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Data, Methods & Taxonomies

Bird Names and Folklore from the Emberá (Chocó) in Darién, Panamá

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Abstract: *This paper presents data on folklore and names of birds collected among native speakers of Emberá in the moist tropical forests of Darién, Panamá. The naming data was collected by systematic elicitation of names from pictorial representations of birds. It is organized here to facilitate analysis of various aspects of folk taxonomy in relation to scientific taxonomy. Folklore about birds collected in natural contexts is also included to indicate the role of birds and their names in symbolic processes that exceed the limits of literal reference.*

Keywords: Emberá (Chocó), Bird classification, Darién forest, Panama, Bird folklore

Supplementary Files available at ojs.ethnobiology.org/index.php/ebl.

Introduction

This paper presents data on names (see Appendix 1) and folklore (Appendix 2) of birds collected among native speakers of Emberá[1] in the moist tropical forests of Darién, Panamá in 1984 and 1985.[2] In most of Panama, the Emberá are popularly known as the Chocó, a name taken from the Department of Chocó in Colombia, from whence many crossed the low mountain range into the Darién to settle. The name Chocó also includes a sister linguistic group of the Emberá named the Wounaan, who live closely among them. The Catio and Chami are also closely related indigenous groups. The Emberá and Wounaan are principally distinguished by their languages, which are related (almost 50% agreement of cognate roots) but mutually unintelligible (Loewen 1963a, b). Most speakers are bilingual in either Emberá or Wounaan and Spanish. Emberá and Wounaan use Spanish to speak to each other and to the ethnographer. In his early linguistic work in the Chocó River Basin, Loewen (1958:1) identifies nine Emberá and three Wounaan dialects based on phonological, morphological, and lexical features associated with particular localities.[3] The bird name data presented here reflect variations derived from these differences in dialect and locality of origin.

The Emberá build open thatch-roofed homes on stilts along the many rivers. They hunt, fish, gather wild foods and medicines, and grow corn, rice, bananas, plantains, manioc, and medicinal plants (Kane 1995; Dalle and Potvin 2004). Traditionally, they live in fairly egalitarian, politically autonomous, extended family households dispersed along the rivers. However, under the mid-twentieth century push for rural development, the Emberá began concentrating riverine household sites into villages and electing representatives who became actors in regional and national politics. By this means, they worked to legally establish and to protect cultural and geographic autonomy and to receive government resources for, among other things, health clinics, and primary schools (Herlihy 1985, 2003; Kane 1994/2004; Cansarí 1996; Chapin 2001; Cahn 2004; Colin 2010).

This data was collected as a small part of a larger ethnographic research project on the cultural dimensions of village formation and national integration.[4] The project was carried out in two villages on two interior rivers. Avian data collection was carried out in the smaller and newer of the two, a village of only 10 households not far from what has since become the Darién Biosphere Reserve, National Park, and UNESCO World Heritage Site. The data provide documentary evidence of the linguistic and ethnobiological diversity of a unique, narrow stretch of tropical forest that bridges South and Central America at a time and place still relatively protected from the inexorable impact of regional deforestation. Bird habitat was still plentiful. Unlike the youngsters who learned Spanish in village schools, elders learned to speak Spanish through market contacts with nonindigenous people of Panama and Colombia. The

villagers among whom this data was collected relied almost completely on the animals and plants of the riverine forest for subsistence and inspiration. Probably because of the intense violence in the region since the late 1980s, published ethnozoological research among the Emberá of Darién was and remains scarce.[5] Indeed, to my knowledge, since the larger ethnographic project that provided a context for the collection of this avian data, there has been no in-depth ethnographic research published.

The naming data was collected by systematic elicitation from colored pictorial representations of birds.[6] Except to share Emberá bird names, the elicitation groups used Spanish to communicate with the ethnographer.[7] Data are organized to facilitate analysis of particular aspects of folk taxonomy such as contrast, level, and ranking of taxa; hierarchic inclusion and depth in taxonomic structures (Berlin 1992, Berlin 1976; Conklin 1969; Kay 1971); grading within categories (Kempton 1978; Lakoff 1972); taxonomic space (Hunn 1976) and comparison of folk and scientific taxonomies (Berlin et al. 1966; Berlin 1973). In this format, the data can be compared, contrasted or combined with other ethnobiological data.

In addition to the taxonomic data, which were elicited in contexts that were contrived by me, folkloric data, collected in more or less natural contexts, are also presented here. The folkloric data provides examples of the metaphorical connections between names and their referents (Bean 1975; Dougherty 1982; Johnson 1974; Rosaldo 1972). My interlocutors shared the folklore in the form of stories, conversations, and reflections on avian life happening around us as, for example, we canoed on the river, rested from cleaning bush, walked through the forest, or sat by the hearth. My interlocutors also contributed folklore in the context of the group elicitation sessions. To reflect the two distinct modalities of data collection and the style in which the data were conveyed, the ethnographer's voice shifts as I move between taxonomic and folkloric sections.

Elicitation Procedures

I presented 32 color plates from Ridgely's (1976) Birds of Panama, in order of their appearance in the book, to nine independent groups of people in their homes, or in one case, in a work setting. The design was opportunistic; that is, I took advantage of situations conducive to data collection and did not attempt to control group composition. The aim was to collect data in a manner that did not disrupt everyday life. As an interesting visual object, once introduced and held in my hands, the book became a conversation piece. Its well-drafted images of species that varied beautifully in form and color made the page-layout itself a pleasurable and stimulating elicitation device. The origin of the book and the unreadable text within it clearly signaled its foreignness, but the images it contained were legible and familiar, and so the book worked well as an elicitation tool. It was a well-received artifact that promoted and coordinated sociality for about an hour or two per session.

Each set represents a consensus elicitation from two to ten people. They were a mix of generation and gender although there was no group that included only children or youths. Through discussion each group would decide on one name for each bird they identified; they took it upon themselves not to present multiple names. Where several people were present one or two more knowledgeable elders dominated the discussion. Other than deference to elders with more knowledge, there were no noticeable differences in power or authority that affected the outcome of consensus.

Bird names are listed here in such a way that the relationship between Emberá and scientific names stands out. Each Emberá name is listed together with the plate and identification number of each species designated, the corresponding scientific name, the general common name in English, a list showing which of the nine elicitation groups (here represented as capital letters "A" through "I") make the identification and the total number of groups that make the identification as an expression of inter-group consensus.[8]

There are various limitations to this kind of elicitation procedure. Information on one plate could inform another, e.g. where an early identification was unclear, a later more typical example might clarify. As the elicitation process proceeded, informants had more information at their disposal with which to make a judgment and therefore the level of accuracy probably is not consistent. On the other hand, in some cases where scientific genera happened to be separated on non-consecutive plates, informants did identify them with the same Emberá name, indicating that they could transcend the restrictions imposed by book order (e.g. the genus *Cranioleuca* on Plates 8 and 14, both identified as *jorójoro*[9]). In addition, because

each group had more than one person in it (a factor shaped by the social conditions of fieldwork among extended families), the nine elicitation groups are more diverse then nine single informants would be. Furthermore, because names were elicited from a printed page rather than from birds in their natural habitat, certain physical criteria tended to dominate the identification process, e.g. beak type was a more distinguishable feature than variation in size and behavioral and functional criteria were only available in the form of memory associations.

Presentation of Taxonomic Data

Each category identified by an Emberá name that is a primary lexeme (one which cannot be translated directly) is listed in alphabetical order in Appendix 1. Names which combine a lexeme with a modifier are listed under the main lexeme (e.g. *ansabidá* [kingfisher] is the lexeme listed alphabetically under which will appear *ansabidá chikaibéa* [little kingfisher] and *meabéma-ansabidá* [forest kingfisher]). Within that ordering of categories, the different scientific species identified by the same name are listed from highest consensus to lowest consensus. Where the consensus ratings are equal, they are listed in the order in which they appear in the book. Where the relationship between one lexeme and another is not manifested in the form of the name, but is commented on by a speaker, the more general name is listed in curly brackets under specific name (e.g. *chilingó* [cacique] is a kind of *kumbarrá* [a category including caciques, oropendolas, and antbirds]). In compound names in which one of the names may or may not be spoken, or in names which may or may not have particular endings, straight brackets [ ] will appear around the optional segment.[10]

Notes on Emberá-English Translation

The Emberá language has 12 vowels: a, e, i, ʌ, o, u (pronounced as in Spanish except for the /ʌ/ which is somewhere between i and u) and the same sounds nasalized: ã, ẽ, ĩ, ʌ̃, õ, ũ. The consonants are pronounced the same as in Spanish, i.e. j is pronounced as the English h; dz is pronounced as English j. Where name-segments are emphasized with a stop, this is indicated by an apostrophe (') after the segment.

As mentioned above, there are 12 dialects in the language of Emberá corresponding to 12 geographic areas in Colombia from whence the Emberá came before they migrated to Panama (Loewen 1958). Dialectal variation is reflected both at the lexical and phonological levels. I have indicated phonological variation of particular names with the superscript "v" and list the variants at the end of the taxonomy data. Lack of accurate migration data on all informants and the methods of elicitation used precludes analysis of nomenclature in respect to dialects.

Where names are combinations of words or morphemes, part or all of which I can translate, I set these off from each other by a dash and indicate a dictionary listing with a superscript "d". These translations appear in the supplementary file linked to this document (Supplementary Table 1). I have only included Spanish loan words when there is no Emberá name corresponding to the same category. These are noted with the superscript "Sp."

Note on the Classification of Emberá and Scientific Bird Names

There are interesting comparisons to be made between the folk and scientific taxonomies (Appendix 1). While in some cases one Emberá name exactly or almost exactly corresponds to one scientific genus (e.g. *kokarrá* and the genus Odontophorus, *chákoro* and the genus Icterus), in most cases there is a different kind of "fit." So, for example, the Emberá, like English speakers, have only one name for all hummingbirds, while the scientific taxonomy breaks these down into 35 genera. Clearly, the physical attributes necessary for systematizing these birds from an evolutionary point of view are not relevant to Emberá speakers. There are cases, however, in which the Emberá taxon is more elaborated than the scientific. For example, there is a general name *karé* and four specific names that correspond to a single scientific genus *Amazona*. For the Emberá, this kind of bird is distinctive not only because of its bright plumage and noisy behavior, but because it is also a source of food. There is also a varying relation between the most typical species representing a group of genera that together constitute a taxon and the size of the taxon. So, for example, *Pulsatrix perspicillata* Latham Strigidae is the species of owl that most represents "owlness" to the Emberá and the name for that species, *bombóra*, includes eight genera within its reference. While a name like *jorójoró*, represented with best consensus by *Taraba major* Vieillot Thamnophilidae includes 27 genera within its reference. All these variations of fit between Emberá and scientific taxonomies of birds can be considered in relation to other folk taxonomies of birds as well as folk taxonomies of other biological

classes, in order to develop a cross-cultural understanding of the principles of category formation and more generally how human beings think about the natural world.

Folkloric examples presented in Appendix 2 were collected as they emerged spontaneously in the context of everyday life and suggest the important role that birds play in the encoding of cosmological as well as social and utilitarian thought. The songs and calls of particular bird species are located between the invisible and the human worlds as they inform people of new birth and impending death. Because songs and calls depart and are distinct from the avian bodies that produce them, they can travel across the space of the imagination as well as physical space. In Emberá cosmology, an otherworld accompanies the mundane world. Birds symbolically mediate the two worlds. They have the power to tell about matters as small as the time of day and as great as the events that happened when the world changed. Indeed, before the world changed, animals were people. And, although this happened in ancient times, the world could change back any day. So say the Emberá when they observe the widening rivers, the atypical flooding patterns and the long dry seasons that are accompanying the transformation of the downstream forests into fields and pastures.

Conclusion

Taxonomic and folkloric modes of knowledge, together, suggest the significant role that birds play in Emberá life. They illuminate relationships between biodiversity and cross-cultural bird knowledge in the lowland riverine tropical forest. When geopolitical conditions allow future ethnobiologists to do research in the interior of the Darién, whether inside or outside the biosphere reserve, the data presented here can provide a baseline for comparison and departure point for conversation. Further study will not only lead to a better understanding of how the Emberá enroll nature in their conceptions of a mythic universe in which animals are communicating co-spirits, but will also lead to a better understanding of Emberá thoughts about their place in the dynamic environmental history of the Darién.

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Declarations

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Supplementary Files are linked to the online version of the paper at ojs.ethnobiology.org/index.php/ebl.

Biosketch

Stephanie C. Kane is a cultural anthropologist and Professor in the Department of International Studies at Indiana University. She is the author of *The Phantom Gringo Boat*, *AIDS Alibis*, and *Where Rivers Meet the Sea.*

Notes

[1]Readers may view images of the Emberá in the

Darién forest by visiting the Indiana University Image Collections Online.

[2]For in-depth ethnography of the Emberá in the Darién see Kane 1994/2004. For Emberá medicinal plants see Kane 1995. For Emberá folktales see Crandell 2008. For a comprehensive bibliographic index of writings on the indigenous people of Panamasee Runk et al. 2011:77-162.

[3]For recent linguistic research see Sara 2001 and Aguirre Licht 2006. For many other sources see Runk et al. 2011:77-162.

[4]As an ecologist with a specialty in tropical forest zoology at the Masters level I keep my interest alive through collection of ethnobiological data in the course of larger holistic ethnographic projects.

[5]For more recent ethnozoological research in the region outside the Darién see Bittner 2003, Bejarano et al. 2004 and Racero-Casarrubia et al. 2008.

[6]I received permission from the First Cacique of the Emberá to do ethnographic research in two specific villages. I also received permission from the University of Texas IRB to do ethnographic research among the Emberá of Darién.

[7]I was trained in the transcription of Central and South American indigenous languages. As part of my larger project I was working with an Emberá youth to record and transcribe Emberá myths and folktales.

[8]Since Ridgely's (1976) book, authorities have changes some species names. The Appendix reflects current usage.

[9]For orthography and transcription see Note on Language below.

[10]To prioritize the legibility of consensus ratings in Appendix 1, scientific and popular bird names are listed only in the main category for each Emberá bird name. Genus and species names are left blank in the subcategories. Wherever there is a subcategory blank, the key plate/image # indicates which genus and species name from the main list is relevant. For English popular names, wherever there is a blank, readers should apply whichever name is listed most directly above it.

Appendix 1: Emberá Bird Classification

Emberá name	Plate/#	English common name	Scientific name (current)	Identifications	Total
ájombʌ {*nẽjõmbʌ*}	2/7	Falcon	*Micrastur ruficollis* Vieillot Falconidae	C	1
amparrá-jombʌ = amparrá zési[d] {nẽjõmbʌ}	3/8	Caracara	*Milvago chimachima* Vieillot Falconidae	I	1
ansabidá	10/10	Kingfisher	*Megaceryle torquata* Linnaeus Alcedinidae	ABCDEFHI	8
	10/7		*Chloroceryle amazona* Latham Alcedinidae	EHI	3
	10/9		*Chloroceryle inda* Linnaeus Alcedinidae	ACI	3
	10/11		*Chloroceryle americana* Gmelin Alcedinidae	CHI	3
	10/5	Jacamar	*Galbula ruficauda* Cuvier Galbulidae	I	1
	10/6		*Jacamerops aurea* Muller Galbulidae	I	1
	10/8	Kingfisher	*Chloroceryle aenea* Pallas Alcedinidae	I	1
ansabidá-chikaibéa[d]	10/7			G	1
ansabidá-dó-bada[d]	10/8			C	1
ansabidá-dromá[d]	10/10			G	1
ansabidá-meabéma[d]	15/5	Antwren	*Myrmotherula brachyura* Hermann Thamnophilidae	G	1
	16/8	Antpitta	*Pittasoma michleri* Cassin Conopophagidae	D	1
ansabidá-wẽra[d]	10/7	Kingfisher		BD	2
ansabidá-zaké[d]	10/9			BD	2
	10/7			C	1
	10/11			B	1
meabéma-ansabidá-sasá[d]	15/7	Antwren	*Epinecrophylla fulviventris* Lawrence Thamnophilidae	G	1
nunsí-ansabidá	10/11	Kingfisher		A	1
antumiá[d]	24/10	Vireo	*Vireo leucophrys* Lafresnaye Vireonidae	D	1
antumiá-imbaná[d]	6/11	Cuckoo	*Dromococcyx phasianellus* Spix Cuculidae	C	1
	24/16	Pipit	*Anthus lutescens* Pucheran Motacillidae	I	1
antumiá-jãĩmbaná[d]	23/3	Flycatcher	*Ptilogonys caudatus* Cabanis Ptiliogonatidae	C	1
ao {*nẽjõmbʌ*}	2/11	Kite	*Chondrohierax uncinatus* Temminck Accipitridae	I	1

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	2/12		*Harpagus bidentatus* Latham Accipitridae	I	1
	3/4	Hawk	*Buteogallus anthracinus* Deppe Accipitridae	I	1
ãrĩãrĩ	26/13	Grackle	*Quiscalus mexicanus* Gmelin Icteridae	A	1
	26/16	Cowbird	*Molothrus oryzivorus* Gmelin Icteridae	A	1
ãwẽnsõ[v]	5/4	Parakeet	*Eupsittula pertinax* Linnaeus Psittacidae	CDFGI	5
	5/1	Macaw	*Ara severus* Linnaeus Psittacidae	CH	2
	5/5	Parakeet	*Pyrrhura hoffmanni* Cabanis Psittacidae	E	1
	5/6		*Psittacara finschi* Salvin Psittacidae	A	1
bagará	5/1	Macaw	*Ara severus* Linnaeus Psittacidae	AEFG	4
	5/5	Parakeet	*Pyrrhura hoffmanni* Cabanis Psittacidae	H	1
	5/6		*Psittacara finschi* Salvin Psittacidae	H	1
	32/15	Parrot	*Pionopsitta pyrilia* Bonaparte Psittacidae	E	1
bagará-pauwará[d]	5/1	Macaw		BD	2
eyá-bagará[d]	5/1			I	1
	5/6	Parakeet		C	1
bagará chiboró purrú[d]	5/5			F	2
bagará chikuará[d]	5/5			BF	2
Jiwá-bagará[d]	5/5			CI	2
	32/5	Puffleg	*Haplophaedia aureliae* Bourcier & Mulsant Trochilidae	F	1
	32/15	Parrot		H	1
basusú	13/all	Piculet	*Picumnus* sp. Temminck Picidae	G	1
		Woodcreeper	*Dendrocincla* sp. Gray Furnariidae		
			Sittasomus sp. Swainson Furnariidae		
			Glyphorynchus sp. Wied-Neuwied Furnariidae		
			Lepidocolaptes sp. Reichenbach Furnariidae		
			Xiphorhynchus sp. Swainson Furnariidae		
			Deconychura sp. Cherrie Furnariidae		
			Dendrocolaptes sp. Hermann Furnariidae		
		Scythebill	*Campylorhamphus* sp. Bertoni Furnariidae		
	8/19	Treerunner	*Margarornis rubiginosus* Lawrence Furnariidae	G	1

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basusú-imbisú	13/17	Scythebill	*Campylorhamphus trochilirostris* Lichtenstein Dendrocolaptidae	G	1
	13/18		*Campylorhamphus pusillus* Sclater Dendrocolaptidae	G	1
beséamiá[d] {*nẽjõmbʌ*}	2/10	Kite	*Leptodon cayanensis* Latham Accipitridae	C	1
betókorró	14/1	Spinetail	*Synallaxis albescens* Temminck Furnariidae	G	1
	14/6	Foliage-gleaner	*Philydor erythrocercus* Pelzeln Furnariidae	D	1
bichí[d]	11/10	Aracari	*Pteroglossus torquatus* Gmelin Ramphastidae	ABCDEFGH	8
	11/1	Puffbird	*Malacoptila panamensis* Lafresnaye Bucconidae	I	1
bichí-pá[d]	11/6	Toucanet	*Aulacorhynchus prasinus* Gould Ramphastidae	BC	2
	11/7		*Selenidera spectabilis* Cassin Ramphastidae	C	1
bidó-jarámia[d]	13/17	Scythebill	*Campylorhamphus trochilirostris* Lichtenstein Dendrocolaptidae	I	1
	13/18		*Campylorhamphus pusillus* Sclater Dendrocolaptidae	I	1
bidó-koróchia[d v]	30/5	Grosbeak	*Saltator grossus* Linnaeus Thraupidae	CDGI	4
bidó-wído[d]	19/7	Flycatcher	*Conopias parvus* von Pelzeln Tyrannidae	E	1
bimbím[v]	27/2	Euphonia	*Euphonia minuta* Cabanis Fringillidae	EI	2
	27/3		*Euphonia fulvicrissa* Sclater Fringillidae	EI	2
	27/6		*Euphonia laniirostris* d'Orbigny & Lafresnaye Fringillidae	I	1
	17/4	Manakin	*Manacus vitellinus* Gould Pipridae	I	1
	17/5		*Manacus aurantiacus* Salvin Pipridae	I	1
	18/4	Becard	*Pachyramphus versicolor* Hartlaub Tityridae	B	1
birábirá	13/all	Piculet	*Picumnus* sp. Temminck Picidae	H	1
		Woodcreeper	*Dendrocincla* sp. Gray Furnariidae		
			Sittasomus sp. Swainson Furnariidae		
			Glyphorynchus sp. Wied-Neuwied Furnariidae		
			Lepidocolaptes sp. Reichenbach Furnariidae		
			Xiphorhynchus sp. Swainson Furnariidae		
			Deconychura sp. Cherrie Furnariidae		
			Dendrocolaptes sp. Hermann Furnariidae		
		Scythebill	*Campylorhamphus* sp. Bertoni Furnariidae		
	32/4	Hummingbird	*Goethalsia bella* Nelson Trochilidae	A	1
	32/5	Puffleg	*Haplophaedia aureliae* Bourcier & Mulsant Trochilidae	A	1
	32/16	Jacamar	*Brachygalba salmoni* Sclater & Salvin Galbulidae	A	1
bitábitá	20/2	Flycatcher	*Myiobius sulphureipygius* Sclater Onychorhynchidae	G	1

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bĩrũrĩ[v]	19/all	Sirystes	*Sirystes* sp. Cabanis & Heine Tyrannidae	D	
		Flycatcher	*Myiodynastes* sp. Bonaparte Tyrannidae		
			Legatus sp. Sclater Tyrannidae		
			Tyrannus sp. Lacépède Tyrannidae		
			Myiozetetes sp. Sclater Tyrannidae		
			Conopias sp. Cabanis & Heine Tyrannidae		
			Megarynchus sp. Thunberg Tyrannidae		
		Kiskadee	*Pitangus* sp. Swainson Tyrannidae		
	19/9	Flycatcher	*Megarynchus pitangua* Linnaeus Tyrannidae	B	
	19/10	Kiskadee	*Pitangus sulphuratus* Linnaeus Tyrannidae	B	
	19/11		*Pitangus lictor* Lichtenstein Tyrannidae	B	
	19/12	Flycatcher	*Myiozetetes cayanensis* Linnaeus Tyrannidae	B	
bʌsesé	26/8	Oropendola	*Zarhynchus wagleri* Gray Icteridae	CDGHI	5
	26/11		*Psarocolius decumanus* Pallas Icteridae	CFGI	4
bombóra	6/1-8	Owl	*Megascops* sp. Kaup Strigidae	ACEGI	5
			Ciccaba virgata Cassin Strigidae		
			Asio sp. Brisson Strigidae		
			Pulsatrix sp. Kaup Strigidae		
			Lophostrix sp. Lesson Strigiformes		
	6/7		*Pulsatrix perspicillata* Latham Strigidae	BCDFGH	6
	6/6		*Asio clamator* Vieillot Strigidae	DE	2
	6/8		*Lophostrix cristata* Daudin Strigidae	DH	2
bokaká	1/22	Heron	*Pilherodius pileatus* Boddaert Ardeidae	BCE	3
	1/27		*Tigrisoma lineatum* Boddaert Ardeidae	A	1
	1/28		*Tigrisoma mexicanum* Swainson Ardeidae	A	1
	1/29		*Tigrisoma fasciatum* Such Ardeidae	A	1
boróparí[d]	19/9	Flycatcher	*Megarynchus pitangua* Linnaeus Tyrannidae	G	1
	19/10	Kiskadee	*Pitangus sulphuratus* Linnaeus Tyrannidae	G	1
	19/11		*Pitangus lictor* Lichtenstein Tyrannidae	G	1
	19/12	Flycatcher	*Myiozetetes cayanensis* Linnaeus Tyrannidae	G	1

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chákoro	26/1	Oriole	*Icterus mesomelas* Wagler Icteridae	ABCDEFGHI	9
	26/2		*Icterus chrysater* Lesson Icteridae	ABCEFGHI	8
	26/3		*Icterus auricapillus* Cassin Icteridae	ABCFGHI	7
	26/4		*Icterus prosthemelas* Strickland Icteridae	ABCDGI	6
	18/13	Bellbird	*Procnias tricarunculata* Verreaux & Verreaux Cotingidae	C	1
patá-chákoro[d]*=ohíhí*	26/3	Oriole		DE	2
	26/4			H	1
chía-chákoro[d]	26/1			D	1
	26/2			D	1
champachí	28/5	Tanager	*Thraupis episcopus* Linnaeus Thraupidae	ABCDEFGHI	9
	28/1		*Tangara fucosa* Nelson Thraupidae	DH	2
	28/4		*Tangara palmarum* Wied-Neuwied Thraupidae	DI	2
	18/12	Cotinga	*Cotinga nattererii* Boissonneau Cotingidae	CD	2
	24/1	Gnatcatcher	*Polioptila plumbea* Gmelin Polioptilidae	H	1
chángame	26/13	Grackle	*Quiscalus mexicanus* Gmelin Icteridae	DI	2
chárro	26/6	Cacique	*Cacicus uropygialis* Lafresnaye Icteridae	D	1
chiá-tumiá[d]	12/13	Woodpecker	*Celeus loricatus* Reichenbach Picidae	D	1
	12/14		*Celeus castaneus* Wagler Picidae	D	1
chichárra	19/all	Sirystes	*Sirystes* sp. Cabanis & Heine Tyrannidae	C	1
		Flycatcher	*Myiodynastes* sp. Bonaparte Tyrannidae		
			Legatus sp. Sclater Tyrannidae		
			Tyrannus sp. Lacépède Tyrannidae		
			Myiozetetes sp. Sclater Tyrannidae		
			Conopias sp. Cabanis & Heine Tyrannidae		
			Megarynchus sp. Thunberg Tyrannidae		
		Kiskadee	*Pitangus* sp. Swainson Tyrannidae		
chijí	16/7	Antpitta	*Hylopezus perspicillatus* Lawrence Grallariidae	D	1
chikámia[d]	16/3	Antbird	*Hylophylax naevioides* Lafresnaye Thamnophilidae	D	1
chilakó	1/2	Rail	*Pardirallus maculatus* Boddaert Rallidae	C	1
	1/6	Crake	*Laterallus albigularis* Lawrence Rallidae	C	1
	1/7	Rail	*Aramides cajaneus* Muller Rallidae	C	1

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	1/8		*Aramides axillaris* Lawrence Rallidae	C	1
chilingó {*kumbarrá*}	26/6	Cacique	*Cacicus uropygialis* Lafresnaye Icteridae	ACGI	4
	26/7		*Cacicus cela* Linnaeus Icteridae	ACEI	4
	26/5		*Amblycercus holosericeus* Deppe Icteridae	ACI	3
chingé	14/13	Antshrike	*Thamnophilus punctatus* Shaw Thamnophilidae	I	1
chingé=kue trʌmia[d]	15/all	Antwren	*Terenura* sp. Cabanis & Heine Thamnophilidae	D	1
		Antvireo	*Dysithamnus* sp. Cabanis Thamnophilidae		
			Myrmotherula sp. Sclater Thamnophilidae		
		Antwren	*Microrhopias* sp. Sclater Thamnophilidae		
		Antbird	*Cercomacra* sp. Sclater Thamnophilidae		
			Myrmeciza sp. Gray Thamnophilidae		
			Gymnocichla sp. Sclater Thamnophilidae		
			Cercomacra sp. Sclater Thamnophilidae		
	15/13		*Cercomacra nigricans* Sclater Thamnophilidae	D	1
chingé-[paima][d]*=ingé-[paima]*	28/7	Tanager	*Ramphocelus icteronotus* Bonaparte Thraupidae	ABDEFGHI	8
	28/8		*Ramphocelus passerinii* Bonaparte Thraupidae	BC	2
chingé-pauwará[d]	28/2		*Bangsia arcaei* Sclater & Salvin Thraupidae	F	1
chingé-[*purrú*][d]*=ingé [purrú]*	28/2		*Ramphocelus dimidiatus* Lafresnaye Thraupidae	ABCDEFHI	1
	28/12		*Habia rubica* Vieillot Cardinalidae	ADGHI	5
	28/13		*Habia fuscicauda* Cabanis Cardinalidae	ADI	3
	28/11		*Piranga leucoptera* Trudeau Cardinalidae	AI	2
	28/3		*Tangara palmeri* Hellmayr Thraupidae	H	1
	28/8			D	1
	28/10		*Piranga bidentata* Swainson Cardinalidae	C	1
	28/14		*Habia carmioli* Lawrence Cardinalidae	I	1
chĩmpáwi	30/15	Sparrow	*Arremon aurantiirostris* Lafresnaye Passerellidae	D	1
chipauwará[d]	24/5	Peppershrike	*Cyclarhis gujanensis* Gmelin Vireonidae	E	1
chitrré-chitrré	14/4	Xenops	*Xenops minutus* Sparrman Furnariidae	G	1
chombʌ	1/23	Heron	*Ardea cocoi* Linnaeus Ardeidae	D	1

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garsasp-[*waibʹʌa*][d]	1/24			EFHI	4
chorĩho	1/5	Crake	*Hapalocrex flaviventer* Boddaert Rallidae	C	1
chuchu	16/6	Antbird	*Phaenostictus mcleannani* Lawrence Thamnophilidae	D	1
dĩrĩrĩ[v]	11/4	Barbet	*Capito maculicoronatus* Lawrence Ramphastidae	CDG	3
	16/8	Toucan	*Corapipo altera* Hellmayr Pipridae	G	1
dó-bata[d]	10/11	Kingfisher	*Chloroceryle americana* Gmelin Alcedinidae	DG	2
dõ-hẽhẽ[d]	1/12	Jacana	*Jacana jacana* Linnaeus Jacanidae	AEFGI	5
	1/11		*Jacana spinosa* Linnaeus Jacanidae	AEFI	4
do-kʌmámia[d]	1/3	Crake	*Amaurolimnas concolor* Gosse Rallidae	C	1
do-kʌmbarrá[d]	19/all	Sirystes Flycatcher	*Sirystes* sp. Cabanis & Heine Tyrannidae *Myiodynastes* sp. Bonaparte Tyrannidae *Legatus* sp. Sclater Tyrannidae *Tyrannus* sp. Lacépède Tyrannidae *Myiozetetes* sp. Sclater Tyrannidae *Conopias* sp. Cabanis & Heine Tyrannidae *Megarynchus* sp. Thunberg Tyrannidae *Pitangus* sp. Swainson Tyrannidae	A	1
do-lé	11/11	Jay	*Cyanolyca argentigula* Lawrence Corvidae	C	1
	11/12		*Cyanolyca cucullata* Ridgway Corvidae	C	1
dundún	1/11	Jacana	*Jacana spinosa* Linnaeus Jacanidae	CE	2
	1/12		*Jacana jacana* Linnaeus Jacanidae	CE	2
	16/10	Ant thrush	*Formicarius analis* d'Orbigny & Lafresnaye Formicariidae	AB	2
	1/20	Tinamou	*Tinamus major* Gmelin Tinamidae	C	1
	16/8	Antpitta	*Pittasoma michleri* Cassin Conopophagidae	A	1
	24/2	Gnatcatcher	*Polioptila schistaceigula* Hartert Polioptilidae	D	1
imbaná[d]	all	Bird		ABCDEFGHI	9
	28/8	Tanager	*Ramphocelus passerinii* Bonaparte Thraupidae	G	1
imbichú[v]	7/all	Hummingbird	*Klais* sp. Reichenbach Trochilidae *Goldmania* sp. Nelson Trochilidae	ABCDEFGHI	9

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	Hylocharis sp. Boie Trochilidae *Lepidopyga* sp. Reichenbach Trochilidae *Thalurania* sp. Gould Trochilidae *Chlorostilbon* sp. Gould Trochilidae *Florisuga* sp. Bonaparte Trochilidae *Phaeochroa* sp. Gould Trochilidae *Amazilia* sp. Lesson Trochilidae *Damophila* sp. Reichenbach Trochilidae *Chalybura* sp. Reichenbach Trochilidae *Heliothryx* sp. Boie Trochilidae *Anthracothorax* sp. Boie Trochilidae *Lophornis* sp. Lesson Trochilidae *Microchera* sp. Gould Trochilidae *Heliomaster* sp. Bonaparte Trochilidae *Doryfera* sp. Gould Trochilidae *Discosura* sp. Bonaparte Trochilidae *Heliodoxa* sp. Gould Trochilidae *Colibri* sp. Spix Trochilidae *Phaethornis* sp. Swainson Trochilidae *Threnetes* sp. Gould Trochilidae *Glaucis* sp. Boie Trochilidae		
8/1-13	*Selasphorus* sp. Swainson Trochilidae *Calliphlox* sp. Lawrence Trochilidae *Lampornis* sp. Swainson Trochilidae *Lophornis* sp. Lesson Trochilidae *Panterpe* sp. Cabanis & Heine Trochilidae *Eupherusa* sp. Gould Trochilidae *Campylopterus* sp. Swainson Trochilidae *Colibri* sp. Spix Trochilidae *Elvira* sp. Mulsant, Verreaux, & Verreaux Trochilidae	ACDEFG	6

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	32/16	Jacamar	*Brachygalba salmoni* Sclater & Salvin Galbulidae	BH	2
	7/15	Hummingbird	*Heliothryx barroti* Bourcier Trochilidae	B	1
	13/17	Scythebill	*Campylorhamphus trochilirostris* Lichtenstein Dendrocolaptidae	H	1
ingé-purrú[d]	24/12	Greenlet	*Hylophilus aurantiifrons* Lawrence Vireonidae	D	1
jaragú-birábirá	8/14-22	Foliage-gleaner	*Syndactyla* sp. Reichenbach Furnariidae	D	1
		Spinetail	*Cranioleuca* sp. Reichenbach Furnariidae		
		Foliage-gleaner	*Philydor* sp. Spix Furnariidae		
		Leaftosser	*Sclerurus* sp. Swainson Furnariidae		
		Foliage-gleaner	Lafresnaye Furnariidae		
		Treerunner	*Margarornis* sp. Reichenbach Furnariidae		
		Treehunter	*Thripadectes* sp. Sclater Furnariidae		
		Tuftedcheek	*Pseudocolaptes* sp. Reichenbach Furnariidae		
		Barbtail	*Premnoplex* sp. Cherrie Furnariidae		
jarú	9/1	Quetzal	*Pharomachrus mocinno* Llave Trogonidae	H	1
	9/3	Trogon	*Trogon melanurus* Swainson Trogonidae	H	1
	9/4	Trogon	*Trogon massena* Gould Trogonidae	H	1
jarugú[v]	10/5	Jacamar	*Galbula ruficauda* Cuvier Galbulidae	CEG	3
	32/16		*Brachygalba salmoni* Sclater & Salvin Galbulidae	CDG	3
	10/6		*Jacamerops aurea* Muller Galbulidae	EG	2
	10/8	Kingfisher	*Chloroceryle aenea* Pallas Alcedinidae	G	1
jarugú-chikuará[d]	9/10	Trogon	*Trogon viridis* Linnaeus Trogonidae	H	1
	9/11		*Trogon violaceus* Gmelin Trogonidae	H	1
jĩõjĩõ	14/9	Leaftosser	*Sclerurus mexicanus* Sclater Scleruridae	G	1
jiújiú	15/2	Antivireo	*Dysithamnus mentalis* Temminck Thamnophilidae	C	1
jʌdʌ	10/2	Motmot	*Baryphthengus martii* von Spix Momotidae	ABCDEFGHI	9
	10/1		*Electron platyrhynchum* Leadbeater Momotidae	ABCDEFHI	8
	10/4		*Hylomanes momotula* Lichtenstein Momotidae	ACEFHI	6
	10/3		*Momotus momota* Linnaeus Momotidae	ADFHI	5
	10/5	Jacamar	*Galbula ruficauda* Cuvier Galbulidae	A	1
	10/6		*Jacamerops aurea* Muller Galbulidae	A	1

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	6/14	Cuckoo	*Neomorphus geoffroyi* Temminck Cuculidae	H	1
jʌdʌ-*zaké*[d]	10/4	Motmot	*Hylomanes momotula* Lichtenstein Momotidae	BD	2
jʌdʌ-pauwará[d]	10/3	Motmot	*Momotus momota* Linnaeus Momotidae	G	1
jojó	9/2-11	Quetzal	*Pharomachrus* sp. Llave Trogonidae	DI	2
		Trogon	*Trogon* sp. Brisson Trogonidae		
			Trogon viridis Linnaeus Trogonidae	CG	2
			Trogon violaceus Gmelin Trogonidae	CG	2
			Trogon collaris Vieillot Trogonidae	B	1
			Trogon aurantiiventris Gould Trogonidae	B	1
			Trogon rufus Gmelin Trogonidae	G	1
			Trogon bairdii Lawrence Trogonidae	C	1
		Grosbeak	*Saltator grossus* Linnaeus Thraupidae	H	1
jorójoró	14/14		*Taraba major* Vieillot Thamnophilidae	ABCDEGHI	8
	14/all	Spinetail	*Synallaxis* sp. Vieillot Furnariidae	AH	2
			Cranioleuca sp. Reichenbach Furnariidae		
		Xenops	*Xenops* sp. Illiger Furnariidae		
		Foliage-gleaner	*Automolus* sp. Reichenbach Furnariidae		
			Philydor sp. Spix Furnariidae		
			Automolus sp. Reichenbach Furnariidae		
		Leaftosser	*Sclerurus* sp. Swainson Furnariidae		
		Antshrike	*Thamnistes* sp. Sclater & Salvin Thamnophilidae		
			Thamnophilus sp. Vieillot Thamnophilidae		
			Taraba sp. Lesson Thamnophilidae		
			Cymbilaimus sp. Gray Thamnophilidae		
	8/14-22	Foliage-gleaner	*Syndactyla* sp. Reichenbach Furnariidae	FH	2
		Spinetail	*Cranioleuca* sp. Reichenbach Furnariidae		
		Foliage-gleaner	*Philydor* sp. Spix Furnariidae		
		Leaftosser	*Sclerurus* sp. Swainson Furnariidae		
		Foliage-gleaner	Lafresnaye Furnariidae		
		Treerunner	*Margarornis* sp. Reichenbach Furnariidae		

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		Treehunter	*Thripadectes* sp. Sclater Furnariidae		
		Tuftedcheek	*Pseudocolaptes* sp. Reichenbach Furnariidae		
		Barbtail	*Premnoplex* sp. Cherrie Furnariidae		
	11/1	Puffbird	*Malacoptila panamensis* Lafresnaye Bucconidae	EH	2
	11/1-5		*Malacoptila* sp. Gray Bucconidae	E	1
		Nunlet	*Nonnula* sp. Sclater Bucconidae		
		Barbet	*Eubucco* sp. Bonaparte Capitonidae		
			Capito sp. Viellot Capitonidae		
			Semnornis sp. Richmond Semnornithidae		
	22/1	Wren	*Cantorchilus modestus* Cabanis Troglodytidae	F	1
	22/2		*Cantorchilus leucotis* Lafresnaye Troglodytidae	F	1
juámia	28/10	Tanager	*Piranga bidentata* Swainson Cardinalidae	H	1
juángoro	14/13	Antshrike	*Thamnophilus punctatus* Shaw Thamnophilidae	G	1
	22/1	Wren	*Cantorchilus modestus* Cabanis Troglodytidae	G	1
	22/2		*Cantorchilus leucotis* Lafresnaye Troglodytidae	G	1
juápipi {*nẽjõmbʌ*}	3/3	Hawk	*Buteogallus urubitinga* Gmelin Accipitridae	EGI	3
	3/all		*Buteo* sp. Lacépède Accipitridae	C	1
			Leucopternis sp. Kaup Accipitridae		
			Buteogallus sp. Lesson Accipitridae		
		Hawk□eagle	*Spizaetus* sp. Vieillot Accipitridae		
		Caracara	*Daptrius* sp. Vieillot Falconidae		
		Hawk	*Geranospiza* sp. Kaup Accipitridae		
		Caracara	*Milvago* sp. Spix Falconidae		
			Caracara sp. Merrem Falconidae		
		Hawk	*Buteogallus* sp. Latham Accipitridae		
			Busarellus sp. Lesson Accipitridae		
	3/2		*Morphnarchus princeps* Sclater Accipitridae	C	1
	3/4		*Buteogallus anthracinus* Deppe Accipitridae	C	1
	3/5	Hawk-eagle	*Spizaetus ornatus* Daudin Accipitridae	E	1
	3/10	Hawk	*Buteogallus meridionalis* Latham Accipitridae	E	1
	2/1	Falcon	*Falco rufigularis* Daudin Falconidae	H	1

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juápipi-chipurru[d]	3/10	Hawk		I	1
	3/11		*Busarellus nigricollis* Latham Accipitridae	I	1
juejué {*nẽjómbĩ*}	2/4		*Rupornis magnirostris* Gmelin Accipitridae	BI	2
	3/1		*Buteo nitidus* Latham Accipitridae	AC	2
	2/1	Falcon	*Falco rufigularis* Daudin Falconidae	F	1
	2/2	Hawk	*Cryptoleucopteryx plumbea* Salvin Accipitridae	B	1
	2/3		*Leucopternis semiplumbea* Lawrence Accipitridae	B	1
	2/7	Falcon	*Micrastur ruficollis* Vieillot Falconidae	H	1
juémiájo[v]	3/5	Hawk-eagle	*Spizaetus ornatus* Daudin Accipitridae	CG	2
	2/8	Hawk	*Accipiter superciliosus* Linnaeus Accipitridae	C	1
jurá-jurá	15/10	Antbird	*Cercomacra tyrannina* Sclater Thamnophilidae	C	1
	16/10	Antthrush	*Formicarius analis* d'Orbigny & Lafresnaye Formicariidae	G	1
káikate	1/27	Heron	*Tigrisoma lineatum* Boddaert Ardeidae	B	1
	16/7	Antpitta	*Hylopezus perspicillatus* Lawrence Grallariidae	H	1
karé	5/11	Amazon	*Amazona farinosa* Boddaert Psittacidae	CDEFGI	6
	5/10		*Amazona autumnalis* Linnaeus Psittacidae	CDGI	4
	5/12		*Amazona ochrocephala* Gmelin Psittacidae	CDGI	4
[*karé*] *chijué*	5/10			ABCDEFH	7
karé-pa[d]	5/12			CEGH	4
karé-ará=karézromad	5/11			BC	2
	5/12			B	1
karé chiboró kuará	5/12			E	1
kekerré-[*pa*]	5/2	Parakeet	*Bolborhynchus lineola* Cassin Psittacidae	ABCDEFGHI	9
	5/3		*Brotogeris jugularis* Muller Psittacidae	ABCEFGHI	8
	5/12	Amazon	*Amazona ochrocephala* Gmelin Psittacidae	C	1
	30/14	Sparrow	*Arremonops conirostris* Bonaparte Passerellidae	E	1
kewará	11/8	Toucan	*Ramphastos swainsonii* Gould Ramphastidae	ACEFH	5
	11/7	Toucanet	*Selenidera spectabilis* Cassin Ramphastidae	AE	2
	11/6		*Aulacorhynchus prasinus* Gould Ramphastidae	A	1
	11/9	Toucan	*Ramphastos sulfuratus* Lesson Ramphastidae	D	1
kewará-ará	11/8			B	1

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[kewará]-chikeré[o][v]*=chipá*	11/9			ACEFI	5
kewará-idziará[d]	11/8			DI	2
kewará-pá	11/9			BH	2
	11/6	Toucanet		E	1
kewará-zromá[d]	11/8	Toucan		G	1
kewétaka[v]	5/9	Parrot	*Pionopsitta haematotis* Sclater & Salvin Psittacidae	ACDEFGHI	8
kidá-dada[d]	6/14	Cuckoo	*Neomorphus geoffroyi* Temminck Cuculidae	CDEGI	5
	17/3	Manakin	*Ceratopipra erythrocephala* Linnaeus Pipridae	E	1
	20/14	Flycatcher	*Onychorhynchus mexicanus* Sclater Onychorhynchidae	G	1
kidá-pichumá[d]	30/15	Sparrow	*Arremon aurantiirostris* Lafresnaye Passerellidae	CG	2
kirókiró {*kumbarrá*}	26/6	Cacique	*Cacicus uropygialis* Lafresnaye Icteridae	EH	2
	26/7		*Cacicus cela* Linnaeus Icteridae	DH	2
kokarrá	1/17	Quail	*Odontophorus gujanensis* Gmelin Odontophoridae	ABCEFGH	7
	1/13		*Odontophorus erythrops* Gould Odontophoridae	ACEF	4
	1/14		*Odontophorus leucolaemus* Salvin Odontophoridae	ACEF	4
	1/15		*Odontophorus dialeucos* Wetmore Odontophoridae	AC	2
	1/16		*Odontophorus guttatus* Gould Odontophoridae	AC	2
kotedé[v]	1/7	Rail	*Aramides cajaneus* Muller Rallidae	BCDEFGI	7
	1/8		*Aramides axillaris* Lawrence Rallidae	ACDEI	1
	1/1	Crake	*Neocrex columbianus* Bangs Rallidae	A	1
	1/2	Rail	*Pardirallus maculatus* Boddaert Rallidae	A	1
	1/3	Crake	*Amaurolimnas concolor* Gosse Rallidae	A	1
	1/4		*Laterallus exilis* Temminck Rallidae	A	1
	1/5		*Hapalocrex flaviventer* Boddaert Rallidae	A	1
	1/6		*Laterallus albigularis* Lawrence Rallidae	A	1
	1/10	Sungrebe	*Heliornis fulica* Boddaert Heliornithidae	F	1
kotedé-zaké[d]	1/8	Rail		B	1
kué-dzedzémia[d]	22/7	Wren	*Pheugopedius rutilus* Vieillot Troglodytidae	B	1
	32/17		*Cantorchilus leucopogon* Salvadori & Festa Troglodytidae	F	1
kué-dzímia[d]	15/4	Antwren	*Myrmotherula surinamensis* Gmelin Thamnophilidae	H	1
kué-trʌmiá[d]	22/10	Wren	*Henicorhina leucosticta* Cabanis Troglodytidae	C	1
	22/11		*Henicorhina leucophrys* Tschudi Troglodytidae	C	1

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kumbarrá[v]	26/11	Oropendola	*Psarocolius decumanus* Pallas Icteridae	BDEH	4
	26/9		*Psarocolius guatimozinus* Bonaparte Icteridae	FG	2
	26/10		*Psarocolius montezuma* Lesson Icteridae	FG	2
	26/6	Cacique	*Cacicus uropygialis* Lafresnaye Icteridae	E	1
	26/7		*Cacicus cela* Linnaeus Icteridae	E	1
	15/12	Antbird	*Gymnocichla nudiceps* Cassin Thamnophilidae	H	1
kumbarrá-chikidá-torró[d]	26/8	Oropendola	*Zarhynchus wagleri* Gray Icteridae	A	1
	26/11			A	1
kumbarrá-chikidá-purrú[d]	26/9			AI	2
	26/10			AI	2
kumbarrá-droma[d]	26/10			BCD	3
	26/9			B	1
	26/11			E	1
makuá-pá[d]	11/1	Puffbird	*Malacoptila panamensis* Lafresnaye Bucconidae	C	1
michitá	5/8	Parrot	*Pionus menstruus* Linnaeus Psittacidae	ABCDEFGHI	9
nẽjõmbʌ	2-3/all	Falcon	*Falco* sp. Linnaeus Falconidae	ABCDEFGHI	9
		Hawk	*Leucopternis* sp. Kaup Accipitridae		
			Buteo sp. Lacépède Accipitridae		
		Falcon	*Micrastur* sp. Gray Falconidae		
		Hawk	*Accipiter* sp. Brisson Accipitridae		
		Kite	*Leptodon* sp. Sundevall Acciptridae		
			Chondrohierax sp. Lesson Accipitridae		
			Harpagus sp. Vigors Accipitridae		
		Hawk	*Buteogallus* sp. *Lesson Accipitridae*		
		Hawk-eagle	*Spizaetus* sp. Vieillot Accipitridae		
		Caracara	*Daptrius* sp. Vieillot Falconidae		
		Hawk	*Geranospiza* sp. Kaup Accipitridae		
		Caracara	*Milvago* sp. Spix Falconidae		
			Caracara sp. Merrem Falconidae		
		Hawk	*Buteogallus* sp. Latham Accipitridae		
			Busarellus sp. Lesson Accipitridae		

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nűrĩ	1/9	Sunbittern	*Eurypyga helias* Pallas Eurypygidae	ABCDEFGHI	9
	1/10	Sungrebe	*Heliornis fulica Boddaert Heliornithidae*	ACI	3
ojíji	26/7	Cacique	*Cacicus cela* Linnaeus Icteridae	G	1
ókoko {pʌichĩra}	4/2	Pigeon	*Patagioenas speciosa* Gmelin Columbidae	C	1
õõko	1/28	Heron	*Tigrisoma mexicanum* Swainson Ardeidae	CDEHI	6
	1/27		*Tigrisoma lineatum* Boddaert Ardeidae	CDI	3
	1/29		*Tigrisoma fasciatum* Such Ardeidae	DI	2
	1/24		*Agamia agami* Gmelin Ardeidae	DG	2
	1/23		*Ardea cocoi* Linnaeus Ardeidae	G	1
orránia	1/23		*Ardea cocoi* Linnaeus Ardeidae	H	1
parrú^{v}	6/8	Owl	*Lophostrix cristata* Daudin Strigidae	ACG	3
	6/1		*Megascops clarkii* Kelso & Kelso Strigidae	DI	2
	6/2		*Megascops choliba* Vieillot Strigidae	DI	2
	6/3		*Megascops guatemalae* Sharpe Strigidae	DI	2
	6/4		*Ciccaba virgata* Cassin Strigidae	D	1
	6/5		*Ciccaba nigrolineata* Sclater Strigidae	D	1
	6/6		*Asio clamator* Vieillot Strigidae	C	1
{nẽjõmbʌ}	3/5	Hawk-eagle	*Spizaetus ornatus* Daudin Accipitridae	E	1
patrá	11/6	Toucanet	*Aulacorhynchus prasinus* Gould Ramphastidae	DG	2
patú	1/10	Sungrebe	*Heliornis fulica Boddaert Heliornithidae*	E	1
pipidí	19/5	Kingbird	*Tyrannus melancholicus* Vieillot Tyrannidae	EGI	3
	19/all	Sirystes	*Sirystes* sp. Cabanis & Heine Tyrannidae	FH	2
		Flycatcher	*Myiodynastes* sp. Bonaparte Tyrannidae		
			Legatus sp. Sclater Tyrannidae		
		Kingbird	*Tyrannus* sp. Lacépède Tyrannidae		
		Flycatcher	*Myiozetetes* sp. Sclater Tyrannidae		
			Conopias sp. Cabanis & Heine Tyrannidae		
			Megarynchus sp. Thunberg Tyrannidae		
		Kiskadee	*Pitangus* sp. Swainson Tyrannidae		
	19/6	Flycatcher	*Myiozetetes granadensis* Lawrence Tyrannidae	GI	2
	19/7		*Conopias parvus von Pelzeln Tyrannidae*	GI	2

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	19/8		*Myiozetetes similis* Spix Tyrannidae	GI	2
	19/3		*Myiodynastes maculatus* Muller Tyrannidae	H	1
	20/all		*Myiobius* sp. Darwin Tityridae	D	1
			Tolmomyias sp. Hellmayr Tyrannidae		
		Elaenia	*Myiopagis* sp. Salvin & Godman Tyrannidae		
		Pewee	*Contopus* sp. Cabanis Tyrannidae		
		Elaenia	*Elaenia* sp. Sundevall Tyrannidae		
		Flycatcher	*Sublegatus* sp. Sclater & Salvin Tyrannidae		
			Myiarchus sp. Cabanis Tyrannidae		
			Onychorhynchus sp. Waldheim Onychorhynchidae		
			Cnipodectes sp. Sclater & Salvin Tyrannidae		
			Mionectes sp. Cabanis Tyrannidae		
		Flatbill	*Rhynchocyclus* sp. Cabanis & Heine Tyrannidae		
pʌwʌ	9/all	Quetzal	*Pharomachrus* sp. Llave Trogonidae	G	1
		Trogon	*Trogon* sp. Brisson Trogonidae		
	9/3		*Trogon melanurus* Swainson Trogonidae	G	1
	9/4		*Trogon massena* Gould Trogonidae	G	1
põrá	1/13	Quail	*Odontophorus erythrops* Gould Odontophoridae	D	1
	1/14		*Odontophorus leucolaemus* Salvin Odontophoridae	D	1
	1/15		*Odontophorus dialeucos* Wetmore Odontophoridae	D	1
	1/16		*Odontophorus guttatus* Gould Odontophoridae	D	1
	1/17		*Odontophorus gujanensis* Gmelin Odontophoridae	D	1
	1/18		*Rhynchortyx cinctus* Salvin Odontophoridae	D	1
poróporó	1/13		*Odontophorus erythrops* Gould Odontophoridae	I	1
	1/14		*Odontophorus leucolaemus* Salvin Odontophoridae	I	1
	1/17		*Odontophorus gujanensis* Gmelin Odontophoridae	I	1
pʌchʌra	4/all	Pigeon	*Columba* sp. Linnaeus Columbidae	ABCDG	5
		Dove	*Claravis* sp. Oberholser Columbidae		
			Columbina sp. Spix Columbidae		
			Leptotila sp. Swainson Columbidae		
			Geotrygon sp. Gosse Columbidae		

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	4/10	Dove	*Leptotila verreauxi Bonaparte Columbidae*	BDGHI	5
	4/9		*Leptotila cassinii* Lawrence Columbidae	BGHI	4
	4/8		*Leptotila plumbeiceps* Sclater & Salvin Columbidae	HI	2
	4/3	Pigeon	*Patagioenas cayennensis* Bonnaterre Columbidae	C	1
	4/4		*Patagioenas nigrirostris Sclater Columbidae*	C	1
	4/5	Dove	*Claravis mondetoura* Bonaparte Columbidae	C	1
	4/15		*Geotrygon lawrencii* Salvin Columbidae	C	1
	4/16		*Geotrygon costaricensis* Lawrence Columbidae	C	1
	4/17		*Geotrygon veraguensis* Lawrence Columbidae	C	1
pʌchĩra-[*toro*][d]	4/6		*Columbina minuta* Linnaeus Columbidae	BE	2
pʌchĩra-eyádebéma[d]	4/12		*Geotrygon montana Linnaeus Columbidae*	C	1
putuhú {*pʌchĩra*}	4/6	Dove	*Columbina minuta* Linnaeus Columbidae	DI	2
	4/all	Pigeon	*Columba* sp. Linnaeus Columbidae	H	1
		Dove	*Claravis* sp. Oberholser Columbidae		
			Columbina sp. Spix Columbidae		
			Leptotila sp. Swainson Columbidae		
			Geotrygon sp. Gosse Columbidae		
	4/5		*Claravis mondetoura* Bonaparte Columbidae	H	1
	4/8		*Leptotila plumbeiceps* Sclater & Salvin Columbidae	E	1
	4/9		*Leptotila cassinii* Lawrence Columbidae	E	1
	4/10		*Leptotila verreauxi Bonaparte Columbidae*	E	1
pʌtʌhʌ-[*zaké*][d]*-*[*purru*][d]	4/7		*Columbina talpacoti* Temminck Columbidae	BCEF	4
pʌtʌhʌ-chipauwará[d]	4/11		*Claravis pretiosa* Ferrari-Pérez Columbidae	CI	2
rrío	11/7	Toucanet	*Selenidera spectabilis* Cassin Ramphastidae	G	1
semí	26/16	Cowbird	*Molothrus oryzivorus* Gmelin Icteridae	BFG	3
serrémia	22/all	Wren	*Thryothorus* sp. Vieillot Troglodytidae	D	1
			Troglodytes sp. Vieillot Troglodytidae		
			Thryorchilus sp. Oberholser Troglodytidae		
			Henicorhina sp. Sclater & Salvin Troglodytidae		
			Microcerculus sp. Salvin Troglodytidae		
			Cyporhinus sp. Cabanis Troglodytidae		

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			Campylorhynchus sp. Spix Troglodytidae		
	22/17		*Campylorhynchus albobrunneus* Lawrence Troglodytidae	D	1
	22/18		*Campylorhynchus zonatus* Lesson Troglodytidae	D	1
sokorró[v]	1/20	Tinamou	*Tinamus major* Gmelin Tinamidae	ABCDEFHI	8
	1/21		*Crypturellus soui* Hermann Tinamidae	ACG	3
	1/19		*Nothocercus bonapartei* Gray Tinamidae	C	1
sokorró-zaké[d]	1/21			BD	2
sordoró	13/16	Woodcreeper	*Xiphorhynchus lachrymosus* Lawrence Dendrocolaptidae	I	1
sorré[v]	12/all	Woodpecker	*Colaptes* sp. Vigors Picidae	ACDEFG	6
			Piculus sp. Spix Picidae		
			Melanerpes sp. Swainson Picidae		
			Dendrocopos sp. Koch Picidae		
			Veniliornis sp. Bonaparte Picidae		
			Celeus sp. Boie Picidae		
			Dryocopus sp. Boie Picidae		
			Campephilus Gray Picidae		
	12/6		*Melanerpes chrysauchen* Salvin Picidae	A	1
	6/14	Cuckoo	*Neomorphus geoffroyi* Temminck Cuculidae	A	1
sorré-dróma[vd]*=sorré wai-bʌad*	12/16		*Campephilus melanoleucos* Gmelin Picidae	CEFGHI	6
	12/15		*Dryocopus lineatus* Linnaeus Picidae	BFHI	4
	12/1		*Colaptes punctigula* Boddaert Picidae	B	1
	12/2		*Piculus simplex* Salvin Picidae	B	1
	12/3		*Piculus chrysochloros* Vieillot Picidae	B	1
	12/6		*Melanerpes chrysauchen* Salvin Picidae	B	1
	12/7		*Melanerpes pucherani* Malherbe Picidae	B	1
	12/8		*Melanerpes rubricapillus* Cabanis Picidae	B	1
	12/9		*Melanerpes formicivorus* Swainson Picidae	B	1
	12/14		*Celeus castaneus* Wagler Picidae	F	1
	12/17		*Campephilus guatemalensis* Hartlaub Picidae	G	1
	12/18		*Campephilus haematogaster* von Tschudi Picidae	G	1

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sorré-kaibéa[d]*=sorré-zaké*[d]	12/7			CFGI	4
	12/8			EGHI	4
	12/6			CGI	3
	12/9			I	1
	12/10		*Picoides villosus* Linnaeus Picidae	I	1
soríjojó	1/25	Heron	*Butorides striata* Linnaeus Ardeidae	A	1
suékoko[v]	13/18	Scythebill	*Campylorhamphus pusillus* Sclater Dendrocolaptidae	AC	2
	13/all	Piculet	*Picumnus* sp. Temminck Picidae	A	1
		Woodcreeper	*Dendrocincla* sp. Gray Furnariidae		
			Sittasomus sp. Swainson Furnariidae		
			Glyphorynchus sp. Wied-Neuwied Furnariidae		
			Lepidocolaptes sp. Reichenbach Furnariidae		
			Xiphorhynchus sp. Swainson Furnariidae		
			Deconychura sp. Cherrie Furnariidae		
		Scythebill	*Dendrocolaptes* sp. Hermann Furnariidae		
	13/17		*Campylorhamphus trochilirostris* Lichtenstein Dendrocolaptidae	C	1
{*sorré*}	12/13	Woodpecker	*Celeus loricatus* Reichenbach Picidae	C	1
	12/14		*Celeus castaneus* Wagler Picidae	C	1
tãtanú {*nẽjõmbĩ*}	3/6	Caracara	*Ibycter americanus* Boddaert Falconidae	C	1
tedéjombʌ {*nẽjõmbĩ*}	2/1	Falcon	*Falco rufigularis* Daudin Falconidae	CI	2
	2/10	Kite	*Leptodon cayanensis* Latham Accipitridae	H	1
tiótió=chocho	11/13	Jay	*Cyanocoraz affinis von Pelzeln Corvidae*	ABCEGHI	7
tokó[v]	17/3	Manakin	*Ceratopipra erythrocephala* Linnaeus Pipridae	BCDHI	5
	17/2		*Ceratopipra mentalis* Sclater Pipridae	H	1
	17/5		*Manacus aurantiacus* Salvin Pipridae	C	1
	27/all	Chlorophonia	*Chlorophonia* sp. Bonaparte Fringillidae	C	1
		Euphonia	*Euphonia* sp. Desmarest Fringillidae		
		Tanager	*Tangara* sp. Brisson Thraupidae		
	27/2	Euphonia	*Euphonia minuta* Cabanis Fringillidae	C	1
	27/3		*Euphonia fulvicrissa* Sclater Fringillidae	C	1

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	28/all	Tanager	*Tangara* sp. Brisson Thraupidae	C	1
			Bangsia sp. Penard Thraupidae		
			Thraupis sp. Boie Thraupidae		
			Ramphocelus sp. Desmarest Thraupidae		
			Ramphocelus sp. *Desmarest Thraupidae*		
			Piranga sp. Viellot Cardinalidae		
			Habia sp. Blyth Cardinalidae		
			Chlorothraupis sp. Salvin & Godman Cardinalidae		
	28/2		*Bangsia arcaei* Sclater & Salvin Thraupidae	C	1
	28/3		*Tangara palmeri* Hellmayr Thraupidae	C	1
tokó-chiboró-kuará[d]	17/3	Manakin		G	1
tokó-chiboró-purrú[d]	17/2			G	1
tokó-paimá[d]	17/2			B	1
tríka	6/13	Cuckoo	*Piaya cayana* Linnaeus Cuculidae	CDEFGHI	7
	6/12		*Coccycua minuta* Vieillot Cuculidae	ADEI	4
	6/10		*Tapera naevia* Linnaeus Cuculidae	AI	2
	6/11		*Dromococcyx phasianellus* Spix Cuculidae	I	1
umá {*pʌchĩra*}	4/2	Pigeon	*Patagioenas speciosa* Gmelin Columbidae	ACDEHI	6
	4/4		*Patagioenas nigrirostris* Sclater Columbidae	BI	2
	4/3		*Patagioenas cayennensis* Bonnaterre Columbidae	B	1
wárra-jarámia[d]	13/6	Woodcreeper	*Glyphorhynchus spirurus* Vieillot Dendrocolaptidae	F	1
	19/5	Kingbird	*Tyrannus melancholicus* Vieillot Tyrannidae	B	1
	19/6	Flycatcher	*Myiozetetes granadensis* Lawrence Tyrannidae	B	1
	19/7		*Conopias parvus* Pelzeln Tyrannidae	B	1
	19/8		*Myiozetetes similis* Spix Tyrannidae	B	1
	20/all		*Myiobius* sp. Darwin Tityridae	H	1
			Tolmomyias sp. Hellmayr Tyrannidae		
		Elaenia	*Myiopagis* sp. Salvin & Godman Tyrannidae		
		Pewee	*Contopus* sp. Cabanis Tyrannidae		
		Elaenia	*Elaenia* sp. Sundevall Tyrannidae		
		Flycatcher	*Sublegatus* sp. Sclater & Salvin Tyrannidae		

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			Myiarchus sp. Cabanis Tyrannidae		
			Onychorhynchus sp. Waldheim Onychorhynchidae		
			Cnipodectes sp. Sclater & Salvin Tyrannidae		
			Mionectes sp. Cabanis Tyrannidae		
		Flatbill	*Rhynchocyclus* sp. Cabanis & Heine Tyrannidae		
widó-widó	14/12	Antshrike	*Thamnophilus doliatus* Linnaeus Thamnophilidae	C	1
	20/all	Flycatcher	*Myiobius* sp. Darwin Tityridae	F	1
			Tolmomyias sp. Hellmayr Tyrannidae		
		Elaenia	*Myiopagis* sp. Salvin & Godman Tyrannidae		
		Pewee	*Contopus* sp. Cabanis Tyrannidae		
		Elaenia	*Elaenia* sp. Sundevall Tyrannidae		
		Flycatcher	*Sublegatus* sp. Sclater & Salvin Tyrannidae		
			Myiarchus sp. Cabanis Tyrannidae		
			Onychorhynchus sp. Waldheim Onychorhynchidae		
			Cnipodectes sp. Sclater & Salvin Tyrannidae		
			Mionectes sp. Cabanis Tyrannidae		
		Flatbill	*Rhynchocyclus* sp. Cabanis & Heine Tyrannidae		
widó-widó-wẽra[d]	20/13		*Myiarchus panamensis* Lawrence Tyrannidae	C	1
wíto	11/2	Jay	*Nonnula frontalis* Sclater Bucconidae	I	1
yahehé	13/17	Scythebill	*Campylorhamphus trochilirostris* Lichtenstein Dendrocolaptidae	D	1

Appendix 2: Emberá Bird Folklore

These data were collected either in the context of elicitation sessions or upon sighting or hearing the bird in a natural context. The information gathered in elicitation session is indicated with an "EC" after the bird name and that gathered in natural contexts with an "NC." See Appendix 1 for the scientific identification of Emberá bird names appearing in the text. Note however, the text includes some Emberá examples that I was not able to translate into scientific taxonomic categories in the elicitation sessions. Where I have been able to identify these by other means, or know the common Spanish name, I list them below.

The data are organized alphabetically by Emberá name within three categories: A) birds used in magic, B) birds used as symbols in folktales, C) birds whose songs and calls contain messages for the Emberá. Again, I include them here in order to bring the connotative and metaphorical meanings associated with names to the attention of the analyst. In general, compared to processes of denotative reference that are the basis of taxonomic naming, symbolic processes involved in the folkloric use of bird names tend to rely more on behavioral and functional attributes of the birds and less on morphological attributes. This could reflect the operation of different kinds of semantic processes, or is perhaps principally due to the fact that most of the folkloric data was collected in natural context.

Birds Used in Magic

antumiá (Sp. *madre de agua*, mother of waters)[1] NC EC

> *Antumiá* is a malevolent spirit being of the night that Emberá conceptualize in various ways. It is most commonly associated with a clear, loud, whistling song composed of five long minor tones rising in pitch. (According to book descriptions, none of the birds identified in the elicitation sessions have this song. Interestingly, there was no consensus on any of the identifications.) The bird's eerie song comes out from the woods, is quite common and, in my experience, always evokes a strong reaction from Emberá listeners. I have been told that *antumiá* is a small black bird that is a messenger of the shaman (*jãĩmbanâ*). When shamans fight they send this bird out to kill. During the daytime it lives in the river, at night it walks around on land. However, not all Emberá associate the song with a bird, or any other natural being.

cuervo (crow) NC

> The crow's tail feathers were prescribed as treatment in a curing ceremony I attended for a little baby. The morning after the ceremony, a live crow was caught and its tail feathers were removed, then swept up and down over the child's body. Participants explained to me that this caused the baby to sweat profusely after which the sickness blew away.

dogowíru NC

> The *dogowíru* is called the "Devil's chicken." Examples of relevant instructions follow below.
>
> "If you catch it during Easter Week it brings good luck and money. You catch it on the night of Good Friday and take a walk on the beach. Then you pull out the tail feathers. The Devil will come up to you and in a deep, gruff voice demand, "Why have you killed my chicken? What do you want?" And, if your heart is strong, you say, "I want money," and the Devil will deliver it to you."

domiá and *chorihú* (2 kinds of sandpipers) Scolopacidae NC

> "*Dios dejo domiá muy puta* (Sp. God left *domiá* like a whore [God upset *domiá*])," says my informant, bumping and grinding his behind side to side, bending at first one knee then the other, mimicking the tail movements of this bird when it walks. "So," he says, "if your lover humiliates you by taking other lovers, take the tail feathers of *domiá* and, when your lover is sleeping, put them between the big and the second toe and move it up and down, in and out, chanting "*Auduobaya jumaraba nonia*" (Go with all). After that your lover will be compelled to have sex with dogs, animals, anything that walks."

makuá-pa and *bidó-koróchia* EC NC

> These birds are both used to do *makuá*, a magical practice that men and women do to attract individuals for various purposes. Most commonly, individuals do *makuá* to attract another person of the opposite sex. One can also do *makuá* to start up some business, like a store or canteen. It will then call people away from competitors. To do it, one makes a potion made of various ingredients, such as feathers of these birds. Another animal that can be used is a little arthropod (*coropipi*) that

lives on the riverine beaches and climbs into sand holes backwards. There are also plants called *makuá* that are usually scented sweetly. People may even use bottled perfume. Once the potion is made, it is put on while chanting some appropriate words. If a man is after a woman, when she walks by him while the magic is in effect, she cannot pass him by. This practice is not specific to Emberá. Indeed, I saw a sign for *makuá* in the market of Panama City.

sorré (woodpecker) EC NC

The woodpecker is essential to the magical acquisition of good axmanship. What you need to do first is get a hold of a large male *sorré*. This is the bird that can make a hole in a thick, hard tree by repeatedly hitting the same spot, fast and precisely with his beak. He will go and go. If the hole is not made at once he will keep going till he is finished. The first time I heard about this was in the course of observing the construction of a dugout canoe, a process in which there is no room for inexpert ax handlers. The trick, when starting the job, is to hit hard along a certain angle so the wood can be cut out in large blocks. To do the smooth finishing at the end, hit the sides with fine precision. Great strength and several people are required to sustain ax work for the long hours that stretch into weeks of canoe construction.

So you get a *sorré*, grate its beak and mix it with *jagua* (the blue black dye from *Genipa americana* L. Rubiaceae). Then paint it on your hands, quickly rubbing up and down first one then the other, while repeatedly chanting something to the effect of, "Leave me strong like you."

This magic is done when the moon is full, just rising on the horizon. It is done four times in a man's life, at no specific age.

"It can be done the first time as a boy," my informant says as he points to his six and eight year old sons. "But it can't be done more than four times because then you become too strong."

Too much strength is also no good. You can ruin a canoe like that. However, when a man uses this magic correctly, he is stronger and better at wielding an ax. If you put him side by side with the man who has not done it, the one with magic wins any contest of strength. He can finish taking out the innards of a log by noon.

When the *sorré* is making a hole his cry is, "Trrrrrrrrr-ke-ke-ke-ke," just like people when they are working. Whenever men are working hard with an ax or machete they cry out when the work gets most intense. There is a variation of this method in which the powdered beak of *sorré* is put in the bellybutton of male newborns.

Birds Used as Symbols in Folktales[2]

While traveling downriver one morning in the dry season on our way to a regional political meeting, my companions could not pass up the numerous female *opogá* (*Iguana iguana* L. Iguanidae) basking in the sun up on the branches of leafless *Cecropia* trees (*eborrô*). After they cut down the trees with machetes and tried to grab the iguanas as they fell into the river, capturing one and missing two, they decided to send someone back to the village to get a rifle. While we were waiting I was told all but two of the folktales that follow below. The ones about *kumbarrá* and *sorré* were told in other contexts.

angosó (vulture) NC

Dzoshua, a village elder, points up to the *angosó* flying high in the distance and says, "He's always looking for the dead."

His daughter Zelda interrupts, "That brings luck. Ask the *angosó* for luck while hunting because he likes dead animals."

Then Dzoshua tells this tale: "One day *angosó* finds a cow lying there in the forest. He walks around it, examining it carefully. He walks up to the head and looks in the eyes. Is it dead? He wonders. The eyes are closed. Yes, well, it must be dead. So he sticks his head in the cow's anus. Thinking the cow was dead, he sticks it in so far his beak comes out of the mouth end. But then, the cow tightens up his anus and *angosó* can't get out! It wasn't dead after all. Finally *angosó* manages to pull his head out, but he was left bald. And that's why *angosó* has no feathers on top."

ansabidá (kingfisher) NC

Getting impatient, Dzoshua walked over complaining how the iguanas (*opogâ*) always deceive man by getting away all the time. To make us all feel better he reminded us about the tale in which *ansabidá* deceives *opogá*:

Opogá asks *ansabidá*, "Could you warn me if any people come downriver? I want to lie out here in the sun and snooze on this tree for a while."

So *opogá* stayed sleeping on this tree. [Dzoshua mimes the iguana lying on the side of the tree trunk on the side away from the river.] When all of a sudden he spotted people in a canoe coming downriver! Realizing *ansabidá* had lied to him, he watched, staying very still, peeking carefully around the edge of the trunk.

And then the *cholo* (Indian) in the canoe calls, "*Opogá*! On the tree!"

"Oh shit!" says *opogá* and falls into the water.

And the Indian cries, "Get him! He's full of eggs!"

Then lunging for the *opogá*, he catches him and kills him.

Note that the inedible kingfishers, small and large, are some of the most common and noticeable birds on the river. Their rapid flight diagonally across the water can be seen at all seasons. Here is another tale in which the oropendola, probably *Psarocolius decumanus* Pallas Icteridae, which Ridgely (1976:306) mentions often nests in *Cecropia* trees, also tricks iguana. It was told to me while I watched Dzoshua constructing a canoe by the river's edge.

kumbarrá (kingfisher) NC

And then there is *kumbarrá*, the black bird with a red patch that cries out loudly as he falls from the sky towards the water. Poor *opogá* took fright, for he thought *kumbarrá* was falling into the river. But *kumbarrá* only laughed. He was only playing.

Still waiting on the beach, Dzoshua's daughter Zelda continued telling me folktales. The next one is as close to a creation story as I've heard from the Emberá. The heroes or, rather, anti-heroes, are woodpecker and the crowned lizard (*Basiliscus basiliscus* L. Corytophanidae). (*ochorró* in Emberá). Sometime before this I had learned that, like the woodpecker, the crowned lizard was an axman in ancient times when animals were people. He was in the middle of an ax swing when the world changed. The ax got fixed to the top of his head and because it is quite heavy, *ochorró* cannot run very far on water. Astonishing enough to a newcomer in the tropical forest, *Basiliscus* does really run across small streams.

sorré (woodpecker) NC

Zelda said, "And there was *sorré* and *ochorró*. They were stealing water from the *epave* tree [*Anacardium excelsum* Bertero & Balb. ex Kunth Anacardiaceae] and God knew it.

So God asks them, "Oh, by the way, where did you get that water from?"

Knowing full well where they got it, they kept their mouths shut. What could they say, after all? Then God got mad and made the *epave* tree burst open. [Zelda interrupted her telling to gesticulate animatedly, flinging her arms up into the air and stretching them in various directions.] Woosh, woosh, woosh, the water burst all over, making rivers and big lakes. Each branch (of the tree) became a river. And so *sorré* and *ochorró* stayed with their axes on their heads."

I include one last folktale here, told to me by Dzoshua in his house, to illustrate the use of bird imagery in the discussion of contemporary problems.

sokorró (tinamou) (*Tetrao major* Gmelin Tinamidae) NC

Dzoshua said, "Well you know how come we Indians never have any money? It's like this: "We *cholos* (Indians) grab the *sokorró* (our chicken) by the tail feathers and of course, what happens? The feathers pull out and the bird gets away. And the same with deer. We grab it by the tail and the tail breaks off. And the cow and the horse too. But no, not the *kampuniá* (non-Indian). The *kampuniá* grabs it by the hoof and it can't get away. Then he puts it away to breed so he can keep it. Like money. But the *cholo*? Thirty dollars, fifty dollars, one hundred dollars—eaten. [Dzoshua makes a hand to mouth movement.] But not the *kampuniá*: he's got one hundred dollars and suddenly he's got more."

Birds Whose Songs and Calls Contain Messages for the Emberá

bidó jarámia EC

This bird's name speaks for itself: "a being that tells of white-lipped peccary" (*Tayassu pecari* Link Tayassuidae). In other words, the appearance of this bird signals the proximity of one or more white-lipped peccaries, which are an important source of meat.

dogowíru (kind of nightjar) possibly *Nyctidromus albicollis* Gould Caprimulgidae NC

This crepuscular and nocturnal ground nester, whose name iconically mimics its song, advises when the new moon appears and when there is a

clear moon. They say it has a house of moonlight (*jedeko debema*). Through its oft repeated song this bird musically says, "*Estoy jodido. No tengo sabana* (I'm screwed. I have no sheet)."

Known as the Devil's chicken, the *dogowíru* is a magical counterpart of the Emberá's chicken, the edible tinamou known as *sokorró*.

During the elicitation sessions several people noted that the *dogowíru* was not among the birds illustrated in the plates. Because the bird's song is the most salient, culturally familiar aspect, this may mean that they do not recognize the bird's image among the nightjars, or alternatively, that the *dogowíru* is not a nightjar.

do-miá (kind of sandpiper) Scolopacidae NC

This is a little seabird that often frequents the rivers of Darién. Since ancient times the old people have known that, when they see this little bird walking along the riverbanks, the river will rise.

eteré umákira (rooster) *Gallus gallus domesticus* L. Phasianidae NC

When an *eteré umákira* (literally, "chicken of the male sex") crows, they say he is trumpeting in Spanish, "*Jesu Cristo nació* (Jesus Christ was born)."

A white rooster also symbolizes the character of Jesus in folktales in Central and South America more broadly.

jue jué EC

This bird's song tells of the presence of collared peccary (*Tayassu tajacu* L. Tayassuidae).

kué-dzedzémia EC

This bird, who is considered to be a rain being, advises of coming rain.

kué-trʌmia EC

The name literally means "being that tells of rain." The Emberá say that when a hard rain is going to fall this bird is happy. It dances and sings "*pi-pi*."

Kué-trʌmia is listed in appendix as a *chingé* of central importance.

serrémia EC

This bird may also be referred to as *wío wío*, which means "Good day" in Emberá. This is the happy sound it makes when it is going to rain.

suenrú (Sp. *corní*) NC

This is the little bird that tells time. It sounds at dawn, at 3:00 PM and again at 4:00 PM. The fact that *suenrú* sings at dawn and in the day is significant because it distinguishes this bird from the similar night song of the fearsome *antumiá*.

wáko (laughing falcon) *Herpetotheres cachinnans* L. Falconidae EC

This bird calls out in Spanish, "*Cafe con harina* (coffee and flour [dough cakes])." These foods are the preferred food for wakes and the bird's call signals that someone is about to die. This bird was identified from a black and white drawing in the same book that I used for the photo elicitations. Ridgely (1976:77) describes the species as having far-carrying calls, most often a loud, "Gua-co, gua-co." Note that if you pronounce this verbal rendition of the call it sounds almost identical as the Emberá name.

wárra-jarámia EC

This name literally means "being who tells of child." The Emberá say that when a woman becomes pregnant this bird tells them. When two birds are seen walking together and the male follows the female, the baby will be a girl. If the female follows the male, the baby will be a boy.

widó-widó EC

This bird advises you at the very beginning of pregnancy. Even if you deny being pregnant, this bird will tell.

References

Ridgely, R. 1976. *A Guide to the Birds of Panama.* Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.

Notes

[1]Widespread folklore of Mother of Waters originated in Africa. See for example Drewal 2008.

[2]Note that these tellings happened spontaneously in situ and I had no tape recorder. These versions are composed on the basis of rough notes. Analysis of the following tales are available in the context of ethnographic description and analysis. See Kane (1994/2004:66-82) for woodpecker tales and canoe-building. See Kane 1994/2004:23-5 for iguana hunting and vultures on the way to a political congress. For a creation story see Kane 1994/2004:20.