

CHAPTER FOUR

BIRDS

4.1 The avifauna of south central Seram

Van Bemmél [Bemmél, 1948; Bemmél and Voous, 1953] lists 161 certain bird species for the mainland of Seram, plus two probables. By 1989 [Bowler and Taylor, 1989] this figure had been pushed up to 195. Of these, five were collected as spirit specimens during fieldwork in the Nuaulu area between 1970 and 1975, 33 were observed and identified to species level, five to generic level, five to family level and five additional distinct types to order level. These included two introduced species not listed in the ornithological sources for Seram: *Anas boschas* (domesticated duck), and *Gallus gallus* (domesticated fowl). Omitting these two species gives 46 species observed, compared to the 195 reported by others.

The difference between the number of species observed during fieldwork and that reported for the entire island may be accounted for by relative geographical distribution, particularly differences between the highlands and the coast. For example, certain species listed in the literature are given specifically for mountainous areas (e.g. *Zosterops montanus seranensis*). I suspect that many birds not observed during fieldwork are present in the Nuaulu region, both permanently and seasonally as migrants; others appearing in checklists are rare migrants or stragglers. According to Bowler and Taylor, 71 species are true migrants. The migratory character of many bird species presents a special factor not present for other animal groups when we come to explain the ratio of Nuaulu to phylogenetic categories, and in assessing the significance of variable degrees of knowledgeability of informants.

A checklist of birds observed in south central Seram, or whose existence is strongly suspected, is presented in table 6.

4.2 Nuaulu categories applied to birds

The inventory which follows is based entirely on terms elicited during the course of my own fieldwork. Stresemann [1914] provides some Nuaulu terms, though they are not always applied in ways which are consistent with my own observations. I have indicated such terms and determinations where I have felt this to be instructive. Stresemann lists just two terms which I have not been able to locate in contemporary Nuaulu: *manu asan* for *Merops ornatus*, the migrant Rainbow bee-eater [*ibid.*, 109]; and *sisu une* for *Criniger affinis*.

4.2.1 asuwan, rui-rui

This term always and unambiguously refers to the double-wattled cassowary, *Casuarius casuarius*. Immature cassowaries are called **rui-rui**, and this term (apparently the older of the two) is sometimes used synonymously for the adult. **Asuwan** appears to be replacing **rui-rui**. Certainly between 1970 and 1990 it was that most prominent in ritual contexts, with respect to the more inclusive category **peni**, and in certain linguistic idioms such as the expletive **asuwani anae!** [Ellen 1993, chapters 4.4 and 6.4].

Mature birds of both sexes can be up to 183 cm in height (ranging between 122 and 183 cm), with a blade-like horny casque on the crown

(**pipane**), often turned to the left. The wattle tends to vary geographically in shape; the colour of the bare neck and head is mostly blue and red or pink, sometimes with some yellow; young birds have a brown plumage, with much pink and yellow in the skin of the neck; younger birds have the neck feathered; newly hatched chicks are brown, streaked black [Rand and Gilliard, 1967: 21-3]. The taxonomic and phylogenetic status of the Seramese form is unclear. It has been suggested [Rand and Gilliard, 1967: 23; White, 1975: 165-10] that it was introduced into the island from New Guinea at least as long ago as the twelfth century. Sachse, 1907: 54 suggests that its distribution is mainly in east Seram, but it is abundant in the Nuaulu area. It is usually solitary, though mature females may have up to five dependent chicks at a time.

Cassowary appears to rate about sixth in importance as a source of animal protein, contributing three percent of that consumed per head per day over a four month period and being eaten on only eight occasions out of a sample of 507 meals. The plumes of the tail region of the cassowary are used for head-dresses (**orane**), worn by clan chiefs and **kapitane** [Ellen 1993: frontispiece and plate 1.6e], and used to decorate armbands [*ibid*, plate 1.6a], when they are described as **sinsin asuwani hunue**, 'cassowary feather **sinsinte**'. **Sinsinte** is the cordyline *Codiaeum variegatum*, used ordinarily for trailing arm decorations and gives its name to such decorations as a generic type. The armbands themselves (**nonie**) are made from the split thick quills of the vestigial wings, rattan and bark [*ibid*, plate 1.6j]. Cassowary claws (BM As 1.40a and 40b) and eggs (BM As 1.251) are also used for decorative purposes, and occasionally as lime containers. Leg bone is used for bradawls or **kahate**, employed mainly in the manufacture of containers from the leaf-stalk of the sago palm [*ibid*, plate 1.6c].

The classificatory and ritual significance of the cassowary has been discussed at some length elsewhere [Ellen, 1975a], and is considered in *The*

TABLE 6 Checklist of birds recorded in and around the Nuaulu region of south central Seram.

Species	Ecological zones					Nuaulu gloss
	1	2	3	4	5	
<i>CASUARIIFORMES</i>						
Casuariidae - cassowaries						
<i>Casuarius casuarius</i>	+	+	+	-	-	asuwan
<i>PELECANIFORMES</i>						
Sulidae - gannets and boobies						
<i>Sula sula rubripes</i>						
<i>S. leucogaster plotus</i>						
Phalacrocoracidae - cormorants						
<i>Phalacrocorax melanoleucos</i>						
<i>P. sulcirostris</i>						
Fregatidae - frigate birds						
<i>Fregata ariel</i>						
<i>F. minor</i>						
<i>CICONIIFORMES</i>						
Ardeidae - herons and allies						
<i>Dupetor flavicollis</i>	-	-	-	+	-	sote
prob. <i>Bubulcus ibis</i>						
prob. <i>Butorides striatus</i>						
prob. four species of <i>Egretta</i>						
prob. <i>E. garzetta</i>						
prob. <i>E. intermedia</i>						
prob. <i>E. sacra</i>						
prob. <i>Ixobrychus sinensis</i>						
<i>Nycticorax caledonicus</i>						
Phalaropidae						
<i>Phalaropus lobatus</i>						
Scolopacidae						
<i>Actitis hypoleucos</i>						
and others						
Threskiornithidae						
<i>Threskiornis moluccus</i> ,	-	-	-	+	-	moinapu
white ibis						
uncertain	-	-	-	+	-	samane
<i>ANSERIFORMES</i>						
Anatidae - ducks, geese etc						

<i>Anas boscas</i> , domesticated duck	-	-	+	-	-	pepeko
FALCONIFORMES						
Accipitridae - harriers, hawks and eagles	+	+	+	-	-	muinu muinu toa
<i>Accipiter cirrhocephalus ceramensis</i> , <i>Accipiter novaehollandiae</i> and possibly others						
Pandionidae - ospreys						
<i>Pandion haliaetus</i>	-	-	-	+	+	nusi takanasi
Falconidae - falcons						
<i>Falco moluccensis</i> <i>F. peregrinus</i>	-	+	+	-	-	muinu puane
GALLIFORMES						
Megapodiidae - megapodes						
<i>Megapodius reinwardt</i> orange-footed scrubfowl <i>M. wallacei</i>	-	+	+	-	-	kinosane
Moluccas scrub hen	-	+	+	-	-	muma
Phasianidae - quails and pheasants						
<i>Coturnix chinensis lineata</i> , Chinese quail	-	-	+	-	-	kowe marae (♂), kowe metene (♀)
<i>Gallus gallus</i> , domesticated fowl	-	-	+	-	-	man tulalakane (♂), man winai (♀)
GRUIFORMES - rails and related forms						
<i>Amaurornis olivaceus</i> <i>Gallinula tenebrosa</i> <i>Poliolimnas cinereus</i> <i>Porphyrio porphyrio</i> <i>Porzana pusilla</i> <i>Rallus philippensis</i> prob. <i>Rallina? fasciata</i>	-	+	-	+	-	sote nakone
CHARADRIIFORMES						
Charadriidae - plovers						
<i>Charadrius leschenaultii</i> <i>C. mongolus</i> poss. <i>Squatarola dominicus</i>	-	-	-	+	+	hiko-hiko

Laridae - gulls and terns

Chlidonias hybridus,

marsh tern

- - - + - nusi kiene

Sterna bergii

- - - + - nusi onate

other terns

- - - - + nusi puane, nusi seane

at least three species of *Sterna*

COLUMBIFORMES

Columbidae - pigeons and doves

Macropygia amboinensis,

Amboina cuckoo-dove

- + + - - puane

prob. *Gymnophaps mada*,

long-tailed mountain pigeon

Ducula bicolor,

white nutmeg imperial pigeon

- + + - - hutiene, manu pake

Reinwardtoena reinwardtii,

great cuckoo dove

PSITTACIFORMES

Psittacidae - lorries, parrots and cockatoos

Lorius domicella,

black-capped or purple-naped lory

- + + - - kihoke

also *Micropsitta bruijnii*

Cacatua moluccensis,

Moluccan Cockatoo

- + + - - nakatua (putie)

Cacatua galerita

Eclectus roratus,

red-sided eclectus parrot

- + + - - wekae msinae

Tanygnathus megalarhynchos,

Moluccan or island parrot

- + + - - konane

various Lories, including

Eos semilarvata,

blue-eared lory

- + + - - wekae marae

E. squamata

poss. *Chamosyna placentis*

E. bornea,

and possibly other related species

- + + - - kunini

Alisterus amboinensis,

Amboinan king parrot

- + - - - siseite

Geoffroyus geoffroyi,

red-cheeked parrot

- + + - - tuie

CUCULIFORMES

Cuculidae - cuckoos

Cuculus saturatus,
oriental cuckoo - - + - - kukue

Caculus variolosus,
grey-breasted brush cuckoo
two species of *halcites*

Eudynamys scolopacea orientalis,
Indian koel

Scythrops novaehollandiae,
channel-bill cuckoo

Centropus bengalensis medius,
lesser coucal - - + - - suanane

STRIGIFORMES

Strigidae - owls

Otus magicus - + + - - tuku-tuku

Ninox squamipila - + + - - sako

CAPRIMULGIFORMES

Caprimulgidae - nightjars

Caprimulgus macrurus,
large-tailed nightjar - + + - - kuna-kuna

uncertain - + + - - man totane

APODIFORMES

Hemiprocnidae

Hemiproctne mystacea confirmata

Apodidae - swifts

Collocalia esculenta esculenta,
glossy swiftlet - + + - - sioi, kina nahane,
neune anae

Collocalia spodiopygia ceramensis

CORACIFORMES

Alcedinidae - kingfishers

Halcyon sancta,
sacred kingfisher - - + + - tialapeti

uncertain, perhaps - + + - - mui numte

Halcyon chloris

Halcyon lazuli

Ceyx lepidus,
dwarf kingfisher - + + + - man tuamane

Tanysiptera galatea,
common paradise kingfisher - - - + - saneane

also *Ceyx*

Alcedo atthis hispidoides

Bucerotidae - hornbills						
<i>Rhyticeros plicatus</i> ,						
Papuan hornbill	-	+	-	-	-	sopite
PASSERIFORMES						
Pachycephalidae - shrike flycatchers	-	+	+	-	-	soihihi
and whistlers						
<i>Pachycephala pectoralis</i> ,						
golden whistler						
Sturnidae - starlings						
incl. <i>Basilornis corythaix</i> ,						
long crested myna						
<i>Aplonis metallica</i>						
<i>A. mysolensis forsteni</i>						
Dicruridae - drongos	-	+	+	-	-	tika poho-poho
<i>Dicrurus bracteatus</i>						
Corvidae - crows	-	-	+	+	-	tika poho-poho,
						opor
<i>Corvus enca violaceus</i>						
Nectariniidae - sunbirds						
<i>Nectarinia aspasia</i>						
	-	+	+	-	-	tinnanae
prob. <i>N. jugularis clemetiae</i>						
Meliphagidae - honey eaters						
<i>Philemon subcorniculatus</i> ,	-	-	+	-	-	kinoke
Seram friar bird						
<i>Lichmera monticola</i> ,						
Seram honey eater						
uncertain perching birds						
	-	-	+	-	-	kateneane
						suite
						sopate
	-	+	+	-	-	hiru
uncertain birds of all orders						
						manu kasa neane
						kura-kura

Key: Zone 1 = above 1000 meters, principally montane rain forest; zone 2 = tropical low-land rain forest; zone 3 = secondary forest, garden and village areas; zone 4 = freshwater and swamp forest; zone 5 = birds of the sea and littoral.

Cultural Relations of Classification in relation to anomaly and salience (chapter 6.7) and in relation to the functioning of the non-basic categories **manue** and **peni** (chapter 4.4). It is considered further here in section 4.3.3.

4.2.2 nusi tanane

Nusi also means 'citrus fruit', though the two different usages are almost certainly homonymous only and not semantically cognate. The meaning of **tanane** is unclear: **tana** is sometimes used for 'earth' or 'ground', though the connection with the habits of these birds is not apparent. Occasionally the same birds may be referred to as **manu tanane**.

The term is applied fairly indiscriminately to various kinds of seabirds of the order PELECANIFORMES, including boobies (*Sula sula*, *S. leucogaster*), cormorants (*Phalacrocorax melanoleucos*, *P. sulcirostris*) and frigate-birds (*Fregata ariel*, *F. minor*). I have been unable to identify any particular focal or type species.

4.2.3 nusi takanasi

A **takanasi** is a type of large basket used for storage purposes and may refer to the distinctive nest of this bird. The term appears to be applied very specifically to the osprey, *Pandion haliaetus*, and is glossed in AM as 'burung elang eking'. It is said to live mainly from sea fish, but is known to have attacked both cuscus and dogs.

The myth of origin of this bird, which is said to come from Hatu Takanasi (i.e. **takanasi** stone) on the river Nua, is enshrined in a stanza of the tug-of-war song, the **kepata ararirane**.

4.2.4 (nusi) kiene

Kiene is an obvious onomatope, in this case for terns. The category includes *Chlidonias hybridus*, the marsh tern, but the precise range of content is unclear.

4.2.5 nusi onate

Probably a large tern (**onate** = 'large'), possibly *Sterna bergii*, the greater crested tern.

4.2.6 nusi puane

Puane alludes to another bird category (4.2.22) which includes the Amboina cuckoo-dove, *Macropygia amboinensis*. **Nusi puane** is said to be the equivalent to 'burung camar' in AM and 'mantel-meeuw' in Dutch,

which Iskandar, 1970: 159 gives as *Thalasseus* (i.e. *Sterna bengalensis*). The Nuaulu apply the term to all or some of the following Seramese terms: *Sterna anaethetus*, *S. hirundo*, *S. sumatrana*. I assume that the term **puane** relates to the superficial resemblance between terns and doves.

4.2.7 nusi seane

Seane means 'wild', and is only used in connection with birds. As with **nusi puane**, this term appears to refer to a tern, and is also glossed with AM 'burung camar'; presumably one or more of the species listed under 4.2.6.

4.2.8 (manu) nusi

Judging from the data presented in sections 4.2.2 through to 4.2.7, the term **nusi** refers to most of the larger birds of the sea coast plus some morphologically related birds of the rivers and inland waters, including all resident and itinerant *PELECANIFORMES* known to the Nuaulu, one family of *FALCONIFORMES* (the osprey) and one family of *CHARADRIIFORMES* (gulls and terns). All these birds are fish-eaters, although they will occasionally eat small land animals. At least one informant applied the term to the broad-billed roller, *Eurystomus orientalis pacificus*. Rosemary Bolton reports the AM gloss 'garuda rajawali' applied to this category.

4.2.9 sote

The term is used polysemously. In its narrow sense it refers to a category which includes herons and their allies, although Stresemann, 1914: 67, gives it as the gloss for *Dupetor flavicollis*. One informant described the term as referring to large forest-dwelling birds, similar to chickens, with habitats not far from human settlement and eating fruits such as those of *Canarium indicum*, the kenari almond. The reference to eating habits is a little curious, although it is known to have a very varied diet. It seems that the category includes several herons, egrets and bitterns known from Seram, namely *Egretta* spp., *Butorides striatus*, *Bubulcus ibis*, *Ncyticorax caledonicus* and possibly the migrant *Ixobrychus sinensis*. In its widest sense, **sote** indicates a category which also includes rails.

4.2.10 sote nakone

This term refers to a category which includes rails and related forms: *Amaurornis olivaceus*, *Gallinula tenebrosa*, *Poliolimnas cinereus*, *Porphyrio porphyrio*, *Rallus philippensis*, *Porzana pusilla* and possibly *Rallina fasciata*. The similarities bringing herons (4.2.9) and rails together terminologically, and which are stressed by the Nuaulu, are long legs compared with

body, curvaceous necks, long beaks and a fish diet.

4.2.11 moinapu (mui napu)

Moi is a prefix of respect (third person singular, inalienable possession), related to the relationship term **momo-** (MM,MF,FF,FM, DD, DS, SS, SD); **muine** means 'origin'. **Napu** is a gourd, *Lagenaria leucantha*. This term labels a category focussed on the white ibis *Threskiornis moluccus*, but extending to a large group of related migrants (sandpipers and their allies): certainly *Phalaropus lobatus* and probably *Actitis hypoleucos*. However, the gourd allusion is not employed when referring to the morphologically very similar herons and their allies. **Napu** may refer to the curvaceous gourd-like neck of birds assigned to this category, or to the shape of the bill.

4.2.12 (man) samane

Described by one informant as a white, forest-dwelling, riverine fish-eater. Undetermined stork, heron or ibis.

4.2.13 pepeko

Cognate with AM 'bebek', meaning 'duck'. Refers to all domesticated waterfowl, which are almost always *Anas boscas*. May also refer to *Anas moschata*, the muscovy duck, which is sometimes found in Indonesia. The Nuaulu seldom keep ducks, although many of the peoples surrounding them do. There are a few in some hamlets, mainly to produce eggs and young adults for the market. There appear to be no restrictions on consumption. Four species of wild duck are reported for Seram: *Anas querquedula*, *Nettapus pulchellus*, *Tadorna radjah* and *Denorocygno guttata*. None of these were observed, the first of which is a migrant and the second a possible winter visitor. There appear to be no Nuaulu categories other than **pepeko** to cope with them and this term suggests a borrowing quite specifically to label domesticated types.

4.2.14 muinu puane

As pointed out at 4.2.6, **puane** employed unimominally refers to a category which includes the Amboina cuckoo-dove, *Macropygia amboinensis*. I suspect that both **nusi puane** and **muinu puane** are so-called because of their superficial resemblance to the **puane**. Nuaulu assign to this category the genus *Falco*, of which four species are known from Seram: *F. cenchroides*, *F. longivennis*, *F. moluccensis* and *F. peregrinus*. As the second and fourth of these are migrants, and the first a straggler from Australia, the focus would appear to be *F. moluccensis*.

4.2.15 muinu toa

Toa- is a relationship term for those persons five generations ascendant or descendant from ego (e.g. FFFFF, MFFFF, SSSSS, DSSSS). Labels a category which includes various harriers, hawks and perhaps eagles: focally *Accipiter cirrhocephalus*, *A. novaehollandiae*; but may also be extended to *A. meyerianus*, *Aviceda subcristata*, *Haliaeetus leucogaster*, *Haliastur indus* and *Ictinaetus malayensis*.

4.2.16 muinu, moi

See 4.2.11. A generic term labelling the *FALCONIFORMES* listed in 4.2.14 and 4.2.15. In describing species labelled **muinu** informants repeatedly emphasised their carnivorous habits, saying that they occasionally preyed on domesticated chickens, particularly young ones, and were known to also eat cuscus (2.2.1). They are considered vermin. Another feature emphasised, excluding size, shape and colour, was the ability of **muinu** to hover for long periods. Despite the lexical similarity with **muinapu**, the terms do not appear to be related (see also **mui numte**, 4.2.40).

4.2.17 kinosane, manu asu

Manu asu (lit. 'dog bird') is almost certainly a true synonym here. The orange-footed scrubfowl, *Megapodius reinwardt*. The Nuaulu compare it with domesticated chickens and **sote** (4.2.10), and describe it as fruit-eating and living near fresh water. Its flesh and eggs are occasionally eaten.

4.2.18 muma

The Moluccas scrub hen, *Megapodius wallacei*, known in AM as 'maileu'. Both the flesh and large eggs are eaten, and the latter are particularly sought after by the Nuaulu. The flesh is said to be good, and much more tender than that of the cassowary.

M. wallacei lays its eggs in the warm sands of certain headlands in the Nuaulu area, above the high-water mark, each nest sometimes containing as many as 20 eggs. Small nests are excavated by the female which are then covered over. In collecting eggs, Nuaulu stress the importance of being able to recognise an excavation of the previous night, otherwise growth of the fertilised eggs will be too advanced. Eggs are therefore collected very early in the morning. Eggs are not laid in the rainy season. Adult *Megapodius* are difficult to locate, as they are not only nocturnal, but also retreat to the forest before daylight. They can, however, sometimes be caught using a special trap (**hai unai**).

4.2.19 (manu) mkowe: mko marae, mko metene

The second two terms are complementary for the male and female respectively of a sexually dimorphic species. **Mkowe** is possibly a contracted form of **mara kokowe**, male of the cuscus species *Phalanger orientalis orientalis* (chapter 2.2.1). **Marae** refers to the blue-grey markings on the underparts of the male and **metene** to the black bars present on the breast and sides of the female. The AM qualifiers 'abu' and 'hitam' respectively are sometimes substituted. This is a subspecies of the Chinese quail, *Coturnix chinensis lineata*.

4.2.20 man tulalakane, manu inae

The prefix **man** comes from the root **manu**, which also refers to 'birds' in general. **Manu** and **manue** are in free variation with **man**, at least with respect to **man tulalakane**. As with **mkowe**, the qualifiers terminologically distinguish between males (**tulalakane**) and females (**inae**), the former being an onomatopoe. The terms gloss as the cock and hen respectively of the domesticated chicken, *Gallus gallus*¹. **Manu inae** ('mother bird') is occasionally used as an inclusive term for both sex-types, although only in contexts in which a polemical or illustrative point is being made concerning either the mythical origin of all birds or the folk-etymology of the category **manue**. Rosemary Bolton also reports the (collective) terms **sihunane** and **muna nea**.

Nowadays a large number of Nuauulu households keep chickens which feed on domestic scraps. The coarse residue of sago flour processing may sometimes be made available to them, but Nuauulu chicken husbandry is otherwise minimal. Special receptacles for hens to lay their eggs in are attached to the sides of houses, usually made out of an old conical fish trap (**kananesa**). Chicken eggs are rarely eaten by the Nuauulu themselves, and chicken flesh even less. The eating of chickens is ritually restricted for the head of the clan Matoke. Chickens are primarily reared for the sale of live birds and eggs to non-Nuauulu.

4.2.21 hiko-hiko (hiko)

The term is probably onomatopoeic, a judgement supported by the preferred reduplicated form, **hiko-hiko**. Applied to small light-coloured migrant plovers of the genus *Charadrius*, commonly seen on beaches in the appropriate season. They occur singly or in small groups, usually making short sorties over water and returning to the beach. It is possible that the term is also extended to other *CHARADRIFORMES*, for example *Squatarola dominicus*. Stresemann [1914: 128] uses the term **tiko-tiko** (which must

surely be the same) to refer to specimens of the flycatcher *Monarcha trivigatus*.

4.2.22 puane

Uncertain etymology, although **pua-puane** may be glossed as 'glitter, sparkle, twinkle'. The term, which is roughly equivalent to AM 'murapati', is fairly consistently applied to the Amboina Cuckoo-dove, *Macropygia amboinensis*, and is possibly extended to other Columbidae (pigeons and doves), including *Gymnophaps mada*. **Puane** is ritually restricted for Sonawe-ainakahata, and in parts of west Seram features in a myth in relation to the sacred mountain Nunusaku [Ribbe, 1892: 179].

4.2.23 hutiene, manu pake

About 18 cm in length and described by Komisi as being a white version of **puane**, with black wing tips and an almost identical call. Probably *Ducula bicolor*, the white nutmeg imperial pigeon, and a species confined to coastal forest. The term may be extended to refer to other closely related pigeons. The call is said not only to resemble human speech, but actually to be speech.

4.2.24 (man) kihoke

Focal species is the purple-naped or black-capped lory, *Lorius domicella*, in AM 'kasturi kepala hitam'. This brightly-coloured bird is frequently kept as a household pet, and sold to outsiders. The category appears to be extended to other lorries and related *PSITTACIFORMES*, including the red-breasted pygmy parrot, *Micropsitta bruijnii*. Ritually restricted for the clan Sonawe-ainakahata.

4.2.25 wekae

Two types are recognised:

4.2.25.1 weka uoi, weka noe msinae

(U)oi = 'call', presumably a reference to the scream of this parrot; **msinae** = red. Focal species is the red-sided eclectus parrot, *Electus roratus*, and identifications are generally of this species. It is equivalent to *Electus pectoralis*, the determination provided by Stresemann [1914: 89]. However, the term is occasionally extended to related parrots.

4.2.25.2 weka marae

Marae = 'blue-green'. Possibly the blue-eared lory, *Eos semilarvata*.

4.2.26 nakatua

Cognate with AM 'kakatua', literally 'kakak tua: elder sibling'. **Wekae** is sometimes spoken of as a type of **nakatua** (**nakatua wekae**), which in some respects it may be said to resemble. Both are large with no green plumage, which places them in Rand and Gilliard's [1967: 191-2] Group 1 Psittacidae. Thus, the question frame 'how many kinds of **nakatua** are there?', often meets with the response, 'two - **nakatua wekae** and **nakatua putie**'. **Nakatua putie** is the Moluccan cockatoo, *Cacatua moluccensis*, distinguishable by its white body and salmon recurved crest (**orane**). *Cacatua galerita* is known from east Seram and Seram Laut and differs from *C. moluccensis* in its yellow crest.

The tail-feathers of **nakatua putie** are used by the Nuaulu for male head-dresses, which like cockatoo crests are also known as **orane** [see Ellen 1993: plate 1.6e; and 11 here]. White cockatoos are caught live for pets or for sale. Young birds are often caught by climbing trees and simply using the hands, but noose traps may also be set. Ritually restricted for the clan Sonawe-ainakahata.

4.2.27 konane

Consistently identified as the Moluccan or island parrot, *Tanygnathus megalorhynchos affinis*. Informants described it as living in coastal lowlands and feeding on the fruits of *Callophyllum inophyllum* (**auhutaune**), manioc leaves, bananas and cane sugar.

4.2.28 kasituri

This Sepa word, though in AM 'kasturi', is not a Nuaulu term as such, though it is heard sufficiently frequently to suggest that it is fast becoming one. Nuaulu informants volunteered terms for four kinds of **kasituri**: **kasituri marae** ('blue'), **kasituri msinae** ('red'), **kasituri putie** ('white') and **kasituri masakune** ('yellow'). These all refer to parrots and lorries of the order *PSITTACIFORMES*, and overlap in various ways existing Nuaulu categories: **kihoke**, **wekae**, **konane**, **kunini**, **siseite** and **tuie**. On various occasions informants identified *Chamosyna placentis* and *Eos* (*E. bornea rothschildi*, *E. squamata*, *E. semilarvata*) as **kasituri**, although only one is clearly and consistently linked with a specific terminal category, namely *Eos squamata* with **kasituri msinae**. The most plausible explanation for these terms and their referents are that the term **kasituri** was originally introduced as a convenient collective term for parrots and lorries prominent in trade, with their obvious physical similarities. Binomials would then have been the simplest way of differentiating between species highly variable in



PLATE 11: Moluccan cockatoo (**nakatua putie**:*Cacatua moluccensis*) kept as pet in Rohua: 7 August 1975 (neg 75-4-36).

coloration. The binomials are therefore best considered as rare residual terms for species for which no other name exists, and the uninomial as a convenient generic for grouping various small parrots.

4.2.29 kunin(i), (manu) punini (R. B.)

The similarity of **kunin** to AM 'kuning' ('yellow') may at first seem significant. Burkill, 1935 glosses Malay 'burung kuning' as *Oriolus*. Since there are no yellow orioles it would seem that in Malay the term also refers to the call of the bird, giving rise to an intentional or unintentional pun. Van Bommel reports only one species from Seram, *Oriolus (bouruensis) forsteni*, and anyway available evidence at my disposal points rather to a focal *Eos bornea*, an equation consistent with Stresemann [1914: 81]. The Nuaulu distinguish two types: **kunini msinae** ('red') and **kunini marae** ('grue'). The latter is said to be slightly smaller. **Kunini** are sometimes kept by the Nuaulu as house birds.

4.2.30 siseite

Seite is a knife, perhaps an allusion to the sharp bill of this bird. A term applied to a large bright red (possibly meaning brown) fruit eating parrot, 'burung raja' in AM (R.B.). Stresemann [1914: 92] uses the term **siseite** to refer to *Alisterus amboinensis*, which certainly matches descriptions given by informants.

4.2.31 tuie

A possible onomatope, and root of the personal name Tuisa. Stresemann [1914: 90] uses the term **tuye** to refer to *Geoffroyus personatus*. According to more recent authorities *G. personatus* is not present on Seram and the term may therefore refer to the red-cheeked parrot *G. geoffroyi stresemanni*.

4.2.32 kukue

An onomatope - like English 'cuckoo' - which clearly identifies the species referred to as members of the order *CUCULIFORMES*. The focal species is almost certainly the oriental cuckoo, *Cuculus saturatus horsfieldi*, but the term is also used to refer to the grey-breasted brush cuckoo, *C. variolosus stresemanni*, the Malay bronze cuckoo, *Chalcites (Malayanus?) crassirotris* and *C. malayanus minutillus*; the Indian koel, *Eudynamis scolopacea orientalis*, and the channel-bill cuckoo, *Scythrops novaehollandiae*.

4.2.33 (manu) suanane

Possibly an onomatope alluding to the conspicuous song of this bird, though it is worth noting that **suanane** is 'marriage'. The focal species is the coucal, *Centropus bengalensis medius*, but the term may well be extended to refer to other Cuculidae. Coucals differ in important behavioural respects

from cuckoos; seldom flying, and feeding on large insects and small vertebrates in shrubbery and grass. It is this which must lie behind the stark categorical contrast drawn by the Nuauulu between species which are otherwise morphologically close.

4.2.34 **tuku-tuku**

The reduplication and phonological characteristics of the term suggest an onomatope, although informants clearly identified it with specimens of owls (*STRIGIFORMES*), probably *Otus magicus*.

4.2.35 **sakoa**

Clearly the brown owl, *Ninox squamipila*.

4.2.36 **kuna-kuna**

A reduplicated term which suggests an onomatope. Possibly the long-tailed nightjar, *Caprimulgus macrurus mesophanis*. Stresemann [1914: 153] reports the term (rendered **guna-guna**) as being applied to *Corvus enca*.

4.2.37 **man totane**

The term is applied to the Papuan nightjar, *Eurostopodus papuensis*, although the species is not reported by Van Bemmelen for Seram. The term may also refer to *Caprimulgus macrurus*, leaving **kuna-kuna** (4.2.36) as an onomatopoeic synonym. In 1973 the term was recorded as referring to a black and white plumed bird - a flying 'forest chicken'.

4.2.38 **sioi, neune anae, man kina nahane**

The first and most common of these terms is possibly onomatopoeic, in that it resembles closely the high-pitched whistle of the glossy swiftlet, *Collocalia esculenta esculenta*, to which the term is consistently applied. *Collocalia* is found in large numbers in caves frequented by Nuauulu in search of bats. All specimens identified were collected in mist nets on the Wakakau while Menzies and I were accompanying Nuauulu on a bat hunting party in July 1975. The term is almost certainly extended to include the congeneric *Collocalia spodiopygia*. Stresemann [1914: 150] lists **sioi** as referring to *Basilornis corythaix* (and also *Culomis*) but these attributions must surely be erroneous.

Collocalia is also sometimes referred to by the terms **neune anae** and **kina nahane**. **Neune anae** = 'child of the **neune**', this latter being the tree *Casuarina equisetifolia*, which also occurs as a personal name. **Kina nahane** was described to me in 1973 as having a white head and body,

brown wings, with brown along the top of the wing- like a pigeon. One of the meanings of **kina** is stick, but it also occurs as a prefix in some insect names (e.g. **kinapari**, **kinapopote** and **kinapukune**). **Nahane** is literally 'rat/mouse', and also the hardwood *Mimusops elengi*, used, amongst other things, for the manufacture of barkcloth beaters.

4.2.39 tihalapeti

Consistently identified with the sacred kingfisher, *Halcyon sancta*, an Australian migrant which does not breed in the Moluccas. Said to be a bird of the ground rather than of the treetops. It is eaten if caught, but is not sought after. Stresemann [1914: 92] lists the term **tifanapeti** (which must surely be the same) for *Eurystomus orientalis*.

4.2.40 moi numte, manu numte, mui numte

On the meaning of **moi** see 4.2.11. **Numte** = 'mountain, far away'; also plant, see 2.2.4. This is certainly a kingfisher, possibly *Halcyon chloris chloris* or *H. lazuli*, or both. Stresemann [1914: 111] records the term **manu nute** for the crested swift, *Hemiprocne mystacea*.

4.2.41 (manu) tuamane

Tuamane is 'earth, ground, land, terrain'. The term is most usually applied to the dwarf kingfisher, *Ceyx lepidus lepidus*, although it may possibly be extended to the river kingfisher, *Alcedo atthis hispidoides*.

4.2.42 saneane

The common paradise kingfisher, *Tanysiptera galatea nais*, although the term may possibly be applied to other kingfishers. Stresemann [1914: 97] uses **saneane** to refer to *Halcyon sancta*.

4.2.43 sopite

The Papuan hornbill, *Rhyticeros plicatus plicatus*, in AM 'tuan-tuan'. This is a highly distinctive bird, on account of its horny bill crest (**pipane**), wide wingspan and the burring noise made when flying. It is sometimes shot for food, while its bill is occasionally used as a manufacturing material. The term **sopi sarane** would appear to refer to a sub-type although its range of application is quite unclear.

4.2.44 soihih

A term which appears to be applied to flycatchers generally. On Seram this covers 13 species of the genera *Pachycephala*, *Monarcha*, *Myiagra*, *Muscicapa*, *Dendrobiastes*, *Eumyias*, *Muscicapula*, *Siphia* and *Rhipidura*. My only definite identification is for *Pachycephala pectoralis*, the golden whistler; also recorded as such by Stresemann.

4.2.45 tika poho-poho

Poho means to 'break into pieces', **tika** being 'very'; perhaps referring to the fact that these birds eat carrion. **Poho-poho** suggests an onomatopoe. Probably the Ambonese drongo, *Dicrurus bracteatus*.

4.2.46 opor

Opor is an onomatopoe for the call of this bird, which was rendered by informants as 'opor, opor...'. Both **tika poho-poho** and **opor** suggest the only crow reported for Seram, *Corvus enca violaceus*, and both terms may also be extended to include *Dicrurus*.

4.2.47 (manu) tinnanae

Anae is 'child', **tin** a contraction of some other word, perhaps **tina** ('thunder'), giving the plausible translation of 'child of thunder'. This was a term applied to specimens of the black sunbird, *Nectarinia aspasia*, but the term must also include *N. jugularis clementiae* (ex *Cinnyris clementiae*), to which Stresemann [1914: 145] applied the term **tinenanae**.

4.2.48 kinoke

kinoke = 'dawn' (R.B.), in AM 'burung siang': *Philemon subcorniculatus*. The category probably also includes the endemic Seram honey-eater, *Lichmera monticola*. Sachse, 1907: 56 reports *Philemon* as being used by some Seramese in augury, although I have no evidence that this is the case for the Nuaulu. Stresemann, 1914: 26, 142 lists the term **ginoke** (which is presumably the same) for *Philemon*.

4.2.49 hiru

A possible onomatopoe. Described as a small green or yellow bird living in the forest bottom, no more than four meters from the ground. Eats fruit, grubs and larger insects.

TABLE 7 Distribution of Nuaulu bird terms according to order, family and number of known species on Seram.

Order	Family	Number of endemic species on Seram	Number of Nuaulu categories
CASUARIFORMES	Casuariidae	1	1
PODICIPEDIFORMES	Podicicedidae	1	0
PROCELLARIFORMES	Procellaridae	3	
PELECANIFORMES	Sulidae	2	}
	Pelecanidae	1	
	Anhingidae	1	
	Phalacrocoracidae	2	
	Fregatidae	2	
CICONIIFORMES	Ardeidae	11	1
	Threskiornithidae	2	1
ANSERIFORMES	Anatidae	4	1
FALCONIFORMES	Accipitridae	8	1
	Pandionidae	1	1
	Falconidae	5	1
GALLIFORMES	Megapodiidae	2	2
	Phasianidae	1	1
GRUIFORMES	Rallidae	6	1
	Jacaniidae	1	
CHARADRIIFORMES	Charadriidae	4	1
	Scolopacidae	19	0
	Phalaropodidae	1	0
	Burhinidae	1	0
	Laridae	9	4
COLUMBIFORMES	Columbidae	15	2
PSITTACIFORMES	Psittacidae	11	8
CUCULIFORMES	Cuculidae	8	2
STRIGIFORMES	Strigidae	2	2
CAPRIMULGIFORMES	Caprimulgidae	1	2
APODIFORMES	Apodidae	3	1
	Hemiprocnidae	1	0
CORACIIFORMES	Alcedinidae	7	4-5
	Meropidae	1	0
	Coraciidae	1	0
	Bucerotidae	1	1
PASSERIFORMES	Muscicapidae	11	0
	Pachycephalidae	2	1
	Sylviidae	6	0
	Turdidae	3	0
	Maluridae	1	0

Nectariniidae	2	1
Corvidae	1	1-2
Dicruridae	1	1
Oriolidae	1	
Sturnidae	3	
Artamidae	1	
Laniidae	1	?3
Pittidae	2	
Hirundinidae	2	
Campephagidae	4	
Motacillidae	2	
Ploceidae	2	
Zosteropidae	5	
Dicaeidae	1	
Meliphagidae	5	1

4.2.50 katenane

Katehate is a strip of decorated red cloth constituting an important part of male ritual head-gear; **nane** is a sail. Term applied to a small passerine of uncertain identity.

4.2.51 suite

Term applied to a small passerine which flies low over the village in the evening with a shrill cry, described as resembling that of a bat (chapter 3.2.4).

4.2.52 sopate

Unidentified small passerine.

4.2.53 manu kasa neane

Kasa neane is literally 'thirsty, dried out'; an evocative term for this small black and blue bird. Said to be similar to **hiru**.

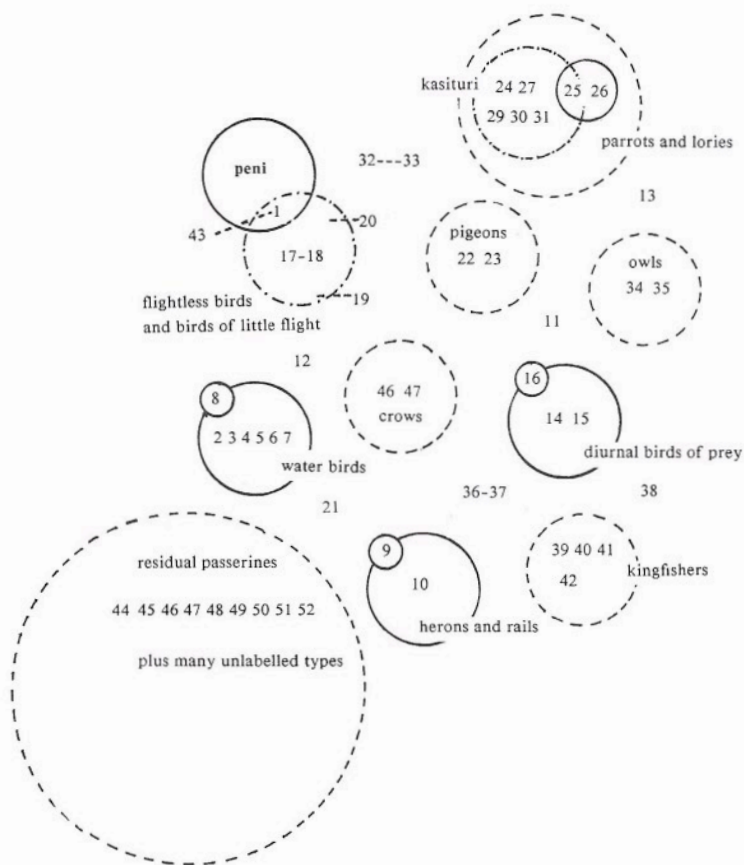
4.2.54 kura-kura

Possible onomatopoe. The reference is unclear.

4.3 Social and economic uses of birds

Some data relevant to this heading are located in the entries for individual categories. To summarise, the Nuaulu maintain that all birds may be eaten unless ritually restricted, and many are. Few species are specifically

FIGURE 6 Simple model of some aspects of the internal partitioning of the category manue



Legend:

———— indicates existence of unambiguous labelled intermediate or primary category

----- indicates existence of unambiguous covert category

- indicates existence of ambiguous semi-covert category

A continuous bar between numbers (e.g. 36-37) indicates unambiguous classificatory linkage; strong presumption of existence of covert category

A broken bar between numbers (e.g. 32---33) indicates a possible classificatory linkage.

Figures refer to reference numbers used in text. Unless clearly linked or enclosed, no particular significance should be attached to the spatial location of numbered categories.

hunted, and then for their plumage or for trade rather than for their meat. The eggs of cassowary, megapodes and chicken are occasionally eaten. *Casuarius* and *Rhyticeros* provide hard materials (bone, quills, bill and claw) used for making artifacts. A number of bird species are kept as pets by the Nuauulu, or (more frequently) are eventually sold in Sepa, to passers-by or in one of the other non-Nuauulu villages along the coast between Jalahatan and Masohi. This is particularly common for *Cacatua moluccensis* and *Lorius domicella*. Amir and Wind, 1978: 8 report that in the late nineteen-seventies live cockatoos could fetch between 3000 and 6000 Indonesian rupiahs for their hunters, and lorikeets between 2000 and 5000.

4.4 More inclusive categories for birds

In 50 percent of cases Nuauulu terminal categories for birds apply quite definitely to a particular species, and to no other (e.g. **nusi takanasi** = *Pandion haliaetus*). About 30 categories, however, are defined in relation to a particular focal species extended to other members of the same family. Where categories are identified in relation to focal species, such species obtain this position because of their salience, defined variously in terms of frequency of occurrence, size, economic significance, colourfulness, behavioural attributes and so on. Categories are then extended to include other related forms. In six percent of cases the extension may include members of different phylogenetic families, or European folk categories (e.g. **kukue**: *Cuculus saturatus* > other Cuculidae). Lumping of this kind appears to be understandably frequent with respect to some (though not all) migrants, occasional migrants and stragglers. In a further six percent of cases, categories appear to be defined in terms of a general prototype without a particular focal species (e.g. **nusi tanane**: all *PELECANIFORMES*, **muinu puane**: all Falconidae). Flexible use of terms is infrequent except (perhaps) in relation to kingfishers and certainly in relation to lories, where queries often prompted the introduced term **kasituri**, as a convenient inclusive, residual and otherwise covert category (figure 6).

Such wide use of the focal species and category extension strategy for groupings with a wide phylogenetic content implies a striking level of under-differentiation of avifauna by the Nuauulu, compared, say, with the Kalam [Majnep and Bulmer, 1977] and Tzeltal [Hunn, 1977]. This picture is evident from table 4.2, where under-differentiation of passerines in particular can be seen to be quite astonishing. Passerines are, of course, numerous, small and generally of little social significance. Indeed, the Nuauulu evidence justifies the view of passerines as a residual category of 'dicky birds', to use Hunn's term, in which there are only occasionally salient species for which we find consistently-applied and specific names.

The most general category for birds is **manue**, a term briefly glossed by informants as 'things which fly'. In its most inclusive sense this term is rendered **manua panesi**, or **manua pusita**, meaning 'all of those things which fly'. The inclusion of bats (the term **manu notane** is heard) in such a grouping is variable, but invertebrates are always excluded. In practice the term **manue** is applied both to '**manua** which fly' and **manua** which do not. **Manua** which fly are sometimes called **manua roe ai atu** (lit. 'those **manua** above the tree tops'), or **manua roe naue**. Flightless **manua** (cassowaries and scrub hens) are called variously **manua tuamana**, '**manua** of the ground', **manua poe tuamane** (**poe** = prep. 'down'), or **manu nohu** (**nohue** = n. 'under'). In *The Cultural Relations of Classification* (1993). I note that cassowaries are regarded as having 'lost their wings' (chapter 6.7), so one possibility is to define the category **manu** in etic terms as vertebrates that fly or are regarded as having once flown.

The commonest use of the term **manue** is in this final sense where it corresponds to a concept of 'birdness' closely resembling that of folk English; that is animals possessing bills (**hohai**, **supente**), wings (**kihene**), feathers (**hunue**, **man hunue**) and claws (**kanikura**). While it is impossible to present a single Nuauulu model for the internal arrangement of **manue**, some idea of widely-shared linkages and sub-categories are indicated in figure 6.

Notes to Chapter 4

- 1 There are specific verbs in Nuauulu language to refer to the call of the cockerel and hen which are vaguely onomatopoeic: '**tunkeku**' and '**erekota**' respectively, where **ere** is a pronominal prefix for non-human actors.