EVOLUTION, MIGRATION AND EXTINCTION OF OCEANIC BIRD NAMES

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1. INTRODUCTION

In this paper I present a small beginning towards the reconstruction of the Proto Oceanic terminology for bird species.¹ In an earlier study (Clark 1982) I had little difficulty establishing 40 or so reconstructions for Proto Polynesian and its major subgroups, mostly with fairly precise identification, which represents a substantial proportion of the bird species probably known to the Proto Polynesians. The situation for Proto Oceanic is much less satisfactory, for a number of reasons. The number of bird species in the Proto Oceanic homeland was very likely much larger than for Proto Polynesian. Naturally the difficulties of reconstruction are greater for Oceanic than for its relatively small and homogeneous Polynesian subgroup. And the available data on which reconstructions, with less clear identifications, accounting for a smaller fraction of the Proto Oceanic avifauna.

The search for cognates further afield also proved discouraging. I checked more than 30 bird names reconstructed by various authorities for Proto Austronesian (PAN) and other protolanguages beyond Oceanic, as well as comprehensive sources of Malay bird names (Holmes 1989; MacKinnon 1990) and found only half a dozen with clear cognates in Oceanic.

It is important to bear in mind that the inventory of bird species present in the Proto Oceanic homeland in Proto Oceanic times was not necessarily the same as that found in any particular place today. The geographical range of bird populations is no more immutable than that of human populations. Certain bird species may be transported by humans to new homes. In the remoter islands of Oceania, as recent research has shown (Steadman 1989), human predation has brought about the local extinction of numerous species. In some cases linguistic evidence points to the earlier presence of birds now vanished, such as the megapode in Fiji and the swamphen in Eastern Polynesia (Clark 1982).

For the material on which this study is based, we have to thank on the one hand ornithologists who took the trouble to note vernacular names for the birds they were studying, and on the other lexicographers who were able to give either scientific identifications or at least reasonably full descriptions of the birds whose names they were recording. There is as yet no really comprehensive account of the bird terminology of any Oceanic-speaking community, based on extended fieldwork by a researcher with the competence both to identify the birds, to elicit their names, and to place them in the larger

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cultural context. We may get some idea of what a full terminology would be like, however, by briefly considering two such studies of non-Austronesian-speaking communities in this region: Ralph Bulmer's work among the Kalam of the Kaironk Valley in Papua New Guinea (see especially Majnep and Bulmer 1977), and the more recent general ethno-biology of the Tobelo speakers of northern Halmahera by Taylor (1990).

Bulmer and Taylor both record something in the neighbourhood of 100 scientific genera of birds represented in their area of study (see Table). The number of basic terms in the local language is of the same order of magnitude: 159 'uninomial' terms in Kalam (Majnep and Bulmer (1977:203-207) – this figure excludes synonymous variants, but includes a few terms for bats); and 123 'basic (B°) terms' in Tobelo (Taylor 1990:119, not including bats).

	Kalam (Bulmer)		Tobelo (Taylor)	
Total genera	137		91	
Basic terms	159		123	
Monotypic genera	102	(74%)	68	(75%)
Polytypic genera	35		23	
Subgeneric lexical distinctions	19		8	
Suprageneric terms	16		20	

TABLE: COMPARISON OF KALAM AND TOBELO BIRD TERMINOLOGIES

As these writers and others have noted, there is a fairly high degree of agreement at the lower levels of classification between the folk taxonomies of people like the Kalam and Tobelo and the Linnaean classification of Western science. Nothing like Borges's Chinese encyclopaedia appears in the categories expressed in these languages. Indeed, to the extent that the Linnaean system is, in its origins, simply a formalisation of European folk classification, this amounts to a statement about universal tendencies in human classification of the natural world based on directly observable characteristics and discontinuities. (See Berlin (1992, Chapter 2) for a full discussion of this question.)

In the present study, as we are likely to be reconstructing single lexemes, the question might be raised as to whether, at the lowest level, these typically correlate with the genus or species level of the Linnaean system. This question turns out to be more difficult to answer than one might expect. A surprising three-quarters of all the bird genera in both the Bulmer and Taylor studies are (locally) monotypic, that is, represented in the area by a single species (see Table 1). For such cases the genus-species question clearly has no answer. If we look at the remaining (polytypic) genera, however, we find that by no means all have basic terms distinguishing species (or smaller categories) within them. Nearly half the polytypic genera in Bulmer's study, and more than half in Taylor's, are covered by a single basic term. Balancing the subgeneric terms are a number which include more than one genus (in some cases more than one family) under a single basic term.

For present purposes, then, the genus seems like a useful level of reference for discussing Oceanic bird names, though we will encounter cases where basic terms are both more inclusive and less inclusive than this. Popular notions about science seem to include the idea that 'species' is the most natural unit of classification, but it should be remembered that the genus names of the Linnaean system are nouns – in many cases the ordinary Latin names for 'kinds' of animals or plants – whereas the species names are adjectives – supplementary information that would not be required on every occasion. (Linnaeus himself apparently at first held that monotypic genera did not need a species term.)

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Proto Oceanic *manuk, judging from its various reflexes, may potentially have included all non-aquatic animals, but here I will be dealing with its more restricted sense of 'bird'. Even in this narrower sense, however, it is frequently noted that reflexes of *manuk include bats, so names for these flying mammals are dealt with at the end of the present paper.

In the Linnaean system, between birds (Class Aves) and the various genera there are intermediate levels of 'Order' and 'Family'. Taxa of this rank are generally less common in folk taxonomies, and there are only one or two hints here of terms which may have had such a role in Proto Oceanic. The Linnaean families, however, provide a useful way of arranging the discussion in this paper.

Of about 150 families of birds distinguished by ornithologists, only about half occur in the Oceanic-speaking area. Half of these are restricted either to New Zealand (ruling them out as Proto Oceanic birds) or to the New Guinea area, for which my data is too limited to venture reconstructions here. Several more families are eliminated because terms for them simply do not turn up often enough in the sources. This leaves about 25 families for which one or more regional or Proto Oceanic terms may be reconstructed. I have further divided these into three large groups: sea birds, passerines and the rest. The first two are, for different reasons, more difficult to reconstruct than the third.

Sea birds are a relatively constant presence, with many cosmopolitan species present throughout the Oceanic region. By contrast, land bird species numbers decline steadily as one moves away from Asia and into the remote Pacific; thus sea birds correspondingly make up an increasingly significant proportion of the total species known in Micronesia and Polynesia than they do in, say, New Guinea. Moreover, in the former regions no-one lives far from the sea; sea birds are regularly observed, and even scrutinised, in the course of fishing and inter-island navigation. As a result, a typical Micronesian or Polynesian dictionary may have several different words for species of terns, while a comparable dictionary of a New Guinea Oceanic language may have none, or perhaps an entry with a gloss like 'bird sp. similar to a seagull'.

The passerines, 'sparrow-like' or perching birds, while they commonly account for around half the species of land birds in a given area, are by and large smaller than the nonpasserines, and of little or no economic or other practical importance. Judging from the Kalam and Tobelo cases, they were probably known and named as fully in Proto Oceanic as other types of birds, but in the context of modern linguistic fieldwork they are more likely to be overlooked or poorly identified. Geographical distribution of species also tends to be more fragmentary, adding to the difficulties of comparison.

Thus it is among the non-passerine land birds, where a combination of size, accessibility and clear morphological distinctiveness makes it hard to confuse 'kinds', that the history of Oceanic bird terminology can most readily be reconstructed.

2. RECONSTRUCTIONS

Putative cognates are arranged by regions, in the following order: Central Pacific (CP); Micronesia (MC); New Caledonia (NC); South Vanuatu (SV); North Vanuatu (NV); South-East Solomons (SS); North-West Solomons (NS); Papuan Tip (PT); Western Melanesia (WM). Reconstructed protolanguages for the CP, NV, SS and PT groups are designated by prefixing 'P'. (I also cite a few reconstructions for Proto Polynesian (PPN), Proto Nuclear Polynesian (PNP) and Proto Malaitan (PML).) Where apparent cognates appear in two or

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more regions, I have proposed a Proto Oceanic (POC) reconstruction, though in some cases only a sub-POC level may be justified. I have included some established reconstructions from other writers; these are identified by name, and only representative evidence is cited.

My main sources of information on Oceanic birds themselves have been Pratt et al. (1987) for Polynesia and Micronesia, Rand and Gilliard (1967) for New Guinea, Mayr (1945) for the rest of Melanesia, and Falla et al. (1978) for New Zealand. Since there is no single handbook covering the entire region, to maintain a consistent and reasonably up-to-date scientific taxonomy, I have used the terminology of Howard and Moore's (1980) world checklist throughout. A great deal of correcting and normalising of nomenclature has been required, so that scientific names given as glosses are not necessarily to be found in the original sources. Forms without glosses can be taken either as applying to the entire family in question, or as not clearly assignable, on the evidence available, to any particular genus or species within the family.

2.1 SEA BIRDS

2.1.1 PETRELS AND SHEARWATERS (Procellariidae)

These birds spend all the daylight hours far out at sea. Even at close quarters, the various species are hard to distinguish. They nest in burrows, and may be known only as 'birds that are heard at night'. Only in areas where some species ('mutton birds') are eaten would one expect people to have a close-up familiarity with them. Only regional forms have been found, none with any certainty of species or even genus identification:

NC: Kumak *ileep*, Hienghene *ninep*, etc. (cf. Gilbertese *tinebu* '*Puffinus nativitatis* (Christmas Island Shearwater)')

CP: PCP *liko (Geraghty 1984), PPN *taiko, *lofa

2.1.2 TROPIC BIRDS (Phaethontidae)

The two extremely long tail feathers make these birds impossible to confuse with any other kind, but they appear to be little known in western Oceania. There are two species of the genus *Phaethon*, which differ principally in that one (*rubricauda*) has red tail feathers and the other (*lepturus*) white; they are not normally lexically distinguished. Only one regional reconstruction is established:

PPN *tawake (cf. Fijian tawake 'banner') MC: Trukese wuuk and Woleaian siug may possibly be cognate.

2.1.3 GANNETS AND BOOBIES (Sulidae)

Three species of boobies (genus *Sula*), although quite similar in appearance, appear to be distinguished at the species level by many Polynesian and Micronesian languages. For comparative purposes, however, it is difficult to correlate the different cognate sets with particular species.

PNP *takupu, *(maua)kena

A reconstructed Proto Eastern Oceanic *kanapu 'gannet' is proposed by Biggs (1965:401) on the basis of cognates in Maori and Rotuman. (Gannets are members of the same family

found in temperate latitudes.) In fact the Maori form is an error; the word is reflected only in Samoic-Outlier languages and in Rotuman. This would warrant reconstruction to the PCP level, though the form of the Rotuman cognate is consistent with it being a Polynesian borrowing.

2.1.4 FRIGATE BIRDS (Fregatidae)

These birds are always noticed, whether from their high flight, their distinctive shape, the inflatable red gular pouch of breeding males, or their habit of attacking other sea birds and stealing their food. The two species (*Fregata ariel* and *Fregata minor*) do not seem to be lexically distinguished. There are two widespread cognate sets which appear to be geographically complementary:

 POC *ndaula 'frigate bird (Fregata)' (Milke 1968) SS: Nggela daula, Kwaio gaula PT: Nada dauka WM: Tolai daula, Bariai raila, Mussau raura

POC *katapa 'frigate bird (Fregata)'
 CP: PPN *katafa, Rotuman 'afaha (cf. Fijian kasaqa)
 MC: Trukese asaf, Ponapean kasap
 NC: Iaai ataû, Nengone wa-xej, Dehu wete, Kumak caave
 WM: Loniu katah and other Admiralty forms reflecting *katapV (R. Blust, pers.comm.)

Set (2) shows an interesting connection to the word for the Bird's-nest Fern (Asplenium), reconstructable as PMP *katapaŋ (Tryon, this volume). Compare Proto Central Eastern Polynesian *kiwa, a different form covering the same two meanings.

2.1.5 PLOVERS AND SANDPIPERS (Charadriidae, Scolopacidae)

More than 50 species of these wading birds are recorded as visiting the shores of the Oceanic region. They are famous for their long-distance migrations, and are mainly seasonal visitors rather than permanent residents. Identification can be difficult even for experts (Mayr 1945:28). Nevertheless, a number of the most common species can be distinguished fairly readily by differences in size, bill shape and voice, and terms for them are fairly consistent, at least within Polynesia. These include the Golden Plover (*Pluvialis dominica*), the Bristle-thighed Curlew (*Numenius tahitiensis*) and the Wandering Tattler (*Heteroscelus incanus*). The most widely distributed term, however, is not identified with any precision:

POC *nsipiu 'shore bird'
 NC: Paici dipiu, Pije difiin
 PNV *siviu
 PSS *siviu

There are a few other suggestive inter-regional agreements:

CP: PPN *kolili 'Heteroscelus' MC: Namoluk ilil 'Heteroscelus', Kusaiean kulul

CP: PPN *kiu (or *kui), PNP *kiwi 'Numenius' (cf. MC: Marshallese kewak 'Numenius')

PPT *kiwiwi 'sandpiper' (cf. also Tabar (New Ireland) kuvivi) CP: PPN *tuli(i), Standard Fijian dilio, Wayan dolii, Rotuman juli 'Pluvialis'

All of these terms, with their preponderance of high vowels, glides and liquids, are suggestive of onomatopoeic naming. While this raises the possibility of spurious cognates through convergent development, it may have the compensating advantage of providing an additional clue to the identification of the bird named (Clark 1991b).

2.1.6 GULLS AND TERNS (Laridae)

Many Oceanic dictionaries and vocabularies list terms for 'seagull', but gulls are not common in tropical Oceania, and most of these words probably refer to terns. A number of rather similar species in the genus *Sterna* are commonly labelled by a single lexeme; this seems the most likely identification for POC *kanawe:

(4) POC *kanawe 'tern (Sterna)' (Milke 1968) SS: Nggela ganae, Kwaio 'anakwe NS: Taiof kanai PT: Tawala kanawe, Motu kanage WM: Yabem kanô, Gedaged kanai, Tolai kanai

Other regional forms are: PPN *tala 'Sterna'; PPT *ker(eC)a, 'seagull' (cf. MC: Trukese araar, Marshallese kear, NS: Halia kira, Roviana dekere).

Two related genera are generally noticed only in the remote regions: the smaller and darker noddies (genus *Anous*) and the beautiful White Tern (*Gygis alba*):

PCP *ŋoŋo 'Anous' PPN *akiaki 'Gygis' (cf. Trukese ekiyek 'Gygis')

2.2 PERCHING BIRDS (Order Passeriformes)

2.2.1 FLYCATCHERS (Muscicapidae)

The only trans-regional cognate set appears to centre around the most conspicuous and distinctive of these birds, the fantails (genus *Rhipidura*):

(5) POC *takere 'fantail (Rhipidura)'

CP: Rotuman fä'ere 'Clytorhynchus (Fiji shrikebill)' NC: Kumak daginy 'Rhipidura', Grand Couli dari PNV *takere(kere) 'Rhipidura' PT: Hula tikere 'Rhipidura', Balawaia sikerekoio 'a small grass bird with a long tail' WM: Tolai tagene 'Nectarinia (sunbird)'

2.2.2 HONEYEATERS (Meliphagidae)

These are fairly common birds, distinguished by their habit of feeding on nectar with their brush-tipped tongues. Those of the genus *Myzomela* are widespread as far as Western Polynesia. Neither cognate set below is particularly satisfactory.

(6) POC *m(iu)nti 'honeyeater'

CP: Fijian (Lau dialects) miti kula, mitimiti 'Myzomela' PSS *mudi(mudi) 'Myzomela'

That a honeyeater was the original referent of this form is suggested by the comparison with Proto Eastern Oceanic **miji* 'suck, lick' (Geraghty 1984). However, both the Polynesian reflexes (PPN **miti*) and the basic form (*miti*) in Eastern Fiji refer to the starling Aplonis. The reason for this shift of meaning is not clear.

Tongan and Fijian names for the Wattled Honeyeater (*Fulehaio*) are clearly cognate, and although this genus is not found west of Fiji, there are some possible cognate names for other birds of the same family:

PCP *vusil(eo)u (Geraghty 1984) 'Foulehaio' (Tongan fuleheu, Fijian visilou) NC: Iaai bahelo 'Philemon (friarbird)' NV: Raga busubihil 'Myzomela', South-East Ambrym vasil 'Myzomela'

2.2.3 STARLINGS (Sturnidae)

The starlings of genus *Aplonis* are the only members of this family which reached Oceania in pre-European times. In the following set, though the meaning is quite well defined, formal correspondences are problematic:

(7) POC *pusi(Ca) 'starling (Aplonis)'
CP: PPN *fui(w)a, Fijian vocea, Rotuman husila 'Aplonis'
MC: Ponape sie 'Aplonis'
NV: Mota wotepispis 'merula [blackbird]'
PSS *bisu 'Aplonis' (cf. Rennellese ghaapilu 'Aplonis')
WM: Tolai vuira 'Aplonis'

The only other regional reconstruction worth noting in the passerine group is PCP **jea(jea)* 'triller (*Lalage*)', based on Standard Fijian *sea(sea)*, Wayan *seesee*, Rotuman *jea*, and Niuean *heahea*.

2.3 NON-PASSERINE LAND BIRDS

2.3.1 CASSOWARIES (Casuariidae)

One or more species of *Casuarius* was almost certainly known to the POC speakers. Though restricted to the New Guinea area, there is a well-established POC reconstruction for this bird:

POC *kasuari 'cassowary (Casuarius)' (Milke 1968)
 PT: Doga kouari, Suau ngasuali
 WM: Lihir kosol, Tami kisua, Kela kusua

2.3.2 HERONS AND BITTERNS (Ardeidae)

The most widespread and common species is the Eastern Reef Heron (*Egretta sacra*). Some complications arise from the fact that the bird has two colour phases, which may be lexically distinguished (e.g. Mele-Fila oova 'blue-grey heron', *matukutea* 'white heron').

There are also various smaller and less conspicuous members of the family such as the bitterns (*Ixobrychus*) and the Green Heron (*Butorides*).

(9) POC *kaowa 'heron'

CP: PNP *kao 'Butorides', Fijian visakoo, vusukewa 'Butorides'

MC: Trukese kawakaw 'heron', Ponapean kowelik 'heron-like bird' (cf. Nukuoro gava 'Egretta')

NC: Kumak kôva 'black heron', Paicî köö 'Egretta', Houailou gōxō 'common heron (long-cou)', Canala kaaukwa 'white heron'

PNV *[?]ova 'Egretta' PSS *kaova (cf. Rennellese ghou 'Ixobrychus') NS: Halia koei 'crane'

This term seems to apply most often to *Egretta*. In CP, however, *Egretta* is Fijian *beloo*, PPN **matuku*, which do not appear to have cognates elsewhere; and reflexes of **kaowa* apply to *Butorides*. Perhaps **kaowa* was originally a generic term, displaced by innovative CP forms for *Egretta*, but surviving as the name for the less common species.

Other regional forms are: PSS *sou, PPT *boqe.

2.3.3 DUCKS (Anatidae)

Although many Northern Hemisphere ducks are seen sporadically in Hawaii and Micronesia, the only truly widespread and common member of this family in Oceania is the Spotbill Duck (*Anas poecilorhyncha*):

(10) POC *ŋaRa 'duck'

CP: Fijian gaa SS: Arosi ngara i su[?]u NS: Roviana ŋara

Blust (pers.comm.) notes Manggarai (Central Malayo-Polynesian) *ngara* 'wild duck' as external support for this reconstruction. The following forms suggest the existence of a metathetic doublet **raŋa*:

MC: Namoluk rang, Marshallese rongbet NC: Iaai eng, Hienghene niang SV: Kwamera iareng PSS *karaŋa

2.3.4 BIRDS OF PREY (Accipitridae, Pandionidae, Falconidae)

Up to half-a-dozen species of hawks, eagles, ospreys and falcons are commonly found in western Melanesia, but they thin down to a single species further out and disappear altogether in remoter Micronesia and Polynesia. Where more than one species exists they are separately lexicalised. Two terms seem reconstructable at POC level, one for the Crested Baza (*Aviceda subcristata*) and another for the osprey (*Pandion*) or one of the fish-eating eagles:

(11) POC *kito 'baza (Aviceda)' PSS *ki(ts)o 'Aviceda' NS: Roviana pito 'Aviceda', Halia kitou 'large bird' PT: Iduna kito 'Aviceda'

POC *taraŋkau 'fish-eating eagle or osprey'
 PSS *taraqau
 WM: Tolai taraqau 'Pandion', Manam taragau 'fish-eagle'

Other regional forms are: PNV *mala (cf. NC: Houailou boamara, etc.); PSS *tava.

2.3.5 MEGAPODES (Megapodiidae)

These birds, known also as incubator birds, or less helpfully as 'scrub-fowl', 'bushhen', etc., have the unique habit of hatching their eggs by burying them in naturally warm material rather than sitting on them. These large eggs are an appreciated food in many Oceanic communities, and it is possible that human beings were responsible for transporting them to some of the remoter islands. F.W. Christian (1926) first called attention to the first set of cognate names for this bird. This almost certainly refers to the genus *Megapodius*, which is common as far east as Tonga. A larger type of megapode, the 'brush turkey' of genus *Talegalla*, was probably present in the Oceanic homeland, and might speculatively be associated with the second cognate set.

(13) POC *malau 'megapode'
 CP: PPN *malau 'Megapodius'
 PNV *malau 'Megapodius'
 WM: Gedaged malau

Christian (1926) cites cognates from Micronesia and New Britain which I have been unable to confirm. There are also a number of undoubtedly related forms from eastern Indonesia such as Sangirese *maleo 'Megapodius'* (R. Blust, pers.comm.).

(14) POC *ki(C)au

SS: Malango kihau 'Megapodius', Lau geo, Longgu geu
NS: Halia kihau 'ground bushfowl', Roviana eo 'brush hen', Maringe kho'io 'Megapodius'
WM: Tolai kiau, Amara okoiou, Mussau kikiau

2.3.6 FOWLS (Phasianidae)

The red jungle fowl (*Gallus gallus*) has reached almost every part of Oceania as a result of human settlement. Domestic and feral fowls are not in general lexically distinguished. There is no clearly established POC term. One set of cognates is represented by PNV *toqa, Fijian toa (cf. PPN *toqa 'courageous, warrior'); another by NS, PT and WM forms such as Roviana kokorako, Bwaidoga kakaleko, Tolai kakaruk.

2.3.7 RAILS (Rallidae)

The largest and most conspicuous species of rail in Oceania is the Purple Swamphen (*Porphyrio porphyrio*), notable as a garden pest. It is curious that in the only trans-regional cognate set there seems to be a connection with the Banded Rail (*Rallus philippensis*), a

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much smaller and shyer bird with which the swamphen could not possibly be confused. The only other rail with a widespread name is the Sooty Crake (*Porzana tabuensis*).

POC *ŋpilake 'rail'
 PNV *bwilake 'Rallus'
 PSS *bwila(kr)e 'Porphyrio'

Other regional forms are: PCP *qalae 'Porphyrio'; PCP *weka 'Rallus'; Fijian moo, PPN *moso 'Porzana'.

2.3.8 PIGEONS AND DOVES (Columbidae)

Even the remoter island groups commonly have several lexically distinguished species in this family. The most widespread types are the large pigeons of genus *Ducula*; fruit doves (*Ptilinopus*); and various ground doves.

(16) POC *baluc 'pigeon (Ducula)' (Ross 1988) (PAN *baluj)
 NS: Nehan baluh, Roviana baruku 'fruit pigeon'
 WM: Tami mbalut, Tigak valus, Mussau balus(u)

In other regions there are also terms reminiscent of the above, though not regular reflexes: PCP *ru(bv)e (PPN *lupe, Fijian ruve) 'Ducula'; PSS *bola 'Ducula (or generic)'; NS: Zabana, Maringe bora 'Ptilinopus'.

(17) POC *bune 'fruit dove (*Ptilinopus*)' (Grace 1969) (PAN *punay)

CP: Fijian bune NC: Iaai biny SV: Kwamera pin-harov, pin-uas NV: Mota qasa-pule, Port Sandwich na-vimbün PT: Tawala bunebune, Motu pune WM: Tolai buna, Manam bune

(18) POC *(IV)muko 'dove'

PSS *lumuko 'ground dove (Gallicolumba or Chalcophaps)'

Although attested in only one region of Oceania, this reflects PMP *-muken 'omen dove' (Blust 1983, 1987b), with the 'uncanny' prefix *qali-, though Blust does not list any Oceanic reflexes.

Other regional forms are: CP: Fijian soqe 'Ducula, Columba' (cf. NV: South Makekula song 'Ducula'); PNV *kuiba 'Ducula', *mwara, *taroa.

2.3.9 PARROTS (Psittacidae, Loriidae, Cacatuidae)

As with pigeons, there are commonly several lexically distinct species in any region. Diversity ranges from about 20 genera in the New Guinea area to only one or two in the remoter islands. The discussion here is roughly in descending order of size.

The Sulphur-crested Cockatoo (*Cacatua galerita*) is distinguished from all other members of this family by its size and colour. There are no clear trans-regional cognates, but note PPT **wakeke* 'white cockatoo (*Cacatua galerita*)'.

The Eclectus Parrot (*Eclectus roratus*) seems the most likely POC referent for the following cognate set. The sexes are strikingly different in colour, and the male (predominantly green) and female (predominantly red) are sometimes separately lexicalised, but no widespread agreement in such sex-distinguishing terms was noted.

- (19) POC *kaRa 'parrot (Eclectus)'
 - CP: Fijian kakaa 'Prosopoeia', PPN *ka(a)kaa
 - SS: Nggela kalao 'a green parrot', Kwaio a'ala 'Eclectus Parrot (male)', Bauro ghara 'Eclectus Parrot'
 - NS: Maringe, Simbo makara 'Eclectus Parrot', Roviana kara 'parrot (generic)', Halia kalakala 'green parrot'

The identification of this cognate set with *Eclectus* seems fairly clear in the Solomons, but as the species does not occur further out in the Pacific, the CP cognates are entered with some reservation. (It is at least possible that some are imitative of parrot screeches.) In Fiji, the name *kakaa* is applied to the largest local members of this family, the Shining Parrots (*Prosopeia*), a genus endemic to Fiji. Present populations of these birds in Tonga are believed to be of recent introduction, but Steadman (1989:193-195) reports possible fossil evidence of much earlier presence there. In Eastern Polynesia, at least two species of parakeet (*Cyanoramphus*) were present in the Society Islands in the late eighteenth century; though both are now extinct, names recorded in early vocabularies suggest 'a'a as the Tahitian name for them. By the time the name reaches New Zealand, it has evidently assumed family-level generality, as it is applied to the very large *kaakaa* (*Nestor meridionalis*), the huge and flightless *kaakaa-poo* ('night parrot') (*Strigops*) and the much smaller *kaakaa-riki* ('little parrots') (*Cyanoramphus*).

A different set of cognates appears to be geographically complementary to the preceding, and probably refers to the same species:

PPT *kalagar 'parrot' (Roro ?aea and Mekeo ala?a are specifically identified as the green (i.e. male) Eclectus Parrot)

WM: Tolai kalagar '(green) Eclectus Parrot', Bali-Vitu yalaŋa 'Eclectus Parrot', Tabar garagar, Amara akalangar

The following cognate set is most readily associated with the Rainbow Lory (*Trichoglossus haematodus*), widespread throughout Melanesia (a related species occurs on Ponape). However, a number of apparent cognates refer to other middle-size parrots (*Eos* and *Lorius*).

(20) POC *si(pw)iri 'lory (Trichoglossus)'

CP: PNP *siwili

MC: Ponapean serehd 'Trichoglossus'

NC: Fwâi diwali 'Cyanoramphus'

- NV: Mota sivure, Raga sivi, South-West Bay nesivir, Efate siviri 'Trichoglossus'
- SS: Kwaio suli 'Trichoglossus'; Malango tsitsiri, Ugi siri 'Eos'; Bauro sivi, Arosi (diwi)siri 'Lorius', Sa'a siri 'lory spp.', Nggela siri 'a small red parrot', Bughotu siviri 'red parrot'
- NS: Roviana *siri* 'red parakeet' and *sivoro* 'a parrot like the Rosella', Simbo *siri* 'a red bird that eats coconut', Halia *li* 'small red parrot', Maringe *sivoro* 'green and red parrot', *sigre* 'small colourful parrot'

- PT: Balawaia *rivili* 'small green parrot', Lala *sivili* 'small parrot', Roro *timiri* 'small parrot', Mekeo *tsipili* 'noisy parrot'
- WM: Loniu *cihi* and other Admiralty forms reflecting POC *nsipirV (R. Blust, pers.comm.)

The PNP reconstruction must be considered very tentative, in view of the fact that none of these parrots is presently found in Polynesia. Aside from Samoan *vilu* 'a large parroquet' (Pratt et al. 1987), which may just possibly have referred to *Prosopeia*, it is based on Eastern Polynesian forms *vini* for the eponymous genus of small lories (*Vini*) and a number of Outlier forms which may possibly be borrowed from Melanesian languages.

The smallest parrots of widespread distribution in Oceania are the lorikeets of genus *Charmosyna* (and the closely related *Vini* in Polynesia and eastern Fiji):

(21) POC *Cega 'small parrot (Charmosyna)'
 CP: PPN *sega, Fijian sega 'Vini'
 NV: Mota rengas, South-East Ambrym reng 'Charmosyna'
 W/M: Manam seng 'parrot'

A number of residual groups centring around the canonical form *ki(lr)V show suggestive resemblances without permitting any clear reconstruction(s) at the POC level:

- (a) SS: Sa'a *iloilo'a* 'female Eclectus Parrot', Malango *kira* 'Eclectus Parrot', Nggela *kilo* 'red parrot', Longgu *kiloi* 'red parrot (female)'
 - NS: Tinputz (ki)kire 'Eclectus Parrot', Banoni kire '(red) Eclectus Parrot', Babatana kira 'lorikeet'
- (b) SS: Lau kirori, 'Are'are kirori, Sa'a kirori 'Eos', Arosi kirori 'Eos'
- (c) SS: 'Are'are riko(riko), Kwaio liko(liko) 'Eos'
- (d) SS: Lau *kila(kila)* 'green parrot', Sa'a *kile(kile)* 'small green parrot', Arosi *kira(kira)* 'small green parrot'
- (e) NS: Zabana *kikila 'Eos'*, Maringe *naklio* 'red and green parrot, possibly female Eclectus', Simbo *kilo*
- (f) PT: Hula kiloki 'lovebird', Balawaia kiloki 'dark green bird'
- (g) PCP *kula 'collared lory (Phygis)'

2.3.10 CUCKOOS (Cuculidae)

Only one migratory species has even a regionally reconstructable name, the Long-tailed Koel (*Urodynamis taitensis*):

PPN *kaalewa(lewa) 'Urodynamis'

2.3.11 OWLS (Tytonidae, Strigidae)

The only widespread species in Oceania is the Barn Owl (*Tyto alba*). The following set may suggest imitation of owl hoots; the voice of the Barn Owl, however, is not a hoot, but a screech. Thus it is possible that at the POC level this name (or names) referred to some other type of (hooting) owl of the New Guinea-Solomon Islands region. The available data does not allow even a guess at such an identification.

(22) POC *Cu(rl)u 'owl' PCP *lulu 'Tyto' MC: Trukese fukuro PNV *lulu 'Tyto' SS: Nggela nduru, Tolo kuru, Longgu kuru NS: Maringe nakrudu, Halia kurou, Halia tutul, Roviana duduru, Zabana kikituru WM: Tolai kurukur 'small owl'

2.3.12 SWIFTLETS (Apodidae)

These are small birds which catch insects on the wing. Although Linnaean classification places swallows (Hirundidae) in a distinct family (in fact a different order) from swiftlets, folk taxonomies often use a single term for both, for example, Kalam *sskl* (Majnep & Bulmer 1977:109). The swiftlets (*Collocalia*) are most widely recorded, but the Pacific Swallow (*Hirundo tahitica*) is found in many parts of Oceania, and would probably have been covered by term (23):

(23) POC *kampakampal 'swiftlet (Collocalia)'

CP: Standard Fijian kaakaba 'Collocalia', Wayan kalaba 'Collocalia' PNV *kabakaba SS: Arosi 'apa'apa NS: Maringe gagable 'Collocalia' PT: Iduna manu yayabama 'Collocalia' WM: Tolai kabakabal 'Collocalia', Mussau kiriababa 'insectivorous cave bat'

A connection with POC *kapa 'flap wings, flutter' seems likely.

2.3.13 KINGFISHERS (Alcedinidae)

Although half a dozen genera were probably present in the homeland, only the collared kingfishers of genus *Halcyon* are found beyond New Guinea and the Solomon Islands. The following three cognate sets have a distinct family resemblance and suggest imitation:

- (24) POC *(ts)iko 'kingfisher'
 - CP: PPN *tikotara (cf. Fijian sikorere 'wood swallow (Artamus)' and seecala 'Halcyon')

MC: Sonsorol-Tobi *tagadik* PNV **siko* SS: Arosi *sigo*, Rennellese *ligho* NS: Roviana *sige*

(25) POC *kiokio 'kingfisher'

SS: Longgu kiokio, Nggela giogio, PML *ki'o, Arosi kiokio NS: Roviana kikio, Zabana kiokio, Halia kiukiu WM: Nauna kikiw, Seimat kioki, Wuvulu ioio (R. Blust, pers.comm.)

(26) POC *kiki 'kingfisher'

NC: Iaai *wajiji*, Dehu *ciciat*, Nengone *wa-zeze* SS: PML *'*i*'i WM: Tolai *kiki*, Bali-Vitu *kiki*, Nakanai *kiki*, Mussau *sokiki*

2.3.14 HORNBILLS (Bucerotidae)

Blyth's Hornbill (*Aceros plicatus*) is the only member of this family found in Oceania (New Guinea and the Solomon Islands).

(27) POC *binam 'hornbill (Aceros)'
 PSS *bina
 PT: Dobu binama, Ubir binam, Motu bina, Iduna binama

2.3.15 BATS (Chiroptera)

Bats are mammals (Order Chiroptera), but as substantial flying creatures they are often grouped with birds. Perhaps 20 genera of bats would have been present in the POC homeland region (Ziegler 1972:13-16). The major division is between the fruit-eating bats (Family Pteropidae), the largest of which belong to the genus *Pteropus* and are commonly known as 'flying foxes'; and the various smaller insectivorous bats grouped into the Suborder Microchiroptera.

Two POC terms for 'flying fox' have been reconstructed:

(28) POC *mpeŋka 'flying fox' (Milke 1968)
CP: Fijian beka, PPN *peka
MC: Mokilese pwehk
NC: Nenema bwak
NV: Vowa mbeke
WM: Vitu bega, Siassi mbiaŋ, Pala bëka

(29) POC *maliboni 'flying fox' (Ross 1988)
 PT: Iduna manubogi
 WM: Manam malabong

Other regional forms are: PNV *qarai and *manukona 'flying fox'. The latter can be analysed as 'taboo bird'; one might speculate that (28) also represents an original compound **manu-boyi 'night bird'.

No POC reconstruction can be given for the Microchiroptera, but two widespread patterns of naming them exist. On the one hand they may be treated as 'small flying foxes' and accordingly named with a reduplicated form of the term for the larger bats, as PPN *peka 'fruit bat', *pekapeka 'small bat'; or Iaai bû 'flying fox', obûûbû 'small bat'. Alternatively, they may be grouped with the swallows and swifts (see item (23)), which they resemble in size, colour and above all in their restless hawking flight. Examples are South-East Ambrym avæp 'any small bat, swiftlet' and PPN *pekapeka 'small bat', which also includes swallows and swiftlets.