Satawalese Fish Names

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Abstract - Some 400 fish names are included in the Satawalese fish nomenclature system. Satawal occupies an intermediate position in terms of the geographical, linguistic, and cultural realm of the Caroline Islands group. Despite the absence of an extensive lagoon and reefs, navigational technologies and skills have allowed the islanders to exploit the marine resources of reefs and uninhabited atolls in adjacent as well as remote seas. Folk taxa on fish cover not only a relatively wide range of fish domains, but also reveal certain unique perceptions on fish related to food and magic. This results basically from a heavy dependence on marine resources in the coral habitat. The broad trend of Satawalese nomenclature shows influences both from the eastern and the western cognates of the Trukic language.

Introduction

The Caroline islanders of Micronesia have utilized ingenious traditions of navigation and fishing since olden times. Such traditions, which are regarded as sacred by the islanders, are clearly adaptive in terms of human subsistance in the maritime environment. In some parts of the Carolines, however, these techniques have been lost or have changed drastically through western contacts over the last few hundred years. But in such islands as Puluwat, Pulusuk, and Satawal interisland voyaging and fishing expeditions using ocean-going canoes are widely practiced. They still constitute part of the daily, subsistence food quest. Such vital activities not only help conserve the limited marine resources of the islands, but also create an immense awareness of the importance of maintaining and reviving such sacred knowledge. Prior anthropological contributions in this area have focussed on techniques and knowledge employed by the expert navigators and fishermen (Gladwin, 1970; Lewis, 1975; Risenberg, 1976).

The investigation of fish names permits a clarification of certain aspects of native lore and of local perception on the natural world. Academic contributions on fish names in Micronesia appear mostly in German monographs (Krämer, 1929; Koch, 1965), and scattered in several dictionaries of Micronesian languages (McManus, et. al. 1976; Sohn and Tawerilmang, 1976; Lee, 1976; Abo et al., 1976; Jensen, 1977; and Goodenough and Sugita, 1980). Compared with the studies of flora, fish

names have been less thoroughly studied (Helfman and Randall, 1973; Elameto, 1975). This is partly because of the difficulty involved in collecting vernacular names as well as specimens systematically, and partly results from the relative lack of interest in maritime cultures. The distribution of fish species in the Indo-Pacific region is thought to be uniform in terms of diversity and of composition. In the Central Carolines, which is mainly composed of small, "low islands," ichthyofauna is apparently least diverse, yet the bulk of fish nomenclature system is by no means identical or cognized in the same manner by the natives of each island. Hence, homogeneity and heterogeneity as revealed by the naming of fish domains is of major scientific interest.

This paper presents a list of fish names and data on the native classification system of fish from Satawal, a small raised coral island in the Central Carolines. Data were obtained during the first author's fieldwork on the island, for seven months during 1979 and 1980. Fish names were collected mainly through interviews conducted on the beach when all fish landings were shared. Data were supplemented in part by discussions with informants using color photographs and fish books for later identification and checking of vernacular names (Munro, 1967; Masuda et. al., 1978).

Major informants were seven middle and old age male islanders who were regarded as expert fishermen. Final checking on the nomenclature was done by Mr. Sabino Sauchomal, the Satawalese second author. Orthography adopted here is based on the forthcoming Satawalese-English Dictionary prepared by Ishimori, Sudo, (National Museum of Ethnology), Sugita (Tokyo Gakugei University), and the present authors. Satawalese orthography is summarized briefly as follows.

Vowels are i, e, é, u, ú, o, ó, a, and á. Semivowels are w and y. Long vowels are shown as ii, ee, éé, aa, áá, etc. Consonants are ch, f, k, m, mw, n, ng, p, pw, r, ŕ, s, and t. Double consonants are described as ff, mm, mmw, pp, ppw, cch, etc.

Fish Classifications System

The broadest categories which include fish domains is maan. Maan corresponds roughly to the animal kingdom in Latin nomenclature and it covers human, mammal, bird, reptile, turtle, insect, and even microorganism. It is distinguished from miin that denotes "immovable things" such as plant, fire, stone, water, and the like. Fish is referred to as yiik

and is placed as a subcategory of maan. Yiik includes boney fish, cartilaginous fishes such as shark and ray, and marine mammals such as porpoise and whale. However, the latter are often excluded from yiik, perhaps because they are not generally eaten by the islanders.

Yiik is, in a sense, equivalent to so-called a life-form category as is also seen in Polynesia (Brown 1981), and it is further sub-divided into various named taxa. For instance, mwéén (squirrelfish), nikeriker (coralfish), pwuupw (triggerfish), yániy (sea bass), mwocch (surgeonfish), etc. are distinguished. These correspond roughly to the family or genus level in Western scientific nomenclature. Specifically, yikániwoŕ (fish of reef) covers some types of parrotfish (Scaridae), being distinguished linguistically from the other taxa since it is secondary lexeme. Such generic taxa as mwéén, nikeriker, and yikániwoŕ are further divided into several categories at the lower level. For instance, pwuupw includes ppwumásen, ppwufasiker, ppwufat, ppwukuŕow, ppwupaŕamách, ngúsúngús, ppwukeer, etc. These correspond generally to species. Several intermediate categories are often labelled between "life form" and "generic" categories. Such cross-cutting categories (Anderson, 1972) are generally composed of secondary lexemes; yikániweniwoŕ which denotes "reef fish" covers various fish taxa common to the coral reef community. Yikánimetaw, or "deep sea fish", includes surface swimmers such as tuna, skipjack, wahoo, marlin, dolphinfish, etc., indigenous to the ocean habitat. Other examples are yikán yápeyipey (fish accompanying driftwoods), yikán mwóŕoyisát (fish of the coast), yikáy neeŕan (freshwater fish, especially those in the pond). These relate to the ecological attributes of fish. Those that relate to taboos on food and magic are: yikinngaw (bad fish, which includes shark, ray, porpoise, whale, sea-snake), yikipin (tabooed fish that includes many taxa), yikiwerimá (poisonous fish such as pufferfish and certain kinds of snapper, surgeonfish, and sea-perch that cause Ciguatera), yikeppwut (bad fish that are tabooed for women and children), yikifán (bad fish that are tabooed for pregnant and menstruating woman, and some magicians), and the like. Such intermediate categories are closely related to cultural perception by the islanders, and should be discussed separately from the classification system per se (cf. Akimichi 1978, 1981a).

A List of Fish Names

In the following list, local names are romanized and binominals are in italics. (*) denotes taxa that have lower categories and/or that are classified as yitinap (lit., "big name"). Yitinap refers to locally perceived generic

names that include both some labelled taxa and unlabelled ones at the lower level. Linguistic correspondences of fish names are shown with the following abbreviations: (T) Trukese, (P) Puluwatese, (W) Woleaian, and (C) Saipan Carolinian. Trukese and Puluwatese form the eastern sector whereas Woleaian is the western sector of the Trukic language. Saipan Carolinian is spoken by inhabitants of Saipan who migrated from the Caroline groups (Lamotrek, Elato, Satawal, Pulusuk, Puluwat, Pulap, and Namonuito) (Bender 1971). These correspondences are found primarily with reference to scientific names of fish described in dictionaries of each language and, as for Saipan Carolinian, in Elameto's paper. References were also made through the vernacular as well as English common names that may have cognates in Satawalese, where the second author had the important role in verifying correspondences. As is partially revealed, linguistic cognates between two languages are not always identical in terms of the scientific taxonomy. Also, orthographics of those islands are by no means identical with those of the Satawalese. The Satawalese (r) and (ŕ), in particular, are quite the reverse of the Puluwatese.

CARTILAGINOUS FISH

1. pááw* — shark: pagow (W), pááwo (P), pachaaw, pókó (T), peu (C)
2. niimwéy* — immature stage of shark: liimwei (W)
3. mwóŕo — a kind of shark: mwóroow (P)
4. metan — whaler-shark (*Carcharhinus limbatus*):: matál (P)
5. mongowuruur — a kind of shark: méngowuŕ, méngowuŕuuŕ (P)
6. nimóngopaap — hammerhead shark (*Sphyrna lewini*): matefaaib (W)
7. ŕiiwo — a kind of shark
8. niréére — thresher shark (*Stegostoma varium*): liréérééfééy (P), niréérééfé́w (T)
9. wonaanú — a kind of shark
10. woŕáyinang — a kind of shark; worayilang (P)
11. páwán metaw — sharks in deep water

12. páwáŕiwoŕ	sharks of the reef: páwowán wóór (P)
13. fáyi*	ray: faiy (W), fáyi (P), ffey (T)
14. fáyi ketaf	spotted eagle-ray (*Aetobatus narinari*): faiyegetaf (W)
15. fááriyap	a kind of ray: fairiyap (W), fááríyáp (P)
16. fáyinap	a kind of ray
17. fáyi ŕéén kinifé	a kind of ray (*Urolophus* sp.): faiyelisheoligilifeo (W)
18. meet	a kind of ray (*Taeniura melanospilos*): meet (P)
19. nifóro	a kind of ray (*Rhinoptera javanica*): lifóórow (P)

BONEY FISH

20. waawa	milk fish (*Chanos chanos*): áách (T)
21. sówufáng*	eel: sauwefang, labut (W), nopwut (T)
22. sówufáng yónóyón	a kind of moray eel (*Gymnothorax* sp.)
23. sówufáng ŕón	a kind of moray eel (*Gymnothorax* sp.): labutoshol (W), nopwutochón (T)
24. sówufáng pweŕ	a kind of moray eel (*Gymnothorax* sp.): labutobesh (W)
25. sáyúwaanú*	eel
26. sáyúwaanú	blue-ribbon eel (*Rhinomuraena amboinensis*)
27. nayúy sówufáng	striped catfish eel (*Plotosus anguillaris*)
28. nimwárámwár	snake-eel (*Ophichthus bonapartii*)
29. nimwárámwár fayúnikun	a kind of snake-eel (*Ophichthus* sp.)
30. yérú*	snake-eel
31. yérúpweŕepweŕ	a kind of snake-eel (*Ophichthus* sp.)
32. yéŕúŕón	a kind of snake-eel (*Ophichthus* sp.): labutoshol (W)

33. rawucchik — a kind of snake-eel (*Ophichthus* sp.)

34. nisáningening — a kind of eel: niseningening (T)

35. mmótow — slender saury (*Saurida* spp.): mmótow, mótow (T)

36. taak* — needlefish (Belonidae): tag (W), taak (T)

37. takúsóópán — keel-jawed long-tom (*Tylosurus acus melanotus*)

38. tomwotomw — see 37.

39. takútér — a kind of needlefish (*Ablennes hians*): tagiuter (W), taakitéér (P)

40. táákánfanipiy — hornpike long-tom (*Strongylura leiura leiura*)

41. takúnúwoŕ — choram long-tom (*Tylosurus crocodilus crocodilus*)

42. takúnapanap — a kind of néedlefish (*Tylosurus* sp.)

43. nisów fáánipó — Dussumier's garfish (*Hyporhamphus dussumieri*): lihawfángipóów (P)

44. fena* — halfbeaks (*Hemirhamphus* spp.): fela (W), fana (P), fana (T)

45. yawukkáng — needlefish (Hemirhamphidae): aukeng (C)

46. mengar* — flyingfish (Exocoetidae): mengar (W), mengaŕ (P), méngér (T)

47. payitiin — spotted flyingfish (*Cypselurus poecilopterus*)

48. soow — a kind of flyingfish (*Cypselurus angusticeps*)

49. payikoŕow — a kind of flyingfish (Exocoetidae)

50. payimwáár — a kind of flyingfish (Exocoetidae)

51. payineen — a kind of flyingfish (Exocoetidae)

52. takúnnónn* — flutemouth (*Fistularia* sp.): lipaapa, tagiunal (W)

53. yúúngáni* — trumpetfish (*Aulostomus chinensis*)

54. yúúngániwooŕ — trumpetfish (*Aulostomus chinensis*)

55. yúúngánifaay — trumpetfish (*Aulostomus chinensis*)

56. kenaf — a kind of flutemouth (*Fistularia* sp.)

57. seraw* — barracuda (*Sphyraena picuda):* seraw (W), haráw (P), serau (C)

58. yapway* — immature stage of barracuda: gabeiu (W), yapwaay (P:*S. forsteri*)

59. yikáreng — slender sea-pike (*Sphyraena jello*)

60. yaraf* — mullet (*Liza* spp.): geraf (W), yaŕaf, likaŕafaŕaf (P), araf (T), araf (C)

61. yaraf — diamond-scale mullet (*Liza vaigiensis*)

62. nipayikkar — a kind of mullet (*Liza* sp.): lipayikkaŕ (P)

63. yayúw* — mullet (*Liza* spp.): yaiuw (W)

64. yayúw — Troschel's mullet (*Liza macrolepis*)

65. yayúwótur — mature stage of Troschel's mullet: yaawúwótúŕ, yawúwatuŕ (P)

66. yayúwacch — a kind of mullet (*Liza* sp.): yaawúwácc, yawúwacc (P)

67. yayúwetam — brown-banded mullet (*Liza dussumieri*) or the largest stage of Troschel's mullet (*Liza macrolepis*)

68. pááwáneŕ — common threadfin (*Polydactylus plebejus*)

69. mwéén* — squirrelfish (*Myripristis* spp.): mwel (W), mwéén (P), mwéén (T), muel (C)

70. mwénúccha — crimson squirrelfish (*Myripristis murdjan*)

71. mwénúkkar — blue squirrelfish (*Myripristis adustus*)

72. mwénútamwúŕ — small-toothed squirrelfish (*Myripristis parvidens*): mweliutemwiush (W)

73. mwéén pori — a kind of squirrelfish (*Myripristis chryseres*)

74. kúcch* — squirrelfish (*Flammeo* and *Adioryx* spp.): giuch (W), kéécc, kéccii (P) kkúch (T)

75. kúcchúyáriyár — crowned squirrelfish (*Adioryx diadema*)

76. kúcchóótor — blood-spot squirrelfish (*Flammeo sammara*)

77. kúcchúnifán — a kind of squirrelfish (*Adioryx* sp.)

78. kúcchúnkáreyón — a kind of squirrelfish (*Adioryx* sp.)

79. kúcchúpweŕ — a kind of squirrelfish (*Adioryx* sp.)

80. ŕúúkkáng* — a kind of squirrelfish (*Adioryx* sp.)

81. sera* — spiny squirrelfish (*Adioryx spinifer*): sera (W), haŕa (P) sara, inipar (T), sara (C)

82. neet* — a kind of squirrelfish (*Adioryx tiere*): let (W), leet (P), let (C)

83. yápiŕóóy — sweeper (*Pempheris* spp.): yápiŕa (P)

84. chúkúún* — goatfish (Mullidae)

85. chúkúún — five-barred goatfish (*Parupeneus trifasciatus*)

86. songoong — a kind of goatfish (*Mulloidichthys vanicolensis*): songoong (W)

87. wuweŕik — golden-banded goatfish (*Mulloidichthys flavolineatus*): uweshig (W), wuwerik (P)

88. tópwótópw — medium-sized golden-banded goatfish: see 87.

89. woomey* — mature stage of golden-banded goatfish: woomey (W), omei (C: *M. auriflamma*), see 87.

90. soow — mature stage of golden-banded goatfish: sou (C: *M.pflugeri*), see 87.

91. merep — a kind of goatfish (*Upeneus* sp.)

92. semayúrúpwong — three-barred goatfish (*Parupeneus bifasciatus*): semaribong (C)

93. nayúniyoon — a kind of goatfish (*Parupeneus* sp.)

94. fáyinikiiy* — a kind of goatfish (*Parupeneus* sp.): faiuligiiy (W), faayinikiy (P), fayinisi (T), fei-ligi (feilesi) (C)

95. mapwun — a kind of goatfish (*Upeneus* sp.): mapung (C: *Parupeneus porphyreus*)

96. sowunnónn — bright-saddled goatfish (*Parupeneus cyclostomus*): sowenal (W), howéllól (P). seweyinón (T)

97.	sákánat	mature stage of bright-saddled goatfish: haa-kúlát (P), see 96.
98.	wiyenam	a kind of goatfish (*Parupeneus* sp.): wiinam (T)
99.	nippwuruwóroŕ	blue blanquillo (*Malacanthus latovittatus*)
100.	pwonifééy	blanquillo (*Malacanthus brevirostris*)
101.	niŕopw*	cardinalfish (Apogonidae): liropw (P)
102.	niŕopwuy nepániy ŕiya	a kind of cardinalfish (*Apogon* sp.)
103.	tukufáyi*	cardinalfish (*Apogon* spp.)
104.	núpóów*	bullseye (*Priacanthus* spp.): liipaau (W)
105.	núpóówuŕón	dusky-finned bullseye (*Priacanthus cruentatus*)
106.	núpóówuccha	a kind of bullseye *(Priacanthus* sp.*)*
107.	pwówuriyap	a kind of bullseye (*Priacanthus* sp.)
108.	marep	rock flagtail (*Kuhlia rupestris*)
109.	páneyaw	flagtail (*Kuhlia mugil*): paleyaw (W)
110.	máyimén*	jumping cod (*Lobotes surinamensis*): mááymwen (P)
111.	sáyiyaaw	leopard-cod (*Plectropomus leopardus*): taiyaaw (W), hááyawo (P), seyiyaw, sewiiyaw (T), sai-au (C)
112.	cchily sáyiyaaw	immature stage of leopard-cod: see 111.
113.	sáyiyáwán yinón	leopard-cod in deep water: see 111.
114.	niŕipw	fairy cod (*Variola louti*)
115.	pwene*	fairy cod (*Variola louti*): bela (W), pwele (P), pwene (T)
116.	pweneen yiinón	fairy cod in deep water: see 115.
117.	pweneen wenimmat	fairy cod in shallow reef flat: see 115.
118.	pweneen weniwoŕ	fairy cod in the reef: see 115.
119.	ŕanúnúfayimwó	fairy cod (*Cephalopholis* sp.)

120. yámáríyor* — flag-tailed rock-cod (*Cephalopholis urodelus*): yámáríyór (P)

121. yúkúráap — orange rock-cod (*Cephalopholis aurantius*)

122. sewi* — coral trout (*Cephalopholis miniatus*): hewiy (P: *C.argus*), sewi (T)

123. mwánisénús — peacock rock-cod (*Cephalopholis argus*): maluslus (C)

124. yániy* — rock-cod (*Epinephelus* spp.) galiy (W), yááliy (P), eni (T), ali (C)

125. manúkányániy* — mature stage of rock-cod: see 124 and 126.

126. manúk* — mature stage of rock-cod: maleg (W): see 124 and 125.

127. yániy réniyóng — trout cod (*Epinephelus* sp.): yááliyrééniyoong (P)

128. yániynap — a kind of rock-cod (*Epinephelus* sp.)

129. yániyrón — a kind of rock-cod (*Epinephelus* sp.): galiyeshal (*W: E. merra*)

130. yániy mwerá — a kind of rock-cod (*Anyperodon leucogrammicus*): yááliymerá (P)

131. yániyáy neyinifay — a kind of rock-cod (*Epinephelus* sp.)

132. yániyán yárenómw — honeycomb rock-cod (*Epinephelus merra*)

133. yániy sópwonopaanap — long-finned rock-cod (*Epinephelus megachir*) yááliypaalap (P)

134. yérécchang — white-lined rock-cod (*Anyperodon leucogrammicus*)

135. metáyin* — black-tipped rock-cod (*Epinephelus fasciatus*) metel (C)

136. nimmeras — a kind of soapfish (*Pogonoperca punctata*)

137. nikos — longfins and/or scotties (Plesiopidae and/or Acanthoclinidae)

138. réén — drummer (*Kyphosus* spp.): rel (W), réé, pwiheeréén (P), rel (C)

139. réén — ashen drummer (*Kyphosus cinerascens*)

140. réénéwumwuné — large-tailed drummer (*Kyphosus lembus*)

141. réénúsonn — mature stage of ashen drummer: see 139.

142. rénnima — drummer (*Kyphosus* spp.) that follow driftwoods: renima (W)

143. niyamwit — silver-biddies (*Gerres* spp.): amwit, chopan (T)

144. ninenneto — large-bodied silver-biddy (*Gerres macrosoma*): linenneto (P)

145. yaŕowa — latticed monocle-bream (*Scolopsis cancellatus*)

146. kánángaay — monocle-bream (*Scolopsis* spp.): galengaay (W)

147. tingar — gold-lined sea-bream (*Gnathodentex aurolineatus*): tingaŕ (P), tingar (T)

148. sakúrúwaŕ — gold-lined sea-bream (*Gnathodentex aurolineatus*): saghuruwas (C)

149. ŕaanawut — large-eyed sea-bream (*Monotaxis grandoculis*): shaalaut (W), sónowut (T)

150. masamas — mature stage of large-eyed sea-bream: mahamah (P), mas-mas (C), see 149.

151. yikáyiné — a kind of sea-bream (*Gymnocranius* sp.): ikeyiné (T)

152. yópwuruppiy — long-nosed emperor (*Lethrinus miniatus*): yapworóppiy (P) sékúrúpi (T)

153. weyów — reticulated emperor (*Lethrinus reticulatus*): weeyaw (P: *L. miniatus*)

154. noot — a kind of emperor (*Lethrinus* sp.): lot (W), noot (P)

155. yátik — a kind of emperor (*Lethrinus* sp.): atigh (C)

156. woropwin — yellow-spotted emperor (*Lethrinus kallopterus*): worobil (W), woŕopwil (P) wurupwin (T)

157. metin — a kind of emperor (*Lethrinus* sp.): metiin (P: *L. variegatus*), metiin (T)

158. yayiyéy — green jobfish (*Aprion virescens*): yaiuyeiu (W), yawé (P), aiwe (C)

159. mmeróópw — jobfish (*Aphareus* sp.): meropw (P), morab (C: *A. furcatus*)

160. niteyitifar — sea-perch (*Lutjanus* sp.): liteitifash (C: *L. monostigmus*)

161. moos — two-spotted sea-perch (*Lutjanus bohar*): mos (W)

162. ngiirif — one-band sea-perch (*Lutjanus vitta*)

163. nisarufar — blue-spotted sea-perch (*Lutjanus rivulatus*): lihárfar (P: *L. flavipes*)

164. saas — yellow-and-blue sea-perch (*Lutjanus kasmira*): taat (W), sas (C)

165. masaccha — paddle-tail (*Lutjanus gibbus*): mahacca (P), mesechcha (T), masedcha (C)

166. kiyakiy — black-and-white sea-perch (*Macolor niger*): giyegiy (W), siwig (C)

167. wonónumw — mature stage of black-and-white sea-perch: see 166

168. tiin* — fusilier (*Caesio* spp.): tiil (W), (P)

169. tiin* — unidentified small fish

170. tinimoromor — unidentified small fish: tilimoromor (P)

171. tinimwoon — black-tip fusilier (*Caesio chrysozonus*): tilimweol (W), tilimool (P)

172. tinikúcch — unidentified small fish

173. tinipár — slender fusilier (*Caesio pisang*): ?tilipwer (P), ?tiliper (W)

174. tinipwu — mature stage of black-tip fusilier: tinipúw (P), tinipwu (T), see 171

175. tiniccha — a kind of fusilier (*Caesio tile*)

176. niyowumákk — a kind of fusilier (*Caesio* sp.)

177. mapwuun — a kind of fusilier (*Caesio* sp.)

178. nimmáreyóng* — a kind of fusilier (*Caesio* sp.): nimwmwereyón (T)

179. naamwáár — sweetlips (*Plectorhynchus* spp.): laamwaar (W), laamwáár (P)

180. yófunn — sweetlips (*Plectorhynchus* spp.)

181. mángirine* — generic name of huge-sized fish

182. mángirinéén yániy — large-sized rock-cod (*Epinephelus* spp.)

183. mángirinééy sáyiyaaw — large-sized leopard-cod (*Plectropomus leopardus*)

184. mángirinééy nuunuunó — unidentified large fish

185. mángirinéén yániyrimwicchemaaw — unidentified large fish

186. mángirinéén kúcchúniweniyón — unidentified large fish

187. nuunuunó — unidentified fish, possibly hawkfish (*Paracirrhites* spp.)

188. kúcchúnweniyón — unidentified fish, possibly hawkfish (*Paracirrhites* spp.)

189. ppwayúr — jacks (*Decapterus* spp.): baiur (W), pwawur (P), pwéwúr (T)

190. páti — purse-eyed scad (*Selar crumenophthalmus*): pati (W), patú (P), pétú (T), peti (C)

191. cchep — great trevally (*Caranx sexfasciatus*): chep (W), ccip (P), chchep (T), dchtep (C: juvenile *Carangoides ferdau*), immature stage of 194.

192. yayúkúmaaw — great trevally (*Caranx sexfasciatus*): young stage of 194.

193. repwópw — great trevally (*Caranx sexfasciatus*): young adult of 194.

194. yetam — great trevally (*Caranx sexfasciatus*): yetam (P), etam (C: also *C. melampygus*), full mature stage of 194.

195. cchepene fáánákúrang — a kind of trevally (*Caranx* sp.)

196. repeneetam — great trevally (*Caranx sexfasciatus*): mature stage of 194.

197. nangúw — bluefin trevally (*Caranx lugubris*): langiuw (W), yópw (P)

198. ŕepenóórong — a kind of trevally (*Caranx lugubris*): mature stage of 199.

199. yórong — a kind of trevally (*Caranx lugubris*): yarong (W: *C. melampygus*), arong (T), aron (C)

200. yikán fáán máyinap — golden trevally (*Gnathanodon speciosus*): igelifaalimaailap (W: *Pempheris oualensis*)

201. yoruniwor — yellowfin trevally (*Caranx ignobilis*)

202. sárir — a kind of trevally (*Carangoides* sp.): sarish (W), cheris (T)

203. merówuraaw — a kind of trevally (*Uraspis helvolus*)

204. yóppw — pennantfish (*Alectis ciliaris*)

205. fatiyeraw — kingfish (*Seriola* sp.): lifátiyeŕaw (P)

206. yengaang — black-spotted swallowtail (*Trachinotus baillonni*)

207. foofo — rainbow runner (*Elagatis bipinnulatus*): foafoa (W), fóófó (P), fa-fa (T)

208. tettán — whitefin (*Scomberoides lysan*)

209. sepór — dolphinfish (*Coryphaena hippurus*): tepoar (W), hapwór, hópwór (P), sopor (T)

210. yárengaap* — tuna and bonito

211. yárengaap — bonito (*Katsuwonus pelamis*): garengaap (W), yaŕangap, yangaŕap (P), angaraap (T), anga-rap (C)

212. tókuw* — tuna (*Thunnus* spp.): taguw (W), tóku (P: bonito), toku (T), tag-hu (C)

213 tókuw sángir — larger tuna (*Thunnus* sp.): see 212.

214. sángir — the largest tuna (*Thunnus* sp.): tangir (W), hángiŕ (P: yellowfin tuna), sengir (T), see 212.

215. manguro — tuna (*Thunnus* spp.): from Japanese maguro

216. samma — Pacific saury (*Cololabis saira*): from Japanese sanma

217. yásinnéy — mackerel tuna (*Euthynnus affinis*): yasiuneiu (W), yahillewu (P), asi-lei (C)

218. yayún — scaleless tuna (*Gymnosarda unicolor*): yaiul (W), yawúúl (P)

219. tárákapw — albacore tuna (*Thunnus alalunga*)

220. takúnaar — swordfish (Istiophoridae and Xiphiidae): taakúlaaŕ (P), takúnaar, takúraar, tékúraar (T).

221. mwárenóŕo — sailfish (*Istiophorus platypterus*): mwarelasho (W), mwaŕenóro (P)

222. ngáán — wahoo (*Scomberomorous* spp. and *Acanthocybium solandri*): ngal (W), ngÁÁl (P)

223. niyawmanúr — rainbow runner (*Elagatis bipinnulatus*): liyawomanúúŕ, yawowmanúúŕ (P), mature stage of 207.

224. táyikonipék — oil fish (*Ruvettus pretiosus*)

225. mayikoro — common mackerel (*Scomber japonicus*): as tinned fish

226. mwómwoŕik — rudderfish (*? Kyphosus* sp.): mamwushig (W: mackerel scad)

227. ningikkar — unidentified fish

228. nikayúúfar — grubfish (*Parapercis* sp.)

229. nimwaan* — blennies and gobies (Blennioidei and Gobioidei): limwaal (W)

230. nusupat — blenny (*Istiblennius* spp.): luhuppat (P), nusupaat (T)

231 nayúyrumeŕ — anemone fish (*Amphiprion* spp.)

232. mmás* — sergeant-majors (*Abudefduf* and *Amblyglyphidodon* spp.)

233. niŕék — damselfish (*Chromis* and *Pomacentrus* spp.): lisheg (W), lisheg (C)

234. niŕék ŕón — a kind of damselfish (*Chromis* spp.)

235. réék — damselfish (*Chromis* and *Pomacentrus* spp.): réék (P)

236. suturumáy — a kind of damselfish (*Pomacentrus coelestis*)

237. tefa* — sergeant-majors (*Pomacentrus* spp. and *Chrysiptera glaucus*)

238. nirék sárepwén — five-banded sergeant-major (*Abudefduf notatus*)

239. sonn — yellow-banded sergeant-major (*Abudefduf sordidus*): sen (W), hholl (P), sson (T)

240. pwoonifééy — gobies and blennies (Gobioidei and Blennioidei)

241. niréékúy neyiniyán — a kind of sergeant-major (*Abudefduf starki*)

242. ngiirif* — wrasse (*Bodianus* spp.)

243. niréyineyin* — wrasse (*Anampses* spp.): lisheileil (W), ? chiineyin (T)

244. nipwurupwur — spotted chiseltooth-wrasse (*Anampses caeruleopunctatus*): liburbur (C: *Thalassoma hardwickei, T. purpureum, Novaculichthys taeniurus*)

245. képaara — sharp-nosed rainbowfish (*Cheilio inermis*)

246. niréénéfáániyap — a kind of wrasse (*Coris gaimard*): lifaliyap (W), liréénfáániyáap (P)

247. yásáap* — clubnosed wrasse (*Gomphosus varius*): a-soap (C)

248. yásáápin yáriine — olive clubnosed wrasse (*Gomphosus varius*): male

249. yásáap pwerepwer — olive clubnosed wrasse (*Gomphosus varius*): female

250. mwarús — green-blocked wrasse (*Thalassoma purpureum*): male

251. keyiyop — moon wrasse (*Thalassoma lutescens*)

252. yáriiné* — wrasse (*Thalassoma* spp.) igasshileo (W)

253. yáriiné — red-banded wrasse (*Thalassoma quinquevittatum*)

254. senganangan — six-barred wrasse (*Thalassoma hardwickei*)

255. ráánaw — green-blocked wrasse (*Thalassoma fuscum*)

256. nngúwan — five-banded wrasse (*Hemigymnus fasciatus*)

257. nippwóroŕ — bridled beauty (*Labroides dimidiatus*)

258. nikos — a kind of wrasse (*Labroides* sp.): ligos (W)

259. yikáyirek* — wrasse (*Stethojulis* spp.)

260. worupwurupw — reticulated wrasse (*Macropharyngodon meleagris*)

261. woŕán* — wrasse (*Halichoeres* spp.): goshal (W)

262. woŕán — three-spot wrasse (*Halichoeres trimaculatus*): male

263. woŕánipweŕ — three-spot wrasse (*Halichoeres trimaculatus*): female

264. supayingar — three-spot wrasse (*Halichoeres trimaculatus*)

265. woŕánirupw — pearl-spotted wrasse (*Halichoeres margaritaceus*)

266. kutiw — a kind of wrasse (*Halichoeres prosopeion*)

267. sówuŕemáŕem — four-spot wrasse (*Halochoeres hortulanus*)

268. yápiyayút — rainbowfish (*Thalassoma amblycephalus*)

269. yáŕeperang — Gaimard's rainbowfish (*Coris gaimard*)

270. yanuw — red-throated rainbowfish (*Coris aygula*)

271. poot* — wrasse (*Xyrichthys* spp.)

272. potopweŕ — a kind of wrasse (*Xyrichthys* sp.)

273. potoŕón — a kind of wrasse (*Xyrichthys* sp.)

274. potoccha — a kind of wrasse (*Xyrichthys* sp.)

275. potowuŕa — a kind of wrasse (*Xyrichthys* sp.)

276. potomóów — a kind of wrasse (*Xyrichthys* sp.)

277. potokkááriyár — a kind of wrasse (*Xyrichthys* dea)

278. potofúsúfús — a kind of wrasse (*Novaculichthys taeniurus*)

279. nippwáyik — Maori-wrasse (*Cheilinus undulatus*): libbaig (W), liwayik, wétiwét (P)

280. máám* — double-headed Maori-wrasse (*Cheilinus undulatus*): mam (P), mám (P), máám (T), mem (C)

281. nácchini máám — immature stage of double-headed Maori-wrasse: see 280.

282. mámin yómosukin — a kind of wrasse (*Cheilinus* sp.)

283. mámin poro — a kind of wrasse (*Cheilinus* sp.)

284. fáyisiiwu — telescopefish (*Epibulus insidiator*): feyisiyuu (T)

285. poro — triple-tail Maori-wrasse (*Cheilinus trilobatus*): poros (W), poorow (P), poro (T), porou (C)

286. yikániwor* — parrotfish (Scaridae)

287. yikúré — a kind of parrotfish (Scaridae sp.): wukéré (P), wukuché (T)

288. kawakaw — a kind of parrotfish (*Scarops* sp.): gawegaw (W: Scarinae)

289. yómosukin — black-veined red parrotfish (*Scarus rubroviolaceus*): male, gemasugul (W)

290. fasúnúmat — black-veined red parrotfish (*Scarus rubroviolaceus*): female, fasiulimat (W), fahinemat, fahúnimat (P)

291. niyórokuning — a kind of parrotfish (*Cetoscarus bicolor*): male, yaregulung (W)

292. wuufóór — a kind of parrotfish (*Cetoscarus bicolor*): female, wuufóór (T)

293. kiŕikiŕ — a kind of parrotfish (Scaridae)

294. rowu — a kind of parrotfish (*Ypsiscarus ovifrons*): roow (P: *Scarus gibbus*), rou (C: *Scarus psittacus*)

295. yikánipeyuw — Kellog's parrotfish (*Scarus formosus*)

296. ningimmaŕ — green-finned parrotfish (*Scarus sordidus*): lingimmar (P)

297. ngiccha — green-finned parrotfish (*Scarus sordidus*): female, ngiicha (W)

298. wumaŕ — five-banded parrotfish (*Scarus schlegeli*): female, uumash (W)

299. tapwunupor — five-banded parrotfish (*Scarus schlegeli*): male

300. móósera — red parrotfish (*Scarus dimidiatus*)

301. ningikkar — a kind of parrotfish (Scaridae)

302. yáár — a kind of parrotfish (*Scarus ghobban*): yar (W), yáár (P), áár (T)

303. mókuweyimw — green-finned parrotfish (*Scarus sordidus*): male

304. kinipwut* — a kind of parrotfish (*Scarus* sp.): kilipwut (P), sinipwut, kinipwut (T)

305. wuŕa — a kind of parrotfish (*Scarus jonesi*): usha (W), wura (P), o-sha (C: *S. gibbus*)

306. kinipwut — pink-faced parrotfish (*Scarus brevifilis*)

307. weyin — a kind of parrotfish (*Scarus tricolor*)

308. weyinimow — a kind of parrotfish (*Scarus* sp.)

309. yásiyóŕo — dusky parrotfish (*Scarus frenatus*): male

310. kaapw — dusky parrotfish (*Scarus frenatus*): female

311. mesóót — blue-speckled parrotfish (*Leptoscarus vaigiensis*)

312. papara — blue-speckled parrotfish (*Leptoscarus vaigiensis*): ? from Saipan

313. sepáyiŕ — half-toothed parrotfish (*Calotomus spinidens*)

314. mwunáyinómw — batfish (*Platax* sp.)

315. niŕéénémeyimey — batfish (*Platax* sp.)

316. ningúúngú — imperial angelfish (*Pomacanthus imperator*)

317. riŕing — blue-banded angelfish (*Pygoplites diacanthus*): rishing (W), ŕiring (P)

318. niŕékúy neeyiniyán — a kind of angelfish (*Centropyge tibicen*)

319. nikeriker* — coralfish (Chaetodontidae): ligeriger (W), liikeríkeŕ (P), nikeriker (T), lighergher (C)

320. nikeriker — a kind of coralfish (*Chaetodon reticulatus*)

321. niŕénipwak — long-nosed coralfish (*Forcipiger flavissimus*): liiréénipwak (P)

322. niŕééy teeyo — vagabond coralfish (*Chaetodon vagabundus*)

323. nisópwoyitér — triangular coralfish (*Gonochaetodon triangulum*)

324. nifúúseram — one-spot coralfish (*Chaetodon unimaculatus*)

325. nikásserák — moorish idol (*Zanclus cornutus*): lipeiubaar (W), likahheŕák (P), nikasakas, nikásseres (T)

326. mwocch* — surgeonfish (*Acanthurus* spp.): mwoch (W), mwoc (P), mwooch (T), modch (C)

327. mwocchon mesániwoŕ — a kind of surgeonfish (*Acanthurus thompsoni*)

328. mwocchonnákey — white-cheeked surgeonfish (*Acanthurus glaucopareius*): mwochonagey (W), moch-el-ghei (C)

329. parapar — a kind of surgeonfish (*Acanthurus guttatus*): parepar (W), paŕapaŕ (P), par-par (C: *Zebrasoma flavescens*)

330. nikayingun — a kind of surgeonfish (*Acanthurus* sp.): ig-angung (C: *A. nigricaudus*)

331. yefan — a kind of surgeonfish (*Acanthurus* sp.): efen (T)

332. mwáŕefaŕ — orange-epaulette surgeonfish (*Acanthurus olivaceus*): mwarefash (W), mwaŕáfaar (P), mwáŕefach, mwáŕáfach (T), mar-re-fasch (C)

333. nikéénaw — convict surgeonfish (*Acanthurus triostegus*)

334. fiiraŕ — convict surgeonfish (*Acanthurus triostegus*): kiirach (T)

335. fenaang — blue-lined surgeonfish (*Acanthurus lineatus*): filaang (W), fináng (T), felang (C)

336. fitiŕu — blue-lined surgeonfish (*Acanthurus lineatus*): filaang (W), fitiruw (P), fitichu, fináng (T)

337. nimen — a kind of surgeonfish (*Acanthurus* sp.)

338. siino — a kind of surgeonfish (*Acanthurus* sp.)

339. pwaniwa — a kind of surgeonfish (*Acanthurus* sp.)

340. nikáppwárik — purple-finned sailfin-tang (*Zebrasoma veliferum*): fiyepwárik (P), fiyepwerik (T)

341. meraseras — purple-finned sailfin-tang (*Zebrasoma veliferum*)

342. ffiyán — wedge-tailed blue-tang (*Paracanthurus hepatus*): fial (C: *Sufflamen chrysoptera*)

343. maasiyes — wedge-tailed blue-tang (*Paracanthurus hepatus*)

344. yawurór — blue-dotted hair-toothed tang (*Ctenochaetus striatus*)

345. nikayingú — a kind of unicornfish (Acanthuridae)

346. yútúúút — a kind of unicornfish (*Naso hexacanthus*)

347. nááyeew — mature stage of a kind of unicornfish (*Naso hexacanthus*): see 346.

348. nimataat — poll unicornfish (*Naso lituratus*): small stage of 350., nimaataat (T)

349 pesepes — poll unicornfish (*Naso lituratus*): young stage of 350.

350. pwunukaney* — poll unicornfish (*Naso lituratus*): mature stage of 348 and 349, bulegaaley (W), pwula (P), pwuna (T)

351. pwunááney — poll unicornfish (*Naso lituratus*): ráárey (P), bula-lai (C)

352. mwiiyóro — Vlaming's unicornfish (*Naso vlamingi*)

353. yikifanafan* — unicornfish (*Naso* spp.): igefalefal (W), igh-falfal (libotmeha) (C: *N. unicornis*)

354. mono — a kind of surgeonfish (*Naso* sp.)

355. fenamwe — short-snouted unicornfish (*Naso brevirostris*)

356. nimóngósines — short-snouted unicornfish (*Naso brevirostris*)

357. kúúm — long-snouted unicornfish (*Naso unicornis*): gium (W), gim (C: *N. brevirostris*, and *N. vlamingi*)

358. nnek* — rabbitfish (*Siganus* spp.): neg (W), llek (P), legh (C:*S. argenteus*)

359. wumwuné — rabbitfish (*Siganus* sp.): umweleo (W), wumwulé (P), wumwuné (T)

360. karámey — rabbitfish (*Siganus* sp.): geramey (W)

361. niperuyengi — rabbitfish (*Siganus* sp.)

362. pwuupw* — triggerfish (Balistidae): buub (W), pwuupw (P), pwuupw (T), buub (C : *Rhineacanthus aculeatus*)

363. ngúsúngús — triggerfish (*Sufflamen bursa*)

364. ppwupaŕamácch — white-tailed triggerfish (*Melichthys vidua*): pashemach (W)

365. ppwumásen — yellow-blotched triggerfish (*Balistoides conspicillum*)

366. ppwufasiker — triggerfish (*Sufflamen fraenatus*)

367. ppwukeeŕ — triggerfish (*Sufflamen chrysopterus*)

368. ppwufát — triggerfish (*Sufflamen* sp.)

369. páán — brown triggerfish (*Pseudobalistes fuscus*): paal (W), paan (T), liu-liu (C)

370. núwénúw — green triggerfish (*Pseudobalistes flavimarginatus*)

371. ppwukusaf — red-toothed triggerfish (*Odonus niger*) : bbusaf (W), pwukahaf (P), núúnú, ngúúngú, pwúnúúnú (T), pugusug (C)

372. ppwukuŕow — vermiculated triggerfish (*Balistapus undulatus*)

373. mwáánni weneyité — red-toothed triggerfish *(Odonus niger)*

374. ppwupweŕ — white-barred triggerfish (*Rhinecanthus aculeatus*): buub besh (W)

375. pwuupwáy neyárenómw — black-bellied triggerfish (*Rhinecanthus verrucosus*)

376. mwaaneyi — triggerfish (*Xanthichthys* sp.)

377. pwupwuán yápeyipey* — triggerfish that follow driftwoods (Balistidae)

378. pwupwuán yápeyipey	triggerfish (*Cathidermis maculatus*)
379. niyoomá*	leatherjacket (Aluteridae): liyooma (W), niyé-wúma (T), lioma (C)
380. paratet	scribbled leatherjacket (*Alutera scripta*): likáápet (P)
381. nisowufiiré	an unidentified fish
382. nimitimit*	leatherjacket (Aluteridae)
383. pariyen	scribbled leatherjacket (*Alutera scripta*)
384. nifayifay	boxfish (*Ostracion* sp.)
385. sópw	long-horned cowfish (*Lactoria cornutus*)
386. pángit	leatherjacket (*Alutera* sp.): pángit (P), péengut (T)
387. wupwin*	puffers (Tetraodontidae): wopwilik, wopwiliika (P)
388. néér*	puffers (Tetraodontidae): lesh (W), léér (P)
389. póókáreng	puffer (*Pleuranacanthus sceleratus*)
390. tayús*	porcupinefish (*Diodon* spp.): taius (W), ?hééwú (P)
391. kúúké*	immature stage of porcupinefish (*Diodon* spp.): kúúké (P)
392. noow*	stonefish (Synanceiidae): lou (W), noow (P), wúsen (T), lou (C)
393. nowufár	monkeyfish (Scorpaenidae): noowfaar (P)
394. nowuwor	reef stonefish (*Synanceia verrucosa*)
395. nowurang	stonefish (*Scorpaenopsis* sp.): ? noowraan (P)
396. nariiné*	butterfly-cod (*Scorpaenopsis* sp.): laáriyeré (P)
397. nikosorón	velvetfish (*Aploactis aspera*)
398. nippár	left eye flounder (Palalichthyidae): lippar (W), lipper (P)

399. nimasápáni — left eye flounder (Palalichthyidae): mesaapaliy (W), limahapeliy (P), nipéénéppún (T)

400. nipírar — remoras (Echeneidae)

MISCELLANEOUS

401. yiik — fish: saakana, ig (W), yiik (P), iik (T)

402 yikániweniwor — reef fish: iken wooch (T)

403. yikáy neemetaw — deep-sea fish

404. yikánimetaw — deep-sea fish

405. yikáy neerán — freshwater fish

406. raaw — whale: ŕaw (P), raaw (T)

407. kúúw — porpoise: kúúw (P), kúúw (T)

408. yaas — tuna and bonito (for special occasions, see 210 and 212).

409 ppwéy — rainbow runner *(Elagatis bipinnnulatus)*: immature stage of 207, ppwey (P)

410. péyennáy — rainbow runner (*Elagatis bipinnulatus*): immature stage (for special occasions)

411. paréréron — drummer (*Kyphosus* spp.): (for special occasions)

412. suunga — triggerfish (Balistidae): (for special occasions)

413. fayuŕon — triggerfish (Balistidae): (for special occasions)

414. peyinikár — trevally (*Carangoides* sp.): (for special occasions, see 202)

415. yawanap — black-tipped rock cod (*Epinephelus fasciatus*): (for special occasions, see 135)

416. rer — tuna and bonito: (for special occasions, see 210, 212, and 408)

417. mááyinap — shark: (for special occasions, see 1)

418. tamwinimwin — remoras (Echeneidae): (tabooed, see 400)

419. nápánáp — wrasse (*Labroides* sp.): tabooed

420. yárengan — orange-gilled surgeonfish (*Acanthurus pyroferus*): tabooed, see 325, gashingal (W), yaringal (P)

421. yikiparapar — red-colored fish: see, for example, 69, 74, 81, 82, and 300

422. yikimwotor — jumping fish:see, for example, 60, 62, and 209

423. yikiyán — flying fish: see 46

424. yópwookan — fish with tender meat, preferentially given to children: see, for example, 115, 279, 285, and 304

425. yikeemas — raw fish

426 sasimi — raw fish (from Japanese)

427. yikiman — fish that cause certain kind of disease, literally denoting "fish of micro-organism"

428. yikipwárik — fish that make the mouth itchy (kkéét): see 340

429. yikimeras — fish that has bitter taste (meras): see 136

430. yikiyúwiy — greasy fish (yúwiy denotes "grease")

431. yikinné — palatable fish

432. yikisenné — unpalatable fish

433. yikiwerimá — fish that cause heavy sickness, sometimes fatal: see 115, 124, 154, 158, 161, 199, 326, 387, and 388

434. yikinngaw — bad fish: see 1, 13, 21, 25, 30, 319, 398, 400, 406, and 407

435. yikeppwut — bad fish, being prohibited to eat for women, children, and sometimes young men: see 52, 243, 244, 247, 263, 271, 284, 319, 325, 379, 384, 390, 392, 396, and 398

436. yikifán — bad fish, being prohibited to eat for pregnant and menstruated women: see 87, 138, 168, , 190, 210, 212, and 362

437. yikipin	tabooed fish: a lot of occasions
438. pininimasapaŕ	tabooed fish for the eye diseased: see 143, 166, 179, 180, 191, 199, 202, 204, 392, and 396
439. yikisómwoon	fish that are given preferentially to the chief: see 111, 181, 214, and 280
440. yikeén	fish that come nearshore from deeper water: see 87, 142, 168, 190, 211, 212, and 380
441. yikán yápeyipey	fish that follow driftwoods: see 408, 410, 412, and 417
442. yikán mwóŕoyisát	littoral fish: see 229 and 230

Discussion

A total of approximately 400 vernacular names, including at least 58 families and 130 genera, are included in the Satawalese fish nomenclature system. Collected taxa far exceed those of the plant domain on a coral habitat in number (Fosberg, 1969), even if varietal entries of cultivated plants such as taro (*Colocasia* and *Cyrtosperma*) and breadfruit (*Artocarpus*) are accounted for. There are many ways in which a folk taxon corresponds to scientific taxa, some labelled taxa cover quite a wider range of fish species at the level of family, in other cases various specific taxa are distinguished under a single generic taxon. As can be seen from the list of fish names, the family Mullidae, Balistidae and other groups such as wrasse, surgeonfish, parrotfish are well known to the islanders, whereas gobbies, damselfish, and coralfish are relatively unfamiliar. Although coral reefs provide diverse ecological niches for marine life, native cognition on fish domains are not uniform, but more attention is paid to specific groups of fish. It may be anticipated that economically important or abundant species are sorted or labelled in more detail than rare or less important ones. Such trends seem to be relatively universal among many coral islanders.

It is important to discuss here some problems arising from fish names. One problem is the emic relationships of fish names to Satawalese culture. The other is the cross-cultural analysis of fish names within the Trukic language. Both problems are examined from the usage of fish names.

Fish Name and Culture

A large number of fish are known to the Satawalese by more than one name. Many factors account for this phenomenon, and they are closely interwoven within the cultural configuration of Satawal. A first instance is associated with religious taboos and restrictions forbidding the direct use of fish names. For example, tókuw (tuna) and yárengaap (skipjack or bonito) are ordinary names. But pelagic fish species in the deep sea are, in general, grouped as yikánimetaw, which is a higher cross-cutting category. The term yikánimetaw is a generic name given to all deep sea fish, but when the Satawalese use the word yaas, they refer to only tókuw and yárengaap. The rituals connected with these fish involve many strict taboos and restrictions. One is the belief that the direct use of the ordinary names would scare the fish from the fishing grounds. It should be noted that yaas does not include such pelagic fish as foofo (rainbow runner), ngáán (wahoo), and sepór (dolphinfish), etc. Evidently, tókuw and yárengaap are considered as one of the most valuable marine resources for the islanders. Another example is the names given to fish that accompany driftwoods. These fish are generally termed yikán yápeyipey, lit., "fish of the driftwood". Driftwood is regarded as being as important a marine resource as tuna and bonito, since it usually comes ashore together with a large quantity of fish, such as triggerfish, drummer, mackerel scad, rainbow runner, tuna, bonito, and even shark. Driftwood is thus important for food procurement (Akimichi, 1981b), and is admitted as sacred in the sense that it has spirits and therefore must be treated with respect. Rituals for calling driftwood forbid the use of ordinary names of fish that follow it. For instance, immature rainbow runner, which is commonly known as ppwéy, is alternatively called péyennáy. Similarly, drummer, or reén, should be called paréérón, triggerfish, or pwuupw, as suunga and vice versa. This is due to the native belief that the direct use of the ordinary names angers the spirit of the driftwood and may eventually result in the scarcity of fish around it.

There are also restrictions related to the binary use of names. Some reef fish are designated with reference to the habits, color, and shapes of fish. For instance, leatherjacket, or niyoomá, can not be eaten by any islander except old people. Morphologically, niyoomá is composed of ni, yoo, and má. Ni is the prefix to sign names of animate being or to indicate habit, yoo is derived from yoommwaay that literally means 'slow or furtive' and má is originally from yayimáámá that denotes 'sluggish, looking dead, or not lively'. As niyoomá is a slow swimmer, it is perceived as having negative attributes. Once it is eaten, it is said to affect human behaviour

badly, e. g., people who eat it become weak like patients, and slow in actions. Thus the actual fish names derived from its habits are considered to cause certain influences on the person involved. It should be noted that the old men would not be exceptionally affected since the aged are perceived as having the same attribute as niyoomá. Another similar example is the fish called tukufáyi (cardinalfish: Apogon spp.). As this fish ordinarily remains stationary in the water, it is named analogically after the old men or tukufáyi. As mentioned elsewhere (Akimichi 1981a), many taboos on food in Satawal are related mostly to the belief that the human body is affected or assimilated by attributes peculiar to a particular fish. Designation of fish is one of such attribute.

Another example that goes with restriction is connected with sex. A kind of surgeonfish, yáŕengan, has an alternative name, since a part of the name connotes a vulgar meaning, e. g., nngan (erection of the penis). When in the presence of the opposite sex, this particular fish is referred to as mwocch, its generic name. Another example is found in a reef fish called nápánáp. Nápánáp is also the word that denotes the movement during sexual intercourse. As this fish has no alternative name, it is strictly forbidden to use it in the presence of a member of the opposite sex, whereas it can be used among members of the same sex. Remoras also has two names: nipíŕar for ordinary use, and tamwinimwin for use only among members of the same sex, since the latter word denotes masturbation. In Satawal, there are rules and restrictions on words related to sex and eating (Sudo 1980), as is well known throughout Oceania. Finally, alternative use of fish names that follow taboos and restrictions are seen exclusively as pertaining to those fish of major importance for food.

Occasionally, a single fish species may have more than one name according to its stage of growth and sex difference. First, a certain kind of fish has two or more names according to the growth stage. Niimwéy is applied to immature sharks, and pááw to mature ones, in general. Pááw is also a generic name of sharks of any kinds. Other names apply to growth stages which are often distinguished as a single species; nimataat, pesepes, and pwunukaaney are names of poll unicornfish according to the stage of development; immature, young, and mature, respectively. Additionally, pwunukaaney and pwunaaney are alternatively used without any prejudice. Designation of fish names by sex is also found. Both yómosukin and fasúnúmat is a taxon for black-veined red parrotfish, but the former is applied to male individuals and the latter to female ones. Such distinctions apparently result from color variations between the sexes; yómosukin is blue-green, and fasúnúmat is reddish. Niyórokuning and wuufóór is

another example from the parrotfish family. Yásááp is a folk taxon for clubnose wrasse, and it is further divided into two: yásáápin yáríiné and yásááp pwerepwer, according to color and pattern, although the two belong to the same species. In this case the name is a secondary lexeme; yáríiné is a generic name of certain kind of wrasse (*Thalassoma* spp.) as well as a specific taxon for red-banded wrasse (*T. quinquevittatum*). It is well understood that patterns of male individuals of yásááp is similar to those of yáríiné. On the other hand, pwerepwer denotes 'whitish'.

It remains for further research to clarify whether a given species has more than two names by growth stage or by sexual dimorphism. Another possibility is that color pattern of the same sex changes during growth and that two species of close resemblances but of different size may be regarded as having different growth stages.

Bilingual Use of Fish Names in Satawal

The second problem is examined by briefly comparing some aspects of fish names using data from such neighboring islands as Woleai, Puluwat, Saipan, and Truk. All information is derived from the corresponding dictionaries (Sohn and Tawerilmang, 1976; Elbert, 1972; Goodenough and Sugita, 1980) and data from Saipan Carolinians' fish names (Elameto, 1975). As can be seen from the list of fish names, Satawalese folk taxa that have the linguistic (but not always scientific classificatory) correspondences with either language of Woleaian, Puluwatese, Saipan Carolinian, and Trukese can be calculated. Occurrences of word correspondences are 105 (with Woleaian), 113 (with Puluwatese), 64 (with Trukese) and 58 (with Saipan Carolinian) of total folk taxa collected in Satawal. It represents correspondences with Woleaian or Puluwatese are about twice as much as those with Trukese or Saipan Carolinian. It does not, however, imply any meaningful trends, because the data source is not uniform. Moreover, some fish names described in each source cannot be identified owing to the lack of adequate information.

Although the differences of the correspondences between the eastern and the western islands remain obscure, it should be admitted that the Satawalese are often bilingual both with eastern and western neighboring groups. The following information, based on the knowledge of the second author will show such a bilingual usage pattern of fish names, using the example of Satawal. Listed fish names are those that are known to him, and are recognized as Woleaian and/or Puluwatese; hence they are transcribed according to the Satawalese orthographical system (Table 1). Of the

Table 1

Transcribed fish names by the Satawalese orthography.
(Number shows the serial number in a list of fish names. (W) and (P) represent Woleaian and Puluwatese, respectively.)

1. pókow (W)
6. matafááyipw (W)
11. pókowáń metaw (W)
12. páwáńiwosh (W)
15. fááŕiyap (W)
21. nópwut (W)
23. nópwutushón (w)
24. nópwutupwesh (W)
27. nayúynópwut (W)
28. nimwáŕmwáŕ (W)
32. yérúshón (W)
39. takúteŕ (W)
41. takúnúwosh (W)
46. mengaŕ (W)
49. payikoshow (W)
52. nipaapa (W)
54. yúúngániwosh (W)
57. heraw (P)
59. yikáŕeng (W)
60. keraa (W)
68. pááwánesh (W)
71. mweńútamwúsh (W)
79. kúcchúpwesh (W)
81. hera (P)
83. yápishóóy (W)
87. wuweshik (W)
92. semayúŕúpwong (W)
97. hákánat (P)
99. nippwuŕuwóŕosh (W)
101. nishopw (W)
104. pwówuriyap (P)
105. núúpóówushóń (W)
111. táyiyaaw (W), háyiyaaw (P)
112. cchiytáyiyaaw (W)
115. pwena (W)
118. pwenaanweniwosh (W)
119. ŕannufayimwó (W)
120. kemáŕiyosh (W)
121. yúkúshaap (W)
124. kániy (W)
125. manúkánkániy (W)
129. kániyishón (W)
130. kániyimwera (W)
138. reen (W)
142. rennima (W)
148. takúrúwash (W), hakúrúwaŕ (P)
149. shaanawut (W)
150. matamat (W), mahamah (P)
156. woŕopwin (W)
160. niteyitifash (W)

total 100 fish names, 86 are Woleaian correspondences, 9 are Puluwatese, and 5 are both Woleaian and Puluwatese. Woleaian fish names seem to be more familiar to the author than those of Puluwatese. This does not necessarily suggest that Satawalese shares more cognates with Woleaian than with Puluwatese, since contemporary social interactions, for instance, between the islands are not accounted for. On the contrary, contacts by ocean-going canoes between Satawal islanders and those of the eastern group, such as Puluwat, Pulap, or Pulusuk, seem to have occurred much more frequently than today. This assumption is reinforced by the decline of

TABLE 2

164. taat (w)
165. mahaccha (P)
170. tinimoŕomoŕ (W)
180. kófun (W)
182. mángiŕinéén kániy (W)
183. mángiŕinéey táyiyaaw (W)
196. shepeneetm (W)
207. fóófó (W)
209. tepóŕ (W), hepór (P)
210. káŕengaap (W)
214. tángiŕ (W), hángiŕ (P)
217. kásinnéy (W)
220. takúraar (W)
221. mwárenósho (W)
226. mwómwoshik (W)
233. nishék (W)
243. nisheyineyin (W)
247. kásááp (W)
248. kásáápinkáshiiné (W)
249. kásáápapwesh (W)
253. káshiiné (W)
255. sháánaw (W)
261. koshán (W)
263. koshánipwesh (W)
269. káshepeŕang (W)
273. potoshon (W)
275. potowusha (W)
286. yikániwosh (W)
289. kómosukin (W)
298. wumash (W)
305. wusha (W)
315. nishéénémeyimey (W)
316. nishénifáániyap (W)
318. rishing (W)
326. nipayipwaar (W)
328. mwocchon metániwosh (W)
333. mwárefash (W)
336. fitiŕu (P)
345. yawurosh (W)
350. pwuna (P)
352. mwiiyósho (W)
353. menango (W)
365. ppwupashamácch (W)
366. ppwumáhen (P)
373. ppwukuhaf (P)
390. néésh (W)
404. yikániweniwosh (W)
407. yikáy neeshan (W)
409. raas (W)
423. káshengan (W)

the overseas exchange system from Yap to Namonuito (Lessa, 1966; Alkire, 1965), and by the introduction of the irregular shipping service between Yap and the outer islands, and going as far as Satawal, which is located at the eastern limit of the route. As a whole, trends in the data presented here illustrate post-war II changes in the interisland communication system.

Related to the bilingual use of fish names, certain environmental aspects of fish should be mentioned. Although quantitative data are lacking, certain fish species are not abundant in Satawal waters. Rabbitfish and mullet, for instance, are rare, and certain types of goatfish, unicornfish, and rock cod are also uncommon, notwithstanding the plentiful catches of other kinds of the same groups of fish. Sometimes, it is assumed that only juvenile and smaller fish are caught in nearshore waters whereas larger individuals are more abundant elsewhere. We have no comparative data on

the relative composition and abundance of individual fish species within a single coral reef community in the Caroline Islands. It should, however, be noted that the extensive lagoons, or nómw, may provide habitats with richer marine resources in terms of size and variety of fish, than do the reef flat or neenéénéˊ, is, as is the case of Satawal. However, because the Satawalese exploit a wide area, ranging as far as West Fayu and its nearby reefs, (McCoy, 1974) occasionally to Lamotrek, Olimarao, Elato, Puluwat, they are familiar with a wide variety of fishes, including those absent from the nearshore waters of Satawal. Satawalese can exploit fishing grounds owned by other islanders provided permission (fang) is obtained. However, by custom, visitors from another island are served food freely. Thus, assuming technology to be a constant, the local biophysical environment and the geographical areas exploited by a local population may produce differences in, and the ranges of, fish names. Hypothetically, inhabitants of "high islands" which lack extensive lagoons, but which do have good, deep water fishing grounds for pelagic species concentrated their effort on deep-sea fishing, whereas those of "low islands", with extensive lagoons which afford a variety of fish, developed shallow water fisheries. There are distinct differences in ichthyofauna between deep and shallow water, which are crystallized in the relevant cognitive system. However, such ideas must be rigorously examined via analyses of both fish names and ichthyofaunal composition in given localities.

As the incomplete comparative data strongly suggest, even specific domains such as fish can provide a good index for the study of comparative linguistics, assuming that the ichthyofaunal distribution in the Pacific is uniform and that fish domains are perceived with relative universality by local populations. Further inquiries on the reconstruction of prototype of individual fish names are vitally important. In addition, differences in marine exploitation patterns between "high" and "low" islands may be hypothetically significant in the folk classification system of a given environment. Thus, almost certainly, knowledge of the degree to which fish names are shared among different island groups, compared with those that are simply local peculiarities, will contribute to the understanding of Pacific islanders as a maritime people.

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