incorporated into his work.

Understandably, an expert on the conditions on Nauru will take the work of Hambruch with very mixed feelings. The author of this work had been working as a missionary on the island for eleven years without interruption, some of them before the arrival of the Europeans; the natives were still quite primitive in their way of life and in their views, untainted by culture. As a result, he had ample opportunity to trace their customs and traditions, their religious and legal views, their entire senses and way of thinking, in order to gain a reasonably accurate picture of the country and the people of prehistoric times. Hambruch will, therefore, probably allow him to subject his work to a small examination.

Very little has previously been written about the island of Nauru and this small amount of writing usually consists only of short, fleeting notes from travellers and researchers, who touched the island as though in flight² and procured from some trader or other the material which had to provide substance for a chapter about its land and people. Ms Brandeis, who is mentioned several times, used an occasional trip from Jaluit [probably a misreading by the original typesetter of Jaluit Atoll in the Marshall Islands] to persuade a former trader to write down a few things for her. Kretschmar, who worked as a doctor on the island for a whole year, allowed his imagination too much leeway in writing the commemorative book “Nauru zum 2. Oktober 1914” (“Nauru on October 2, 1914”) and has not been recognised as reliable by any connoisseur of the conditions there until now. The last but most important factor, the American missionary Delaporte, had been resident on the island for fifteen years; as a result of his anything but scientific background, however, he cannot be considered to be a researcher. Hambruch himself has repeatedly awarded him this title. Where linguistics is con-

1 With regard to Paul Hambruch, “Nauru,” 1st half-volume: with 108 illustrations in the text, 19 collotype plates and 1 map, L. Friederichsen & Co., Hamburg 1914, XII + 458 pp.; 2nd half-volume: with 338 illustrations in the text and 8 collotype plates, *ibid.* 1915, VIII + 314 pp.

2 Krämer spent only one morning on the island, “but worked non-stop to such an extent that he collapsed a few times for a short time.” Hawaii, East Micronesia, Samoa, p. 443.

cerned, only Delaporte comes into consideration, with whom ill repute had long associated a grammar that did not meet the linguistic requirements and was therefore “unusable.” It is probable that Hambruch has done even more to distort this grammar “by sifting,” “[his] own paraphrasing” and “more cumbersome orthography.” What he then adds of his own does not speak in his favour, as some brief explanations will show.

The method that Hambruch followed in his research was undoubtedly the right one: “The representation thus gains in originality.” But it is even more correct that to apply this method successfully, first of all the language should not be learnt (in six weeks), but must already be thoroughly known so as not to increase the scale of error by such an uncertain approach.

The native is extremely jealous of his cultural assets and guards them like the apple of his eye; he tries to impress the European and is then by no means embarrassed by lying and poetry; where there is ignorance of the language, this error is still often misunderstood. He likes to generalise, likes to exaggerate and brings together all sorts of rubbish without judgement, as he does not recognise the essentials, the core of the matter, from the trivial. Often enough, he also speaks to the European with the preconceived intention of deceiving him; he always suggests more than he says and much must then be improved, changed or supplemented by frequent checking and inquiries. Hambruch really had no time for this in six weeks.

Furthermore, almost everything on the island is legally protected by patent; very little is common property. Each family, indeed individual family members, have their own patents on sagas, narratives, magic and incantation formulas, techniques in certain occupations, etc. They do not even reveal their secrets to their own compatriots, sometimes even members of their own family.

In order to obtain “impeccable material,” Hambruch has used only three guarantors, but these were “reliable men” who made their statements “in good faith.” Were these three men really so reliable? I worked with *Abubu* for months and had to find out more than once that he was acting arbitrarily and unilaterally, with the result that I had to drop him as unreliable. I must say the same of the talkative *Oweijeda*. All the ethnological material that was collected at the time by Sigwanz and kept at the imperial station, in the processing of which I played the role of interpreter, is based by and large on the information provided by *Oweijeda* and is what the native calls *byédubyed*, i.e. a colourful mishmash of all kinds of unrelated things. Ham-

bruch should compare the records he made under the dictation of *Oweijeda* with those of Sigwanz and then state how often and how violently *Oweijeda* contradicted himself. The third party in the group, with whom Hambruch worked and who was also there when I interpreted, was *Kanemā*. However, he distinguished himself at that time by silence, because that was the safe way for him. Little *Eodeben*, with whom Hambruch continued to work in Germany, was still a child at the time and had no idea of all these things; because “Nauru’s youth cares little about the traditions of the fathers.” These would be the main factors that were active in the “flying snapshot” from which Hambruch’s large-scale work was created. Hambruch understood almost nothing about the difficult Nauru language, which had to be a prerequisite for being able to work scientifically with the uncultured natives and penetrate their psychology. Misunderstandings were inevitable, the incidental was often exaggerated and the core of the matter was not grasped, especially in difficult questions (magic, etc.). Where materially tangible topics were to be dealt with, as in the second volume, we see significantly better results.

The first volume breaks down into a general section and a special section. In the general section, the author gives us a concise overview of the prehistory of the island according to the sparse but all the more valuable information provided by old seafarers. After a detailed description of the external form of the island, starting from the outer reef, against which the sea fights in a constant back and forth struggle, and the various graduations up to the mountain ranges in the interior, with their caves and underground chambers, the author draws a picture of the alleged development of the island in its various stages on the basis of Elschner’s depictions in brief strokes: from the formation of the phosphate and its deposits to its exploitation by an English company [the Pacific Phosphate Company] in our days.

The author breaks down the name Nauru (correctly *Náqerō*) as follows: *ā-nuau-a-a-orōrō*, with the meaning “I go to the beach = I go onto the beach” (Vol. I, 22). I have not yet succeeded in researching the name; linguistically, however, the decomposition and meaning of the name according to Hambruch’s opinion is certainly wrong. “Going to the beach” is *rođu arōjīro* in the Nauruan language, regardless of whether you go down to the beach from on land or from the high seas. The beach is always thought of as the lowest point (one goes up from the beach to the shore = *roga*;

one goes up from the beach to the sea = *roga*; the *a* is characteristic as a suffix of the verb for a movement upwards; conversely, one goes down from the shore to the beach = *rodu* and also from the sea down to the beach = *rodu*; the suffix *u* serves as a term for a movement downwards) and therefore in any case a verb with an ending that indicates the movement downwards must be used: here *rodu*. The verb *núwaw*, which Hambruch uses, is always independent of its subject and means “go” per se: *a núwaw* means I go. The verb to “go somewhere” (in general) is *now*: *a now inno* I go there; *wo now ubülöm* you go to your homestead. However, here we have to express a certain direction downwards (down to the beach) and the direction must also be indicated by the verb, namely: *rodu* go down.

The word *aröüro* is composed of: *a* at the, by the, on the and *eröüro* sand, and means “at the, on the, by the sand that covers the beach around the island.” *A* (before vowels *an*) is the adverbial prefix of the place and can be placed before almost any word in order to make an adjective out of it. So people say, for example:

<i>anni</i> where there are palm trees,	formed from the adv. <i>a</i> and <i>ini</i> palm
<i>apog</i> in the interior of the island,	" " <i>a</i> " " <i>pog</i> the interior
<i>apago</i> on the sea side of the island,	" " <i>a</i> " " <i>pago</i> seaside
<i>anog</i> in the house,	" " <i>an</i> " " <i>og</i> house
<i>animen</i> on the roof,	" " <i>an</i> " " <i>imen</i> protective cover
<i>ati</i> frigate bird place,	" " <i>a</i> " " <i>iü</i> frigate bird

So *aröüro* is formed thus: *a* is the adverb and *eröüro* the sand = on the sand, on the sandy beach. The adverb *a* always answers the question “where” and “where to”? “Go onto the beach, go to the beach” is, therefore, correctly: *rodu aröüro*. There is no other expression. Incidentally, Hambruch later correctly reproduced the “I am going to the beach” (Vol. 1, 420) with *röduarorö* but overlooked the fact that he was not dealing with one, but with two separate words. In vol. I, 429 he again correctly writes *rodu arorö* in two separate words; likewise in vol. I, 453. One can rightly put a big question mark behind Hambruch’s deconstruction and translation of the name Nauru.

According to what has just been said, the *ānāqērö* in vol. I, 22 must be explained. The adverbial prefix *a* of the place associated with *Nāqērö* gives *anāqērö* (lower case) and means “on Nauru.” It is new to me that the seriously ill call out *ānāqērö* when recovery occurs; in eleven years, the expression has not once come to my attention. Recovery from a serious illness, rescue from great hardship is called in metaphorical language *rodun oē*, *radōdun oē*, *owūidun oē* (coming down from the interior), *rodun imago*, *ūkpēdun*

imago (coming down from the high seas). The interior of the island, which makes orientation impossible without a path and without a walkway and is regarded as the abode and playground of evil spirits, has almost become the doom of many a native and is the image of serious illness and great distress, in which man runs the risk of dying; this is also the case for the high sea with its dangerous currents, storms and predators. If an illness has improved, it is said: *timōren, bye o rōduten oē* now he gets away, because he has come down from the interior and the danger has been overcome; *mon, bye o rōduten imago* it is good, because he has returned from the high seas. In the way Hambruch interprets *anāqērö* it makes no sense at all.

In detail, the author lists the flora of Nauru, which developed from fruits that were washed up and established themselves on the beach. The fauna is dismissed briefly. It should be noted that the mule was never among the larger mammals introduced to the island; donkeys never had more than two representatives on Nauru and there was only one horse. Cattle were only considered to be animals for slaughter for the local phosphate company.

The names of the plants and animals listed are usually misrepresented. Thus, vol. I, 54 *irutsi* is not a “long sharp-edged grass,” but a burnt torch stump; *anētan* is not the “Bruguiera,” but the name of a plot of land in which there is a pond on the edge of which the Bruguiera grows; the name of the Bruguiera is *ētām*; “Hibiscus tiliacus” is not called *ekuane*, but *óquannq*; *ēdeo* is not “Hibiscus populnea,” but a wild ficus species; the *Jambosa malaccensis* has only become known to the author in one specimen, I have seen it in hundreds, but in smaller specimens than the one that Hambruch found in the bush village of *Búada*; “driftwood” at I, 55 is called *etabueijúe*; the word *etabūike* means “wood” per se; the name for “bamboo” is *ebarabarátu*, not *ebarambaraba*; at I, 428 he again calls the “bamboo” *ebarabarātū*; at I, 52-55 “sea urchin” is called *ānarabo* and not *tetanit*; *tetanit* is probably supposed to be called *tētawūit*, i.e., “porcupine fish”; instead of *areop* for “spider” it should be *araw*; a “mosquito” should be called *eānōm* instead of *emeniner*; the name for a “louse” is *iwūi* (*iui* means “man’s genitalia”); a “turnstone” is called a *digidūba*, not *dāgidūba*; at I, 53 the same bird is again called *degidūbo*; so also at I, 87 *degidūbó*; in place of the *dagiagia* for “white tern” there should be *tegiegia*; for “squid” instead of *dagiga* there should be *tegiga*; *earin beoó* should be called *ēār in bāwo* or *ārin*

báwo and means “tridacna”; instead of *ikiber* there should be *ikibür* for “pecten pallicum”; a “spiny lobster” is an *egr* and not a *dabuidir*; a *dabuidir* is a type of crab.

The *edague* for a “whale” should be changed to *edagúa*; *imuijip* for a “dolphin” should be *imúijeb*; *yabur* for a “narwhal” should be *jébur*; *dabage* for a “turtle” should be *ewaká* (in I, 104 he calls that animal *e báke, te dabage*); a “moray eel” is *änágo*, *kabagabuqa*, *étarabuij änágo* etc. etc., each depending on the type; the *eátaram* is not the “moray eel” but the “noose” with which this eel is caught (cf. also II, 135, Fig. 225); “puffer fish” are *éágoxpór* and not *eáeo* (on the same page *eáeo* means “Hibiscus populnea”) etc. etc.

The following chapter discusses native settlements. Some of these settlements are studied in detail, particularly with the aim of obtaining reliable results on the rate of population decline, as well as the numerical ratio of male to female population. It is strange to see how people repeatedly try to explain the decline in population by the earlier wars. In my opinion, the wars, which were not as cruel as is generally described, should only be mentioned last. For the last 30 years, the hostilities, thanks to the disarmament of the natives, have not claimed any victims; the wounds inflicted by the war may have healed, and yet today the population is declining at a much faster pace than decades ago. The cause lies deeper. It is the diseases (epidemics are modern phenomena, previously they were unknown) resulting from sexual intercourse to which the main blame, perhaps the only one, must be attributed. A large number of women and girls are infertile for this reason; premature and stillbirths occur very frequently and almost all have to be traced back to old cases of syphilis, as the extremely capable doctor Müller, mentioned by Hambruch, was able to determine. Another factor that Hambruch does not emphasise enough is the totemic position that men and women sometimes occupy, which directly prohibits a marriage. I know young people who have to renounce marriage absolutely for this reason. Furthermore, the class differences also play a role; if no equal partner is found, marriage must be dispensed with in the better families, which are otherwise already so child-poor, according to local custom. It would also be possible to name young people in this situation. In recent years, there has also been the intercourse of the natives with the Europeans, Chinese and Caroline Islanders, who visit the natives by the hundreds and prevent them from marrying or break up marriages that have already been concluded. The whole village of *Búada*, with about

300 souls in the past, is now depopulated except for a few souls: everyone moved down to the flat foreshore near the branch of the phosphate company. The loose life of Europeans and foreign workers of colour has suffocated every sense of the family in the young people, since it would have to be a “modern” family that could come about contractually with some gifts and a little money for a certain period of time. Hambruch rightly speaks of a “merging of the natives into foreign peoples” (I, 58). All of the measures that Hambruch mentions and that have also been taken by the government and the local phosphate company have failed and will fail if religion is eliminated as the main factor. If the latter found more powerful support, morale would be much better and birth statistics would show more favourable results every year: because the natives are not a depraved and degenerate race by themselves, Hambruch himself admits “that the Nauru women are quite fertile” (I, 211).

The fourth chapter, in which the somatological characteristics of the population are discussed in particular, concludes the general section. The author divides the population into a Melanesian and a Polynesian type. The former he calls the older, native population, while the latter is younger and immigrated. The material culture that is still found today has almost entirely a Polynesian character; the Melanesian element is clearly recognisable in the spiritual culture (language, puberty festivals, etc.).

The special part deals with language and spiritual culture: the language chapter is the most difficult and important, but unfortunately also the weakest in the whole work. How could it not be? The language has very strange sounds and timbres; euphony is particularly difficult and it takes a long time for the ear to adapt to the new sound conditions. An unmusical ear is not able to absorb certain sounds of Nauru correctly at all. Furthermore, the train of ideas of the people, the structure of the language, the phrases and idioms are so completely different from our European languages that only after years of thorough study does one become convinced that one has laid a correct and firm foundation on which one can continue to build systematically. For an entire decade, others have turned their interest to language study and have also turned all of their dealings with the natives in this direction, and yet they have not yet been able to decide to go public with only half-formed and provisional results.

We must, therefore, be all the more surprised if Hambruch had already advanced his language studies to such an extent in barely six weeks that he had collected “enough material to sketch

a grammar.” The author himself admits “that he could only superficially penetrate the knowledge of the Nauru language.” This can be seen at the first glance at the grammar. It is not possible to go into all the incorrect linguistic details in this discussion, nailing down all the hundreds of errors, inconsistencies, etc., etc. A grammar of the Nauru language is in progress – the war has interrupted the work – and its appearance will then enable Hambruch to correct all the inaccuracies he entrusts to the patient paper. Whether the grammar will achieve its “purpose of helping the German civil servants of the administration and the employees of the phosphate company” to “quickly and easily become familiar with the language of the island and its characteristics” is highly questionable.³

I will not refrain from including some random samples of inaccuracies, which even a layman can check with ease, as a curiosity in the context of this discussion.

1. Orthography

- a) Example: *núwaw* to go; *nuwáwen* to have gone. This results in the following word forms in Hambruch:⁴

nuau I, 404
nueau I, 405
nūuěă I, 391
nueaup' I, 390
enueau I, 413
nueauuau I, 432
muau I, 421
nuauuēñ I, 405
nuau (nu eau) I, 160
nuauue I, 418
nuauuen I, 418
enueauuēñ I, 406
nuă I, 403
ēnueau I, 403
nuauuen I, 400
nuauuēñ I, 405
ēnuauuēñ I, 414
enuauuēñ I, 417

³ The “grammar” has also been published in a special edition by the same publisher. The title is simply “Grammar” for the laymen, but for “scientifically interested parties the modest attempt at a systematic representation of the Nauru language.”

⁴ Hambruch reproduces the Nauru *w* (English pronunciation) with the German *u*, sometimes also with *up'* and *up*; in order to be consistent, he would have had to write *nuuau* and *nuauuen*; *nuuauup'* and *nuuauup'en*; other forms were not available to him at all.

nuauuēñ I, 457

núa I, 449

nuaimen I, 389 (translated here as continuous)

- b) *aroan* his clan, from *aröö*, *aröam*, *aröan* my, your, his clan, gives us with Hambruch:

ēāroen I, 271

ēaroen I, 184 (Note)

ādroēñ I, 316

aröēt I, 316 (= next line)

azröēm I, 316 (= 3 lines down)

- c) *ij* to choose, to select, receives the following forms:

iīkχ I, 422

iigχ I, 423

eikχ I, 424

ijīχ I, 268

iīχ I, 395

ijī I, 401

igχ I, 420

- d) a) *eröūrō* the sand, becomes:

ē rōrō I, 154

e rōrō, *ē raurō* I, 177

ēraurō I, 452

ēraurō I, 447

ēraurūr I, 267

araurūr I, 267

β) *aröūrō* on the beach, is particularly rich in forms:

arōrō I, 147 (translated here as “beach” [substantive])

aróro I, 407

arōrō I, 407 (adv. here)

arōru I, 407

aroro I, 408

aróro I, 413

arōrō I, 416

aróru I, 417

arōrō I, 419

arōrō I, 426

aróra I, 282

arōrō I, 87

aroró I, 53

arōrō I, 52

āróurō I, 391

arōrū I, 284 (means “the beach” here [subst.])

arōrō I, 144 (translated here as “reef water”)

More attractive combinations are probably difficult to make and others are hardly possible. One would like to suspect printing errors here, but the frequent and regular recurrence of new spellings no longer allows such a reason for apology. These examples may suffice for Hambruch's "more cumbersome" spelling; they could easily be multiplied by several hundred.

2. Inclusion and omission of sounds (1, 99).

The author notes: "Without it being possible to determine the reasons for this, sounds appear in some word combinations that have either been preserved from an older linguistic epoch or included to sound pleasant. Whole syllables are occasionally omitted in ordinary colloquial language."

Examples:

1. p. 99: "*rē baiuuñ a ura* becomes *rē baiuuñ ka ura*."
2. p. 99: "*bue ēō ēi* becomes *bue deō ēi*."
3. p. 100: "*año en* becomes *añoget* story of, about = *añet* [= *año et* = *añet*]."

With regard to these three examples, I note:

on 1: Both forms are unknown in the Nauru language and have no meaning. The verb *bajwōñ* (not *baiuuñ*) means "to reach, arrive" and is only used with a location that must follow immediately thereafter. So they say: *a bajwōñ innō* = I arrive there; *areij bajwōñ ubiōreij* = they (three) arrived in their (belonging to the three of them) homestead; *rō bajwōñ ubiōra* (*re* is wrong) = they (many) arrive in their homestead. The *a* only exists in the dative: *a me* for me, *a ūra* for them, like the French *à moi*. A *ka* is only available as a causative prefix (*katimor* giving life), as a distributive prefix (*katōn* one each) and as a prefix of the objective pronoun (*katta* us exclusively).

How Hambruch can accommodate the *a* and especially the *ka* here, and how especially *a* becomes *ka*, is a mystery to me. In order to reproduce the expression "they came to them," another word had to be chosen, such as *ḡagada*, which always takes the dative after it: *re ḡagada a ūra* (with the corresponding ellisions) = *r ḡagada a ūra* they came to them.

on 2: This expression can be explained as follows: The expressions *bue ēō ei* and *bue deō ei* are not complete; the circumstantial word of degree *ta* is missing, which must never be missing. We thus get: *bue ta ēō eij* because just not it, i.e. "because it is not that (which is

said)" and the correct translation is: "it is not so, it is not true." The *a* in *ta* is elided by the stressed *e* in *ēō* and the correct expression is then: *bue t ēō eij*.

on 3: Let us say: There is an absolute form of the nouns, which comes about by prefiguring with *e* and *i*, and then we get the absolute form *ḡañōg* and a relative form of the noun, in which the prefix *e* or *i* is omitted, but a pronominal suffix is attached. Then the following forms result:

ánōgō my word
ánōgōm your word
ánōgen his word
ánōgeta our word (incl.)
ánōgeteij the word of us three (incl.)
ánōgōra their word (many).

"His word" is, therefore, *ánōgen*. If the *w* is followed by an open, emphasised vowel, it turns into *t*. For example: *ánōget aama* a word of men, about men; *ánōget imin* a word about the thing; *ánōget ani* a word about the (of the) spirit, and we would have found the solution desired by Hambruch in a very simple way. By the way, *añoen* means "they have become six" (from *año* six and *en* the past participle). *Anōg* also does not mean "history of"; *niwáwü*, *nuwáwüm*, *nuwáwin*, etc., would be needed for this. The expression *añoen*, *añet*, says Hambruch, "is rarely used." I must confess, in eleven years I have not encountered this once. The first time was in Hambruch's grammar. The author rightly puts a question mark on the whole thing. That is the only correct thing about this whole example.

3. Rules (I, 123)

"The pronoun (demonstrative) has three suffixes as information designations ... *i* for persons and objects in the immediate vicinity: here." He then gives examples of this.

Examples of the "Suffix *i*":

- I, 124: these 2 men *amē-rumeng*
 these 3 " *amē-timeng*
 these 2 women *ē-rumeng*
 these 3 " *ē-timeng*
 these 3 children *qniñ-timene* (does not exist, but *q niñ iijimene q niñit imene*)
 these 2 houses *ḡoāk-rōē* (does not exist)
 these 3 " *ḡoāk-yūuē* (does not exist)
 these " *ḡoāk-āuē* (should probably be *ḡág āne*)

I, 125: these 2 houses *mu-rou-e goāk*, *murōue goāk*

these 3 “ *mi-yū-ue goāk*, *miyūne goāk*

these “ *mūñau e oāk* (should probably be *mū nāne eg ag*)

these palm trees *mu-nāne ini*, *muñane ini*

this frond *mibēne ebēne* (correct is *mibēne ebēni*, meaning this [single] palm leaf)

these leaves *mirine ebēne* (incomprehensible; in any case, it is the form for the singular)

these balls *muñāne itipuep'*

these pandanus cakes *muñāne tetuai*

these wreaths *mubueṭe ekāue* (means here: this wreath [singular] of flowers)

these necklaces *mumueṭe tibiā* (means here: this necklace [si])

The demonstrative *minaene* belongs to the counting method for parts of flat objects; e.g. for “a piece of fabric” one says *minaéne tetagaj*. There is no way of counting and therefore no demonstrative for longitudinally split objects in the language. This is also the form for the singular.

If we take a close look at all the examples given by Hambruch, we may find a number of errors and inaccuracies, but not what we are dealing with at the moment, namely the suffix *i*! After all, rules are set up so that they are followed; if the examples given are exceptions, then a note or remark in this regard would probably have been in order. However, theory and practice are still far from the same thing with Hambruch. This is particularly clear from the rule (I, 132) which reads: “The imperative is formed in the singular with the suffix *up* of the hortative, in the majority with the suffix *ko*.”

Examples:

áueup'! love!

ijéijip'! eat!

atārup! write!

dáueko! love! (plural)

ijéijiko! eat! (plural)

atarko! write! (plural)

With regard to this rule, it should be noted that there is no hortative with the suffix *up* in the Nau-ru language, neither for the singular nor for the plural. The hortative is formed with words such as: *kamen naga* ..., *kamen iō* ... etc. The ending *up* does not exist at all in the language. According to Hambruch, the *up* is intended to serve the singular: I, 137 he writes: “*dūdūp emedēna* - irrigate the paths.” This contradiction becomes even clearer in the form *ko* for the majority. Consider only:

I, 423: *meta ko* (sing.) come here (should be: come out, go out)

I, 403: *mēta ko* “ come out

I, 424: *nuā ko* “ go there (should be: go); similarly I, 388

I, 424: *omeāta ko* “ bring out; also I, 424 (sing.)

I, 431: *rōdu a ko* “ go meet him (really means: go down to him)

I, 434: *kamēa ko* “ watch out (should be: *kanja ko*)

I, 434: *ānu ko* “ climb up

I, 450: *kaidōgo ko* “ ascend (correctly translated: lean on)

I, 450: *gdu ko* “ climb down

I, 453: *redōdu ko* “ turn back

I, 454: *ñōū ko* “ go (not used)

I, 339: *gābuir ko* “ bathe (actually means: wash [something])

I, 390: *otōruēi ko* “ bring here

I, 403: *rōga ko* “ come down (should be: come up)

I, 403: *tūk'o* “ come here

I, 390: *ieijī ko* “ eat.

Even the above example is still used here in singular form. These examples, in which Hambruch uses just the opposite number from the one he establishes as a rule, could easily be multiplied by several dozen. As a general rule, without a single exception, I would have said: for the singular as well as for the plural, the direct command form is *ko*. If the author thought *ko* was a suffix, then it should have been labelled as such. In fact, he writes it connected with the word (*tūko* I, 403) or usually separated from the word and treats it as an independent word form.

4. Translation

I, 130 states: “The verb ‘to have’ is rendered by the pronoun absolute with the help of the possessive pronoun.” The following are examples:

aña tabaranimēdañ I have a hat (really means: I am a hat)

amār tabaranimēdañ we 2 have a hat (really means: we 2 [excl.] are a hat)

ātār ogiten tabaranimēdañ we 2 had a hat (really means: we 2 [incl.] have already been a hat)

ātār ogiten tabaranimēdañ-ār we 2 have had a hat (one each).

The last example actually means nothing at all; of the two *ar* in *atar* and *tabaranimēdañ*, one is linguistically superfluous, since the one excludes the other.

I, 129: Asking about the owner.

A. General.

Who has a wife? *iegen e raña en ōn?* (the correct translation is: Who pays attention to a woman? Linguistically correctly, the question should be asked as follows:

iegen ñea e rañ e at on?
 Who of those pays attention to wife one?
 he

Who owns a chicken? *iegen e raña dmiōn?*
 (correct translation: Who pays attention to a chicken?)

Who owns an apron? *jagen e raña inuñ eran?*
 (correct translation: Who pays attention to an apron?)

I have a wife *ā raña een (et) ōn* (correct translation: I pay attention to a wife)

I own a chicken *ā raña dm in* (correct translation: I pay attention to a chicken)

I own an apron *ā raña inuñ eran* (correct translation: I pay attention to an apron).

B. Determinate.

Who owns this land? *iegen amēn raña ep?*
 (correct translation: Who is the overseer of the land?)

Who owns this house? *iegen amēn raña e ōāk?*
 (correct translation: Who is the overseer of the house?)

Who owns this donkey? *iegen amēn raña ēšēl?*
 (correct translation: Who is the overseer of the donkey?)

- I am the owner of the land *aña amēn raña ep*
 (correct translation: I am the overseer of the land)
- I am the owner of the house *aña amēn raña e ōāk* (correct translation: I am the overseer of the house)
- I am the owner of the donkey *aña amēn raña ēšēl* (correct translation: I am the overseer of the donkey).

5.

Hambruch has written down many things without being able to account for them.

At I, 390 he writes: *bue me* in our country (means correctly: in our farmstead). *Bue me* is the fragmentation of *ubuiō* (*ubuiōm*, *ubuien*, *ubuiema* etc. = my, your, his, our farmstead and is to be written in one word). The ending of the pronoun suffix for the plural is always *a* and not *e*. The author later writes at I, 418 *buemei* and I, 417 *buiōre*; also in many other places he writes *bue me* as one word.

5 The indicative pronoun “this” has not been translated by Hambruch. He should have turned to the question: *bitune qb* or *ñabene qb* this land or piece of land; *bitune qag* or *qag une* this house; *amune* (male) or *ātune* (female) *esel* or *esel une* this donkey. The correct question would have been: *jagen ñea amēn e rañ e ñabene?*
 Who of the men pays attention to this piece of land?

At I, 389: *amñea me* is a fragment of *am ñama* your man. They say *aēō ñama*, *am ñama*, *an ñama*, *atta ñama* my, your, his, our man. They do not mean “husband” here, but “servant, subordinate.” Hambruch should have used the word *agō* for “husband.”

I, 394: *buai ura* is again just one word, namely *bajūra*, from *bajū*, *bajm*, *bajm*, *bajma*, *bajūreij*, *bajūra* my, your, his, ours, their (three), their (many) things to ... At I, 395 the same word itself is *boi ūra*; in an even more beautiful version, we encounter it at I, 396 as: *buai iorēñ*.

I, 400: *bueté'i* consists of three separate words: *bue ta eij* = *bue t eij* for only he, i.e. he alone.

I, 411: *oijamuēñ*; this word also includes three words, namely: *óija a men* = *oij a men* = *oija* to give and *a men* to me (like the French dative *à moi*).

At I, 417 he gives *eme kuoren* he lay down. These two words are to be separated as follows: *e maq̄poren*; *e* is the personal pronoun “he, she, it”; *maq̄uor* (lie) with attached past particle *n* or *en* becomes *maq̄uoren* he lay down or he was lying down. According to Hambruch’s method, a corresponding separation in the German language would be approximately the following: *hes-tu mbled*, you were rewriting instead of he stumbled, you were writing. At I, 428 he writes the same word again in three separate words: *e me kuoren*.

At I, 418 he gives: *añ rōga ko, buemēi*. This expression can be corrected in two ways: starting from *añ*, it becomes *añ rōga kō ub̄ieta* or *añ rōga kō ub̄ietañ*; starting from *buemēi*, it must read: *aji rōga ko ub̄iemeij*. Hambruch has now combined these two linguistically correct forms and constructed a third from them, which is not permissible linguistically. *Añ* is nominative plural and *ēi* is the suffix for the trial form. However, a plural must always be combined with a plural, a trial with a trial, etc. Literally translated, Hambruch says here: We (many) let us go up into our homestead (belonging to the three of us). The strange position of the comma clearly proves that Hambruch did not understand his text word for word.

6. Numerals

a) At I, 109 can be read: The roots for the numerals for the numbers from one to ten are as follows:

1	<i>ə</i>	6	<i>ño</i>
2	<i>ru</i>	7	<i>əo</i>
3	<i>tie</i>	8	<i>uyo</i>
4	<i>tā</i>	9	<i>zō</i>
5	<i>timo</i>	10	<i>lā</i>

From these roots, the following are now formed:

I, 111:	I, 111:	I, 112:	I, 114:	I, 115:
1. <i>aikūēn</i>	1. <i>aikuēt</i>	1. <i>iūrīn</i>	1. <i>ibumīn</i>	1. <i>au uorīn</i>
2. <i>ārō</i>	2. <i>aromīn</i>	2. <i>arōūr</i>	2. <i>arābūm</i>	2. <i>aru uori</i>
3. <i>aiyū</i>	3. <i>aiyimēn</i>	3. <i>aijuūr</i>	3. <i>aiyūbūm</i>	3. <i>aiyū uori</i>
4. <i>āōk</i>	4. <i>āmēn</i>	4. <i>auūr</i>	4. <i>ābūm</i>	4. <i>ā uori</i>
5. <i>aijimō</i>	5. <i>aijimō</i>	-	-	-
6. <i>āhō</i>	6. <i>āhō</i>	-	-	-
7. <i>āu</i>	7. <i>āu</i>	-	-	-
8. <i>auī</i>	8. <i>auī</i>	-	-	-
9. <i>āzō</i>	9. <i>āzō</i>	-	-	-
10. <i>āā</i>	10. <i>oaia</i>	10. <i>aiurēta</i>	10. <i>abumita</i>	10. <i>aurita</i> etc.

I leave it to the reader to find out to what extent these roots from one to ten contributed to the formation of the number series.

b) Ordinal numbers do not exist in the Nauru language, much less do they have their own way of counting chieftains (I, 116). The number series given there for chieftains is nothing more than the simple form of distributive numbers; it should therefore read: one chieftain each, two, three, four, etc. chieftains each. Like the chieftains, one can also count the *emānañamā*, the *itīō*, indeed, every living being and even every roundish object with this distributive form.

c) General series of numbers, special series of numbers.

Hambruch does not have a clear understanding of the number series applicable on Nauru. A distinction is made between a general series, which, regardless of the objects to be counted, only specifies the bare numerical terms, and a special series, which is only used in connection with certain designations of essence and form. Hambruch has treated both series of numbers indiscriminately as numerals per se. In his 28 series of numbers (there should be 36), he always uses the indefinite article as the basic number for the ones; exceptions are 2, 7, 9; with series 18 and 25 only the meaning is different, otherwise both series coincide for him. In the following, I give from Hambruch's (H) series of numbers the numbers 1 to 4 and 10 and immediately below the indefinite article with the same numbers with the sign K. The differences between the two constellations will then automatically catch the reader's eye.

Ser.	Symb.	Indef. art.	1.	2	3.	4.	10.
1	H		<i>aikūēn</i>	<i>ārō</i>	<i>aiyū</i>	<i>āōk</i>	<i>ātā</i>
	K	<i>ion</i>	<i>aīkp'ōn</i>	<i>aro</i>	<i>aiju</i>	<i>āōkp</i>	<i>ata</i>
2	H		<i>aikuēt</i>	<i>aromīn</i>	<i>aiyimēn</i>	<i>āmēn</i>	<i>oaia</i>
	K	<i>ion</i>	<i>aīkp'ōn</i>	<i>arūmen</i>	<i>āijimen</i>	<i>āmen</i>	<i>oāa</i>
3	H		<i>ēnen</i>	<i>arūōni</i>	<i>aiyoñi</i>	<i>añēi</i>	<i>oneta</i>
	K	<i>eñan</i>	<i>aīñan</i>	<i>arúañā</i>	<i>āijañā</i>	<i>añā</i>	<i>añāta</i>
4	H		<i>oén</i>	<i>ārūne</i>	<i>aiyūe</i>	<i>āoe</i>	<i>aueta</i>
	K	<i>eoan</i>	<i>aīoan</i>	<i>arúoā</i>	<i>ājjoā</i>	<i>áoā</i>	<i>aoāta</i>
5	H	-	<i>ēōn</i>	<i>āra</i>	<i>aiya</i>	<i>āea</i>	<i>aiotā</i>
	K	<i>eon</i>	<i>ājon</i>	<i>āra</i>	<i>ājja</i>	<i>āea</i>	<i>aeōta</i>
6	H	-	<i>iūrīn</i>	<i>arōūr</i>	<i>aijuūr</i>	<i>auūr</i>	<i>aiurēta</i>
	K	<i>éwurin</i>	<i>āiwurin</i>	<i>arówur</i>	<i>ājiwūr</i>	<i>āwur</i>	<i>awurita</i>
7	H	-	<i>aiōrān</i>	<i>arúra</i>	<i>aivēra</i>	<i>āra</i>	<i>arāta</i>
	K	<i>erán</i>	<i>ājran</i>	<i>arúra</i>	<i>ājjira</i>	<i>āra</i>	<i>arāta</i>
8	H	-	<i>īnīn</i>	<i>arīni</i>	<i>ājīne</i>	<i>āne</i>	<i>ainēta</i>
	K	<i>in</i>	<i>āin</i>	<i>ārin</i>	<i>ājīn</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>ainita</i>
9	H	-	<i>āerīn</i>	<i>arurī</i>	<i>ājjir</i>	<i>ār</i>	<i>airetā</i>
	K	<i>iren</i>	<i>ājren</i>	<i>arúre</i>	<i>ājjir</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>ājreta</i>
10	H	-	<i>ēōān (aiuān)</i>	<i>aru</i>	<i>aiyiua</i>	<i>āua</i>	<i>auuāta</i>
	K	<i>ewān</i>	<i>ājwān</i>	<i>arúwa</i>	<i>ājjiwa</i>	<i>āwa</i>	<i>awāta</i>
11	H	-	<i>emuētīn</i>	<i>aramue</i>	<i>aiyomue</i>	<i>āmue</i>	<i>amueta</i>
							{ (amuētīta)
	K	<i>emuātin</i>	<i>aīmuātin</i>	<i>arámuij</i>	<i>ājumuij</i>	<i>āmuij</i>	<i>amuātita</i>
12	H	-	<i>emāīn</i>	<i>arumai</i>	<i>aijimai</i>	<i>āmai</i>	<i>amaēta</i>
	K	<i>emāen</i>	<i>ājmaen</i>	<i>arúmae</i>	<i>ājjimaē</i>	<i>āmaē</i>	<i>amāeta</i>

13	H	-	<i>ēbōñon</i>	<i>arubōño</i>	<i>aiyubōño</i>	<i>ābōño</i>	<i>abōñota</i>
	K		<i>ebañoñ</i>	<i>arúbaño</i>	<i>aijibaño</i>	<i>ābaño</i>	<i>abañoṭa</i>
14	H	-	<i>ēāñ</i>	<i>aruai</i>	<i>aiyiai</i>	<i>oāē</i>	<i>aeta</i>
	K		<i>eáen</i>	<i>arúae</i>	<i>ájae</i>	<i>aae</i>	<i>aáeta</i>
15	H	-	<i>ēmārñ</i>	<i>arumuāri</i>	<i>aiyimuāri</i>	<i>āmuāri</i>	<i>amaritā</i>
	K		<i>émarin</i>	<i>arúmari</i>	<i>aijímari</i>	<i>ámari</i>	<i>amarita</i>
16	H	-	<i>emuēñ</i>	<i>ārām</i>	<i>aiyōm</i>	<i>ām</i>	<i>āmata</i>
	K		<i>émuon</i>	<i>arám</i>	<i>ájom</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>amuṭa</i>
17	H	-	<i>ērēñ</i>	<i>arāre</i>	<i>aijora</i>	<i>āre</i>	<i>areta</i>
	K		<i>erān</i>	<i>arara</i>	<i>ájira</i>	<i>ara</i>	<i>arṭa</i>
18	H	-	<i>egāñ</i>	<i>ārūgā</i>	<i>aiyugā</i>	<i>āgā</i>	<i>agata</i>
	K		<i>egágn</i>	<i>arúga</i>	<i>ājiga</i>	<i>ága</i>	<i>agṭa</i>
19	H	-	<i>ēkēñ</i>	<i>arúki</i>	<i>āyiki</i>	<i>aāki</i>	<i>aketa</i>
	K		<i>ekān</i>	<i>arúka</i>	<i>ájika</i>	<i>aka</i>	<i>akṭa</i>
20	H	-	<i>ibumñ</i>	<i>ārābūm</i>	<i>aiyūbūm</i>	<i>ēābūm</i>	<i>abumita</i>
	K		<i>ibumin</i>	<i>arābum</i>	<i>ājibum</i>	<i>ēābum</i>	<i>abumita</i>
21	H	-	<i>ētdītēñ</i>	<i>arūēdēta</i>	<i>aiyi'dīt</i>	<i>ā'dīt</i>	<i>ādētētá</i>
	K		<i>ētēten</i>	<i>aruētēta</i>	<i>aijitēta</i>	<i>ātēta</i>	<i>atētēta</i>
22	H	-	<i>epōñ</i>	<i>arūpui</i>	<i>aiyúpouī</i>	<i>āpouī</i>	<i>apouēta</i>
	K		<i>épōwin</i>	<i>arúpōwi</i>	<i>aijípōwi</i>	<i>ápōwi</i>	<i>apōwita</i>
23	H	-	<i>ēbērñ</i>	<i>arabuer</i>	<i>aiyubuēr</i>	<i>ābuer</i>	<i>ābuerēta</i>
	K		<i>ēbuēren</i>	<i>arābuēr</i>	<i>ājibuēr</i>	<i>ābuēr</i>	<i>abuērēta</i>
24	H	-	<i>ēbēñ</i>	<i>arēp'</i>	<i>aiyop'</i>	<i>āp'</i>	<i>abēta</i>
	K		<i>āben</i>	<i>arāb</i>	<i>ájāb</i>	<i>ab</i>	<i>ābṭa</i>
25	H	-	<i>ēgāñ</i>	<i>arūga</i>	<i>ayīga</i>	<i>āga</i>	<i>agata</i>
	K		<i>egān</i>	<i>arúgan</i>	<i>ājigan</i>	<i>āgan</i>	<i>agata</i>
26	H	-	<i>ēbōkēñ</i>	<i>arabōk</i>	<i>aiyibōk</i>	<i>ābōk</i>	<i>abōgēta</i>
	K		<i>ébogen</i>	<i>arābōg</i>	<i>aijibōg</i>	<i>ābōg</i>	<i>abōgeta</i>
27	H	-	<i>ēmuaiyñ</i>	<i>arumoiji</i>	<i>aiyumoiji</i>	<i>āmoijī</i>	<i>amoijita</i>
	K		<i>emájjin</i>	<i>arúmaiiji</i>	<i>aijímaiiji</i>	<i>āmaiiji</i>	<i>amaijita</i>
28	H	-	<i>au uorñ</i>	<i>aru uori</i>	<i>aiyū uori</i>	<i>ā uori</i>	<i>auurita</i>
	K		<i>éworin</i>	<i>arúwōri</i>	<i>ājuwōri</i>	<i>āwōri</i>	<i>aworita</i>

Hambruch divides the population into “four graded classes,” I, 184: 1. *Temónibe*, 2. *ímō*, 3. *amēneñame*, 4. *eñame*, and in “two sub-classes of unfree persons”: *itsio* und *itlora*. I cannot agree with this breakdown of the population. During my eleven-year stay on Nauru, I only got to know three graded classes: the *demónibā* (family elders), also called *ēomō*, the *emānañamā*, the free and the *itlō*, the serfs. The two terms *demónibā* and *ēomo* mean the same thing and can be used interchangeably. *Demónibā* is an introduced foreign word (*de*, *te* is a Gilbert [Kiribati] article), while *ēomō* is the actual local Nauru word. Both words mean: the

best, the oldest, the head of the family. The dignity of such a person is also referred to as *ēomō*. The last expression is by far the most common on the island; thus one never says *ekaowen monibāin*, but *ekaowen omōn* (*omō*, *omóm*, *omón* = mine, your, his eldership) his dignity is gone. If a chief-tain marries morganatically (e.g. an *itlō*), then one says *o púduen omōn*, *magān omōn*, *e totuen omōn*: his eldership is fallen (lost), ended, reduced. The middle class is referred to as *emānañamā*. The term *eñamā* does not designate a state as such, but rather generally means a living being (the chicken in the incubated egg is an *eñamā*, a pig

7. Sentence formation.

Copulative sentence with *me* (and), I, 111:

- Eñame rē irirai ūrā, ia rō rūō ēāt er, inūñ ōma,*
H: People they decorate themselves, because they decorate with oil, nice aprons
K: The people they decorate themselves, when they dance in the oil, aprons they nice,
ē kauuē mi iu bēt mē rē rian.
H: flowers and other things also and they sing.
K: the flowers and fish also and they sing.

I would have written the sentence as a copulative sentence in the Nauru language as follows:

- Eñamā r irirajj ūra iō rō rūō, me ſ ōbit ōt eiōr ūra me*
The people decorate themselves, when they dance, and they cover themselves with oil and
ri t ōta iūñūñ, ñan ō mō me ekāuwe me iūw bāt imit inon
they only bring out aprons, which they beautiful and flowers and also some things
me re rian.
others and they sing.

Temporal clause, I, 143:

- ñāk ō ōre, a nuauuēn.* } As soon as he comes, I leave.
H: When he come, I go(ing) away.
K: If he come, I leave then.

The Nauruan would say: *ſin iō ōrā m ōgān, a nuwāwen.*
If he come and done, I will go then.

Relative clause, I, 144:

- eōniñ, ñea katōliš a taññ, e ūt katōliš.*
H: Child, which Catholic father to be, it will be catholic.
K: The child whose father is Catholic father, it pinches catholically.

In Nauru, the correct phrase is:

katholikēn bita gonin, ñea katholik amēa etōnin.
Becoming catholic, that child, which catholic that man his father.

On the same page: *tintē, ñea a etārō brif, e magen.*
Ink, which I write letter, terminate(ing).
K: The ink, which I to write letter, it is used up.

Correctly, the sentence reads as follows:

E magat tinte, ñea a earā ōt brif erān.
The ink has been used up, which I to write with it letter one.

is also an *eñamā*). – With regard to the *iñiō* and *iñiōrā*, there is also no difference in rank. *iñiō* is the lower, dispossessed state (not a slave, as is often mistranslated), while *iñiōrā* is a very mean swear word and roughly means: poor drip, parasite, etc.; the expression is always contemptible. *Rā* means begging, parasitizing, staring at hungrily and is particularly said of a hungry dog who sits there during his master's meal and greedily peeks at every bite that his master brings to his mouth, expecting that something will fall off for him too; the *rā* is also used about old people when they, rejected by their relatives, linger around and beg

among strangers. The reinforced form is *rāra* = in a continued parasitic state. This expression, associated with *iñiō*, then yields *iñiōrā*, *iñiōrāra*; for the ancients, it becomes *ēñab e rāra*, *enab e ra* (old man, he begs), an old parasite. *iñiō* can be said of anyone who really is a beggar, but with *iñiōrā* there is always cause for disputes, formerly even for wars. The three states are evenly distributed among all districts and clans. A comparison with relationships on Jaluit [Atoll] is not appropriate.

In the above way, almost all sentences that Hambruch “constructed ad hoc” could be re-worked into normal Nauru sentences.

There are some pages in the glossary where almost every word needs correction.

*

The position not only of the father, but also of the mother, is class determining (I, 185) and in the same way. If a person marries below their station, e.g. a *demónibā* man marries an *emānānamā* woman, then the children are *demónibā* ex parte patris and *emānānamā* ex parte matris (and vice versa) and the children appeal to the parents to characterise their position: *öüga bue demónibā néa etönö*, *demónibā néa innö*, so, because my father is *demónibā*, my mother is *demónibā*. If both parents are *demónibā*, then all children also carry the title *demónibā*. The firstborn has a priority position, but the following younger siblings are nonetheless also *demónibā*. *Demónibā* who preside over an entire clan or a whole district are unknown. If the author, therefore, always speaks of the head of the clan and the head of the house, then he grants the *demónibā* powers that are too great. According to indigenous law, the *demónibā* only has authority in his own family, whereby family is intended in the wider sense. Thus, one often hears the phrase: *eji ta demónibā ubüien*, which means that he is only a *demónibā* in his own homestead (relatives). In light of the above, one no longer finds it remarkable that so many people: men and women, their sons and their daughters, even small children call themselves *demónibā* and let themselves be called that, the firstborn as well as all the following siblings.

The *demónibā* title is only inherited in the family (and has nothing to do with the clan), always in the *linea recta ascendens*; if this dies out, then the firstborn (male or female, it remains the same) of the next secondary line comes into consideration. According to Hambruch, only male persons would always be candidates for the title of *demónibā* and in the absence of such a person, there would then be no other way out than to seek a replacement in another alien clan by “conversion of a member of one clan into another.” The example given by Hambruch to illustrate his assertion is unfortunately very poorly chosen, as it again shows the opposite of what should be explained. Fortunately, the family of *Abubu* (I, 191) is very well known to me. According to them, the relations are as follows:⁶

♂ Ebandmedan—Tógura ♂ ¹		(Teboe) (Eamuid)	
♂ Eggob—Afwor ♂ (Teboe) (Eamuid)		♂ Abubu—Egáorüt (Teboe) (Ema)	Kakā—Apápa ¹
♂ Eñtieibue—Ademeñti ♂ (Teboe) (Eamuid)	♂ Epagej, Górap ♂, Akáber ♂ (Teboe) (Teboe)	♂ Emareñej—Ayida ♂ (Ema) (Teboe)	
♂ Ekiowāda, ♀ Eggob		♂ Togubuyā, ♀ Edágin, Terigauā ♂ (Ema) (Ema) (Ema)	

The marriage of *Ebandmedan* with *Tógura* was equal, therefore all lawful children from this marriage are again *demónibā* here: *Eggob* and *Abubu*.⁷ *Eggob* was the firstborn and exercised the *demónibā* right of the firstborn until her death, while *Abubu* is an ordinary mortal. At the death of *Eggob*, her eldest daughter *Eñtieibue* took her place as a family elder and holds this title to this day. If *Eñtieibue* dies, *Ekiowāda* will become a family elder. There was no male first-born child and so it was always only the women's turn. If little *Ekiowāda* had a boy as her firstborn, her title would be transferred to him upon her death. According to Hambruch, *Abubu* should always have been a family elder, as he was the oldest male member of this *demónibā* family. Everything that is said about *Gorap* and *Aoida* (I, 193) is, therefore, also invalid.

The clan sequence is only inherited by the oldest daughter of the main tribe of the clan; if there is no girl in the main tribe, the sequence continues through the eldest daughter of the most closely related family. A common head of the clan is unknown, unless the daughter and heir herself could be considered as such, but in this case a male person is always excluded. Therefore, all genealogies always list only female names (the *e* is characteristic as the first letter for female names).

Each clan has its own totem, after which it is named. (The *irúa* = foreign clan had different totems, corresponding to the different family associations of their homeland, from which they separated. The totem is not so important to them, because they can marry each other, which would be equivalent to incest in the Nauruan clans.) According to legend, the clans all emerged at the same time from a cave in Juw (in the east of Nauru); others, namely the eel people, derive all totems from their own (*eámuid* = eel); others divide the totems into main groups with branched off sub-groups. One encounters difficulties in this regard that can hardly be resolved any more.

⁷ *Kakā* and *Apápa* are not eligible for the title of *demónibā* here, as they are illegitimate. - *Apápa* (not *Apuapua*) is the sister of *Abubu*, *Épagej* is the sister of *Eñtieibue* and thus the niece of *Abubu*. — On p. I, 191 *Apuapua* is a woman (♀), on page 192 she has become a man (♂). Also, *Bam* (I, 192) is not a woman (♀), but the husband of *Apápa*.

⁶ The symbol ♀ means female, ♂ means male.

The most numerous are the *Irúa* (the strangers, the newcomers), followed by *eámuid*, *téboe*. The pedigrees of the clans, which Hambruch has written down, are to be taken with the most extreme care. Although the three guarantors were “reliable men,” as men they are never competent in these matters. Only women are guardians of these tribal sequences. I cannot check whether the pedigrees are correct from here, but for some genealogies I received results other than those of Hambruch.

The stages of life are dealt with in great detail (I, 219): birth (childhood), puberty, pregnancy, engagement, marriage and death. Here again, we encounter the mistake that only men were consulted. Men only know women’s lives by hearsay; they are kept away directly by *taboo* from intimate processes such as puberty. The right way would have been to interrogate one chief’s wife or another, who had to undergo all of these ceremonies and measures of the male and female sorcerers, and in this way Hambruch could have obtained reliable information about the personal affairs of this woman (but only this one). What Hambruch presents as a puberty celebration is collated material from different families that must not be housed in one frame. The puberty celebration described should belong to *Ebanámedañ*, the mother of his informant *Abubu*. This woman had a puberty celebration existing in her family and passed on to her by inheritance, another received from the eel tribe by gift; she combined both celebrations and was now in possession of a third form. Hambruch has not separated out any of these three and presented them uniformly; the originality of these celebrations is, therefore, not to be found with him. – The same can be said of the celebrations during pregnancy. Hambruch calls the festival in the ninth month of pregnancy a dance festival: *ekugroueri ibia*; it was more than that, namely an undertaking of religious, symbolic acts that were related to mother and child and were intended to initiate a happy birth. Every single ceremony had its own meaning, as did every item used on that occasion. These ceremonies were continued after the birth had taken place successfully and lasted as long as the woman was *an ā* (= at the fire). The little house (Tab. 10), which the author mentions as a toy, came into its own on just such days as these. It should not, therefore, be referred to as a toy.

The translation of the text of the dances performed at these celebrations is extremely difficult, almost impossible. Detailed knowledge of the transformation that the language has undergone over the decades since the texts have been in

use, the knowledge of the customs and opinions of that time, historical facts, natural phenomena, allusions, the imagery in its mutilated state, the foreign language expressions collected in the text, etc., etc., make an accurate translation impossible today. If Hambruch could afford to translate so many dance texts in six weeks, then one would almost like to congratulate him.

The dark area of the religious views of the natives is dismissed in 8½ pages. One would have liked to learn a little more in this chapter; in particular, one misses a clear representation of what concept the black person [i.e. “the non-European person”] has of a soul, in the living body, in the dead body, separated from the body, in the afterlife (no “permanent form”); what difference there is between soul (*ánnü*, *-üm*, *-in* my, your, his soul) and spirit, a soul as medium and a spirit as medium, or in the expressions *eáni* *-ánnü*, *-üm*, *-in* *-iün* *-átuwö*, *-öm*, *-en*; in which manner the spirits are active: *emuédeö*, *ekáíwa*, *ekabuijá*, *idít*, *íibá* – origin of the soul, state of the child’s soul after the death of the child, etc.; also some of the techniques of a magician could have made the chapter very interesting. These and many other points would have had to be dealt with in order to give the reader a correct picture of the religious views of the natives.

Hambruch connects the frigate bird closely with the belief in spirits; in my opinion, he attaches greater importance to the bird than it really has on Nauru. Although the catching of the frigate bird plays a major role, it is no greater than that of many other animals. With the same right, the *digidüba* (children’s souls in the afterlife) and some shell species (spirit ponds in the afterlife) could also be represented as spirit animals par excellence. Even more spiritual meaning is attached to certain fish: the *égow*, the *éáé*, the *éápáé* and even the voracious shark (burial). Fishing with fish traps only happens under the auspices of the spirits. – As a counterpart to frigate bird catching, more detailed treatment should have been given to the *eqōrōr* of the women, while the men are responsible for bird catching. As a “companion of the *Tabuerik*, as a bird of thunder and lightning, from whose beak the thunder rolls, while from the tail feathers the lightning shines” (I, 285), the bird is only present in Kretschmar’s imagination (“Nauru on October 2, 1914”, p. 1). The last section of the first volume contains some legends and stories of the natives. Even a cursory review of the same clearly shows that the correct source has not been found here, either. The legend about the creation of the earth could only be originally preserved by

Erāpa, as she is the owner; the narrative would have been more uniform and significantly longer. The story of *īio* (not *stsigo*) and *Rajmen* (I, 393) has been combined with the legend of *Rajmen* and *Abuijakow*. *Un* is incomplete and only available in full in the original text from *Ejdingo*. The story of the invention of the boat is purely Nauru, but only the introduction to a very long legend, titled *Menulje*; *Ms Edabāderi* is the owner of it. The war of the hermit crabs with the crawfish should be a pure crab war, since only crabs participated in the fight on both sides. The narrative is indigenous to Nauru and in possession of *Āurob*.

Of course, the missions also had to be mentioned repeatedly. Above all, it is striking that almost always “missions” (in the plural) are used, when sometimes the singular would have been fairer to the facts. If the singular is used, then he will surely have had his surroundings in mind when it comes to “the unfortunately perverse influence of the mission,” which “does not want to know about the pagan things” (I, 313). In any case, the author could just as well have called a spade a spade here: this is the dancing and the sport that the American Wesleyan mission condemned wholesale in puritanical rigor, as something thoroughly pagan. On the Kaiser’s birthday, only the followers of the Catholic mission performed the usual national dances, while the American mission banned it as a “mortal sin” on that day. Under the same penalty, the same mission prohibited the capture of the frigate bird, smoking and drinking stimulating drinks. Only under the pressure of harsh necessity were sports, smoking, dancing, etc., acquitted of the curse of mortal sin and those thus fortunate did not compensate themselves too scantily for the years of deprivation. With regard to clothing, too, the author would like to apply the breaks and rejoices that “even the influences of the missions fortunately are not able” to change the circumstances (I, 216). The Catholic mission never forced people to wear clothes (European of course) for everyday life, but for church attendance. Hambruch could have determined with ease the situations in which wearing clothes (European) was urged.

That after eight years (the author was on Nauru in 1910) there was still no deeper religious understanding is something that Hambruch should have taken for granted; but that Christianity there represents “a combination of the old, deep-rooted and the new ideas of the Polynesian circle of gods and Christianity” (I, 273), on the other hand, is something that the Catholic mission must at least take a stand against. Hambruch must have had

such a sad experience in his environment, where there must have been an extreme lack of religious knowledge, otherwise his anecdote about Emperor Wilhelm and the cross (II, 185) and the question of St Peter (copied from Kretschmar) could not have occurred. If these inquisitive deacons of the Wesleyan mission had turned to the Catholic schoolchildren, they would have received the right answer, at least a more telling answer, than the American missionary gave them.

The note at II, 185, concerning the pictures, is inspired by the Wesleyan mission; the close connection into which Hambruch brings the images of saints and the holy water with talismans (II, 189) is hateful: “This need to place the house under the protection of well-meaning spirits still exists today: in the Catholic native huts, a picture of the saints or Mary is hung in the same place (on the *jorab* = central post of the house) and holy water is placed in front of it.” On the text at I, 274: “And the place for the food of the spirit is the central pillar in the house,” Hambruch adds the note: “Today, in Catholic native huts, a statue of the Virgin or a saint is hung there and the holy water is placed in front of the main pillar” (I, 274).

The section on adoption (I, 257) also contains a stab at the Catholic mission. As a deacon, the rapporteur *Oweijeda* was very interested in the matter and, of course, described the facts as he needed them and thought to give Kretschmar (and also Hambruch) pleasure. The facts, however, have proved the Catholic mission right on the question. The imperial judge ruled in favour of the Catholic mission, the girl was awarded to the mother and was Catholic until 1914. There has been no news since then.

From all this, one gets the impression that writers prefer not to see the missions among these natural peoples, so that their pure natural state remains intact; also, a tangible partisanship cannot be ignored.

The second volume deals mainly with material culture. It should be noted in advance that more thorough and accurate work has been done here than in the first volume. The themes themselves were not so abstract in nature. Hambruch had the objects that he describes in front of him in his museum, while he was able to inspect and observe others himself during his six-week stay. However, inaccuracies have also flowed abundantly from his pen in this volume. I only quote a few: The native never rubs his teeth with sand, otherwise he would soon no longer have the beautiful white set of teeth II, 1; II, 120 – ; the claim of the shifting of the feeling of shame at II, 2 is false; so is the claim

of cutting the hair as a sign of mourning II, 2; furthermore, the native prefers the black colour for his European clothing II, 5; the braided strands⁸ for the apron do not consist of “coconut or pandanus palm root fibres well leached in water and dried in the sun,” but of the leached fibres of the covering of the immature coconut II, 4; hat weaving was and is still unknown today II, 5; the *ébuier* in *bitóxoē* are not made from palm leaves but from pandanus leaves II, 21; no trace can be found of a mat blessing which is still said over a mat today before it comes on the market. Those who offer mats for sale (mostly young girls and women) are more likely to do anything else than bless mats II, 25. The coats of arms are neither clan nor family decorations, but very personal decorations that can be sold to other people. In this way, the decoration also reaches foreign clans. Hambruch would have done better to say: decoration that is currently in a family of the clan *eámuid*, *téboē* etc.

With regard to the treatise “The House,” I note the following: As depicted in Hambruch’s illustration, the actual living space of the house should have been the attics, the *ekāb* (II, 52), into which they climb through an opening = *emá* (*mem* means: your eye, your opening). In fact, the native has lived since time immemorial on the ground, which is furnished for living with gravel that has been gathered, a layer of coarse coconut mats and a top layer of fine pandanus mats. The *ekāb* served exclusively as a storage room for food and household utensils. The new design that Hambruch encountered dates from 1908-1909 and, according to the imperial administration, should be an improvement, especially in terms of hygiene. Whether the purpose will be achieved remains questionable. In the old huts, which were open all around and where the roof reached almost to the ground, the native felt much more comfortable and at home, as the influences of the weather were able to be neutralised better. Contrary to Hambruch (II, 52), the native has no greater longing in his heart than that for his old-style hut. The tripartite division of the house is incorrect. The residential building consists only of the four to six three-legged posts, not set into the ground, made of *Calophyllum* wood (never pandanus II, 54) of 1.20 m. in height (not $\frac{1}{2}$ - $\frac{3}{4}$ m II, 54) and the roof, usually already joined together, which rests on the posts. The roof, i.e. the entire superstructure of the hut, is called *ánimet qág*, not *ē renepo* (II, 52), just as little as we can call a roof tile a roof. On page II, 54 *ē*

renepo means “the roof mats made of pandanus leaf, which are tied up in the shape of roof tiles in closely adjacent rows.” The *ekāb* forms a single construction with the roof itself. The *jórāb* is the middle post of the three that support the frame of the roof and is always on the sea side of the house. One post that stands in the middle of the house and thus helps to support the roof ridge is not known on Nauru (II, 54). Such houses with central posts, called *temanéab*, came from the Gilbert Islands. Furthermore, each resident has his or her own assigned sleeping place on the floor (II, 59) and strict attention is paid to this in the chiefly families.

In the 4th chapter Hambruch mentions weaving and suspects its former existence on the island (II, 81). I have never been able to determine anything about weaving; there is no hint anywhere in the legends and stories, nor does the language have any expression that could reasonably be used for weaving. I therefore believe that the native never knew of the weaving loom.

Mat braiding is very interesting and clearly described. Original sketches on the different types of intertwining, layerings of the individual strips, etc. illustrate the topic.

The native is probably not very picky about food, but eating everything indiscriminately does not occur to him. The young *Ēōdeben* obviously did not understand his task properly here and therefore mentioned all of the animals and plants that were known to him and which he knew to be edible and pleasant to eat. But a choice would have had to be made among foodstuffs as such. For example, rats, lizards (II, 103), of the latter especially the black *itubuije* and the combed *ēja-īrarar*, are an object of abhorrence. Only the ancient sorcerers are reported to have had dealings with these animals. Birds like the *igógora* (which is not white, but pitch black) only come to the area once in a blue moon; 90% of the natives have certainly never seen an *igógora*. The fish *euyuy* II, 103 is not known on Nauru; Hambruch probably means the *ōēu*, a species of shark; but this shark does not have a saw-shaped snout extension like the sawfish. The louse *iwui* (*iui* means man’s genitalia) also figures on the list of foods. Although it thrives very well on Nauru (the native can name four species) and occasionally finds fans, it is not very appealing as a food.

The young *Ēōdeben* left too much room for his imagination to prepare some dishes:

II, 109 describes the preparation of the breadfruit. Until 1903 the breadfruit tree was only represented in two small specimens on the island; one

⁸ *bua* does not mean anything; the name of the cord is *ēanakāba*.

of them died during the dry year of 1910. So there was only one little tree left. In 1906 eight more trees were planted on the Catholic mission, but their yields were not made available to the public. So until shortly before the outbreak of war, there remained one viable tree for a population of 1,300 souls. I believe that *Eódeben* will not have seen much of the yield of this tree and nine-tenth of the population were in the same situation. It is therefore inappropriate to speak of breadfruit as a foodstuff. Also, the Nauruan cannot prepare them at all. The preparation described by Hambruch is common in the Marshall Island group and the food there is called *büro* (not *spiro* II, 110).

On pandanus puree see II, 110, No. 16. In the Nauru language, the pandanus tree is not called *edam*, but *épo*. The latter is also the name for the fruit. *Etom* is the mangrove growing on the small water ponds; dumplings are probably made from their elongated, woody fruits, but never a puree.

II, 111, No. 18: Palm wine is not obtained “from the stem of a coconut panicle that has finished blossoming and on which the beginnings of fruits are forming,” but, on the contrary, from the panicle itself, which has not yet broken open, is about to flower and is still enclosed. The flower is artificially prevented from opening by wrapping it tightly with a string; two to three times a day, the flower is scraped off at the tip with a very sharp knife. A flower is used up in two to three months.

One of the most important foods on Nauru is fish. Hambruch therefore gives fishing its own chapter. He leaves the depiction to “old *Oweijeda*, who is an experienced fisherman himself” and describes in 53 methods everything that came to his mind about fishing in a very original way. What is generally good about these fishing methods is the tremendous ease with which they enable a rich catch. For example (Method 1), you only have to take a coconut line (which should be called a hibiscus line), tie a small snail to it and then you catch the *egrō* (the *éarō* only lives on the reef in the crevices of the rock. How you would want to fish with a line there is inexplicable to me). Likewise Method 2: you tie a lizard to the line and catch the glittering fish *etaumuenai*; which would already be two methods.

Method 10: “With a thin line and hook you catch the *eokuoi*.”

Method 11: “With line, hook and flying fish as bait, you catch the *eapai*.”

Method 12: “With line, hook and as bait the flying fish or *ibia* you can catch the *emuen* and *ebo*, i.e. *ekagaga*” (see II, 208, Fig. 324, 325).

Method 13: “You take line, hook and *ibia* as bait and catch the *emuen*, i.e. *ijürae*” (the *emuen* can also be caught according to Method 12).

These methods would not have been difficult to combine into a single one.

Method 14: “You take a longline, hook and *ibia* as bait and can then catch the *eebo*.” The same *eebo* (note spelling Method 12) can also be caught according to Method 12 with an ordinary line; as well as “with a line, 10 hooks, a sinker of stone and *ibia* as bait” (Method 29); even “with a line, 20 hooks,” etc., the *eebo* can still be caught (Method 30).

Interesting methods are also:

Method 32: “With a small line, hook and sinker you catch the *ikuori*.”

Method 33: “With a small line, hook and sinker you catch the *irito*.”

Method 34: “With a small line, hook and sinker you catch the *eru* at night.”

These three methods are roughly one and the same and could have been accommodated in a single method.

Method 35: “If you take a pointed stick, swim in the sea and see a fish, you can spear it.” How?

Method 36: “You go out to sea, float, keep an eye closed and when you see an octopus,⁹ you spear it, this is called *amedair*?¹⁰”

Hambruch calls such methods “an impressive representation” (II, 150) by old *Oweijeda*; we would have liked the representation to be more expressive, especially in terms of content, because the whole thing suffers from a palpable emptiness. The reader does not gain even a small insight into the highly developed and complicated Nauru fishing techniques through this presentation.

9 The octopus is only caught in the crevices and caves of the outer reef.

10 What does *amedair* refer to here? Does it refer to the spearing of the fish, or to the observation, or is it the name for the entire method? – Place a hollow hand above your eye firmly against your forehead, blow air under your hollow hand under water to create an empty space between the hand and your eye and you will be able to observe the movement of the fish at great distances, possibly spotting fish to spear it. The natives call this observation *emādaier*. So it is by no means appropriate to focus on the spot. – According to Hambruch, Method 46 is also called *amedair* and makes no sense there.

After a treatise on means of transport, weapons and war, Hambruch goes through everything that has been said in his work in turn in the final chapter and presents the parallels from the surrounding groups of islands and then assigns the Nauru people their position in the formations of peoples in the South Seas. I confess that I am a layman where these questions are concerned; however, I would like to see the many inaccuracies that have been incorporated into the work corrected and these corrections taken into account in the last chapter.

The work is accompanied by a rich material of excellently executed illustrations. Some designations of the illustrations are incorrect, e.g.:

Vol. I, Tab. 10, is not a toy for a chief's children; II, p. 3, Fig. 2, should be called *üñññ*, instead of *inun*; Tab. 20, No. 5, should be *ederámera*; II, 10, Fig. 10, *émar* is never a headband, but always a collar; II, 20, Fig. 33, should be *téburā*; ibidem, Fig. 35, is *ije*; II, 22, Fig. 38, 39, should be *ébuēr in bitóxoē*; II, 62, Fig. 119, is *équon erén*; II, 63,

Fig. 120, is *iwur* or *iquur*, instead of *ibūr* (*ibūr* is an ulcer); II, 63, Fig. 121, *iquur*, instead of *jekur*; II, 66, Fig. 127, should be *eñow*, instead of *eñoup*; ibidem, Fig. 223, is *témenena*; also II, 67, Fig. 129; II, 75, Fig. 143, 144, 145, should be *téwuīw*; II, 78, Fig. 155, is *ipūipūij*; Fig. 156 is *kabagagáqe*; II, 135, Fig. 225, is *eátaram* or *ima*; II, 140, Fig. 230, is *ukpán*; II, 142, Fig. 232, 233, is *ébuēren iju*; II, 151, Fig. 242, should be *in*; Fig. 245 is *eréij*; II, 152, Fig. 246, should be *ekáqag*; Fig. 247 *itéibu*; II, 162, Fig. 254, is *wúrin okp' ó*; II, 166, Fig. 259, is *eoáre*; II, 168, Fig. 260, 261, is *eóköbân*.

Other items are not Nauru items, such as: II, 73, Fig. 140; II, 128, Fig. 217 (probably from Banaba); II, 129, Fig. 219, unknown on Nauru; II, 186, Fig. 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, are not Nauru fish traps; similarly, II, 148, Fig. 241, foreign; the same applies to II, 210, Fig. 327 and II, 213, Fig. 336.