

## 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 subsistence 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, í, 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 (coral-fish), pwuupw (triggerfish), yániy (sea bass), mwocch (surgeonfish), etc. are distinguished. These correspond roughly to the family or genus level in Western scientific nomenclature. Specifically, yikániwoʻ (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 yikániwoʻ are further divided into several categories at the lower level. For instance, pwuupw includes ppwumásen, ppwufasiker, ppwufat, ppwukuʻow, ppwupaʻamách, ngúsungús, 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; yikániweniwoʻ 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, dolphin-fish, etc., indigenous to the ocean habitat. Other examples are yikán yápeyipey (fish accompanying driftwoods), yikán mwóroyisát (fish of the coast), yikáy neeʻan (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 (r'), 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. mwó'ó        | a kind of shark: mwóroow (P)   |
| 4. metan        | whaler-shark ( <i>Carcharhinus limbatus</i> ): matál (P)                     |
| 5. mongowuruur  | a kind of shark: méngowu'ú, méngowu'úú (P)                                   |
| 6. nimóngopaap  | hammerhead shark ( <i>Sphyrna lewini</i> ): matefaaib (W)                    |
| 7. riiwo        | a kind of shark  |
| 8. nirééré      | thresher shark ( <i>Stegostoma varium</i> ): lirééréfééy (P), nirééréféw (T) |
| 9. wonaanú      | a kind of shark  |
| 10. woráyanang  | a kind of shark; worayilang (P)  |
| 11. páwán metaw | sharks in deep water   |

12. páwákiwoŕ sharks of the reef: páwowań wóór (P)
13. fáyi\* ray: faiy (W), fáyi (P), ffey (T)
14. fáyi ketaf spotted eagle-ray (*Aetobatus narinari*): faiyegetaf (W)
15. fáariyap a kind of ray: fairiyap (W), fááriyá (P)
16. fáyinap a kind of ray
17. fáyi réén 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)

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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 rón a kind of moray eel (*Gymnothorax* sp.): labutoshol (W), nopwutochón (T)
24. sówufáng pwer 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. nimwáramwár snake-eel (*Ophichthus bonapartii*)
29. nimwáramwár fayúnikun a kind of snake-eel (*Ophichthus* sp.)
30. yérú\* snake-eel
31. yérúpweéepweé a kind of snake-eel (*Ophichthus* sp.)
32. yérúróń a kind of snake-eel (*Ophichthus* sp.): labutoshol (W)

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33.	rawucchik	a kind of snake-eel ( <i>Ophichthus</i> sp.)
34.	nisáningening	a kind of eel: niseneninging (T)
35.	mmótow	slender saury ( <i>Saurida</i> spp.): mmótow, mótow (T)
36.	taak*	needlefish (Belonidae): tag (W), taak (T)
37.	takúsóópán	keel-jawed long-tom ( <i>Tylosurus acus melanotus</i> )
38.	tomwotomw	see 37.
39.	takúter	a kind of needlefish ( <i>Ablennes hians</i> ): tagiuter (W), taakitéér (P)
40.	táákánfanipiy	hornpike long-tom ( <i>Strongylura leiura leiura</i> )
41.	takúnúwoó	choram long-tom ( <i>Tylosurus crocodilus crocodilus</i> )
42.	takúnapanap	a kind of needlefish ( <i>Tylosurus</i> sp.)
43.	nisów fáánipó	Dussumier's garfish ( <i>Hyporhamphus dussumieri</i> ): lihawfángipóów (P)
44.	fena*	halfbeaks ( <i>Hemirhamphus</i> spp.): fela (W), fana (P), fana (T)
45.	yawukkáng	needlefish (Hemirhamphidae): aukeng (C)
46.	mengar*	flyingfish (Exocoetidae): mengar (W), mengar (P), méngér (T)
47.	payitiin	spotted flyingfish ( <i>Cypselurus poecilopterus</i> )
48.	soow	a kind of flyingfish ( <i>Cypselurus angusticeps</i> )
49.	payikoórow	a kind of flyingfish (Exocoetidae)
50.	payimwáár	a kind of flyingfish (Exocoetidae)
51.	payineen	a kind of flyingfish (Exocoetidae)
52.	takúnónn*	flutemouth ( <i>Fistularia</i> sp.): lipaapa, tagiunal (W)
53.	yúúngáni*	trumpetfish ( <i>Aulostomus chinensis</i> )
54.	yúúngániwoor	trumpetfish ( <i>Aulostomus chinensis</i> )
55.	yúúngánifaay	trumpetfish ( <i>Aulostomus chinensis</i> )

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), yaráf, likaráfaraáf (P), araf (T), araf (C)
61. yaraf diamond-scale mullet (*Liza vaigiensis*)
62. nipayikkar a kind of mullet (*Liza* sp.): lipayikka' (P)
63. yayúw\* mullet (*Liza* spp.): yaiuw (W)
64. yayúw Troschel's mullet (*Liza macrolepis*)
65. yayúwótor mature stage of Troschel's mullet: yaawúwótor', yawúwator' (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. pááwáne' 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. mwénútamwú' 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. kúcchúyáiyár crowned squirrelfish (*Adioryx diadema*)
76. kúcchóótor blood-spot squirrelfish (*Flammeo sammara*)

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77. kúcchúnifán	a kind of squirrelfish ( <i>Adioryx</i> sp.)
78. kúcchúnkáreyón	a kind of squirrelfish ( <i>Adioryx</i> sp.)
79. kúcchúpweí	a kind of squirrelfish ( <i>Adioryx</i> sp.)
80. rúúkkáng*	a kind of squirrelfish ( <i>Adioryx</i> sp.)
81. sera*	spiny squirrelfish ( <i>Adioryx spinifer</i> ): sera (W), ha'á (P) sara, inipar (T), sara (C)
82. neet*	a kind of squirrelfish ( <i>Adioryx tiere</i> ): let (W), leet (P), let (C)
83. yápiróoy	sweeper ( <i>Pempheris</i> spp.): yápirá (P)
84. chúkúún*	goatfish (Mullidae)
85. chúkúún	five-barred goatfish ( <i>Parupeneus trifasciatus</i> )
86. songoong	a kind of goatfish ( <i>Mulloidichthys vanicolensis</i> ): songoong (W)
87. wuwerík	golden-banded goatfish ( <i>Mulloidichthys flavolineatus</i> ): 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: <i>M. auriflamma</i> ), see 87.
90. soow	mature stage of golden-banded goatfish: sou (C: <i>M. pflugeri</i> ), see 87.
91. merep	a kind of goatfish ( <i>Upeneus</i> sp.)
92. semayúrupwong	three-barred goatfish ( <i>Parupeneus bifasciatus</i> ): semaribong (C)
93. nayúniyoon	a kind of goatfish ( <i>Parupeneus</i> sp.)
94. fáyiniikiy*	a kind of goatfish ( <i>Parupeneus</i> sp.): fauligiyy (W), faayinikiy (P), fayinisi (T), fei-ligi (feilesi) (C)
95. mapwun	a kind of goatfish ( <i>Upeneus</i> sp.): mapung (C: <i>Parupeneus porphyreus</i> )
96. sowunnónn	bright-saddled goatfish ( <i>Parupeneus cyclostomus</i> ): 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. nippwuruwóróf            blue blanquillo (*Malacanthus latovittatus*)
100. pwonifééy                blanquillo (*Malacanthus brevirostris*)
101. nírópw\*                    cardinalfish (Apogonidae): liropw (P)
102. nírópwuy nepániy ríya    a kind of cardinalfish (*Apogon* sp.)
103. tukufáyi\*                cardinalfish (*Apogon* spp.)
104. núpóów\*                 bullseye (*Priacanthus* spp.): liipaau (W)
105. núpóówurón             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*): mááywmwen (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. sáiyiáwán yinón         leopard-cod in deep water: see 111.
114. níripw                    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 weniwof         fairy cod in the reef: see 115.
119. íanúnúfayimwó            fairy cod (*Cephalopholis* sp.)

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120. yámáriyóor*	flag-tailed rock-cod ( <i>Cephalopholis urodelus</i> ): yámáriyóór (P)
121. yúkúraap	orange rock-cod ( <i>Cephalopholis aurantius</i> )
122. sewi*	coral trout ( <i>Cephalopholis miniatus</i> ): hewiy (P: <i>C. argus</i> ), sewi (T)
123. mwániséénús	peacock rock-cod ( <i>Cephalopholis argus</i> ): malustus (C)
124. yániy*	rock-cod ( <i>Epinephelus</i> 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 ( <i>Epinephelus</i> sp.): yááliyrééniyoong (P)
128. yániynap	a kind of rock-cod ( <i>Epinephelus</i> sp.)
129. yániyróón	a kind of rock-cod ( <i>Epinephelus</i> sp.): galiyeshal (W: <i>E. merra</i> )
130. yániy mwerá	a kind of rock-cod ( <i>Anyperodon leucogrammicus</i> ): yááliymerá (P)
131. yániyáy neyinifay	a kind of rock-cod ( <i>Epinephelus</i> sp.)
132. yániyán yárenómw	honeycomb rock-cod ( <i>Epinephelus merra</i> )
133. yániy sópwonopaanap	long-finned rock-cod ( <i>Epinephelus megachir</i> ) yááliypaalap (P)
134. yérecchang	white-lined rock-cod ( <i>Anyperodon leucogrammicus</i> )
135. metáyin*	black-tipped rock-cod ( <i>Epinephelus fasciatus</i> ) metel (C)
136. nimmeras	a kind of soapfish ( <i>Pogonoperca punctata</i> )
137. nikos	longfins and/or scotties (Plesiopidae and/or Acanthoclinidae)
138. réén	drummer ( <i>Kyphosus</i> spp.): rel (W), réé, pwiheeréén (P), rel (C)
139. réén	ashen drummer ( <i>Kyphosus cinerascens</i> )

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. ya'owa latticed monocle-bream (*Scolopsis cancellatus*)
146. kánángaay monocle-bream (*Scolopsis* spp.): galengaay (W)
147. tingar gold-lined sea-bream (*Gnathodentex aurolineatus*): tingar' (P), tingar (T)
148. sakúruwar' gold-lined sea-bream (*Gnathodentex aurolineatus*): saghuruwas (C)
149. raanawut 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*): yapwo'oppiy (P) sékúru'pi (T)
153. wey'ow 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), wo'opwil (P) wurupwin (T)
157. metin a kind of emperor (*Lethrinus* sp.): metiin (P: *L. variegatus*), metiin (T)

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158. yayiyéy	green jobfish ( <i>Aprion virescens</i> ): yaiuyeu (W), yawé (P), aiwe (C)
159. mmeróopw	jobfish ( <i>Aphareus</i> sp.): merópw (P), morab (C: <i>A. furcatus</i> )
160. niteyitifar	sea-perch ( <i>Lutjanus</i> sp.): liteitifash (C: <i>L. monostigmus</i> )
161. moos	two-spotted sea-perch ( <i>Lutjanus bohar</i> ): mos (W)
162. ngiiríf	one-band sea-perch ( <i>Lutjanus vitta</i> )
163. nisarufar	blue-spotted sea-perch ( <i>Lutjanus rivulatus</i> ): lihárfar (P: <i>L. flavipes</i> )
164. saas	yellow-and-blue sea-perch ( <i>Lutjanus kasmira</i> ): taat (W), sas (C)
165. masaccha	paddle-tail ( <i>Lutjanus gibbus</i> ): mahacca (P), mesechcha (T), masedcha (C)
166. kiyakiy	black-and-white sea-perch ( <i>Macolor niger</i> ): giyegiy (W), siwig (C)
167. wonónumw	mature stage of black-and-white sea-perch: see 166
168. tiin*	fusilier ( <i>Caesio</i> spp.): tiil (W), (P)
169. tiin*	unidentified small fish
170. tinimoromor	unidentified small fish: tilimoómoó (P)
171. tinimwoon	black-tip fusilier ( <i>Caesio chrysozonus</i> ): tilimwool (W), tilimool (P)
172. tinikúcch	unidentified small fish
173. tinipár	slender fusilier ( <i>Caesio pisang</i> ): ?tilipwer (P), ?tiliper (W)
174. tinipwu	mature stage of black-tip fusilier: tinipúw (P), tinipwu (T), see 171
175. tiniccha	a kind of fusilier ( <i>Caesio tile</i> )
176. niyowumákk	a kind of fusilier ( <i>Caesio</i> sp.)
177. mapwuun	a kind of fusilier ( <i>Caesio</i> sp.)

178. nimmáreyóng\* a kind of fusilier (*Caesio* sp.): nimwmweryón (T)
179. naamwáár sweetlips (*Plectorhynchus* spp.): laamwaar (W), laamwáár (P)
180. yófunn sweetlips (*Plectorhynchus* spp.)
181. mángiriné\* generic name of huge-sized fish
182. mángirinéén yániy large-sized rock-cod (*Epinephelus* spp.)
183. mángirinééy sáyiaaw 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. kúcchúniweniyón unidentified fish, possibly hawkfish (*Paracirrhites* spp.)
189. ppwayúr jacks (*Decapterus* spp.): baiur (W), pwawúr (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 *Caranx goides ferdau*), immature stage of 194.
192. yayúkúmaaw great trevally (*Caranx sexfasciatus*): young stage of 194.
193. érepwópw 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. érepenetam great trevally (*Caranx sexfasciatus*): mature stage of 194.

197. nangúw  
bluefin trevally (*Caranx lugubris*): langiuw (W), yópw (P)
198. répenóórong  
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 máyínap  
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.): lifátiye'aw (P)
206. yengaang  
black-spotted swallowtail (*Trachinotus bailloni*)
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), hapwó'ó, hópwó'ó (P), sopor (T)
210. yárengaap\*  
tuna and bonito
211. yárengaap  
bonito (*Katsuwonus pelamis*): garengaap (W), yárangap, yanga'rap (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), hángir' (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), yawúul (P)
219. tárákapw albacore tuna (*Thunnus alalunga*)
220. takúnaar swordfish (Istiophoridae and Xiphiidae): taakúlaar (P), takúnaar, takúraar, tékúraar (T).
221. mwárenóro sailfish (*Istiophorus platypterus*): mwarelasho (W), mwárenóro (P)
222. ngáán wahoo (*Scomberomorous* spp. and *Acanthocybium solandri*): ngal (W), ngÁÁI (P)
223. niyawmanúr rainbow runner (*Elagatis bipinnulatus*): liyawomanúúr, yawowmanúúr (P), mature stage of 207.
224. táyikonipék oil fish (*Ruvettus pretiosus*)
225. mayikoro common mackerel (*Scomber japonicus*): as tinned fish
226. mwómwońik rudderfish (? *Kyphosus* sp.): mamwushig (W: mackerel scad)
227. ningikkar unidentified fish
228. nikayúúfar grubfish (*Parapercis* sp.)
229. nimwaan\* blennies and gobies (Blennioidei and Gobioidae): limwaal (W)
230. nusupat blenny (*Istiblennius* spp.): luhuppat (P), nusupaat (T)
231. nayúyrumer anemone fish (*Amphiprion* spp.)
232. mmás\* sergeant-majors (*Abudefduf* and *Amblyglyphidodon* spp.)
233. nírék damselfish (*Chromis* and *Pomacentrus* spp.): lisheg (W), lisheg (C)
234. nírék rón a kind of damselfish (*Chromis* spp.)

235. réék	Micronesica damselfish ( <i>Chromis</i> and <i>Pomacentrus</i> spp.): réék(P)
236. suturumáy	a kind of damselfish ( <i>Pomacentrus coelestis</i> )
237. tefa*	sergeant-majors ( <i>Pomacentrus</i> spp. and <i>Chrysiptera glaucus</i> )
238. nírék sárepwén	five-banded sergeant-major ( <i>Abudefduf notatus</i> )
239. sonn	yellow-banded sergeant-major ( <i>Abudefduf sordidus</i> ): sen (W), hhol (P), sson (T)
240. pwoonifééy	gobies and blennies (Gobioidei and Blennioidei)
241. nírékúy neyiniyán	a kind of sergeant-major ( <i>Abudefduf starki</i> )
242. ngiirif*	wrasse ( <i>Bodianus</i> spp.)
243. níreyineyin*	wrasse ( <i>Anampses</i> spp.): liseileil (W), ? chiineyin (T)
244. nipwurupwur	spotted chiseltooth-wrasse ( <i>Anampses caeruleopunctatus</i> ): liburbur (C: <i>Thalassoma hardwickei</i> , <i>T. purpureum</i> , <i>Novaculichthys taeniurus</i> )
245. képaara	sharp-nosed rainbowfish ( <i>Cheilio inermis</i> )
246. níréénéfáániyap	a kind of wrasse ( <i>Coris gaimard</i> ): lifaliyap (W), líréénfáániyááp (P)
247. yásááp*	clubnosed wrasse ( <i>Gomphosus varius</i> ): a-soap (C)
248. yásáápin yáíiné	olive clubnosed wrasse ( <i>Gomphosus varius</i> ): male
249. yásááp pwérepwé	olive clubnosed wrasse ( <i>Gomphosus varius</i> ): female
250. mwarús	green-blocked wrasse ( <i>Thalassoma purpureum</i> ): male
251. keyiyop	moon wrasse ( <i>Thalassoma lutescens</i> )
252. yáííiné*	wrasse ( <i>Thalassoma</i> spp.) igasshileo (W)
253. yáííiné	red-banded wrasse ( <i>Thalassoma quinquevittatum</i> )
254. senganangan	six-barred wrasse ( <i>Thalassoma hardwickei</i> )
255. ráánaw	green-blocked wrasse ( <i>Thalassoma fuscum</i> )

256. nngúwan five-banded wrasse (*Hemigymnus fasciatus*)
257. nippwóro' 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. worán\* wrasse (*Halichoeres* spp.): goshal (W)
262. worán three-spot wrasse (*Halichoeres trimaculatus*): male
263. woránipwe' three-spot wrasse (*Halichoeres trimaculatus*): female
264. supayingar three-spot wrasse (*Halichoeres trimaculatus*)
265. woránirupw pearl-spotted wrasse (*Halichoeres margaritaceus*)
266. kutiw a kind of wrasse (*Halichoeres prosopeion*)
267. sówu'émá'ém four-spot wrasse (*Halichoeres hortulanus*)
268. yápiyayút rainbowfish (*Thalassoma amblycephalus*)
269. yá'eperang Gaimard's rainbowfish (*Coris gaimard*)
270. yanuw red-throated rainbowfish (*Coris aygula*)
271. poot\* wrasse (*Xyrichthys* spp.)
272. potopwe' a kind of wrasse (*Xyrichthys* sp.)
273. potorón a kind of wrasse (*Xyrichthys* sp.)
274. potoccha a kind of wrasse (*Xyrichthys* sp.)
275. potowu'a a kind of wrasse (*Xyrichthys* sp.)
276. potomóow a kind of wrasse (*Xyrichthys* sp.)
277. potokkáariyár a kind of wrasse (*Xyrichthys* dea)
278. potofúsufús a kind of wrasse (*Novaculichthys taeniurus*)
279. nippwáyik Maori-wrasse (*Cheilinus undulatus*): libbaig (W), liwayik, wétiwét (P)

280. máám*	Micronesica double-headed Maori-wrasse ( <i>Cheilinus undulatus</i> ): 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 ( <i>Cheilinus</i> sp.)
283. mámin poro	a kind of wrasse ( <i>Cheilinus</i> sp.)
284. fáyisiiwu	telescopefish ( <i>Epibulus insidiator</i> ): feyisiiwu (T)
285. poro	triple-tail Maori-wrasse ( <i>Cheilinus trilobatus</i> ): poros (W), pooórow (P), poro (T), porou (C)
286. yikániwoó*	parrotfish (Scaridae)
287. yikúré	a kind of parrotfish (Scaridae sp.): wúkéré (P), wukuché (T)
288. kawakaw	a kind of parrotfish ( <i>Scarops</i> sp.): gawegaw (W: Scarinae)
289. yómosukin	black-veined red parrotfish ( <i>Scarus rubroviolaceus</i> ): male, gemasugul (W)
290. fasúnúmat	black-veined red parrotfish ( <i>Scarus rubroviola-</i> <i>ceus</i> ): female, fasiulimat (W), fahinemat, fahú- nimat (P)
291. niyórokuning	a kind of parrotfish ( <i>Cetoscarus bicolor</i> ): male, yaregulung (W)
292. wuufóór	a kind of parrotfish ( <i>Cetoscarus bicolor</i> ): female, wuufóór (T)
293. kírikirí	a kind of parrotfish (Scaridae)
294. rowu	a kind of parrotfish ( <i>Ypsiscarus ovifrons</i> ): roow (P: <i>Scarus gibbus</i> ), rou (C: <i>Scarus psittacus</i> )
295. yikánipeyuw	Kellog's parrotfish ( <i>Scarus formosus</i> )
296. ningimmar'	green-finned parrotfish ( <i>Scarus sordidus</i> ): lingimmar (P)
297. ngiccha	green-finned parrotfish ( <i>Scarus sordidus</i> ): female, ngiicha (W)

298. wumař 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. wura 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. yásiyóóro 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. sepáyirí half-toothed parrotfish (*Calotomus spinidens*)
314. mwunáyinómw batfish (*Platax* sp.)
315. níréénémeyimey batfish (*Platax* sp.)
316. ningúúngú imperial angelfish (*Pomacanthus imperator*)
317. ríring blue-banded angelfish (*Pygoplites diacanthus*): rishing (W), ríring (P)
318. nírékúy neeyiniyán a kind of angelfish (*Centropyge tibicen*)

20	Micronesica
319. nikeriker*	coralfish (Chaetodontidae): ligeriger (W), liikerikeré (P), nikeriker (T), lighergher (C)
320. nikeriker	a kind of coralfish ( <i>Chaetodon reticulatus</i> )
321. nírénipwak	long-nosed coralfish ( <i>Forcipiger flavissimus</i> ): liiréénipwak (P)
322. nírééy teeyo	vagabond coralfish ( <i>Chaetodon vagabundus</i> )
323. nisópwoyitér	triangular coralfish ( <i>Gonochaetodon triangulum</i> )
324. nifúúseram	one-spot coralfish ( <i>Chaetodon unimaculatus</i> )
325. níkásserák	moorish idol ( <i>Zanclus cornutus</i> ): lipeiubaar (W), likahherák (P), nikasakas, níkásseres (T)
326. mwocch*	surgeonfish ( <i>Acanthurus</i> spp.): mwoch (W), mwoc (P), mwooch (T), modch (C)
327. mwocchon mesániwof	a kind of surgeonfish ( <i>Acanthurus thompsoni</i> )
328. mwocchonnákey	white-cheeked surgeonfish ( <i>Acanthurus glaucopareius</i> ): mwochonagey (W), moch-el-ghei (C)
329. parapar	a kind of surgeonfish ( <i>Acanthurus guttatus</i> ): parepar (W), pa'apar' (P), par-par (C: <i>Zebrasoma flavescens</i> )
330. níkayingun	a kind of surgeonfish ( <i>Acanthurus</i> sp.): ig-angung (C: <i>A. nigricaudus</i> )
331. yefan	a kind of surgeonfish ( <i>Acanthurus</i> sp.): efen (T)
332. mwárefar'	orange-epaulette surgeonfish ( <i>Acanthurus olivaceus</i> ): mwarefash (W), mwa'afaar (P), mwárefach, mwa'áfach (T), mar-re-fasch (C)
333. níkéénaw	convict surgeonfish ( <i>Acanthurus triostegus</i> )
334. fiirar'	convict surgeonfish ( <i>Acanthurus triostegus</i> ): kiirach (T)
335. fenaang	blue-lined surgeonfish ( <i>Acanthurus lineatus</i> ): filaang (W), fináng (T), felang (C)
336. fitirú	blue-lined surgeonfish ( <i>Acanthurus lineatus</i> ): filaang (W), fitiruw (P), fitichu, fináng (T)
337. nimen	a kind of surgeonfish ( <i>Acanthurus</i> 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. yawuró blue-dotted hair-toothed tang (*Ctenochaetus striatus*)
345. nikayingú a kind of unicornfish (Acanthuridae)
346. yútúút a kind of unicornfish (*Naso hexacanthus*)
347. nááyeeew 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. mwiiyóóro 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*)

22	Micronesica
358. nnek*	rabbitfish ( <i>Siganus</i> spp.): neg (W), llek (P), legh (C: <i>S. argenteus</i> )
359. wumwuné	rabbitfish ( <i>Siganus</i> sp.): umweleo (W), wumwulé (P), wumwuné (T)
360. káraméy	rabbitfish ( <i>Siganus</i> sp.): geramey (W)
361. niperuyengi	rabbitfish ( <i>Siganus</i> sp.)
362. pwuupw*	triggerfish (Balistidae): buub (W), pwuupw (P), pwuupw (T), buub (C : <i>Rhinecanthus aculeatus</i> )
363. ngúsungús	triggerfish ( <i>Sufflamen bursa</i> )
364. ppwupařamácch	white-tailed triggerfish ( <i>Melichthys vidua</i> ): pashemach (W)
365. ppwumásen	yellow-blotched triggerfish ( <i>Balistoides conspicillum</i> )
366. ppwufasiker	triggerfish ( <i>Sufflamen fraenatus</i> )
367. ppwukeeř	triggerfish ( <i>Sufflamen chrysopterus</i> )
368. ppwufát	triggerfish ( <i>Sufflamen</i> sp.)
369. páán	brown triggerfish ( <i>Pseudobalistes fuscus</i> ): paal (W), paan (T), liu-liu (C)
370. núwénúw	green triggerfish ( <i>Pseudobalistes flavimarginatus</i> )
371. ppwukusaf	red-toothed triggerfish ( <i>Odonus niger</i> ): bbusaf (W), pwukahaf (P), núúnú, ngúungú, pwúnúúnú (T), pugusug (C)
372. ppwukuřow	vermiculated triggerfish ( <i>Balistapus undulatus</i> )
373. mwáánni weneýité	red-toothed triggerfish ( <i>Odonus niger</i> )
374. ppwupweř	white-barred triggerfish ( <i>Rhinecanthus aculeatus</i> ): buub besh (W)
375. pwuupwáy neyárenómw	black-bellied triggerfish ( <i>Rhinecanthus verrucosus</i> )
376. mwaaneyi	triggerfish ( <i>Xanthichthys</i> sp.)
377. pwupwuán yápeýipey*	triggerfish that follow driftwoods (Balistidae)

378. pwupwuán yápeyihey triggerfish (*Cathidermis maculatus*)
379. niyoomá\* leatherjacket (Aluteridae): liyooma (W), niyéwúma (T), lioma (C)
380. paratet scribbled leatherjacket (*Alutera scripta*): likáápet (P)
381. nisowufiiré an unidentified fish
382. nimitimit\* leatherjacket (Aluteridae)
383. pariyeu scribbled leatherjacket (*Alutera scripta*)
384. nifayifay boxfish (*Ostracion* sp.)
385. sópw long-horned cowfish (*Lactoria cornutus*)
386. pángit leatherjacket (*Alutera* sp.): pángit (P), pééngut (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. nowuwór reef stonefish (*Synanceia verrucosa*)
395. nowurang stonefish (*Scorpaenopsis* sp.): ? noowraan (P)
396. nariiné\* butterfly-cod (*Scorpaenopsis* sp.): laaíyeré (P)
397. nikosóron velvetfish (*Aploactis aspera*)
398. nippár left eye flounder (Palalichthyidae): lippar (W), lipper (P)

399. nimasápáni left eye flounder (Palulichthyidae): mesaapaliy (W), limahapeliy (P), nipééneppún (T)
400. nipi'ar 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: ráw (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 bipinnulatus*): immature stage of 207, ppwey (P)
410. péyennáy rainbow runner (*Elagatis bipinnulatus*): immature stage (for special occasions)
411. paré'ón drummer (*Kyphosus* spp.): (for special occasions)
412. suunga triggerfish (Balistidae): (for special occasions)
413. fayurón 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. re' 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. nápanáp wrasse (*Labroides* sp.): tabooed
420. yá'éngan 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 (kkeét): 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



## 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 fofo (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 paréón, 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 yayimáamá 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, yá'éngan, 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 mwoch, 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: nipírár 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 yáíiiné and yásááp pweéepweé, according to color and pattern, although the two belong to the same species. In this case the name is a secondary lexeme; yáíiiné 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 yáíiiné. On the other hand, pweéepweé 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)	87. wuweshik (W)
6. matafaáyipw (W)	92. semayúúpwong (W)
11. pókowan metaw (W)	97. hákánat (P)
12. páwániwosh (W)	99. nippwuúwórosh (W)
15. fááriyap (W)	101. nishopw (W)
21. nópwut (W)	104. pwówuriyap (P)
23. nópwutushón (w)	105. núúpóowushón (W)
24. nópwutupwesh (W)	111. táyiaaw (W), háyiaaw (P)
27. nayúynópwut (W)	112. cchiytáyiaaw (W)
28. nimwármwár (W)	115. pwena (W)
32. yérushón (W)	118. pwenaanweniwosh (W)
39. takúter (W)	119. rannufayimwó (W)
41. takúnúwosh (W)	120. kemáriyosh (W)
46. mengar (W)	121. yúkúshaap (W)
49. payikoshow (W)	124. kániy (W)
52. nipaapa (W)	125. manúkánkániy (W)
54. yúúngániwosh (W)	129. kániyishón (W)
57. heraw (P)	130. kániyimwera (W)
59. yikáreng (W)	138. reen (W)
60. keraa (W)	142. rennima (W)
68. páawánesh (W)	148. takúruwash (W), hakúruwar (P)
71. mwenútamwúsh (W)	149. shaanawut (W)
79. kúcchúpwesh (W)	150. matamat (W), mahamah (P)
81. hera (P)	156. woópwín (W)
83. yápihóoy (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)	273. potoshon (W)
165. mahaccha (P)	275. potowusha (W)
170. tinimóromór (W)	286. yikániwosh (W)
180. kófun (W)	289. kómosukin (W)
182. mángirínéén kániy (W)	298. wumash (W)
183. mángirínééy táyiaaw (W)	305. wusha (W)
196. shepeneetm (W)	315. nishéénémeyimey (W)
207. fóófó (W)	316. nishénifáaniyap (W)
209. tepór (W), hepór (P)	318. rishing (W)
210. kárengaap (W)	326. nipayipwaar (W)
214. tángir (W), hángir (P)	328. mwocchon metániwosh (W)
217. kásinnéy (W)	333. mwárefash (W)
220. takúraar (W)	336. fitirú (P)
221. mwárenósho (W)	345. yawurosh (W)
226. mwómwoshik (W)	350. pwuna (P)
233. nishék (W)	352. mwiiyósho (W)
243. nisheyineyin (W)	353. menango (W)
247. kásáap (W)	365. ppwupashamáccch (W)
248. kásáapinkáshiiné (W)	366. ppwumáhen (P)
249. kásáapapwesh (W)	373. ppwukuhaf (P)
253. káshiiné (W)	390. néesh (W)
255. sháánaw (W)	404. yikániweniwosh (W)
261. koshán (W)	407. yikáy neeshan (W)
263. koshánipwesh (W)	409. raas (W)
269. kásheperang (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 neenééné, 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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