

Rakotobe, Etienne A. et Rasolomanana Corneille

1986 Religion, pharmacopée, ou médecine traditionnelle et thérapeutique moderne. Leurs implications pratiques sur la notion de développement à Madagascar. (Symposium sur les "Exigences religieuses et impératifs de développement dans les sociétés malgaches"). Tsimbazaza (Antananarivo): Académie Malgache. [Ms. 20 pp.]

### Supplementary Notes on Nage Bird Classification and Ethnoornithology

Gregory Forth

In an earlier publication I described the classification of birds found among the Nage people of Bo'a Wae in central Flores (Forth 1996). Several bird categories and their associated symbolism are also discussed in my recent monograph on Nage spiritual life (Forth 1998a). Unfortunately, at the time of writing I did not have access to a remarkable study by Brian Coates and K. David Bishop of the birds of Wallacea – the area comprising Sulawesi, the Moluccas, and the Lesser Sunda Islands – which appeared in 1997. The main purpose of these notes is to refine my assessment of scientific taxa with which Nage bird names may be associated in the light of detailed information provided by these ornithologists. I also incorporate information from my own ethnography, some recorded in 1996 after my earlier paper appeared, which relates to species identification or sheds further light on the significance for Nage of particular ethnoornithological categories. In addition, I take this opportunity to correct a couple of typographical errors that appear in my 1996 text.

The 1996 paper lists 69 named bird taxa, including three (numbered 67 to 69) that refer to kinds of bats. Below I comment on most of these, dealing with them in the order in which they are listed in Table 1 of Forth (1996: 105–107). The numerals preceding each are those assigned in the earlier paper. Where no commentary is offered, the numbered term is omitted and the identification given in 1996 is allowed to stand. (The omitted numbers are 4, 5, 14, 18, 21–23, 27, 29–32, 36, 38–41, 43, 45, 47, 49, 53, 54, 56, 58–61, 65, 67–69.) To avoid repetition, I abbreviate Coates and Bishop (1997) as C&B. Understandably, these notes can only be fully appreciated by referring simultaneously to Table 1 in my earlier article.

1. *ana go*, *Mirafra javanica*, Singing Bushlark (C&B: Australasian Bushlark)

The Nage category might also subsume *Anthus gustavi*, the Pechora Pipit, in addition to *A. novaeseelandiae*, Richard's Pipit.

2. *ana peti jata*, White-headed Munia

According to C&B, this is *Lonchura pallida*, a bird whose English name they give as "Pale-headed Munia." Verheijen (1963) supplies the same Latin binomial but calls the bird "White-headed Mannikin" (Mannikin = Munia). In identifying the bird as *Lonchura maja*, a species of very similar appearance also named in the texts as White-headed Munia, I followed other authorities on Indonesian birds. While I observed *ana peti jata* several times in the vicinity of the interior Nage village of Bo'a Wae, C&B describe *L. pallida* as generally uncommon on Flores but locally very common on the north coast.

3. *bama* or *bama cea*. Unidentified in Forth 1996

A possible identification as one or both species of *Cisticola* now seems unlikely (see *mele witu* below). In view of one of my best informants' identification of *bama* as a bird without a tail, as well as the bird's reputed habit of making a chirring or whirring sound – apparently an alarm call – on a person's approach, the most likely referent is *Tesia everetti*, the Russet-capped Tesia (also Russet-capped Stubtail), a bird endemic to the western Lesser Sunda Islands. C&B describe the species – including the Flores subspecies *T. e. everetti* – as "widespread and generally common to very common" (431). As regards its habits, they include the following notes: "strongly territorial and vocal; sings from low perches . . . scolds an observer. Has a curious sideways movement along branches in the undergrowth when disturbed" (*ibid.*). Another small "tailless" bird, *Pnoepyga pusilla*, the Pygmy Wren-Babbler, would appear to be ruled out as a referent of *bama* by the fact that it occurs on Flores only between 900–1900 m. The *Tesia*, by contrast, is encountered from sea level to 2200 m.

Informants' descriptions also correspond reasonably well to the appearance of *T. everetti*. Two described the bird as generally "grey" in colour. The expert informant referred to above said it was "yellow," mentioning the head especially in this regard, with whitish underparts and breast. C&B (179) describe *T. everetti* as displaying a russet crown and hindneck (the probable referents of the "yellow" head) with a grey breast and sides and whitish underparts.

In regard to its vocalizations, Nage consider the *bama cea* an omen bird. Its call, or one of its calls, reproduced by *cea*, the second element of its name, is especially inauspicious when heard around midday (a time when malevolent spirits are particularly active). The aforementioned alarm call is also regarded as an ill omen if heard from the left (*bama cea kago sala*) as one proceeds in a given direction. The object of one's journey will not be successful, and one might as well return home. If the call comes from the right (*bama cea kago molo*), however, this is taken as a sign that a journey will be safe and successful. Nage further interpret the contrast in terms of the opposition of front and back. Thus, if travellers hear a *bama* calling in front of them, they should immediately turn back. If the bird calls from behind, then they should proceed with haste.

6. *bewu*, *Turnix* spp., Button-quail

According to C&B, two species of *Turnix* occur on Flores: *T. maculosa*, the Red-backed Button-quail, and *T. suscitator powelli*, the Barred Button-quail. The former is probably the more common referent of the Nage term. (*T. sylvatica*, the Little Button-quail, apparently does not occur in Wallacea.)

7. *bio*, possibly *Amandava amandava* as well as certain species of *Lonchura*

The English name of the first species, Avadavat, is incorrectly transcribed as "Avadat" in Forth (1996: 105). Regarding other *Lonchura* see *ana peti jata* above and *naka bo* below.

8. *bopo* or *bopo soi*, one or more kinds of Green Pigeon (*Treron* spp.) or Fruit dove (*Ptilinopus* spp.)

The only *Treron* species clearly present on Flores is *T. floris*, the Flores Green Pigeon, which is endemic to the western Lesser Sunda Islands. Species of *Ptilinopus* which C&B indicate as occurring on Flores include *P. cinctus*, *P. melanospila*, and *P. regina* (respectively, the Black-backed, Black-naped, and Rose-crowned Fruit doves).

9. *céce*, a Drongo

Mostly following Verheijen (1963), I have previously given the drongo found in Nage country as *Dicrurus hottentottus*, the Spangled Drongo. The correct identification is more likely to be *D. densus*, the Wallacean Drongo. The subspecies that occurs on Flores is *D. d. bimaensis*. Identifying this glossy black bird as a manifestation of a witch, Nage consider the Drongo an ill-omen when its call is heard in the night.

10. *ceka*. Unidentified in Forth 1996

According to further field information recorded in 1996, the name almost certainly refers to a Fantail (*Rhipidura* sp.), and not to *Pnoepyga pusilla*, which I suggested earlier as a possible identification. Two fantails occur on Flores, *R. diluta diluta* and *R. rufifrons semicollaris*, respectively the Brown-capped and the Rufous species. In view of the locally recognized onomatopoeic character of the Nage name (*/c/* corresponds to English */ch/* while */e/* represents the schwa), the more likely referent is the Brown-capped Fantail, whose voice as C&B note includes sounds they reproduce as "tck" and "chingk." According to these authors *R. diluta* is most common above 1000 m on Flores, while *R. rufifrons* is apparently more frequent in lowland areas. A Bo'a Wae informant claimed that the *ceka*, while formerly encountered in that region, has not been seen in recent years.

To describe someone as having hair like the tail of a *ceka*, means it has a tendency to stick, spread or fan out, and so is not easily tied in a knot or bun. This too, of course, is consistent with the foregoing identification.

11. *cici ko'i*, *Passer montanus*, Tree Sparrow

According to C&B this species first appeared on Flores in 1954. Insofar as the name at present appears not to apply to any other bird, it would be interesting to discover how it may have been derived.

12. *cio woza*, *Coracina novaehollandiae*, Large Cuckoo-shrike (C&B: Black-faced Cuckoo-shrike)

Other species of *Coracina* present on Flores according to C&B include the Wallacean Cuckoo-shrike (*C. personata*) and the generally uncommon Pale-shouldered Cicadabird (*C. doherlyi*). However, only *C. novaehollandiae* is described as exhibiting a "strongly undulating flight," which for Nage is one of the most prominent features of the *cio woza*. The Cuckoo-shrike is another Nage omen bird. Described as a manifestation of the soul (*mae*) of a dead person come to call another to death, its cry is taken as a sign that someone has died or is about to die, especially if the bird flies directly over a dwelling, if it cries at midday, or if the call is heard at the back of a sick person's house. On the other hand, if the bird calls from the front, then a sufferer has a good chance of recovery; and if a Cuckoo-shrike's cry is simply heard in the vicinity of a settlement or while on a journey, this can alternatively indicate the

impending arrival of a guest or an announcement of news, good or bad.

13. *detu*, Woodpecker

C&B call this bird the Sunda Pygmy Woodpecker and employ the generic name *Dendrocopos* rather than *Picoides*. The reference, however, is to the same species (*D.* or *P. moluccensis*), which indeed is the only woodpecker present in Flores and other islands of the Lesser Sunda Islands.

15. *fega*, Kingfisher (*Halcyon capensis* and *H. chloris*)

Besides *H. capensis*, another Red-billed Kingfisher present on Flores to which the name might be applied is *Caridonax fulgidus*, the White-rumped Kingfisher. Besides *H. chloris*, other Flores kingfishers that do not have red bills (which Nage tend to describe as a distinctive feature of *fega*) include the Sacred Kingfisher, *H. sancta*, and the small Common Kingfisher, *Alcedo atthis*.

16. *feni*, Parrot

Besides *Tanygnathus megalorhynchos*, the most likely referent of *feni*, the only other predominantly green parrot on Flores is the much smaller Rainbow Lorikeet, *Trichoglossus haematodus*. C&B describe the *Tanygnathus* species as uncommon on Flores.

17. *gako tasi*, Large Black and White Herons

Although I listed *Ardea cinerea*, the Grey Heron, as a possible referent, C&B do not clearly indicate its presence on Flores. Other possible referents are the Pied Heron (*Egretta picata*), and the Great-billed Heron (*Ardea sumatrana*, which like other herons and egrets, may alternatively be called *o ae*). *Ardea pacifica*, earlier listed as another species possibly covered by the term, is not mentioned by C&B.

19. *héga hea*, *Corvus florensis*

Whereas Verheijen (1963) calls this the Forest Crow, C&B name the species the Flores Crow, which is appropriate as the bird is endemic to Flores. The cry of this crow is considered an inauspicious portent, particularly as it indicates that the bird has smelled the blood of a human slaughtered in buffalo form by maleficent spirits (Forth 1998a: 152).

20. *ie wea* (*io wea*), *Gracula religiosa*, Hill Myna

Another Myna present on Flores is the White-vented Myna, *Acridotheres cinereus*. However, especially as the latter lacks the yellow lappets of

the larger Hill Myna, it does not conform to informants' descriptions of *ie wea* (*wea*, gold pendant). Even if present in Nage country, therefore, it may not be included in this term.

24. *je*

Whereas Nage descriptions of this bird's appearance earlier suggested *Ninox scutulata*, the Brown Hawk Owl, behaviours locally attributed to the bird do not correspond to those of any species described in C&B. All one can say with reasonable certainty is that it is a raptor active after dark, and that Nage distinguish *je* from *po* (see below).

25. *kaka daza*, *Eurystomus orientalis*, Dollarbird (C&B: Common Dollarbird)

Informants' remarks originally suggested that *daza* might be understood as "to dry, warm (oneself)." Further field enquiries indicate that this is incorrect, and reflects confusion with *dhaza*. The onomatopoeic character of the first component of the name, reproducing a call locally rendered as "ka ka ka ka," is further attested by a popular Nage analogy whereby someone with a raucous laugh is described as "laughing like a Dollarbird" (*tawa bhia kaka daza*). Nage describe the Dollarbird as especially noisy before the onset of the rainy season in late September or October, in which regard its hoarse cries, like various other ornithological phenomena, are taken as a sign of seasonal change.

26. *kaka kea*, *Cacatua sulphurea*

C&B list this species as the Yellow-crested Cockatoo and apply the name Sulphur-crested Cockatoo to *C. galerita*, which does not occur on Flores.

28. *kete dhéngi*, *Pachycephala nudigula*, Forest Whistler

This English name is taken from Verheijen (1963). In contrast, C&B designate the species as Bare-throated Whistler. The last name, like the Latin *nudigula*, refers to a bare patch which expands during vocalization, a feature of this rarely-seen highland bird which my informants seem not to have mentioned. The species is confined to Flores and Sumbawa. The subspecies endemic to Flores is *P. n. nudigula*. The only other Whistler found on the island is *P. pectoralis*, the Common Golden Whistler. As this occurs also at sea level, and as its voice differs from that of *P. nudigula* – the most salient aspect of the latter species for Nage – one may infer that the Golden Whistler is not subsumed under *kete dhéngi*. As explained elsewhere (Forth 1996; 1998a: 50 f.), the Bare-throated Whistler is one of several Nage birds

with mythical and spiritual associations, being identified with the souls of young children and aborted foetuses.<sup>1</sup>

33. *kolo dhoro*, *Streptopelia chinensis*, Spotted Turtledove (C&B: Spotted Dove)

Since *Geopelia striata*, Peaceful Dove (C&B: Zebra Dove) is not clearly indicated as present on Flores, the member of this genus possibly also included under the Nage taxon is the smaller but otherwise similar *G. maugei*, Barred Dove. It is, however, particularly the call of *Streptopelia chinensis* that accords with the onomatopoeic component *dhoro*.

34. *kua* (or *kua méze*), Eagle

Another possible referent besides those mentioned in Forth 1996 is the Short-toed Eagle, *Circaetus gallicus*. Although prominent in the symbolic life of some other eastern Indonesian peoples, the White-Bellied Sea Eagle, *Haliaeetus leucogaster*, being almost exclusively coastal, is probably rarely if ever seen by the Nage of Bo'a Wae. In some Nage dialects to the east of Bo'a Wae, eagles are called *biza*, and in western Keo, to the south, *bira*.

35. *kuku raku*, *Amaurornis phoenicurus*, White-breasted Watercock (C&B: White-breasted Waterhen)

The onomatopoeic name appears to correspond more closely to vocalizations of this species than to those of similar waterbirds. Other similar species probably present in Nage territory include *Gallinula chloropus*, the Common Moorhen; but from the data at hand it is difficult to predict the extent to which these species might be identified with the Nage name. The *kuku raku* is another bird whose characteristic cry (locally reproduced as "kuku raku dung dung") is interpreted as a sign of the onset of the rainy season.

37. *leba*, *Caprimulgus affinis*, Savannah Nightjar

The only other species of *Caprimulgus* present on Flores is *C. macrurus*, the Large-tailed Nightjar, but C&B describe this as uncommon. The cry

of the Nightjar, locally reproduced as "ui-ui-ui" and "kri-kri," is inauspicious specifically in the context of hunting as it indicates that game will be scarce or nonexistent on the following day. (Local renderings of the cry are not particularly helpful in identifying the species, though vocalizations recorded by C&B for *C. affinis* are arguably more in accord with these.) Nocturnal vocalizations of *tute péla* (Forth 1996, Table 1, No. 60), the Pied Bushchat (C&B: Pied Chat, *Saxicola caprata*), a bird that usually does not call at night, have the same significance.

42. *manu mesi*, "Sea Fowl"

A bird I observed in 1994, which informants later identified with this name, may have been the Yellow Bittern (*Ixobrychus sinensis*) or the rarer Cinnamon Bittern (*I. cinnamomeus*), both of which occur on Flores. Even if correct, however, these are unlikely to be the sole referents of the Nage term.

44. *mele witu*, possibly *Cisticola* spp.

The name, "disappears into long grass, undergrowth," describes a characteristic behaviour of the bird, which is said to fly for a time and then dive into long grass never to be seen again. The particular reference may be to the song-flight of the male of *Cisticola juncidis* (*fuscicapilla*), Zitting Cisticola (see C&B: 439). Hails and Jarvis (1987: 137) similarly describe this bird as diving into long grass when danger threatens and also, with regard to males, at the termination of the display flight. On the other hand, while C&B say that *Cisticola* are usually seen singly, Nage informants stated that *mele witu* characteristically "travel in pairs."

The occasional equation of *mele witu* with *witu tui* (see below) is probably accounted for by the common element *witu* rather than by any similarity between the birds denoted. That informants' descriptions once suggested *Mirafra javanica*, the Australasian Bushlark (see *ana go* above), as a possible referent may be attributed to similarities of appearance, flight behaviour, and habitat between this bird and *C. juncidis*. The other *Cisticola* found on Flores is *C. exilis lineocapilla*, Golden-headed Cisticola.

46. *muki*, *Coturnix chinensis*, Blue-breasted Quail

According to further information recorded in 1996, this bird is alternatively designated as *mulu ki*. Comprising *mulu*, "to assemble, gather together," and *ki*, "Imperata grass," the name evidently refers to the bird's habit of flocking in grassland. *Muki*

<sup>1</sup> In an article in *Anthropos* concerning Timorese variants of the myth of the pigeon and the friarbird (Forth 1992), Hicks (1997: 200) cites a suggestion of mine (Forth, personal communication 1996) that the bird Timorese call *berliku* may be a member of the genus *Pachycephala* though "possibly not the *nudigula* species." Since Coates and Bishop (1997) indicate that the latter bird is endemic to Flores and Sumbawa, it can now be confirmed that *berliku* does not refer to *P. nudigula*.

may thus be explained as a contracted form of this designation, and be counted as another name referring to a visible feature rather than an onomatopoeic designation (see Forth 1996: 102 f.).

#### 48. *naka bo*

The mostly likely referent of this term still appears to be *Lonchura punctulata*, the Scaly-breasted Munia. In addition to species of Estrildinae (Estrildine Finches = Munias and similar small birds) mentioned in Forth 1996 (s.v. *ana peti jata*, *blo*, *naka bo*), C&B list the Five-coloured Munia, *L. quinticolor*, and the Zebra Finch, *Taeniopygia guttata*, as present on Flores. Both would certainly be classified, with the others, as *ana peti*, a variably extended taxon that subsumes a variety of smaller birds; but how they might be associated with more specific local terms, like *bio* and *naka bo*, has yet to be determined. Referring to an illustration in Mason and Jarvis (1989: 35), two informants insisted that *Padda oryzivora*, the Java Sparrow, is found in Nage country. While C&B list the bird as occurring in the western Lesser Sunda Islands, they do not specifically mention Flores in this connection.

#### 50. *o ae bha* ("white *o ae*"), Egret, White Heron

C&B list four Egrets on Flores, namely *Egretta alba*, *E. garzetta*, *E. sacra*, and *Bubulcus ibis*, the Cattle Egret. All or any one of these might be included under *o ae bha*.

#### 51. *'owa*, Cuckoo-dove

Besides *Macropygia ruficeps*, the Little Cuckoo-dove, C&B record *M. unchall* and *M. emiliana* on Flores. The first, the smallest of the three species, is the most likely referent of the indigenous term. Although the name is not locally recognized as onomatopoeic, it appears relevant that C&B reproduce the call of *M. ruficeps* as "cru-wook," which resembles the dialectal, and probably original, form of the name, *rowa*. At the same time, the authors give the call of *M. unchall*, the Barred Cuckoo-dove as "whoo-ooo" or "u-wa." †

#### 52. *papa*. Unidentified in Forth 1996

While this must still be counted as unidentified, a possible referent may be the Oriental Cuckoo (*Cuculus saturatus*), two subspecies of which are present on Flores. C&B describe a vocalization of one of these (*C. s. lepidus*) as "a far-carrying, mellow, medium-pitched, disyllabic 'pu-pu'." This is not dissimilar to local renderings of the reputedly onomatopoeic *papa*, given by one informant as "poa pa, po apa." Local descriptions of the bird as

being about the same size as a Drongo, with somewhat variegated grey and white plumage, are also consistent with *C. saturatus*. (Since *pupu* occurs as part of the Nage name of the Spitting Cobra, *pupu zupi* – "blowing *pupu*" – it is conceivable that this association may exclude the term from bird nomenclature.)

#### 55. *po*, Owls

(A separate note on owls appears at the end of this list.)

#### 57. *tiwe* (or *tiwe te'a*), Sunbird

It now seems likely that the Nage name applies to more than sunbirds, though these, and particularly the Olive-backed Sunbird, are probably focal. Other possible referents include the Brown Honeyeater, *Lichmera indistincta*.

#### 62. *wi*, Rail(s)

The term most likely refers to *Gallirallus philippensis*, the name of which is incorrectly printed in Forth 1996.

#### 63. *witu tui*, *Parus major*, Great Tit

The application of this onomatopoeic name to *Parus major* finds further support in C&B's description of its voice as "a rapid series of 2–4, somewhat dry notes, repeated, including pi-chu, pi-chu and tie-tie-ta, tie-tie-ta (Java data)" (419).

#### 64. *zawa*, *Ducula aenea*, Green Imperial Pigeon

C&B's description of *D. aenea* as the commonest Imperial Pigeon in lowlands and foothills further supports this identification. The Flores subspecies is *D. a. polia*. Vocalizations of this subspecies recorded by Schmutz (1977; C&B: 326) also match information given by Nage informants.

#### 66. *zeghi, jeghi*, *Merops superciliosus*, Blue-tailed Bee-eater

According to C&B this is the only Bee-eater that breeds on Flores. A dialectal form of this onomatopoeic name, *ceri* (pronounced "ch(e)ri"), recorded in the northeastern part of Nage country, closely corresponds to the call of this species described by C&B as "a liquid chrrrip" (383). Another species of *Merops* possibly occurring on Flores is *M. ornatus*, the Rainbow Bee-eater. In one place C&B (see Plate 39) give the Blue-tailed species as *M. philippinus*.

### A Note on Nage Owl Classification and Nomenclature

A lengthy discussion of the Nage classification of owls is found in Forth (1998b; see also Forth 1996: 92, 97). As noted there, Nage insist that all owls compose a single kind, even in some sense a single species. Three terms incorporating *po* plus a qualifier thus do not distinguish kinds of owls but rather specify the birds by reference to complementary physical or behavioural characteristics and thus, collectively, distinguish physical owls from other referents of *po*, including varieties of nocturnal sounds and manifestations of spirits. (Many of the sounds, moreover, are associated with other birds in addition to owls.)

With these qualifications in mind it is nevertheless possible to link features of particular species defined by ornithologists with Nage ethnoornithological and other categories. According to C&B, there are five or six species of owls on Flores. These include two members of the Tytonidae, *Tyto alba javanica*, the Barn Owl, and *T. longimembris*, the Eastern Grass Owl. The Strigidae are represented by three members of the genus *Otus*, or Scops Owls: *Otus magicus albiventris*, the Moluccan Scops Owl, *O. silvicola*, Wallace's Scops Owl (which is endemic to Flores and Sumbawa), and *O. alfredi*, the Flores Scops Owl (a Flores endemic). As C&B note, some authorities doubt the separate status of *O. alfredi*, viewing it as possibly a red morph of *O. magicus*. Its voice and habits are undescribed. Another Strigiforme occurring on Flores is *Ninox scutulata*, the Brown Hawk Owl, described by C&B as a winter visitor to Wallacea (see above, regarding *je*, no. 24).

In the light of information provided by C&B, the following observations can be offered.

a) Terms that refer to physical features of owls:

*po koba* ("vine *po*")

Explained by local reports of owls roosting in forest vines during the daytime, this term cannot be identified with any particular species. C&B, however, describe *Otus silvicola* as perching "high in a tall tree or in a concealed position."

*po kua* ("eagle *po*")

The term alludes to a similarity of appearance, especially plumage, between eagles and some owls. In regard to the contrasting lighter under and darker upper parts of the Tytonidae, and their much greater size than *Otus* spp., the empirical

referent is very probably *Tyto alba* or *T. longimembris*.

*po tadu* ("horn(ed) *po*")

The reference is undoubtedly to the two or three species of *Otus*. All of these possess "horns" (or "ears"), whereas the Tytonidae of course do not.

b) Terms that denote varieties of nocturnal sounds, associated with owls but with other birds as well:

*Po keo* ("*po* that sounds *keo*")

Local descriptions of sounds summarized as *keo* are somewhat reminiscent of the "high-pitched, hoarse, drawn-out shriek" that C&B describe for *Tyto alba javanica*, as well as certain "mechanical sounding" vocalizations of *T. longimembris* and croaking and quacking sounds described for *Otus magicus albiventris*. Vocalizations recorded for the Hawk Owl, *Ninox scutulata*, a bird which in regard to physical appearance is a possible referent of the Nage category *je*, are, however, equally likely candidates.

*po tadu bhada* ("buffalo horn *po*"; sounds thought to emanate from the trophy horns of sacrificial water buffalo)

Described by Nage as a quiet "puff" or "pop," the sound recalls vocalizations of *Otus silvicola*, especially the "deep *hwomph*" mentioned by C&B.

*po uci* ("*po* that sounds *uci*," "whistling *po*") and *po ci* ("*po* that sounds *ci*," "hissing *po*")

The two categories are not always distinguished. The most likely empirical referents for these are a "rasping hiss" and "thin whistle" described for *Tyto longimembris*. (Although C&B do not mention them for *Tyto alba*, it is not clear whether such sounds might not also be produced by the other, and more common, member of the genus present on Flores.)

*po bapu* ("*bapu* [malevolent spirit] *po*")

Locally described as a loud, penetrating cry that carries far and often takes the form of a series of long, drawn out, or continuous hoots. This is somewhat reminiscent of the "drawn-out shriek" of *Tyto alba*, but vocalizations of other Strigiformes, also, are very likely to be interpreted as instances of *po bapu*.

*po polo* ("witch *po*")

Nage associate this category with such a variety

of auditory and other phenomena that it is not possible to link it with particular species. Vocalizations of the two species of *Otus* for which information is available, however, are probably the most usual referents, especially insofar as these consist of a series of repeated calls. One vocalization described for *Tyto longimembris* is another possibility.

Finally, it should be noted that although Nage also attribute sounds labelled as *po* to other ornithological kinds besides owls (most of which are diurnal raptors), probably all of the foregoing are in fact produced by Strigiformes. Two diurnal raptors, the Black-winged Kite (*Elanus caeruleus*) and the Australian Hobby (*Falco longipennis*), are active at dusk; yet the vocalizations of neither clearly correspond to sounds Nage classify as *po*. (On the other hand, the voice of *Elanus caeruleus*, described by Coates and Bishop as "a plaintive, rather weak, whistled two note *wheep wheep*" [1997: 247] is somewhat reminiscent of the sound Nage call *uci*.) A vocalization of *Caprimulgus macrurus* (see *leba* above), described by C&B as a "chonk" or "tok" sound like a hammer or axe hitting timber, is perhaps suggestive in this regard, but also seems not to correspond to informants' descriptions of *po* sounds. I myself have never heard it in the field.

## References Cited

### Coates, Brian J., and K. David Bishop (C&B)

1997 A Guide to the Birds of Wallacea: Sulawesi, the Moluccas, and Lesser Sunda Islands, Indonesia. Alderley: Dove Publications.

### Forth, Gregory

1992 The Pigeon and the Friarbird. The Mythical Origin of Death and Daylight in Eastern Indonesia. *Anthropos* 87: 423-441.

1996 Nage Birds. Issues in the Analysis of Ethnoornithological Classification. *Anthropos* 91: 89-109.

1998a Beneath the Volcano. Religion, Cosmology and Spirit Classification among the Nage of Eastern Indonesia. Leiden: KITLV Press. (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 177)

1998b Things That Go "po" in the Night. The Classification of Birds, Sounds, and Spirits among the Nage of Eastern Indonesia. *Journal of Ethnobiology* 18/2: 189-209.

### Hails Christopher, and Frank Jarvis

1987 Birds of Singapore. Singapore: Times Editions.

### Hicks, David

1997 Friarbird on Timor. Two Mambai Myths of Avian Rivalry. *Anthropos* 92: 198-200.

### Mason, Victor, and Frank Jarvis

1989 Birds of Bali. Berkeley: Periplus Editions.

### Schmutz, Erwin

1977 Die Vögel der Manggarai (Flores). Ruteng. [Mimeograph]

### Verheijen, Jilis A. J.

1963 Bird-Names in Manggarai, Flores, Indonesia. *Anthropos* 58: 677-718.