

## FISH NAMES OF WALLIS ISLAND (UVEA)

by Karl H. Rensch

ABSTRACT. Fish names are not only of interest to the ichthyologist. Linguists too have been studying fish name as they are generally regarded as a more stable subsection of the lexicon, which is less subject to change and more reliable as a source for historical reconstruction. However in the Pacific, especially in Polynesia with its history of migration, linguists have to be careful when using fish names for comparative studies. While it is true that the common species have cognate forms in almost all Polynesian languages, a fish name may function as an interchangeable label for a lesser-known species designating a different fish in each language. The explanation for this semantic instability is readily found in the settlement of Polynesia by continuous migration. In their new environment people found fish species similar but not identical with those they knew. What was more logical than to use for the newly found species the name of its look-alike cousin back home? The data from Wallis Island are meant to encourage a Polynesia-wide study of fish names. Comparative research of this nature will reveal valuable information on linguistic subgrouping and on patterns of settlement in the Pacific region.

1. Wallis Island, native name Uvea, is part of the French overseas territory "Wallis et Futuna." Situated approximately halfway between Fiji and Samoa, it has remained a rather isolated island in the heart of Polynesia. Until recently Western influence has been minimal. Local customs, tradition, and language are well preserved. Wallis is an island of volcanic origin with peaks up to 145 meters high. It is surrounded by a barrier reef enclosing a lagoon in which there are nineteen small uninhabited islands. The total land area is 96 square kilometers. The Wallisian language, which is closely related to Tongan, is spoken by six thousand people on the home island and by twelve thousand immigrants in New Caledonia. As elsewhere in the Pacific, fish is an important part of the daily diet of the population. Fishing is done in the lagoon, hardly ever outside the barrier reef. The French government is encouraging noncommercial fishing by providing small motor-powered boats, which are locally built and sold at subsidized prices.

I collected data for this paper on a field trip to Wallis Island in 1980 while working on a dictionary project. My principal informant was Mino, an experienced fisherman of about forty, living at Lano in the district of

Hihifo. I checked the data with Sakopo Paninia, a man in his late fifties from the village of Utufua (Mua district), who had been recommended to me as one of the last of the older generation, who knew fish names that younger people had never learned.

2. For the identification of the fishes I used an ichthyological work, *Poissons des Mers Tropicales*, by P. Fourmanoir and P. Laboute, which contains color photographs of a high standard. Securing data by showing pictures instead of using fresh specimens is by no means an ideal way of obtaining precise information. People who are not used to looking at pictures or photos find it difficult to match them with their mental image of the real thing. This applies in particular to the interpretation of size. A photo of a small fish covering a whole page appears to be bigger than that of a shark that is only one of four on the opposite page. Similar difficulties exist with the recognition of color. Photographs taken under water using artificial light and filters often fail to produce the original shades, tones, and color intensities of the live specimen.

Another difficulty posed by the method of data collection is that whereas Fourmanoir and Laboute describe the fishes of New Caledonia and Vanuatu, those species are not necessarily identical to those in the latitudes of Wallis Island. This means, that if an informant has put a name to a species described and depicted in Fourmanoir and Laboute, one may only assume that a fish which to him appears to be of similar size, color, and shape exists in Wallis. It may be the exact species, or it may be a fish of another species, genus, or even family.

These intrinsic sources of error probably account for some of the divergent identifications and names given by my two informants. As I could not obtain a third opinion, there was no way of finding out who was more likely to be right, or whether it was at all a question of right and wrong. Some divergent forms are just alternative names or local variations. In particular, epithets describing species-specific features can vary from fishing community to fishing community.

Apart from these interpersonal disagreements there are also what appear to be intrapersonal "inconsistencies." In quite a few cases the same species was given two names by the same informant. Instead of trying to cross-examine him for the "true" name, a futile task without having a fresh specimen at hand, I simply recorded the different names. These cases are labelled DDF, double definitions, in the body of this paper.

3. The totality of Wallisian fish names forms a well-balanced taxonomic system. An analysis of its structure and the relationship between its

elements must wait until our inventory is more complete. The best we can do at the moment is to adopt the established Western model of classification as our frame of reference and describe the folk taxonomy in terms of the scientific taxonomy. The following situations are frequently encountered:

A) Any Wallisian fish name denoting more than one species, I call a monotermin (MT). Monotermins can be of different types depending on whether they refer to:

- 1) different species of the same genus (S-type monotermin), e.g. *lōlō* refers to *Scarus blochi* Valenciennes, *Scarus longiceps* Valenciennes, and *Scarus schlegeli* (Valenciennes).
- 2) species of different genera within the same family (G-type monotermin), e.g. *meai tanu* for *Anampses* species and *Novaculichthys taeniourus* (Lacépède), both LABRIDAE.
- 3) species belonging to different families (F-type monotermin), e.g. *moaga matu'u lau* for *Cheilio inermis* (Forskål) LABRIDAE, *Parupeneus macronema* (Lacépède) MULLIDAE, and *Gerres ovatus* Günther GERREIDAE.

Monotermins may indicate the low frequency of occurrence of one of the denoted species. In this case a rarely encountered fish of a different genus or family may be given the same name as a well-known fish to which it bears some resemblance. What on the surface appears to be a classificatory blunder is linguistically nothing but an attempt to cope with a problem of lexical deficiency. However, in most cases monotermins, especially S-type monotermins, are units of folk taxonomy established by a classificatory process, whose criteria are based on the observation and conceptualization of morphological characteristics, behavioral patterns, environmental preferences, and developmental stages of fishes.

B) I adopt the view that a Wallisian lexeme occurring at least twice and each time with a different epithet functions as a taxon or generic name. It is consequently assumed that epithet labelling stems from a system of classification where two or more fishes have been deemed to be sufficiently similar to deserve the same name, but are different enough to be distinguished by a salient feature. By comparing the two taxonomies we come across a situation where a Wallisian fish name consisting of a generic term and an epithet is used for a species which does not belong to the genus to which the generic term refers. We call this name a crossover (CROS). For example: *ume* is the generic term for genus *Naso*, as evidenced by forms like *ume ta Naso unicornis* (Forskål), *ume hiku pule Naso brevirostris* (Cuvier and

Valenciennes). However, *ume kaleva* is not a species of genus *Naso* as one would expect, but a crossover, denoting *Alutera scripta* (Osbeck), a species belonging to BALISTIDAE. In what follows, G-type crossovers (between genera of the same family) and F-type crossovers (between different families) are differentiated.

In the first part of this paper I examine the semantic basis of the folk taxonomy by having a closer look at the epithets used for the identification of species. In the second part I systematize the data by assigning the various fishes to genera and species.

For Pacific islanders living in a subsistence economy the naming and identification of a dietary staple such as fish is far from being an abstract exercise in biological theory. There are pragmatic reasons for being able to communicate concisely about the topic, because the catching of fish not only requires manual skills but also a considerable knowledge of the various species of fish. The choice of the right bait, hook, net, or harpoon means the difference between success and failure, sufficient food or an empty stomach. Moreover, distinguishing between an edible and a poisonous specimen can be a matter of sickness or health, life or death.

#### 4. The naming of fish

Wallisian fish names are formally of two kinds:

- a) monomial, i.e. consisting of a single lexeme, e.g. *ga'a*, *Rastrelliger kargurta* (Cuvier);
- b) bi- or trinomial, usually consisting of a noun and a qualifier, e.g. *moaga legalega Parupeneus chryserydros* (Lacépède).

The etymology of monomials is in most cases difficult or impossible to establish. They are of old Polynesian stock and have a wide distribution, e.g. *ume* 'unicornfish', *nofu* 'stonefish', *ali* 'flounder', etc. Bi- or trinomial names are semantically more perspicuous as the epithet usually describes a particular feature of the species, e.g. *legalega* 'yellow'. While it is generally true that epithets are added for the purpose of species identification, common sense forbids us to accept every noun to which a qualifier has been added as a generic term. A case in point are such names as *hiku hina Sufflamen chrysopterus* (Bloch and Schneider) and *Acanthurus mata* Cuvier, *hiku malohi* (growth term) *Caranx ignobilis* (Forskål) and *hiku manu-nu*, monotermin for *Parupeneus barberinus* (Lacépède) and *Upeneus tragula* Richardson. There is no *hiku* species; *hiku* simply means 'tail'. These names are elliptic versions of the full name, the generic term having been omitted. They are comparable to English names such as redfish or bigeye where noun and qualifier have become inseparable morphemes.

## 5. Growth terms

A major difference between the Wallisian and scientific classification of fishes is the use of the parameter “developmental stage” in folk taxonomy. While the age or stage of growth is irrelevant for scientific identification, it is important to people who catch and consume fish. As in other Polynesian languages the same fish may have different names depending on its growth. I call these names growth terms (GT). The differentiation of developmental stages is not a classification in the Western sense, as it presupposes taxon identity. Most distinctions are on a binary basis; very few go beyond three. The number of growth terms for a given species is limited by the maximum size that it can reach, but apart from this restriction the number of growth terms is an indication of the overall importance of the fish to the community. My informant used his arm, hand, and fingers to explain the growth terms of kanahe *Liza macrolepis* (Smith):

'aua*	length of index finger
'aua mui	length of hand
kanahe	length of lower arm (fully grown)

## 6. Binary distinctions

ō	laukofe	genus <i>Siganus</i>
saosao	pana nua	SPHYRAENIDAE
kivi	fagamea	<i>Lutjanus bohar</i> (Forskål)
uho uho	kaloama	<i>Mulloides flavolineatus</i> (Lacépède)
tautu	tautufala	DIODONTIDAE
hakuhaku	haku	monoterm for <i>Strongylura leiura</i> (Bleeker), <i>Strongylura urvilli</i> (Valenciennes), and <i>Tylosurus crocodilus</i> (Le Sueur)
gatala	fapuku	generic term for <i>Epinephelus</i>
mafole	hokelau	<i>Leiognathus equulus</i> (Forskål), <i>Carangoides gilberti</i> Jordan and Seale CROS, which needs clarification, see comment under CARANGIDAE

## 7. Ternary distinctions

tata	taga'u	ta'ea	monoterm for <i>Lutjanus fulviflamma</i> (Forskål)
motomoto	hapatu	'ono	unidentified species of SPHYRAENIDAE

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\*see footnote under 7.

humuhumu	gutu mea	humu	BALISTIDAE
homo	la'ea	kaulama	monoterm for <i>Scarus gibbus</i> Rüppell and <i>Scarus sordidus</i> Forskål
'aua*	'aua mui	kanahe	<i>Liza macrolepis</i> (Smith)
'aua*	'aua mui	ava	<i>Chanos chanos</i> (Forskål) identical GT for kanahe and ava
lupolupo	lupo	'ulua	
variation:			
lupolupo	hiku malohi	'ulua	<i>Caranx ignobilis</i> (Forskål)
te'e te'e	h u e	muhumu	generic terms for some species of <i>Arothron</i>
8. pone	māmā	palagi**	generic terms for some species of <i>Acanthurus</i>
variation:			
pone	māmā	ma'uli**	

Growth terms presuppose taxon identity, i.e. they are used for developmental stages of what the Wallisian classificatory system considers to be the same fish. However in the case of mafole, *Leiognathus equulus* and hokelau, *Carangoides gilberti*, we are dealing with species which belong to different families. This discrepancy between the Polynesian and the Western systems deserves our special interest and attention as its analysis will reveal the underlying classificatory principles on which the Wallisian system is based. Further information, however, is required before any conclusive statements can be made on this issue. For some Wallisians ava *Chanos chanos* and kanahe *Liza macrolepis* share the same set of growth terms, an indication of the similarity between the younger specimens of the related species. For 'ulua *Caranx ignobilis*, and pone, genus *Acanthurus*, two sets of growth terms have been recorded.

### Classifying Strategies of Wallisian Folk Taxonomy

#### 9. Reference to color

Fishes of the Pacific Ocean display an amazing array of colors and it comes as no surprise that color should be one of the prime classifiers at the species level. When used as epithets in fish names a subset is selected from the inventory of color terms. They form a closed system and the referential range of each term is determined by the number of color distinctions that the language allows in the semantic field of fish names. For

\*GT for *Liza macrolepis* (Smith), *Chanos chanos* (Forskål), and *Gerres acinaces* Bleeker

\*\*see under 17.

example, the term *mea* used with a plant name may cover a wider or narrower section of the spectrum depending on the number of permissible choices. One should keep the relative nature of color terms in mind when looking at the photographs in Fourmanoir and Laboute. None of the fishes labelled as *hina* is white, let alone perfectly white as suggested by the dictionary definition of *hina*. Obviously *hina* must be understood and redefined with reference to the other color terms of the subset applicable to fish names.

The following color terms occur in fish names:  
(dictionary definition in double quotation marks\*)

<i>hina</i>	“perfectly white”
<i>tea</i>	“whitish, low intensity white.” Europeans are said to have <i>kili tea</i> ‘white skin’
<i>mea</i>	has no direct equivalent in English, refers to the spectral range yellow-red with the additional component ‘low intensity’, e.g. <i>tamasi’i mea</i> ‘baby whose skin has not yet been exposed to the sun’
<i>legalega</i>	“yellow, the yellow of the saffron plant ‘ago, <i>Curcuma domestica</i> ”
<i>kula</i>	“red”
<i>‘u’ui</i>	“light green, light blue”
<i>‘uli</i>	“black”

The following secondary color terms, probably formed under European influence, do not occur in fish names; none is used outside Wallis:

<i>legalega momoho</i>	“orange”
<i>fulu ‘i hega</i>	“green”
<i>hua vaisi</i>	“maroon”
<i>hua lotuma</i>	“violet”

In the following list of fish names, we restrict ourselves to three examples to illustrate the use of color terms:

<i>gatala hina</i>	<i>Cromileptes altivelis</i> (Valenciennes)
<i>kivi hina</i>	<i>Tropidinius zonatus</i> (Valenciennes)
<i>lupo hina</i>	<i>Caranx celetus</i> Smith
<i>humuhumu tea</i>	<i>Sufflamen bursa</i> (Bloch and Schneider)
<i>toke tea</i>	unidentified species of <i>Gymnothorax</i>
<i>valu tea</i>	unidentified species of <i>Thunnus</i>
<i>toke mea</i>	<i>Gymnothorax javanicus</i> (Bleeker)

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*tonu mea* unidentified species of *Plectropomus*

\*Rensch, K. H., *Tikisionalio Faka’uvea-Fakafalani*. Forthcoming.

valu mea	unidentified species of <i>Thunnus</i>
te'ete'e legalega	unidentified species of <i>Arothron</i>
moamoa legalega MT	unidentified species of <i>Ostracion</i>
moaga legalega	<i>Parupeneus chryserydros</i> (Lacépède)
papa kula	<i>Cephalopholis sonnerati</i> (Valenciennes)
ulafi kula	<i>Scarus brevifilis</i> ♀ (Günther)
humu kula	<i>Balistapus undulatus</i> Mungo Park
homo 'u'ui	<i>Scarus bleekeri</i> (Weber and de Beaufort)
ulafi 'u'ui	<i>Scarus brevifilis</i> ♂ (Günther)
te'ete'e 'u'ui	unidentified species of <i>Arothron</i>
moamoa 'uli	unidentified species of <i>Ostracion</i>
toke 'uli	unidentified species of <i>Gymnothorax</i>
tonu 'uli	unidentified species of <i>Plectropomus</i>

We include here the epithets 'alava and pulepule. They are not color terms but refer to patterning. 'alava means 'marked with stripes', and pulepule, the name of the cowrie shell, has the extended meaning of 'marked with colored spots'. Manunu in hiku manunu means 'bushfire' and is probably a color metaphor.

'aga 'alava or 'alava	<i>Carcharhinus amblyrhynchos</i> Bleeker
tolo 'alava	<i>Plagiotramus rhinorhynchys</i> (Bleeker)
tolo pulepule	<i>Acentrogobius ornatus</i> (Rüppell)
hiku manunu	<i>Parupeneus barberinus</i> (Lacépède)

#### 10. Morphological characteristics

An idiosyncratic morphological feature of a species provides in many cases the semantic basis for a fish name or an epithet. As individuals differ in their perceptual acuity and sometimes disagree on what might be considered the most salient feature, these names often vary from fishing community to fishing community. They are usually unsuitable candidates for Polynesia-wide comparative studies.

A rich source for the description of morphological particularities are metaphorical references to flora and fauna. The shape of a fish's tail might, for example, resemble a leaf of a plant and so justify the addition of the plant's name as an epithet to the generic name. Our data show that similarities have been recognized between fishes and plants, including trees, and between fishes and birds. It is not always obvious which parts constitute the basis for the metaphor.

##### a) References to plants or trees

humuhumu lau talo MT	<i>Xanthichthys auromarginatus</i> (Bennett), <i>Pseudobalistes fuscus</i> (Bloch and Schneider), <i>Balistoides conspicillus</i> (Bloch and Schneider)
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lau talo “taro leaf”	<i>Colocasia esculenta</i>
valu lau niu	unidentified species of genus <i>Thunnus</i>
lau niu “coconut leaf”	
moamoa po niu	genus <i>Ostracion</i>
po niu “newly formed coconut”	
pone’uto	<i>Acanthurus olivaceus</i> Schneider
’uto “germinating coconut”	
mata pula	monoterm for <i>Meiacanthus atrodorsalis</i> (Günther), <i>Atherinomorus lacunosus</i> (Bloch and Schneider), <i>Polydactylus plebeius</i> (Broussonnet), genus <i>Amphiprion</i>
pula “taro species”	
lele ‘ifi	unidentified species of CARCHARHINIDAE (sharks)
’ifi “chestnut,”	<i>Inocarpus edulis</i>
fai gatae	<i>Aetobatus narinari</i> (Euphrasen)
gatae “tree species,”	<i>Erythrina indica</i>
ume fau	monoterm for <i>Naso vomer</i> (Klunzinger) and <i>Naso tuberosus</i> (Lacépède)
fau “tree species,”	<i>Laritium tiliaceum</i>
kapa kau ‘i higano	<i>Sphyrna mokarran</i> (Rüppell)
higano “pandanus species”	
kau ‘i higano “stem of the pandanus”	
kapakapa “side fin of a fish” (or kapakau “wing”)	
palu kavakava	<i>Plectorhynchus orientalis</i> (Bloch),
kavakava (Tongan) “midrib of coconut leaflet”; the horizontal stripes are compared to the ribs of the coconut leaflet which are used in manufacturing kupesi (stencil for making designs on tapa)	
moaga matu’u lau MT	<i>Cheilio inermis</i> (Forskål), <i>Parupeneus macronema</i> (Lacépède), <i>Parupeneus barberinus</i> (Lacépède), <i>Gerres ovatus</i> Günther
matu’u lau “dry leaf”	
toke ‘akau	<i>Thyrsoidea macrura</i> (Bleeker)
’akau “plant, tree, wood”	
gutu leva or	unidentified species of <i>Lethrinus</i>
gutu levaleva	
leva	<i>Cerbera lactaria</i>
gutu “lip, mouth”	
motomoto	unidentified species of SPHYRAENIDAE
motomoto “coconut which is almost dry”	

## 11. b) References to birds

ume kaleva	<i>Alutera scripta</i> (Osbeck)
moa moa kaleva	<i>Lactoria cornuta</i> (Linné)
humuhumu kaleva	<i>Sufflamen fraenatus</i> Richardson
kaleva,	<i>Endynamis tahitensis</i>
papa tavake	<i>Cephalopholis miniatus</i> (Forskål)
tavake,	<i>Phaeton aetherus</i>
fai pala	unidentified species of DASYATIDAE
pala	“feather of the tavake”
ta'e lulu	generic term for some species of <i>Lutjanus</i> , see 41
lulu	“owl,” <i>Stria delicatula</i>

## 12. c) Non-metaphorical references

ihe gutu tahi or gutu tahi	monoterm for <i>Hyporamphus dussumieri</i> (Valenciennes) and <i>Hemiramphus far</i> (Forskål)
gutu	“snout”
tahi	“one, single” refers to the fact that the upper jaw is much shorter than the (elongated) lower jaw, thus creating the impression that one half of the snout is missing; cf. the English name halfbeak
gutu loaloa	unidentified fish
loaloa	“long”
humu gutu mea	unidentified <i>Balistes</i>
mea	“light brown, yellowish”
pone 'afiga mea	<i>Acanthurus olivaceus</i> Schneider, “chirurgien à épaulettes”
'afiga	“armpit” refers to the area behind the pectoral fin
mea	“light brown, yellowish”
tonu faga mea	unidentified species of genus <i>Plectropomus</i>
faga	“side of the head” (Tongan)
mea	“light brown, yellowish”
tala tahi	<i>Adioryx furcatus</i> (Günther)
tala	“spine”
tahi	“one single” refers to the characteristic anal spine which is longer than the longest dorsal spine
tata 'ila	<i>Lutjanus fulviflamma</i> (Forskål), “dorade à tache noire”
lala 'ila MT	<i>Carcharhinus melanopterus</i> Quoy and Gaimard, <i>Isurus paucus</i> Guitart Manday

'ila "spot, speck, stain"	
malau mata mu	<i>Priacanthus hamrur</i> (Forskál) "gros oeil"
mata mu "probing eyes"	
mata kivikivi	<i>Scolopsis bilineatus</i> (Bloch)
kivi "sightless, sunken (of eyes)"	
toke taliga	unidentified species of MURAENIDAE (moray eels) which is said to have a head shaped like an ear
taliga "ear"	
tonu 'uno	unidentified species of <i>Plectropomus</i>
'uno "scale"	
valu 'alo	unidentified species of <i>Thunnus</i>
'alo "lower part of a fish, belly"	
hiku malohi	<i>Caranx ignobilis</i> (Forskál), growth term
hiku "tail"	
malohi "strong"	
hiku mamaga	unidentified species of <i>Acanthurus</i>
mamaga "fork-shaped"	
hauhau lele	monoterm for <i>Pterois radiata</i> Cuvier, <i>Pterois lunulata</i> Schlegel, and <i>Dendrochirus zebra</i> Quoy and Gaimard
hauhau "bit needle, tattoo comb"	refers to the typical preopercular and opercular spines of SCORPAENIDAE
lele "run, move through water"	

### 13. References to behavioral characteristics

The description of behavioral patterns is only sparingly used for purposes of naming and identifying. This source is much less productive than the morphology.

gutu hiko	<i>Epibulus insidiator</i> (Pallas)
gutu "snout"	
hiko "to gather"	refers to the extensible snout of the species which can be rapidly pushed out to twice its length for the purpose of food collecting
'aga moe	unidentified species of CARCHARHINIDAE, a small shark
moe "to close the eyes, to sleep"	
fai lalo maka	<i>Taeniura lymma</i> (Forskál)
lalo "under"	
maka "rock"	
tu'a puhi	alternative name for the whale, which is considered as "ika" (fish)
tu'a 'back"	
puhi "to blow"	

meai tanu MT	species of <i>Anampses</i> said to bury itself in the sand, <i>Novaculichthys taeniourus</i> (Lacépède)
tanutanu	<i>Lethrinus nematacanthus</i> (Bleeker), fish with very small scales, buries itself in the sand
tanu “to bury”	

#### 14. References to habitat and origin

The Wallisian language distinguishes four main types of marine environments:

moana	“high sea, ocean outside the barrier reef”
t a i	“sea, including the lagoon, also ‘sea water’ ”
vai	“fresh water, as opposed to tai”
lau hakau	“reef”

All four forms are used as epithets in fish names:

ali moana	<i>Bothus mancus</i> (Broussonnet), left eye flounder
tolo moana MT	<i>Amblyeleotris japonica</i> Takagi, <i>Fusigobius neophytus</i> (Günther), <i>Quisquilius</i> species
toke moana	unidentified species of MURAENIDAE (moray eels)
‘afa ‘afa tai	<i>Cheilinus undulatus</i> (Rüppell)
ava vai	<i>Megalops cyprionoides</i> (Broussonnet)
kivi vai	monoterm for <i>Pristipomoides filamentosus</i> (Valenciennes), <i>Pristipomoides multidentis</i> Day, <i>Pristipomoides auricilla</i> (Jordan, Evermann and Tanaka)
malau vai	<i>Priacanthus hamrur</i> (Forskål)
ta’e lulu vai	<i>Macolor niger</i> (Forskål)
hue lauhakau	<i>Arothron stellatus</i> (Schneider)

The use of “vai” freshwater as an epithet for a saltwater fish is somewhat puzzling. However, there are in the lagoon of Wallis Island numerous freshwater springs, “puna vai.” A possible explanation would be that these fishes are often found in the vicinity of these springs or in places where freshwater streams enter the sea.

hoputu tokelau	<i>Lethrinus chrysostomus</i> (Richardson)
tokelau “Tokelau islands, north”	

#### 15. References to size

The only qualifiers used are puku “short,” liki “small,” and loa “long.” Few species are described by these unspecific epithets. The traditional

Polynesian way is to refer to size by the use of growth terms (calf-heifer-cow principle).

lupo puku	<i>Carangoides gymnostethus</i> (Cuvier)
malau puku	<i>Aspidontus taeniatus</i> Quoy and Gaimard
fa puku	generic term for <i>Epinephelus</i>
fa loa	<i>Anyperodon leucogrammicus</i> (Valenciennes)
kivi liki	<i>Gnathodentex aurolineatus</i> (Lacépède)

fa puku is a developmental stage of gatala, genus *Epinephelus*, i.e. the gatala becomes a fa puku. The qualifier seems to contradict the sequential order of the growth terms.

tonu puku	unidentified species of <i>Plectropomus</i>
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#### 16. Various references

kili fifisi	<i>Acanthurus glaucopareius</i> Cuvier
kili "skin"	
fifisi "prickly, pungent"	
malau ta S-MT	<i>Adioryx cornutus</i> (Bleeker)
	<i>Adioryx spinifer</i> (Forskål)

ta "to scoop up fish with a hand net"; a reference to the method of catching this kind of fish. When asked to explain the use of ta the informant replied that the fish "turns his head"

### Classification of Wallisian Fishes

(Family names are not in phylogenetic order, but are arranged alphabetically for easy reference.)

Abbreviations: MT monotermin, G-MT genus type monotermin, S-MT species type monotermin, F-MT family type monotermin, DDF double definition, MDF multiple definition, GT growth term, CROS crossover, G-CROS genus crossover, F-CROS family crossover. The scientific name quoted in Fourmanoir and Laboute has been marked with an asterisk and put in square brackets if the species has been redefined since their publication.\*

#### 17. ACANTHURIDAE (surgeon and unicornfishes)

api	<i>Acanthurus guttatus</i> Schneider; Bataillon defines it as <i>Chaetodon</i>
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\*I owe the later information to Dr. Jack Randall, Dept. of Ichthyology, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii.

'alogo		<i>Acanthurus lineatus</i> (Linné)
kili fifisi		<i>Acanthurus glaucopareius</i> Cuvier [* <i>Acanthurus aliala</i> (Lesson)]
ma'uli S-MT**		<i>Acanthurus mata</i> Cuvier [* <i>Acanthurus leucopareius</i> Jenkins], <i>Acanthurus dussumieri</i> (Valenciennes)
manini		<i>Acanthurus triostegus</i> (Linné)
palagi also GT for pone		<i>Acanthurus bleekeri</i> (Günther)
pone		generic term for some species of <i>Acanthurus</i>
GT 1 pone	alternative set	GT2 pone
lole		māmā
māmā		ma'uli
palagi		
pone 'afiga mea	DDF	<i>Acanthurus olivaceus</i> Schneider
pone 'uto		
hiku hina MT		<i>Acanthurus mata</i> Cuvier [* <i>Acanthurus leucopareius</i> Jenkins], <i>Sufflamen chrysopterus</i> BALISTIDAE
hiku mamaga		unidentified species of <i>Acanthurus</i> ***
ma'ito		<i>Ctenochaetus striatus</i> (Quoy and Gaimard)
tutuku		<i>Paracanthurus hepatus</i> (Linné), <i>Bodiamus axillaris</i> (Bennett), species of <i>Amphiprioninae</i> (POMACENTRIDAE)
ume		generic term for genus <i>Naso</i>
ume fau S-MT		<i>Naso vomer</i> (Klunziger), <i>Naso tuberosus</i> (Lacépède)
ume hiku pule		<i>Naso brevirostris</i> (Cuvier and Valenciennes)
ume hiku legalega		<i>Naso lituratus</i> (Schneider)
ume ta		<i>Naso unicornis</i> (Forskål)
ume kaleva		<i>Alutera scripta</i> (Osbeck)

Genus *Naso* and *Acanthurus* are well distinguished in the taxonomy. Ume is the generic term for *Naso*, while different names are used for the species of *Acanthurus*: pone is generic, ma'uli and palagi function as species names and growth terms, which probably explains the double definition of *Acanthurus mata* as hiku hina and ma'uli.

\*\*also GT for pone

\*\*\*name recorded by Burrows (p. 107). He describes it as "a kind of surgeon fish."

## 18. ATHERINIDAE (silversides)

mata pula F-MT		<i>Atherinomorus lacunosus</i> (Bloch and Schneider) [* <i>Pranesus pinguis</i> Lacépède], <i>Meiacanthus atrodorsalis</i> (Günther), genus <i>Amhiprion</i> , <i>Polydactylus plebeius</i> (Broussonnet)
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## 19. BALISTIDAE (triggerfish)

humu kula	DDF	<i>Balistapus undulatus</i> Mungo Park
humu 'uli		[* <i>Balistes undulatus</i> ]
humuhumu 'uli		<i>Balistoides viridescens</i> (Bloch and Schneider) [* <i>Balistes viridescens</i> ]
humuhumu hina		<i>Rhinecanthus verrucosus</i> (Linné) [* <i>Balistes verrucosus</i> ]
humuhumu lau talo S-MT		<i>Pseudobalistes fuscus</i> (Bloch and Schneider) [* <i>Balistes fuscus</i> ], <i>Xanthichthys auromarginatus</i> (Bennett) [* <i>Balistes ringens</i> (Linné)], <i>Balistoides conspicillus</i> (Bloch and Schneider) [* <i>Balistes niger</i> (Bonaterre)]
humuhumu tea		<i>Sufflamen bursa</i> (Bloch and Schneider) [* <i>Balistes bursa</i> ]
humuhumu gutu mea		unidentified species of BALISTIDAE
hiku hina F-MT		<i>Sufflamen chrysopterus</i> (Bloch and Schneider) [* <i>Balistes chrysopterus</i> ], <i>Acanthurus mata</i> Cuvier [* <i>Acanthurus leucopareius</i> Jenkins]
ume kaleva		<i>Alutera scripta</i> (Osbeck)
humuhumu kaleva		<i>Sufflamen fraenatus</i> Richardson

The reduplicated form humuhumu is the generic term for the family, although two non-duplicated forms have been recorded.

## 20. BELONIDAE (needlefish)

haku G-MT		<i>Tylosurus crocodilus</i> (Le Sueur), <i>Strongylura leiura</i> (Bleeker), <i>Strongylura urvili</i> (Valenciennes)
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GT hakuhaku  
haku

## 21. BLENNIIDAE (combtooth blennies)

panoko		<i>Petroscirtes mitratus</i> Rüppell
tolo 'alava F-CROS		<i>Plagiotremus rhinorhynchos</i> (Bleeker)

mata pula F-MT	<i>Meiacanthus atrodorsalis</i> (Günther), genus <i>Amphiprion</i> POMACENTRIDAE, <i>Atherinomorus lacunosus</i> (Bloch and Schneider) [* <i>Pranesus pinguis</i> (Lacépède)], <i>Polydactylus plebeius</i> (Broussonnet) POLYNEMIDAE
malau puku	<i>Aspidontus taeniatus</i> Quoy and Gaimard cf. HOLOCENTRIDAE

## 22. BOTHIDAE (lefteye flounders)

ali G-MT	<i>Bothus pantherinus</i> (Rüppell), <i>Pardachirus pavonius</i> Lacépède, genus <i>Aesopia</i>
ali moana	<i>Bothus mancus</i> (Broussonnet)

## 23a. BRANCHIOSTEGIDAE (tilefishes)

moko tai	DDF	<i>Malacanthus latovittatus</i> (Lacépède)
pili tai		

Moko and pili both mean lizard. Moko has a light brown color, pili is bluish. Given the shape of the *Malacanthus* the justification of the two names is far from obvious. For some people pili tai means crocodile.

## 23b. CAESIODIDAE

gaga	generic term for <i>Caesio</i> species
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## 24. CARANGIDAE (jacks)

'atule	<i>Selar crumenophthalmus</i> (Bloch)
tafa 'uli	<i>Caranx melampygus</i> Cuvier
lupo hina	<i>Caranx celetus</i> Smith
'ulua	<i>Caranx ignobilis</i> (Forskål)
GT1 lupolupo	alternative set GT2 lupo
lupo	hiku malohi
'ulua	'ulua
lupo puku	<i>Carangoides gymnostethus</i> (Cuvier)
ala ala	<i>Carangoides fulvoguttatus</i> (Forskål)
hokelau	<i>Carangoides gilberti</i> Jordan and Seale
GT mafole*	<i>Leiognathus equulus</i> (Forskål)
hokelau	

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\*see comments under 8.



kiokio F-MT	<i>Elagatis bipinnulatus</i> (Quoy and Gaimard), <i>Polydactylus plebeius</i> (Broussonnet) POLYNEMIDAE, <i>Mugil seveli</i> (Forskål) MUGILIDAE
po'opo'o S-MT	<i>Trachinatus blochi</i> (Lacépède), <i>Alectis indicus</i> (Rüppell)

Mafole as a growth term for hokelau is puzzling. Three informants identified independently a picture of *Leiognathus equulus* as mafole after it was pointed out to me by R. Langdon that mafole does not denote *Leiognathus equulus* elsewhere in Polynesia.

#### 25. CARCHARHINIDAE (sharks)

'aga moe	unidentified species (a small shark) CARCHARHINIDAE
'aga tea	unidentified species
'aga 'alava or 'alava	DDF <i>Carcharhinus amblyrhynchos</i> Bleeker
fakahiku 'ulua lala 'ila MT	<i>Isurus paucus</i> Guitart Manday, <i>Carcharhinus melanopterus</i> Quoy and Gaimard, man-eater
fa 'emi	<i>Triaenodon obesus</i> (Müller and Henle)
tanifa	unidentified species
kalavi	unidentified species
lele 'ifi	unidentified species

#### 26a. CHAETODONTIDAE (butterflyfishes)

Sifisifi or the metathesized form fisifisi are the generic terms for the family.

no distinction of genera or species

#### 26b. CHANIDAE

ava	<i>Chanos chanos</i> (Forskål)
GT 'aua	according to one informant ava shares GT with
'aua mui	kanahe <i>Liza macrolepis</i> (Smith) MUGILIDAE
ava	

#### 27. DASYPATIDAE (rays)

fai lalo maka	DDF <i>Taeniura lymma</i> (Forskål)
fai kili	<i>Taeniura melanospila</i> (Bleeker)
fai pala	unidentified species of DASYPATIDAE
ponuga DDF	<i>Taeniura lymma</i> (Forskål)

## 28. DIODONTIDAE (porcupine fishes)

tautufala

GT tautu

tautufala no distinction of genera or species

## 29. ECHENEIDAE (remoras)

talitali 'uli

generic term for *Echeneis* and *Remora*,  
suckerfish

## 30. ENGRAULIDAE (anchovies)

nefu\*

no classification, generic term

## 31. EXOCETIDAE (flying fishes)

mālōlō

generic term for flying fishes

## 32. FISTULARIDAE (cornetfishes)

kalapa

*Fistularia commersonii* Rüppell  
[\**Fistularia petimba* (Lacépède)]

## 33. GERREIDAE (mojarras)

moaga matu'u lau F-MT

*Gerres ovatus* Günther,  
*Cheilio inermis* (Forskål) LABRIDAE,  
*Parupeneus barberinus* (Lacépède)  
MULLIDAE,  
dot and dash goatfish,  
*Parupeneus macronema*  
(Lacépède) MULLIDAE

matu

*Gerres acinaces* Bleeker cf. MUGILIDAE

matu gaelo

unidentified species of GERREIDAE

## 34. GOBIIDAE (gobies)

tolo

generic term for gobies

tolo moana G-MT

*Amblyeleotris japonica* Takagi,  
*Fusigobius neophytus* (Günther),  
*Quisquilius* species [\**Quisquilius eugenius*  
(Jordan and Evermann)]

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\*described by Burrows (p. 103) as slender fish, 2-3 inches long. They appear now and then in the deep pass opposite the village of Gahi in such numbers that the water sparkles with the glint of their turning bodies. The species may be that called "whitebait" in Fiji. It is different from the larger spotted nefu of Futuna, which the Wallisians call gatala.

tolo hina		<i>Acentrogobius puntang</i> (Bleeker)
tolo pulepule		<i>Acentrogobius ornatus</i> (Rüppell)
tolo 'alava F-CROS		<i>Plagiotremus rhinorhynchus</i> (Bleeker) cf. BLENNIIDAE

## 35. HEMIRAMPHIDAE (halfbeaks)

ihe or

ihe gutu tahi G-MT		<i>Hemiramphus far</i> (Forskål), <i>Hyporamphus dussumieri</i> (Valenciennes)
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## 36. HOLOCENTRIDAE (squirrelfishes)

malau ta S-MT		<i>Adioryx cornutus</i> (Bleeker), <i>Adioryx spinifer</i> (Forskål)
malau helehele telekihi	DDF	<i>Adioryx diadema</i> (Lacépède), crowned squirrelfish
telekihi S-MT		generic term for some species of <i>Adioryx</i> including: <i>Adioryx cornutus</i> , <i>Adioryx diadema</i> (Lacépède), <i>Adioryx ruber</i> (Forskål)
tala tahi paku malau	DDF	<i>Adioryx forcatus</i> (Günther) species probably not found in the latitudes of Wallis (Randall)
malau mata mu F-CROS,		<i>Priacanthus hamrur</i> (Forskål)
malau vai	DDF	
malau puku F-CROS		<i>Aspidontus taeniatus</i> Quoy and Gaimard, cf. BLENNIIDAE
malau ta telekihi	DDF	<i>Adioryx cornutus</i> (Bleeker)
fakamataku		<i>Flammeo sammara</i> (Forskål)

## 37a. STIOPHORIDAE

hakulā		<i>Makaira mazara</i> (Jordan and Snyder)
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## 37b. KUHLIIDAE (mountain basses)

hehele		<i>Kuhlia rupestris</i> (Lacépède) freshwater fish
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## 37c. KYPHOSIDAE (rudderfish)

nue		<i>Kyphosus vaigiensis</i> (Quoy and Gaimard)
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## 38. LABRIDAE (wrasses)

'afa'afa tai	DDF	<i>Cheilinus undulatus</i> (Rüppell), napoleon fish
lalafi		
lalafi	S-MT	<i>Cheilinus chlorourus</i> (Bloch), yellow dotted maori wrasse <i>Cheilinus undulatus</i> (Rüppell)
molali	S/G-MT	generic term including: <i>Cheilinus chlorourus</i> (Bloch), <i>Cheilinus diagrammus</i> (Lacépède), <i>Cheilinus fasciatus</i> (Bloch), <i>Cheilinus unifasciatus</i> Streets [ <i>Cheilinus rhodochrus</i> (Günther)], <i>Cheilinus trilobatus</i> (Lacépède), trilobed maori wrasse, <i>Epibulus insidiator</i> (Pallas) <i>Cheilinus chlorourus</i> (Bloch)
lalafi	DDF	
molali		
meai tanu	G-MT	<i>Anampses</i> species, <i>Novaculichthys taeniourus</i> (Lacépède) [* <i>Hemipteronotus taeniourus</i> Lacépède]
mamanu		<i>Choerodon transversalis</i> Whitley
gutu hiko	DDF	<i>Epibulus insidiator</i> (Pallas)
molali		
moaga matu'u		<i>Cheilio inermis</i> (Forskål),
lau	MT	<i>Parupeneus macronema</i> (Lacépède)
	F-CROS	MULLIDAE, <i>Parupeneus barberinus</i> (Lacépède) MULLIDAE, <i>Gerres ovatus</i> Günther GERREIDAE

## 39. LEIOGNATHIDAE (ponyfishes)

mafole		<i>Leiognathus equulus</i> (Forskål)
GT mafole		
hokelau*		<i>Carangoides gilberti</i> Jordan and Seale, cf. CARANGIDAE, striped jack
filu	F-MT	<i>Leiognathus fasciatus</i> (Lacépède), <i>Trachinotus bailloni</i> (Lacépède), cf. CARANGIDAE, pompano or swallow tail

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\*see comments under 8

## 40. LETHRINIDAE (emperors)

kuago S-MT	<i>Lethrinus xanthochilus</i> (Klunzinger), <i>Lethrinus lentjan</i> (Lacépède)
kulapo DDF tanutanu	<i>Lethrinus nematacanthus</i> (Bleeker)
hoputu tokelau	<i>Lethrinus chrysostomos</i> (Richardson)
tokoni fusi	<i>Lethrinus obsoletus</i> (Forskål)
m u	<i>Monotaxis grandoculis</i> (Forskål)
gutula	<i>Lethrinus miniatus</i> (Schneider), long-nosed emperor
gutu leva or	
gutu levaleva	unidentified <i>Lethrinus</i>
kivi liki F-CROS	<i>Gnathodentex aurolineatus</i> (Lacépède), cf. LUTJANIDAE, golden-lined sea perch

## 41. LUTJANIDAE (snappers)

ta'e lulu S-MT	<i>Lutjanus malabaricus</i> (Schneider), <i>Lutjanus amabilis</i> (De Vis), <i>Lutjanus gibbus</i> (Forskål), paddle tail snapper
ta'e lulu vai CROS	<i>Macolor niger</i> (Forskål)
taga'u S-MT	<i>Lutjanus fulvus</i> (Schneider), Moses perch, <i>Lutjanus rufolineatus</i> (Valenciennes)
havane S-MT	<i>Lutjanus quinquelineatus</i> (Bloch), <i>Lutjanus lineolatus</i> (Rüppell)
tata 'ila DDF tāe'a	<i>Lutjanus fulviflamma</i> (Forskål)
kivi GT fagamea kivi	<i>Lutjanus bohar</i> (Forskål), red snapper
kivi liki	cf. LETHRINIDAE
kivi vai S-MT	<i>Pristimoides filamentosus</i> (Valenciennes), <i>Pristimoides multidens</i> Day, <i>Pristimoides auricilla</i> (Jordan, Evermann and Tanaka)
kivi hina	<i>Tropidinius zonatus</i> (Valenciennes)
tāe'a GT tata	<i>Lutjanus fulviflamma</i> (Forskål)
taga'u tāe'a	
'utu	<i>Aprion virescens</i> Valenciennes, grey jobfish

## 42. MEGALOPIDAE (tarpons)

ava vai *Megalops cyprionoides* (Broussonnet),  
tropical tarpon

## 43. MOBULIDAE (mantas)

liliko *Manta birostris* (Donndorff)

## 44. MUGILOIDIDAE (sandperches)

takoto S-MT *Parapercis hexophthalma* ♀ (Cuvier)  
[\**Parapercis polyphthalma* (Cuvier)],  
*Parapercis cylindrica* (Bloch),  
*Parapercis hexophthalma* ♂ (Cuvier)  
generic term for the family

## 45. MUGILIDAE (mulletts)

kanahe *Liza macrolepis* (Smith [\**Mugil macrolepis*  
GT 'aua matu (Smith)]; shares GT with ava  
'aua  
kanahe

'aua mui S-MT *Liza macrolepis*,  
*Liza vaigiensis* (Quoy and Gaimard) [\**Mugil*  
*vaigiensis* (Quoy and Gaimard)]

kafakafa DDF *Liza vaigiensis*, diamond-scaled mullet

'aua mui  
kanahe DDF *Liza macrolepis*

'aua mui  
kiokio F-MT *Valamugil seheli* (Forskål) [\**Mugil seheli*  
(Forskål)],  
*Elagatis bipinnulata* Quoy and Gaimard, cf.  
CARANGIDAE,  
*Polydactylus plebeius* (Broussonnet), cf.  
POLYNEMIDAE,

kiokio DDF *Valamugil seheli*  
tofutofu

## 46. MULLIDAE (goatfishes)

moaga generic term for some species of *Parupeneus*

moaga kula *Parupeneus barberinus* (Lacépède)

moaga legalega *Parupeneus chryserydros* (Lacépède)

hiku manunu G-MT *Parupeneus barberinus* (Lacépède),  
*Upeneus tragula* Richardson

hiku manunu		<i>Parupeneus barberinus</i> (Lacépède)
moaga matu'u lau	DDF	
hiku pule		<i>Upeneus bandi</i> (Shaw) [* <i>Upeneus vittatus</i> (Forskål) of most authors]
moaga matu'u lau	F-MT	<i>Parupeneus macronema</i> (Lacépède), <i>Parupeneus barberinus</i> (Lacépède), <i>Gerres ovatus</i> Günther GERREIDAE, <i>Cheilio inermis</i> (Forskål) LABRIDAE
memea		<i>Mulloides flavolineatus</i> (Lacépède)
kaloama	DDF	[* <i>Mulloidichthys flavolineatus</i> (Lacépède)]

## 47. MURAENIDAE (morays)

toke		generic term for morays
toke fai manu		<i>Gymnothorax meleagris</i> (Sharp and Nodder)
toke mea		<i>Gymnothorax javanicus</i> (Bleeker)
toke meai S-MT		<i>Gymnothorax flavimarginatus</i> Rüppell, <i>Gymnothorax xanthostomus</i> Snyder, <i>Gymnothorax undulatus</i> (Lacépède), <i>Gymnothorax meleagris</i> (Sharp and Nodder)
toke meai	DDF	<i>Gymnothorax meleagris</i>
toke fai manu		
toke 'akau		<i>Thyrsoidea macrura</i> (Bleeker)
toke meai 'onea	DDF	<i>Gymnothorax flavimarginatus</i> Rüppell

## Unidentified species of MURAENIDAE:

toke taliga		'bluish, ear-shaped head, poisonous'
toke 'u'ui		
toke gatala		
toke tapea		
toke moana		
toke 'uga'uga		
toke taupili		(buries itself in the sand, of grey color, black spot near the eyes)
taka 'aho		
taku'ali		

## 48. MYLIOBATIDAE (eagle rays)

fai gatae	DDF	<i>Aetobatus narinari</i> (Euphrasen)
fai manu		
fai is also used for		DASYATIDAE

## 49. OSTRACIIDAE (trunkfishes)

moamoa                      genus *Ostracion*

GT po niu

moamoa

moamoa kaleva S-MT    *Lactoria diaphana* (Schneider),  
G-CROS *Lactoria cornuta* (Linné)

Undefined species of *Ostracion*:

moamoa legalega

moamoa 'uli

moamoa kula

## 50. PLOTOSIDAE (catfish eels)

kapoa                      *Plotosus lineatus* (Thunberg)  
[\**Plotosus anguillaris* (Bloch)]

## 51. POLYNEMIDAE

kiokio MT                      *Elagatis bipinnulata* (Quoy and Gaimard)  
*Valamugil seheli* (Forskål)  
*Polydactylus plebeius* (Broussonnet)

## 52. POMACANTIDAE (angelfishes)

kou                          *Pomacanthus* species

## 53. POMACENTRIDAE (damsel-fishes)

tutuku F-MT                      generic term for some species of the  
AMPHIPRIONINAE subfamily  
*Paracanthurus hepatus* (Linné),  
*Bodianus axillaris* (Bennett)

mutumutu                      *Abudefduf sordidus* (Forskål)

## 54. POMADASYIDAE (grunts)

fotu'a S-MT                      *Plectorhynchus chaetodonoides* Lacépède,  
*Plectorhynchus picus* (Cuvier)

palu kavakava                      *Plectorhynchus orientalis* (Bloch)

## 55. PRIACANTHIDAE (bigeyes)

malau mata mu                      *Priacanthus hamrur* (Forskål)

malau vai                      cf. comment under HOLOCENTRIDAE



## 56. SCARIDAE (parrotfishes)

homo kula	DDF	<i>Scarus blochi</i> Valenciennes
lōlō		
homo 'u'ui		<i>Scarus bleekeri</i> (Weber and de Beaufort)
homo 'uli	DDF	<i>Scarus brevifilis</i> (Günther)
'ulafi 'u'ui		[* <i>Scarus chlorodon</i> Jenyns]
lōlō S-MT		<i>Scarus blochi</i> Valenciennes, <i>Scarus longiceps</i> Valenciennes [* <i>Scarus harid</i> Valenciennes]
'alomea	DDF	<i>Scarus longiceps</i> Valenciennes [* <i>Scarus harid</i> Valenciennes]
tufu	MT	<i>Scarus rivulatus</i> Valenciennes [* <i>Scarus fasciatus</i> Valenciennes], <i>Scarus schlegeli</i> Valenciennes [* <i>Scarus venosus</i> Valenciennes]
menega	DDF	<i>Scarus schlegeli</i> Valenciennes
tufu		[* <i>Scarus venosus</i> Valenciennes]
'ulafi kula		<i>Scarus brevifilis</i> ♀ (Günther)
homo S-MT		<i>Scarus gibbus</i> Rüppell, <i>Scarus sordidus</i> Forskål)
GT homo		
la'ea		
kaulama		
galo		<i>Bolbometopon muricatus</i> (Valenciennes)
meai F-MT		<i>Bodianus perditio</i> (Quoy and Gaimard), <i>Canthigaster solandri</i> (Richardson)

## 57. SCOLOPSIDAE

mata kivikivi	<i>Scolopsis bilineatus</i> (Bloch)
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## 58. SCOMBRIDAE (mackerels and tunas)

'atu	<i>Katsuwonus pelamis</i> (Linné), skipjack
'atu 'alo	<i>Euthynnus</i> species, bonito
pa'ala	<i>Scomberomorus commerson</i> (Lacépède)
ga'a	<i>Rastrelliger kanagurta</i> (Cuvier)
katakata	unidentified SCOMBRIDAE
valu	genus <i>Thunnus</i> , generic term
valu lau niu	unidentified species of <i>Thunnus</i>
~ puku	unidentified species of <i>Thunnus</i>
~ tea	unidentified species of <i>Thunnus</i>
~ 'uli	unidentified species of <i>Thunnus</i>

mea		unidentified species of <i>Thunnus</i>
lai		<i>Euthynnus affinis</i> (Cantor)
59. SCORPAENIDAE (scorpionfishes)		
lala		<i>Pterois antennata</i> (Bloch)
hauhau lele S-MT		<i>Pterois radiata</i> Cuvier, <i>Pterois lunulata</i> Schlegel, <i>Dendrochyrus zebra</i> (Quoy and Gaimard)
nofu		<i>Synanceia verrucosa</i> Bloch and Schneider
60. SERRANIDAE (groupers and sea basses)		
ponu		generic term for <i>Plectropomus</i>
ponu mea		unidentified species of <i>Plectropomus</i>
ponu puku		unidentified species of <i>Plectropomus</i>
ponu 'uno		unidentified species of <i>Plectropomus</i>
ponu 'uli		unidentified species of <i>Plectropomus</i>
ponu faga mea		unidentified species of <i>Plectropomus</i>
papa		generic term for some species of <i>Cephalopholis</i>
papa 'uli		<i>Cephalopholis microprius</i> (Bleeker) [* <i>Cephalopholis hemistiktos</i> Rüppell]
papa kula		<i>Cephalopholis sonnerati</i> (Valenciennes) [* <i>Cephalopholis formosanus</i> (Tanaka)]
papa tavake		<i>Cephalopholis miniatus</i> (Forskål)
'ahu afi	DDF	<i>Cephalopholis argus</i> (Schneider)
'ahu afi 'uli		
mata ele		<i>Cephalopholis urodelus</i> (Schneider)
gatala		generic term for <i>Epinephelus</i>
GT gatala		
fa puku		
gatala kula		unidentified species of genus <i>Epinephelus</i>
gatala 'uli		unidentified species of genus <i>Epinephelus</i>
gatala mea		unidentified species of genus <i>Epinephelus</i>
gatala pulepule		unidentified species of genus <i>Epinephelus</i>
gatala pata		unidentified species of genus <i>Epinephelus</i>
gatala hina		<i>Cromileptes altivelis</i> (Valenciennes)
munua		<i>Variola louti</i> (Forskål)
fa loa	DDF	<i>Anyperodon leucogrammicus</i> (Valenciennes)
'ahu afi mea		
papa legalega		unidentified species of <i>Cephalopholis</i>
papa 'u'ui		unidentified species of <i>Cephalopholis</i>
papa mea		unidentified species of <i>Cephalopholis</i>

## 61. SIGANIDAE (rabbitfishes)

laukofe                      genus *Siganus*

GT ō

laukofe

pi                              genus *Siganus*

## 62. SPHYRAENIDAE (barracudas)

saosao                      SPHYRAENIDAE family

GT saosao

pāna nua

motomoto                      SPHYRAENIDAE family

GT hapatu

'ono

## 63. SPHYRNIDAE (hammerhead sharks)

faifai moaga                      *Sphyrna mokarran* (Rüppell)

kapa kau 'i higano MDF

mata 'i taliga

## 64. SYNODONTIDAE (lizardfishes)

pataki                      *Synodus variegatus* (Lacépède)

## 65. TETRAODONTIDAE (puffers)

hue                              generic term for some species of *Arothron*hue lauhakau                      *Arothron stellatus* (Schneider)hue hina                      *Arothron nigropunctatus* (Schneider)te'ete'e                      generic term for some species of *Arothron*

GT te'ete'e

hue

muhu muhu

te'ete'e kula                      unidentified species of *Arothron*te'ete'e legalega                      unidentified species of *Arothron*te'ete'e 'u'ui                      unidentified species of *Arothron*te'ete'e hina                      unidentified species of *Arothron*

## 66. THERAPONIDAE (tiger perches)

kavakava                      *Therapon jarbua* (Forskål)

## FINDER LIST

Numbers refer to subdivisions in the text. Unidentified fishes are marked with an asterisk. They are listed again at the end of the finder list with their cognate forms in Niuean, Tongan, Samoan, Eastern Futunan, and Tuvaluan.

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## UNIDENTIFIED FISHES

Abbreviations: TON Tonga, SAM Samoa, NIU Niue, FUT Futuna (East), TUV Tuvalu. Definitions are based on dictionary sources, see Bibliography.

- \*aku SAM a'u *Strongylura* species (Milner), the guard-fish (Pratt)  
 NIU aku pipe fish  
 TUV aku fish  
 Wallis: name listed in Bataillon. Identified as *Belone vulgaris*
- \*gagafu TON ngangafu a very small kind of fish  
 FUT gagafu fish name  
 Wallis: a small fish
- \*gutu kao TON ngutukao long-nosed emperor, *Lethrinus miniatus* (Schneider)  
 Wallis: a kind of snapper
- \*hahā TON haha anchovy, *Clupeiformes*, very small size; Wallis: fish, also recorded by Bataillon as haha
- \*maga TON manga a fish  
 Wallis: a kind of snapper
- \*mata kelekele Wallis: a kind of white fish
- \*nifa Wallis: a kind of sardine
- \*tuna TON tuna eel  
 SAM tuna freshwater eel of genus *Anguilla*  
 NIU tuna eel, freshwater fish found in caves  
 FUT freshwater eel, two species: tuna fata and tuna mea  
 Wallis: freshwater eel, only one species found in Wallis. Lives in streams and lakes, dies when washed out to sea by heavy rains
- \*'ulu kau TON 'ulukau small fish (like a sardine)  
 Wallis: a nifa-type fish, poisonous
- \*'ulu magugu FUT magugu a small fish

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