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PLANTS OF KIRIBATI: A LISTING AND ANALYSIS OF VERNACULAR NAMES

BY

R. R. THAMAN

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INTRODUCTION

This paper attempts to provide a comprehensive listing and analysis of Kiribati plant names, along with the corresponding Latin, English, and selected Pacific-island vernacular names for plant species with recognized Kiribati vernacular names. The study focuses on those species found on the 16 islands of the Kiribati group proper (known traditionally as Tungaru), with no attempt being made to include species which might be present on the other islands of Kiribati: Banaba (Ocean Island) to the west and the Line and Phoenix Islands to the east. A brief analysis of relevant past studies and the nature of the plants and their names is also included. The paper is based on a ten-day in-the-field inventory of Kiribati plant names and plant resources on the islands of Abemama and Tarawa in 1984, plus a four-week field study of the plants of Nauru in 1980-81, which included a study of the plants of the resident I Kiribati contract worker community. The findings of these studies were then emended in light of comparison and cross-checking with plant lists and plant names from pre-existing sources.

VALUE OF PLANT LISTS

Among the most valuable tools of botanists wishing to conduct field studies in a given locality would be a list of the Latin, or botanical, names of plants found there. Perhaps even more useful to the non-botanist, who is unfamiliar with botanical names, would be lists of local or indigenous vernacular names along with the corresponding Latin and common names. Such lists, can be arranged in alphabetical order by the local names, or with the local and botanical names indexed alphabetically.

Although indigenous peoples have little or no knowledge of the English and other common names of local plants, and virtually no knowledge of Latin binomials, they do have considerable, often immense knowledge of the local names, ecology, and cultural uses of their flora. Such knowledge is particulary common amongst older people in rural areas and constitutes an enormous often "dying" cultural and scientific resource, which if compiled in lists, and analyzed, could be of immense value to a wide range of users.

Highly trained botanists, for example, who wish to use local names to have local informants/assistants help them locate and collect given species or to survey and describe the species composition of given vegetation associations would find such lists invaluable. Ethnobotanists, anthropologists, plant geographers, ecologists, agricultural scientists and others untrained in systematic botany and plant taxonomy would find such lists almost a necessity, unless they can afford the countless hours and cost required to collect, preserve, and prepare herbarium specimens of unknown species for forwarding to a reputable plant taxonomist or herbarium. Plant lists, from a range of different island groups or related languages groups, would be particularly useful to linguistic anthropologists interested in glottochronology and prehistorians interested in Pacific island settlement chronologies. Government research organizations, planning agencies and overseas consultants and aid

*Department of Geography, University of the South Pacific, Suva, Fiji

missions would also find such lists of considerable value, as would tourists and other persons interested in the local flora and environment.

Lists of local plant names are also of considerable value as teaching resources to science, social science and even English or language teachers who wish to involve ther students in fieldwork or to focus their lessons on the local environment or culture, rather than on in-the-classroom textbook(usually from overseas) learning. The predominant emphasis on "white-collar western education has in effect often divorced students from a considerable body of their local language and their traditional cultural ecology. Although most "urbanized" island students often remain fluent in their mother tongue, many do not know the local names for the countless plants and animals that have mothered their cultures for millennia.

PREVIOUS STUDIES AND SOURCE MATERIALS

The most complete and detailed published materials on Kiribati plant names, which also include Latin and common names and descriptive material are: 1) Luomala's Ethnobotany of the Gilbert Islands (1953) published by the Bernice P. Bishop Museum; 2) Rene Catala's Report on the Gilbert Islands: Some Aspects of Human Ecology (1956), resulting from an ecological research project jointly supported by the Office de Scientifique and Technique d'Outre Mer (ORSTOM) and the South Pacific Commission (SPC), and published in the Atoll Research Bulletin, and 3) a limited issue (30 copies) typed publication, Some Plants of Kiribati: An Illustrated List (1982), with original colour photographs of individual plant species, by Overy, Polunin and Wimblett, and produced and distributed by the National Library and Archives, Tarawa.

Also of considerable value are the 426-page Gilbertese-English Dictionary (Te Tekitinari n Taetae ni Kiribati ma n Ingiriti), a translation by Sister Mary Oliva of a "Gilbertese-French Dictionary" compiled by Catholic priest Father E. Sabatier over a forty year period in collaboration with Father C. Ramuz(Sabatier and Oliva, 1971), and A Gilbertese-English Dictionary compiled by Reverend Hiram Bingham Jr. of the London Missionary Society in 1908(republished by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1953).

Other sources on Kiribati plant names include a typed list of 93 Kiribati plant names compiled in 1946 by an I Kiribati (indigenous inhabitant of Kiribati), Bauro Ratieta, and sent to the Bishop Museum in Honolulu by H.E. Maude, then Resident Commissioner of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony, and two collections of herbarium specimens, some with names, held by the Agricultural Division and The University of the South Pacific(USP) Atoll Research Unit(ARU) on Tarawa.

The main sources for correct Latin names, the presence or absence of given species and whether they are indigenous include: 1) Fosberg, Sachet and Oliver's "A Geographical Checklist of Micronesian Dicotyledonae" (1979), and "Geographical Checklist of Micronesian Pteridophyta and Gymnosperms" (1982), both published in Micronesica; 2) Fosberg and Sachet's "Gilbert Island Flora, Checklist" (1987); 3) Fosberg and Sachet's other publications on the flora of Micronesia; and 4) the works by Luomala (1953), Catala (1957), and Overy, Polunin and Wimblett (1982).

Other sources of interest include: 1) the Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition (Wilkes, 1845) and reports by the expedition's naturalist Charles Pickering (1876); a list of 23 plants prepared in 1884, eleven years after a visit to Kiribati, by a British official; and various smaller lists or mentions of species in accounts by other visitors to Kiribati (Luomala, 1953). Other studies which provide cross references include Moul's (1957) report "Some Aspects of the Flora of Onotoa Atoll, Gilbert Islands", Christophersen's (1927) Vegetation of Pacific Equatorial Islands, and Wester's "Checklist of the Vascular Plants of the Northern Line Islands", which although focusing on the Line

Islands of Kiribati, do give some information on the plants which are found in the atoll environment of the main Tungaru group. Small's (1972) book on Atoll Agriculture in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands also contains valuable lists of Latin and Kiribati names of useful cultivated and wild plants as well as weed species.

The most comprehensive of these previous studies is Luomala's who reviewed the available published and unpublished literature and previous plant lists, and conducted in-depth studies and collected 56 plant specimens on the island of Tabiteuea. The publication includes a 72-page list of Kiribati plant names, Latin names(when available), and extensive notes on what other sources had to say about each species, cultivar or name (Luomala, 1953: 50-121), as well as an analysis of previous studies and other aspects of Kiribati ethnobotany. The usefulness of her study is limited by the narrow geographical scope of the field study(Tabiteuea only) and the limited number of plant specimens collected.

Catala's (1956) study, although focusing on the more general aspects of human ecology and including sections on climate, soils, natural and cultural vegetation, marine resources, domestic animals, diet, handicrafts and cooperative societies, also includes in-depth notes on important cultivated plants, lists of plants used for food, construction and handicraft, drugs and medicines, ornamentation, compost, fibre, dyes and tanning agents, scenting coconut oil, and livestock feed, and a description of the vegetation and flora, which includes a 30-page list of plant species, most of which were basd on herbarium identification of specimens. Common and Kiribati names were provided when available.

The study by Overy, Polunin and Wimblett (1982) consists of descriptions, photos and, when available, Latin, English and Kiribati names for 145 plant species. Their analysis and aquisition of Kiribati names took advantage of previous works by Luomala (1953), Catala (1956), and Small (1972), as well as the dictionaries of Bingham and Sabatier, a number of unpublished works on Kiribati plants ethnobotany, medicinal plants, and plant names which were available in government departments and the National Library and Archives in Tarawa, plus the considerable local experience of Overy and Wimblett who have worked in Kiribati for many years with the National Library and Archives and Agricultural Division, respectively, and Dr Polunin who conducted an investigation of Kiribati medicinal plants for the World Health Organization (WHO).

The dictionaries compiled by Bingham and Oliva (1953) during the first decade of this century and by Sabatier (1971) over a forty year period up until the mid-1950s constitute rich sources and cross-checks on Kiribati plant names. Unfortunately Bingham's includes only three Latin names (Luomala, 1953:40) and, although many Latin binomials are provided along with Kiribati names by Sabatier, many are either incorrect, or, which is more often the case, misspelled (possibly due to lack of knowledge by the translator or to undetected typographical errors).

CURRENT STUDY

The present study is based on an in-depth study of available literature plus a ten-day intensive field study with I Kiribati informants on Abemama and North and South Tarawa, in August 1984. During this period the Latin and Kiribati names of all plant species found in urban and rural areas were recorded and listed alphabetically. These lists were then cross-checked, consolidated, emended, and augmented, both during and after the field study, using lists and names from previous studies. The Kiribati fieldwork was also augmented by findings from a four-week 1980-81 study in Nauru of the plants cultivated by I Kiribati contract workers in home gardens and food gardens and of the local plant names and species composition of Nauru's natural and cultural vegetation (Thaman, 1985; Thaman, et al. 1985; Manner, et al. 1984, 1985).

KIRIBATI PLANT NAMES

Table 1 shows the number of Kiribati plant names with no corresponding Latin name and the number of Kiribati names plus the corresponding Latin binomial(botanical identification) available from each of the four major published sources. These were augmented by other sources which provided some Kiribati names and their Latin or botanical names and which indicated the presence or absence of species, and were cross-checked with other plant listings, particularly Fosberg and Sachet (1979 and 1982) and St. John, 1973), to yeild the "Total" figures.

Of the just over 290 distinct vascular plant species reportedly present at some time in the main or Tungaru group of Kiribati, approximately 183, just under two-thirds seem to have local vernacular names. A listing of 110 species reportedly present at some time, but which seem to have no recognized Kiribati name can be found in the Appendix. Table 3 is the major list, in Kiribati alphabetical order(explained below) for those species which seem to have recognized vernacular names.

In addition to the 183 named species there were an additional eleven varieties, forms, subspecies or hybrids which were referred to by the same names, e.g. te aronga for all Acalypha amentacea subspecies and forms, te

Table 1. Number of vernacular Kiribati plant names and botanical identifications in major published sources and from the 1984 field study, and the total resulting from the consolidation of all studies (Note: the botanical identification of at least 12 species remain uncertain).

	Loumala 1953	Catala 1956	Sabatier 1971	Overy 1982	Thaman 1984	TOTAL
Kiribati Names	111	86	111	108	141	183
Kiribati Names and Botanical Name	69	84	78	104	138	170

orion, te bero, and te keibu for both botanical varieties of Nerium oleander, Ficus tinctoria, and Crinum asiaticum, respectively. Similarly , Te mai, te Kabiti n Tiana, te riti and te roti for Artocarpus alitilis x mariannenses, Brassica, Canna, and Hibiscus hybrids respectively.

Included as distinct "species", even though they are not distinct, are four distinct banana cultivars that were observed to be present in Kiribati. The reason for doing so is that the nomenclature for the genus Musa is confused, with most of the common seedless cultivars or clones being triploid crosses or genomes of the fertile species Musa acuminata Colla and M. balbisiana Colla, and not true species. The Latin binomials Musa sapientum L. and M. paradisiaca L. ssp. sapientum are commonly for the the taller bananas, which are generally eaten ripe, but which are also cooked throughout the Pacific as starchy staples, and M. paradisiaca for the starchier bananas or plantains, which are usually eaten cooked a a staple starch, but occasionally eaten as ripe fruit. The nomenclature most widely used by agronomists is the "genome nomenclature"developed by Simmonds, which classifies all cultivars or

clones on the basis of their assumed genetic background, eg. Musa ABB Group would be a triploid cross of one M. acuminata group and two M. balbisiana groups(Purseglove, 1975:343-355; Firman, 1972). Both nomenclature systems are presented, when available, to more precisely identify the clones that are currently present in Kiribati.

Among the 183 distinct species, the same Kiribati name is commonly applied to similar species. For example te bingibing applies to both native species Thespesia populnea and probably Hernandia nymphaeaefolia and te boi to the indigenous species Portulaca lutea and Sesuvium portalucastrum, as well as to the exotic P. oleracea.

Te kaura applies to Sida fallax, as well as to Abutilon indicum (= A. asiaticum var. albescena for Gilbert Island records) and Wollastonia biflora, and te keang to the ferns Phymatodes scolopendria and Nephrolepis hirsutula, as well as to the aquatic plant, Thalassa humprichii. Te kitoko applies to both Canavalia cathartica and Vigna marina, and te ruku to the indigenous Ipomoea littoralis, I. macrantha, I. pes-caprae, and, at times, even to the recently introduced food plant I. aquatica. Te tarai is applied to the indigenous Euphorbia chamissonis, as well as to as many as five recently introduced exotic weedy Euphorbia species, whereas te titania refers to at least two Cyperus sedge species; te tongo refers to both Bruguiera gymnorhiza and Rhizophora mucronata, although te buangi, either alone, or as te tongo buangi, is commonly used to differentiate the former, and te wao refers to both Boerhavia repens and B. tetrandra.

Te uteute is the generic name for almost all grasses, which I Kiribati differentiate from sedges, which have distinctive names such as te maunei, te ritanin, te titania, and te mumute. Only three grass species are commonly differentiated by name, these being two native grasses (ed. note- E. Amabilis is doubtfully native. Fimbristylis is a sedge rather than a grass)te uteute n aine (Eragrostis amabilis) and te uteute ni mane (Fimbristylis cymosa) which mean female and male grass, respectively. The sand burr is always referred to by the descriptive term te kateketeke(thorn), and Luomala reports that Eleusine indica is sometimes referred to as te uteute na banabana(hollow grass). The other grasses, including at least three apparently indigenous species Digitaria setigera, Lepturus repens, Paspalum distichum, Stenotaphrum micranthum, and Thuarea involuta are referred to merely as te uteute.

Among the decorative or ornamental species, te akanta, te iaro, and te meria are applied to all species of the ornamentals Bougainvillea, Pseudoeranthemum, and Plumeria, te marou to both Ocimum sanctum and O. basilicum, and possibly to the indigenous Suriana maritima, te bam(palm) to both Prichardia pacifica and Cycas circinalis, and te roti(rose) to ornamental Hibiscus species, as well as to Zephyranthes rosea and the true roses (Rosa spp.)

Te mai applies as a generic term to all breadfruit, te banana to all Musa clones, te taroro to both Colocasia and Xanthosoma taro species, te beneka to chilli peppers, te kabiti n Tiana to all non-heading Brassica cabbages, te anian to both Allium species, te meren to all melons, te bin(bean) to all bean species plus two edible Physalis species, and te biku to both the edible fig (Ficus carica) and the edible weedy species Passiflora foetida.

Among weedy plants, te uti(head lice) applies to both Stachytarpheta urticaefolia and . jamaicensis and te mota to both Amaranthus dubius and A. viridis.

If some 52 duplicated multispecies names are subtracted from the total of 183 named species, the total of distinct vernacular Kiribati plant names for distinct species becomes 131. If some 16 synonyms (double-listed and/or designated by an asterisk * in Table 3) are considered, the total number of distinct names (but not distinct named species) becomes 147. For example, synonyms such as te baukin, te bamakin and te bangke and te baukin, te bamakin, and te bangke and te babaia and te mwemweara refer to pumpkin (Cucurbita pepo) and papaya (Carica papaya) respectively.

Of the 183 plants with Kiribati names, just over one-third (66) are probably indigenous, eight are presumably aboriginal, pre-European contact introductions, and 105(57 per cent) being exotic "recent"(post- European contact) introductions. Te kaina (Pandanus tectorius) is considered to be both indigenous and of aboriginal introduction(given the diversity of local cultivars), and four species, te ibi (Inocarpus fagifer), te kiriawa (Ficus prolixa?), te mai rekereke (Artocarpus heterophyllus), and te bararikuu (Dioclea reflexa), are possibly either extinct or only existed in legends(in the case of the first two) or as names for driftseeds(in the case of the latter).

The indigenous species include: 22 tree species, four of which belong to mangrove associations, whereas the balance are widespread coastal strand species, including Pandanus, which is both indigenous and an aboriginal introduction; 8 shrubs or sub-shrubs; 7 vines or creepers; 7 forbs (non-grass herbs); 12 grasses or sedges; three pteridophytes or fern-like species; two aquatic plants; and three fungi.

The trees include te ango (Premna serratifolia), te aroma(?) (Pipturus argenteus), te itai (Calophyllum inophyllum), te kunikun and te ukin (Terminalia catappa and T. samoensis), te uri (Guettarda speciosa), te nimareburebu or te bingibing (Hernandia nymphaeaefolia), te nimatore (Macaranga carolinensis), te non (Morinda citrifolia), te baireati (Barringtonia asiatica), te bero (Ficus tinctoria), te bingibing (Thespesia populnea), te buka (Pisonia grandis), te kaitu (Vitex trifolia), te kanawa (Cordia subcordata), te kaina (Pandanus tectorius), te kiaiai (Hibiscus tiliaceus), te reiango (Cerbera manghas), and te ren (Tournefortia argentea); and the mangrove species, te aitoa (Lumitzera littorea), te tongo (Rhizophora mucronata), te tongo buangui (Bruguiera gymnorhiza), and te nikabubuti (Sonneratia alba)

Shrubby or sub-shrubby species include te aroa (Suriana maritima) te mao (Scaevola sericea), te nikamatutu (Sophora tomentosa), te ngea (Pemphis acidula), te kaiboia (Dodonea viscosa), te kaura (Sida fallax), and te tarai (Euphorbia chamissonis). Vines or creepers include te maukinikin (Tribulus cistoides), te ntanini (Cassytha filiformis), Canavalia cathartica and Vigna marina (both te kitoko), and Ipomoea littoralis, I. macrantha, and I. pes-caprae (all referred to as te ruku).

Indigenous herbaceous species include te ukeuke (Laportia ruderalis), te mtea (Portulaca australis), Portulaca lutea and Sesuvium portulacastrum (both te boi), te kiaou (Triumfetta procumbens), and Boerhavia repens and B. tetrandra (both known as te wao); the grasses te uteute n aine (Eragrostis amabilis), te uteute ni mane (Fimbristylis cymosa)(ed. note- a sedge, not a grass), and Lepturus repens, Thuarea involuta, and the possibly indigenous Digitaria setigera, Paspalum distichum, and Stenotaphrum micranthum, all known simply as te uteute; and the sedges, Cyperus laevigatus and Eleocharis geniculata (both te maunei), te ritanin (Cyperus javanicus), and the possibly indigenous Cyperus odoratus and C polystachyos(both te titania).

The three pteridophyte (fern or fern-like) species are te kimarawa (Psilotum nudum), te keang ni Makin (Polypodium scolopendria), and te keang (Nephrolepis hirsutula); the two named aquatic species, te bukare (Ruppia maritima) and te keang (Thalassa hemprichii); and the three tentatively identified fungi, Polypous sanguinensis, Earliella corrugata, and Myomycetes, all known as te taninganiba. There are presumably other aquatic plants, algae, mosses, fungi, and other non-vascular plants which have recognized Kiribati names, but which have not yet been documented.

The eight aboriginal introductions(not including Pandanus) are all food plants. In addition to edible cultivars of te kaina (Pandanus tectorius), for which there are reportedly nearly 200 Kiribati names, although many are undoubtedly local synonyms for the same cultivars on different islands(Luomala, 1953:16; Catala, 1956:50), the aboriginal introductions include the other major staple food crops, te ni or coconut (Cocos nucifera), te babai or giant swamp taro (Cyrtosperma

chamissonis), and two breadfruit species, both te mai (Artocarpus altilis and A. mariannensis, plus a hybrid of the two). These crops also have a diversity of named cultivars. The balance of the aboriginal introductions includes the formerly more important te makemake or Polynesian arrowroot [Tacca], now primarily an adventive famine food plant. the occasionally cultivated te taororo or taro (Colocasia esculenta), te iam or yam (Dioscorea spp.), which although having a "Kiribatized" name derived from the English name, was reportedly possibly present at the time of European contact(Luomala, 1953:75), and te kabe, now almost exclusively planted as an ornamental, but almost certainly introduced into the group in pre-contact times, as it is a supplementary food crop in other atoll groups and in other areas of Micronesia and in both western and eastern Polynesia (Thaman, 1984; Barrau, 1961).

In terms of the derivation of "proper" Kiribati plant names, most seem to show greatest affinity to plant names in other Micronesian languages, although, in some cases, there seems to be greater similarity to Polynesian cognates, probably due to the proximity of Kiribati to Tuvalu. For example, te kaura and ekaura are the Kiribati and Nauruan cognates for both Sida fallax and Abutilon asiaticum; te kiaou and ikiau for Triumfetta procumbens; and te kitoko and erekogo for Canavalia cathartica and Vigna marina. The Kiribati, Nauruan, and Marshallese cognates for Cassytha filiformis are te ntanini, denuwanini, and kanin; and te makemake, damagmag, and mokmok or mokemok for Tacca leontopetaloides. Similarly, the Kiribati alternative name for Hernandia nymphaeaefolia, te bingibing, is essentially the same as the Marshallese pingping.

In terms of those names which are closer to Polynesian cognates, the Kiribati te buka is essentially the same as the widespread Polynesian equivalent puka for Pisonia grandis; te kanawa for Cordia subcordata is similar to the Tuvaluan kanava, the Samoan tauanave, the Tongan puataukanave, and the Fijian nawanawa; and the Kiribati name for breadfruit, te mai, is very close to both the Nauruan deme and the Marshallese mei, me, and ma, as well as to the Tuvaluan and Tongan name mei. Given a more comprehensive comparison of Kiribati plant names with Micronesian, Polynesian, and Melanesian cognates should shed considerable light on prehistoric interrelationships between different island groups and their societies.

Of the 105 post-European contact introductions, 41 are decorative or ornamental plants, many of which provide flowers and leaves for making headbands, leis, and for scenting coconut oil, with the balance consisting of 35 food plants, 23 weedy species, and six other useful plants(Table 3).

Some of the more common and widely used recently introduced ornamentals include te akanta (Bougainvillea spp.), te aoaaua (Mirabilis jalapa), te aronga (Pseuderanthemum), te orion (Nerium oleander vars.), te marou (Ocimum sanctum), te meria (Plumeria spp.), nei karairai (Tecoma stans), te bitati (Jasminum sambac), te bumorimori (Calotropis gigantea), te kaibaun (Russelia equisetiformis), te kaibuaka (Lantana camara), te katiru or te katuru (Ixora casei), te kiebu (Crinum spp.), te roti (Hibiscus rosa-sinensis), te ruru (Hymenocallis littoralis), and te tua (Delonix regia).

Among the food species, the most commonly cultivated are the introduced tree crops te babaia or te mwemweara, the papaya (Carica papaya), banana cultivars(Musa triploid clones), known collectively as te banana, but sometimes differentiated by the names te umuumu, te oraora, and te wae, te biku, the edible fig (Ficus carica), and te raim (Citrus aurantiifolia); the staple food crops te tabioka or cassava (Manihot esculenta) and te kumara, the sweet potato (Ipomoea batatas), with tannia (Xanthosoma sagittifolium), known as te taororo, the same name used for the aborinally introduced Colocasia esculenta, being grown occasionally. Other occasionally cultivated food crops which have Kiribati names include te anian (Allium spp.), te meren or cantaloupe (Cucumis melo var. cantalupensis), nambere (Hibiscus manihot), te baigan or eggplant (Solanum melongena), te bainaboro or pineapple (Ananas comosus), te baukin or pumpkin (Cucurbita pepo), te beneka or chilli pepper (Capsicum spp.), te bin or long beans (Vigna sesquipedalis), te kaisoka or sugarcane

(Saccharum officinarum), te tomato or tomato (Solanum lycopersicon), and a number of Brassica cabbage species and hybrids which are called te kabiti or te kabiti n Tiaina. The remainder of the rarely cultivated "named" food plants such as sweet basil (Ocimum basilicum)(also a fragrant ornamental) , watermelon (Citrullus lanatus), bell pepper (Capsicum annuum var. grossum), cucumber (Cucumis sativus), corn (Zea mays), and water convolvulus (Ipomoea aquatica), plus fruit trees, such as orange (Citrus sinensis), guava (Psidium guajava), lemon (Citrus limon), and Crateva speciosa have only been cultivated on an experimental basis by individual, often expatriate households, aid agencies, service organizations, mission schools, the the government's Agricultural Division, and all have names that are direct "Kiribatizations" of English or other names. were introduced.

The remaining "named" useful plants include te baubau or cotton (Gossypium barbadense), te kaibaba or bamboo (Bambusa sp.), te kaibake or tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum), te robu (Agave sisalana), and two firewood and timber species te kaiteteu (Leucaena leucocephala) and te katurina (Casuarina eqisetifolia).

Of the 111 species reportedly present at one time or another in Kiribati, but which have no reported Kiribati name, 18 are possibly indigenous, one of possibly aboriginal introduction, and 92 of recent post-European introduction. Of the 18 possibly indigenous species, only two, Allophyllus timoriensis and Neisosperma oppositifolia are large shrubs or trees, the rest being shrubby vines or climbers, small weed-like species, grasses or sedges, or ferns, all of which are uncommon, with some, such as Caesalpinia bonduc and Mucuna gigantea, possibly only becoming temporarily established periodically from driftseeds.

The one possibly aboriginal introduction is turmeric(Curcuma longa), whereas the 92 recently introduced exotics are comprised of 42 decorative or ornamental and 15 food plant species, none of which have become as culturally important or as widely cultivated as those species which have Kiribati names, and 35 weedy species or introduced grasses, almost all of which are either rare or have never really become established. Some these probably do have Kiribati vernacular names, but because of their scarcity, it was not possible to show them to knowledgeable I Kiribati informants. Some, like Curcuma longa, which could be te renga, may, in fact, correspond to the unidentified Kiribati plant names listed by Ratieta (1946) and Luomala (1953), and some of the sedges may possibly be referred to by the same names given to other sedges, te maunei, te ritanin and te titania, and Abutilon asiaticum by the name te kaura, which refers to both Abutilon indicum and Sida fallax. To establish whether this is the case will require that plant specimens be shown to knowledgeable I Kiribati informants.

NATURE AND DERIVATION OF PLANT NAMES

Kiribati vernacular plant names can be classified into four distinct groups: 1) "proper" names which are used almost exclusively for a given plant or plants, rather than being words with other meanings; 2) descriptive names, which refer to characteristics of plants, e.g., "smelly plant", "golden plant", "thorny plant", "shark-plant" or "bad plant"; 3) Kiribati renditions or "Kiribatizations" of non-Kiribati plant names, e.g., te anian, te orion, and te roti for onion, oleander, and rose; and 4) names which refer to the origin of an introduced plant or which are named after the person responsible for its introduction, e.g., te ruru ni Buranti (the lily from France) or neikarairai (Miss or Mrs Karairai). Of the 183 Kiribati vernacular names, 66 probably fall into the category of "proper names", 41 are classified as "descriptive names", 63 as "Kiribatizations" of other names, 7 as referring to the origin or persons responsible for introduction, and 6 which do not seem to fit into any of these categories(Table 2).

Table 2. Numbers of Kiribati vernacular names falling into different classes for indigenous species and

exotic pre-European contact aboriginal introductions and recent post-European contact introductions (te kaina, Pandanus tectorius, is included in indigenous, rather than aboriginal).

	Proper Names	Descriptive Names	Kiribatized Names	Person's/ Place Names	?	TOTAL
Indigenous	58	6	2	-	-	66
Aboriginal	6	-	2	-	-	8
Recent	-	34	58	7	6	105
Extinct	2	1	1	-	-	4
TOTAL	66	41	63	5	8	183

Proper Names

Of the 66 "proper names", 58 are names for indigenous species, six are food crops of aboriginal introduction, namely te ni(coconut), te mai, which refers to two species of breadfruit, te babai (giant swamp taro), te makemake (Polynesian arrowroot), and te taororo(true taro). Luomala (1953:66) suggests that te touru may have been the pre-contact Kiribati name for a banana cultivar presumably present prior to European contact, but now replaced by recently introduced clones. Two possibly extinct or non-existent species te bararikuu (Dioclea reflexa), which may only be known from drift seed and te kiriawa (Ficus sp.) make up the balance of the proper names.

The eight possibly indigenous plants having no proper name are Dodonea viscosa, which is known as te kaiboia (smelly plant), Vitex trifolia, known as te kaitu (the oozing tree or plant), Tribulus cistoides, te maukinikin(extreme or passionate pinch), three species of fungus, all te taninganiba(tasteless or repulsive ear), and two sedges, Cyperus odoratus and C. polystachyos, both known as te titania (reportedly the Kiribatization of Zizania). There is some doubt, however, as to whether all these are indigenous, as Overy, et. al., 1982:65) say that Dodonea viscosa is thought to have been introduced about 1945, and Vitex trifolia is only listed as present on Abiang (Fosberg, et al. 1979:239), may be an introduction from either Banaba (Ocean Island) or Nauru, where it is native and where it is called dogaidu (Thaman, et. al. (1985) (thus the tentative association of the Kiribati cognate te kaitu with V. trifolia). Similarly, the two Cyperus species, although reported as indigenous in many island groups, could possibly be naturalized exotics in Kiribati.

Most of the proper names are very distinctive and have no alternative meaning listed in Sabatier and Oliva's Gilbertese-English Dictionary(1971). These names include te aitoa, ter ango, te inato, te itai, te ukeuke, te ukin, te uri, te mao, te maukinikin, te mtea, te nika, te nimareburebu, te namatore, te non, te ntanini, te ngea, te baireati, te bero, te bingibing, te boi, te buangi, te buka, te bukare, te kaitu, te kanawa, te kaura, te keang, te kiaiai, te kiaou, te kimarawa, te kitoko, te kunikun, te reiango, te ren, te ruku, te tarai, te tongo, and te wao. Te uteute is the generic name for all indigenous grasses, while te maunei and te ritanin apply to indigenous sedges. The name for Pandanus tectorius, te kaina,

seems to also be a proper name, but could also be translated as "the tree" or the "one" tree(te kai plus the suffix na which can mean one), because of its dominant cultural importance.

Eleven additional possibly "proper names", for which there are no botanical indentifications, appear among Ratieta's 1946 list of 76 "local" plants. These include te aiao, te arabaotin, te bata, te bau, te bitikaina, te ikaeariki, te kaimaiu, te kobukobu, te kuao, te obu, and te rauota. Based on her study Luomala (1953) added an additional 18 names without botanical names. These are te bakare, te baranrenga, te betere, te ieretia, te itaia, te kaiaroua, te kaiegig, te katabono, te maokiki, te nimrona, te nini, te ntarine, te ntarrai, te ranga, te renga, te tarine, te vekera and te uri tabuki.

Of these only te kaimaiu (meaning the living, fresh, or flourishing tree) "a species of tree, very rare, used in carpentry", te tarine, "name of a tree, and te nimrona," a "marine moss adhering to seagoing craft" are listed as distinct plants in Sabatier and Oliva's (1971) dictionary. Te bakare, te itaia, te kaiaroua, and te maokiki were listed among trees or shrubs in an undated Gilbertese grammer prepared at the Sacred Heart Mission, te katabono and te uritabuki described as trees reported to be trees by Luomala's informants, and te nini reportedly refers to palms other than coconuts. Some of the balance are possibly synonyms for other plants, e.g. te ntarine and te ntarrai are probably synonyms for te tarine and te tarai, as Luomala (1953:105) says that "the initial m is often added before t", some, such as te arabaotin, which is listed as a Pandanus cultivar, are probably distinct cultivars or varients of other species, and some like te baranrenga, te ieretia, te kaiegig, te renga, and te uekera are reportedly the names for mythical or ancestral trees prominant in Kiribati cosmogeny, rather than plant species which may have existed in Kiribati in the past (Luomala, 1953; Sabatier and Oliva, 1971).

In terms of possible matches of these Kiribati names with species which have been reported to be present in Kiribati (Fosberg and Sachet, 1987), similar plant names or cognates from other Pacific island languages provide some clues. For example, te aiao might be the Kiribati for Ficus prolixa (also possibley te kiriawa), known in Nauru as eyayo or eaeo; te bao could be Neisosperma oppositifolia, known as fao in Tonga, Samoa, and Tokelau and as pao in Niue; and te renga could be turmeric (Curcuma longa), known as cago or rerega (pronounced rerenga) in Fiji, ango or enga in Tonga, renga in the Cook Islands, 'olena in Hawai'i, and ong in Ponape.

Descriptive Names

The descriptive names are usually Kiribati words which describe plant characteristics, things that they are associated with, or other plants that they resemble. Some of the descriptive names for the more common plants include te aronga (meaning scarcity or famine, the reason for this being unclear, unless it is in fact a "proper" name previously applied to similar indigenous Acalypha amentacea varieties, such as A. amentacea var. grandis, which may have been present in the past, and are reportedly indigenous elsewhere in Micronesia (Fosberg, et.al 1979; Fosberg and Sachet, 1987)); te uti (head lice) because of the lice-like appearance of the flower buds of Stachytarpheta jamaicensis and S. urticaefolia; te mam (fresh water) after the freshwater swamps and taro pits where Ludwigia octovalvis is found; te baraki (upside down) after its bell-shaped flower which encases the fruit of Physalis angulata and P. peruviana; te buraroti (rose-like) owing to the rose-like (to I Kiribati) flowers of Catharanthus roseus (the Latin specific name for which also meaning rose-like); te bumorimori (soft bud) for the giant milkweed or crown flower (Calotropis gigantea); and te kabekau (painted lady, harlot or prostitute) for the brightly painted Euphorbia cyathophora. Te kateketeke (thorn or burr) is used for burr grass (Cencrus echinatus); te riti (wick) for Canna indica and Canna hybrids, owing to the wick-like portion of the inflorescence; and te ruru (trembling) for Hymenocallis littoralis and some other lilies.

The word kai, meaning tree, bush, or plant, is part of many descriptive plant names. For example,

te kaibaba (plant or rope tree) is used for bamboo; te kaibakoa (shark tree) for the thorny Acacia farnesia; te kaibaun (golden tree) for the beautiful red-orange flowered Russelia equisetiformis; te kaibuaka (bad plant) for the noxious but beautiful Lantana camara; te kaikare (curry bush) for Pluchea symphytifolia, with its curry-like odor; te kaimatu (sleeping plant) for Phyllanthus amarus; and te kaimamara (we weak tree or bush) as one of two names for some of the many-stemmed Polyscias species, the other name being te toara (the odd number) because of its odd-numbered leaflets.

Te kaibake (tobacco plant) and te kaisoka (sugar plant), although descriptive, combine both descritive aspects as well as the Kiribatization of the words tobacco (bake) and sugar (soka). Chilli peppers (Capsicum spp.) are known as te beneka (vinegar), presumably because, to I Kiribati, they had the same "bite" or spicyness that vinegar had or because they were originally preserved in vinegar in the colonial days to make a hot sauce for food. The synonym for te babaia, te mwemweara, commonly used for papaya (Carica papaya), although having no specific meaning in the dictionaries, possibly means "that which can be lifted or which is not heavy", possibly referring to the very light hollow stalk (Sabatier and Oliva, 1971: 254).

As mentioned above, the only six possibly indigenous plants have "descriptive"rather than proper Kiribati names. These are te kaiboia (smelly plant)(Dodonea viscosa), te kaitu (oozing plant) (Vitex trifolia), te maukinikin (extreme or passionate pinch) for the weedy spreading and thorny perennial Tribulus cistoides, and three fungi, all te taninganiba (tasteless or repulsive ear), presumably because of their taste or appearance. The adjectives bubuti (spreading) and matutu (sleeping) are also used to differentiate between two "properly named" indigenous te nika species, te nikabubuti (Sonneratia alba) and te nikamatutu (Sophora tomentosa).

The "proper" name te boi is used for the exotic Portulaca oleracea, and te tarai for as many as 7 introduced weedy species of Euphorbia as "descriptive" name because of their similarity to the indigenous species Portulaca lutea and Euphorbia chamissonis respectively. Similarly, almost all introduced grasses and some weeds are referred to as te uteute, the "proper" name formerly reserved for indigenous grasses, but now having taken on a meaning closer to "weed". The term ibugibugi is used much the same in Nauru to refer to both indigenous grasses and some recently introduced weeds. Finally, the name te taororo for the aboriginally introduced taro (Colocasia esculenta) is also applied to tannia or American taro (Xanthosoma sagittifolium) because of its similar appearance and utility, and te mai rekereke (caught or captured) for the jackfruit (Artocarpus heterophyllus) because of its similarity to the breadfruit te mai (Artocarpus altilis).

Kiribatized Names

The 63 "Kiribatized" names consist mainly of plant names in English or other languages, which have been re-written according to the way I Kiribati pronounce the name and using the most appropriate orthography (letters) from the 13-character Kiribati alphabet. All "Kiribatized" plant names apply almost exclusively to exotic ornamental and food plants of post-European contact introduction, but also to a limited number of other useful plants and weeds.

Some of the more common Kiritatized names for ornamentals include te ang (air or wind) for the air plant (Kalanchoe pinnata); te aoaaua (four-o'clock) or te aoaua for the "four o'clock" (Mirabilis jalapa); te orian for the oleander (Nerium oleander); te meria (after the Hawaiian name melia) for Plumeria rubra and P. obtusa; te merikora(merigold) for Tagetes erecta; te bam (palm) for the Pacific fan palm (Prichardia pacifica), as well as for the palm-like cycad (Cycas circinalis); te bitati (from the Hawaiian pikake) for Jasminum sambac; te katia for ornamental cassias trees (Cassia spp.); te kiebu (probably an adaptation of the Nauruan dagiebu or dagibu) for three species of Crinum lilies, which were probably first introduced from Nauru; te rauti (after the Polynesian names rauti or lau si) for

Cordyline fruticosa; and te tinia (zinnia) for Zinnia elegans.

Kiribatized names for non-tree food plants include: te anian for onions (Allium spp.); te iam for yam (Dioscorea sp.) and te kabe (from the Polynesian kape) for the giant taro (Alocasia macrorrhiza), which both may have been aboriginal introductions, but, in the case of te kabe, now almost exclusively an ornamental; te meren for both watermelon and cantaloupe (Citrullus lanatus and Cucumis melo vars.), nambere (after the Fijian word na bele) for Hibiscus manihot); te baigan (after the Fiji Indian Hindi word for eggplant) for Solanum melongena);, te bainaboro for pineapple (Ananas comosus); te baukin, te bamakin or te bangke for pumpkin (Cucurbita pepo); te bin (bean) for both the long bean (Vigna sesquipedalia), as well as a synonym for te baraki, the bean-like bladderberry, ground cherry or cape gooseberry (Physalis spp.); te boro (after the Fijian boro, the general name for pepper like Solanum species) for the bell pepper or sweet capsicum (Capsicum annuum var. grossum); kabiti n Taina (Chinese cabbage and kabiti ni Imatang (Whiteman's cabbage) for non-heading and heading Brassica cabbage species, respectively; te kangkong (from the Philippine cangcong) for water convolvulus (Ipomoea aquatica); te kiukamba for cucumber) (Cucumis sativus); te kon or te kon for corn (Zea mays);
te kumara after the Maori word kumara used in New Zealand and the Cook Islands or kumala used in Tonga, Fiji, and elsewhere for the sweet potato (Ipomoea batatas); te tabioka (after the Fijian term tavioka) for cassava (Manihot esculenta); and te tomato (tomato) for Solanum lycopersicon.

Names for the more commonly grown fruit trees include te babaia or te mwemweara for the papaya or pawpaw (Carica papaya); te banana, which refers generally to all banana clones, although te umuumu (earth oven or cooked), te oraora (ripe or raw), and te wae (big leg) are sometimes used as descriptive terms to differentiate clones (Table 4); te biku for the edible fig (Ficus carica) (biku being the Kiribati rendition of "fig"); and te raim lime (Citrus aurantiifolia).

Other uncommon or rare fruit tree names include te aoranti (orange) (Citrus sineusis), which has never become established; te ibi, the Polynesian chestnut (Inocarpus fagifer) (presumably from the Polynesian ifi or the Fijian ivi, but which may either be extinct, or only a tree of Kiribati myth and legend); te mangko the mango. (Mangifera indica) and te kuwawa the guava (Psidium guajava), are both rare in Kiribati; and te remen or te remon for the lemon (Citrus limon).

Among the weedy species te mota or te moota (from the Fijian moca, pronounced motha) for Amaranthus species (a number of which have been cultivated or protected by the Kiribati Women's Federation (AMAK) as food plants), although Sabatier and Oliva (1971:400) suggest that an alternative name might be te uekeueke, which is said to be a bush "Amaranthus gracilis". This, however, may be only an alternative spelling for the ukeueke, and a misidentification of Laportea ruderalis. Te katia (Cassia) is reportedly the vernacular name for the weedy Cassia accidentalis, although it is listed by Luomala (1953:86) as also pertaining to either Cassia or Acacia spp., probably one of the common ornamental Cassia which she describes as a 15-20 foot high tree introduced into Tabiteuea from Banaba.

The name te titania reported by Bingham, 1953 in Luomala 1953:108 to be the Kiribati form of zizania, probably Zizania latifolia, a course aquatic grass yielding a food kau sun eaten by the Chinese, (Neal, 1965:71) applies to both Cyperus odoratus and C. polystachyos, presumably either because of their similarity to zizania plant which might have formerly grown experimentally in Kiribati, possibly by the Chinese, or because the name was introduced with these sedges.

The names of other useful plants include: te baubau for cotton (Gossypium barbadense) is probably derived from the Fijian word for cotton vauvau; te katurina, te katuarina, or te burukam (blue gum) for Casuarina equisetifolia (it could be that blue gum or Eucalyptus species were also introduced as part of reforestation or tree planting programmes along with casuarina?); te robu or te

rob (rope) for the fibre-yielding sisal plant (Agave rigida); and te roti (rose) for the rose (Rosa spp.) and two other plants considered by I Kiribati to have rose-like flowers, Hibiscus rose-sinensis (and hybrids) and Zephyranthes rosea.

The seven plants named after persons responsible for their introduction or after their place of introduction include: te uri n Tiana (the Guettarda speciosa-like plant from China) for Datura metel), possibly because it was first introduced by one of Kiribati's resident Chinese families; neikarairai (Mrs. or Miss Karairai) reportedly introduced by this person; te kaura ni Banaba (the Sida fallax-like plant from Banaba) for both Abutilon indicum and Wollastonia biflora, the yellow flowers of which were presumably thought to resemble the flowers of the indigenous te kaura and which were both probably introduced by Kiribati contract phosphate mine workers from Banaba (Ocean Island) where they are native; te ruru ni Buranti (the lily from France) (Rhoeo spathacea), probably because it was introduced into Kiribati by Catholic missionaries from France; and te kaitetua (law or government tree) for the poinciana (Delonix regia) and te tua (law or government) for leucaena (Leucaena leucocephala), reportedly because they were both introduced by the "government" and originally planted around government buildings.

Five Kiribati plant names were not categorized because it was not possible to find a Kiribati meanings or "Kiribatizations" of any recognizable plant name in English or other languages. These include te iaro (Pseudoeranthemum carruthersii vars. and P. laxiflorum); te marou for both Ocimum sanctum and O. basilicum; te motiti for the everlasting flower or bachelor's button (Gomphrena globosa); and te mumute for the widespread noxious weed, the nut sedge (Cyprus rotundus). Some of these, however, probably do have meanings in Kiribati or are Kiribatizations of some, at present underdetermined, plant names or characteristics.

SUMMARY

In summary, the I Kiribati, like most rural people who are closely tied to the fruit of the land and sea for their material and non-material wellbeing, know their natural plant and animal worlds exceedingly well and have local vernacular names for almost all indigenous and aboriginally introduced cultural plants (te aroka). Similarly, the I Kiribati, as well as the non-Kiribati people who have lived in this island world, have always and will continue to have an interest in new plants that can enhance the quality of their lives. Missionaries, European and Chinese residents, agriculturalists, colonial administrators, and many others have continually introduced and tested, in the harsh atoll environment, a wide range of plants. Similarly, the I Kiribati, in their pre-historic contact with other islands, and, more recently, through their contact with Banaba (Ocean Island), Nauru, and Fiji as contract workers and settlers, and with other islands countries and peoples, as a result of an expansion of shipping and air transport, have probably always introduced and will undoubtedly continue to introduce new plants into their home islands.

Of the just over 290 distinct plant species which have been reported present in Kiribati, just under two-thirds have Kiribati vernacular names: "proper" pure Kiribati names for most of the some 66 indigenous and 8 aboriginally introduced species and a mixture of descriptive "Kiribatized" and origin-related names for most of the 105 recently-introduced exotics. Together, these indigenous and exotic plants, particularly those with Kiribati names, constitute a critical ecological and cultural resource which must be seen, along with marine resources as the main bases for any future development and improvement or maintenance of quality of life in Kiribati. Te ni (coconut), te mai (breadfruit), te babai giant swamp taro, te kaina (pandanus), and, on some of the drier islands to the south, te bero (the native fig) will almost surely remain the dominant local staples; and the coconut, pandanus and a range of other plants will probably be the main sources of fuel, fibre, compost (fertilizer), medicines, perfumes, ornamentation, and other culturally important items. Given Kiribati's limited scope for economic development, extreme fragmentation, and isolation from metropolitan areas, plants will

remain critical to subsistence. Similarly, Kiribati myth, legend and the society's spiritual health are also inextricably tied to the plant world.

Although Kiribati elders know their plant world well, and know the names of almost all plants, old and new, many of the younger generation do not. To know ones plant world, just like really "knowing" the people of ones society, it is almost essential that one knows names. It is hoped that this paper and the list of Kiribati plant names (Table 3) which will hopefully be corrected, amended, and improved by others, may help in some way to prevent todays te roronga (Kiribati youth) and their descendents from becoming divorced from their lifegiving plant world, by helping them to "know" their names.

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ORGANIZATION OF THE PLANT LIST

The list of Kiribati, Latin, English and other selected vernacular names of plants for which recognized Kiribati names exist , in Table 3, is organized in Kiribati alphabetical order of the first letter of each name (exclusive of the te which precedes most names). The 13 characters of the Kiribati alphabet are placed in the following order: the vowels a,e,i,o, and u first, followed by the consonants and ng in the order m, n, ng, b, k, r, t, and w. Within each of these letter groupings all names are arranged in the order of the common Latin alphabet, however, a, a, b, e, i, k, m, n, ng, o, r, t, u, w (the 13 characters) to simplify the location of individual names by English readers. None of these last five consonants (b, k, r, t, or w) can end a word nor stand together, except bw.

As stressed by Cowell, (1950:1), the restricted orthography accounts for some confusing letter sounds. The vowels are generally pronounced: a as in father; e as in a in fate, although sometimes as the e in ten; i as ee in see; o as o in note, or sometimes as o in Bonny or aw in awful; u as oo in boot; m and n as in English; ng as the ng in sing or the gn in gnaw; b sometime like an English b, sometimes

like an English p, often a sound in between both, or even like a sound between a b and v; k is pronounced hard, often sounding more like a g (e.g. Kiribati sounds more like it should be spelled Giribas in English); r as an unrolled English r; t like a normal t before the vowels a, e, and o, with ti being pronounced si or tsi, and tu being pronounced too, soo, or tsoo (e.g. Kiritimati is pronounced like Christmas in English and katuru is pronounced as it it were kasooroo in English; and w like a w in English, but also as a bilabial in some cases (Cowell, 1951: 2-3).

The article te, which almost always precedes a plant name, is an integral part of a name and is found in almost all names except those named after people e.g. neikarairai (Mrs or Miss Karairai) or in cases where a name is a direct Kiribatization of a foreign name, e.g. the nambere from the Fijian na bele(pronounced nambele).

Kiribati synonyms are double listed in Table 3, giving the sources for each. Widely used Latin synonyms for some species are also included, as well as whether the species is believed to be indigenous, of aboriginal introduction, a recent post-European contact introduction, or extinct or non-existent, and whether the introduced species are decorative or ornamental plants, food plants, plants with other cultural uses, or weedy species.

Common English names are provided as well as other vernacular names, often from the Pacific, from which the Kiribati vernacular names might have been derived. Where available, other Micronesian equivalents or cognates from Nauru and the Marshall Islands have been provided for linguistic comparison.

Table 3. Kiribati, Latin, English, and selected other vernacular names for plant species having recognized Kiribati names (Notes: 1) the Kiribati alphabet consists of 13 characters which are arranged in the following order: 1) a, e, i, o, u, m, n, ng, g, b, k, r, t, and w. 2) the article te, which is almost always used before a noun, is seen as being an integral part of the name and is found before almost all plant names except those named after people, eg. neikarairai or in some cases where the name is a direct "Kiribatization" of a non-Kiribati name, e.g., nambere from the Fijian na bele. 4) * indicates that there are two or more reported Kiribati names for a given species, all of which have been listed in alphabetical order, or, in some cases, after the most widely accepted name. 5) There are recognized southern and nothern I Kiribati dialects, the N after a name indicating that a given name is used in the northern islands, whereas no designation indicates that it is a more universal name or of southern Kiribati origin. 6) The L, C, S, O, and T after the Kiribati names indicate which sources included that name along with the correct botanical name, L = Luomala, 1953, C = Catala, 1956, S = Sabatier and Oliva, 1971, O = Overy, Polunin, and Wimblett, 1982, and T = in-the-field survey by Thaman, 1984, with the lower case letters indicating that the name was included with either no botanical name or an incorrect identification. 7). Where the Kiribati name has an English translation, the meaning is provided in parentheses. 8) A ? after the Kiribati or botanical name indicates that either the Kiribati name is doubtful, or the the Latin botanical name corresponding to the vernacular name has not been verified in the field or with herbarium specimens. 9) Under "Latin Name", (I) = indigenous species, (A) = aboriginal introduction, (R) = recent, post-European-contact introduction, (E) = possibly extinct or never existing in Kiribati; D = decorative, ornamental, or groundcover plant, F = food plant, W = weedy species, and O = other specified cultural utility. 10) Under "Vernacular Names", those with no designation are in English, while others are designated after the name(s)

KIRIBATI NAME(S)	LATIN NAME	VERNACULAR NAMES
A		
te aitoa(l,C,S, O,T);te tongo-kai(L)	Lumnitzera littorea (Jack) Voigt (I)	
te akanta(l,s,T)	Bougainvillea glabra Choisy (R),D	bougainvillea, red bougainville
te akanta(l,s,O,T) x	Bougainvillea spectabilis Willd. (R),D	bougainvillea, purple bougainvillea
te anian(l,s,T)	Allium ascalonicum L. (R),F	shallot, Japanese or Welsh, bunching onion
te anian(l,s,T)	Allium fistulosum L. (R),F	green onion, spring onion
te ang(air)(L,C S,O,T)	Kalanchoe pinnata (Lam.) Pers.; syns. Bryophyllum pinnatum (Lam.) Kurz.; B. calycinum Salisb. (R), D	life plant, air plant, miracle plant
te ango (L,C,S,O,T)	Premna serratifolia L.; syns. P. obtusifolia R. Br.; P. integrifolia L.; P. taitensis Schauer (I)	kar, kaar (Marshall Is.), idibener, idibenerr (Nauru)
*te anti(O); see te kateketeke (thorny,sharp) (s,O,T)	Cenchrus echinatus L. (R),W	burr grass, sand burr; eakung iakung(Nauru)
te aoaaua (L,T) marvel of te aoaua(L); te te auaua(O); te te aoua(C); te awaaua(O); te awaawa(S)	Mirabilis jalapa L. (R),D	four o'clock, (four o'clock); Peru; teoua, teowa(Nauru)
te aoranti (orange)(l)	Citrus sinensis (L.) Osbeck (R),F	orange, sweet orange

te aroma(l,s)	Pipturus argenteus (Forst.f.) Wedd. var. argenteus? (I)	armea(Rotuma); arme,: areme arume(Marshall Is.)
te aroa(O,T); te marou(L)	Suriana maritima L. (I)	niienge,kanangi (Marshall Is.)
te aronga(scarcity or famine)(c,s o,t)	Acalypha amentacea Roxb. var. grandis (Benth.) Fosb.?; syn. A. grandis Benth. (E?),	
te aronga(scarcity or famine)(C,S, O,T)	Acalypha amentacea Roxb. ssp. wilkesiana (Muell.-Arg.) Fosb. f. circinata (Muell.-Arg) Fosb.; syn. A. wilkesiana Muell.-Arg. f. circinata Muell.-Arg. (R),D	
te aronga(scarcity or famine)(C,S, O,T)	Acalypha amentacea Roxb. ssp. wilkesiana (Muell.-Arg.) Fosb. f. wilkesiana; syn. A. wilkesiana Muell.-Arg. (R),D	copperleaf, beef-steak plant, Joseph's coat; Kayser bush (Nauru)

I

te iam(l,s)	Dioscorea sp. (R),F	yam
te iaro(C,S,O,T)	Pseuderanthemum carru-thersii (Seem.) Guill. var. carruthersii (R),D	false eranthemum
te iaro(C,S,O,T)	Pseuderanthemum carru-thersii (Seem.) Guill. var. atropurpureum (Bull) Fosb. (R),D	purple false eranthemum
te iaro(C,S,O,T)	Pseuderanthemum laxiflorum (Gray) Hubb. (R),D	false eranthemum
te inato(S,O,T); te inoto(L,S,O)	Clerodendrum inerme (L.) Gaertn. var. oceanicum A. Gray	beach privet; eamwiye, eyamwiye, eamwije, eayamwije (Nauru)
te ibi(l,s) (E?),F	Inocarpus fagifer (Park.) Fosb.; syn. I. edulis Forst.	Tahitian chest-nut, Pacific chestnut

te itai(L,C,S,O,T)	Calophyllum inophyllum L. (I)	Alexandrian laurel, portia tree, tomano; kamani(Hawaii); luej, luech (Marshall Is); iyo, ijo(Nauru)
O		
*te oraora(to eat raw),(T); see te banana(L,C, S,O,T)	Musa (AAA Group) äMysore' Simmons (R),F	lady's finger banana; tama-tama ai lima (Tuvalu); dabanana(Nauru)
te orian(l,S,O,T)	Nerium oleander L. var. oleander (R),D	oleander
te orian(l,S,O,T)	Nerium oleander L. var. indicum (Mill.) Deg. & Deg. (R),D	oleander
U		
*te uekeueke(S); see te mota (T); te moota (T)	Amaranthus dubius Mart. ex Thell.; syn. A. gracilis sensu Catala and Guillaumin, non. Desf.	spleen amaranth; moca(pro-nounced motha) (Fiji)
te ukeuke(s,O,T); te uekeuke(l) te nekeneke(S)	Laportea ruderalis (Forst.f.) Chew; syn. Fleurya ruderalis (Forst.f.) Gaud. ex Wedd. (I)	nen ketekut (Marshall Is)
te ukin(l,s,O,T)	Terminalia samoensis Rech.; T. littoralis sensu auct. non Seem. (I)	eking, kukung, akungkung (Marshall Is.)
te uri(L,C,S,O,T); te uri rara(O)	Guettarda speciosa L. (I)	guettarda; wut (Marshall Is.); iut,yut(Nauru)
te uri n Tiaina (China)(C,O)	Datura metel L.; syn. D fatuosa L. (R),D	datura, thorn apple, jimson weed, cornu-copia
te uteute(grass) (C,T)	Chloris inflata Link; syn. C. barbata sensu Sw. non (L.)Sw. (R),W	finger grass

te uteute(grass) (C,T)	Dactyloctenium aegyptium (L.) Willd. (R),W	four-finger grass, beach wire grass
te uteute(grass) (C,T)	Digitaria setigera Roth in R. & S.; syns. D. pruriens (Fisch. ex Trin.) Buse; D. microbachne (Presl) Henr. (I?)	itchy crabgrass
te uteute(grass) (L,C,O,T);te uteutena-banabana (hollow grass)(L)	Eleusine indica (L.) Gaertn. (R),W	goose grass, crow'-foot grass
te uteute(L,O,T)	Lepturus repens (Forst.f.) R. Br. (I)	
te uteute(C,O,T)	Paspalum distichum L.; syns. P. vaginatum Sw.; P. littorale R. Br. (I)	saltgrass, couch grass, knot grass, seaside paspalum
te uteute(grass) (C)	Stenotaphrum micranthum (Desv.) Hubb. (I?)	
te uteute(O,T)	Thuarea involuta (Forst.f.) R. Br. ex R. & S. (I)	
*te uteute ae kateketeke(L); see te kateke-teke(L,C,S, O,T); te anti(O)	Cenchrus echinatus L. (R),W	burr grass, sand burr
te uteute n' aine(female) (L,C,S,O,T); te uteute te aine(L)	Eragrostis amabilis (L.) W. & A. ex Hook; syn. E. tenella (L.) Beauv. ex R. & S. (I?)	love grass
te uteute ni mane(male)(S,T); te uteute ni mmane(O); te uteute te mane(L,C)	Fimbristylis cymosa R. Br.; syn. F. atollensis St. John (I)	beach sedge

te uti(head lice) (l,C,s,O,T)	Stachytarpheta jamaicensis (L.) Vahl. (R),W	Jamaica vervain; edidubai, edidubaiy (Nauru)
te uti (head lice) (T)	Stachytarpheta urticaefolia Sims (R),W	blue rat tail, vervain

M

te mai(L,C,S,O,T); te bukiraro (O,S,T), te mai bukiraro(T)	Artocarpus altilis (Park.) Fosb. (A),F	breadfruit; ulu(Samoa); mei(Tonga, Tuvalu); mei, me, ma(Marshall Is.);deme(Nauru)
te mai(C); te keang ni Makin(C)	Artocarpus altilis x mariannensis (A?),F	hybrid breadfruit
te mai rekereke (caught or captured) (LG,.S)	Artocarpus heterophyllus Lam. (E),F	jackfruit
te mai(C,O,T); te ,aitarika(C), te mai keang(o), te mai kora(T)	Artocarpus mariannensis Trec. (A),F	Marianas bread-fruit; damen-kamor(Nauru),
te makemake (L,C,S,O,T) mokemok, mokmok(Marshall Is);damagmag (Nauru),	Tacca leontopetaloides (L.) O. Ktze. (A),F arrowroot;	Polynesian arrow-root, Pacific
te mam(fresh water)(C,O,T)	Ludwigia octovalvis (Jacq.) Raven; syn. Jussiaea suffruticosa L. (R),W	false primrose, swamp primrose
te mangko(L,C, S,T);te manko(C)	Mangifera indica L. (R),F	mango; damangko (Nauru)
te mao(L,C,S,O,T)	Scaevola sericea Vahl; syn. S. taccada (Gaertn.) Roxb. var. sericea (Vahl)	salt bush, half-flower; gunnat, kunnat, konnat,

	St. John (I)	kannat, kunat, kenat, kinnat, mar(Marshall Is.);emet, emed (Nauru)
te marou(l,C,T)	Ocimum basilicum L. (R),F	sweet basil; dementsi(Nauru)
te marou(l,O,T)	Ocimum sanctum L. (R),D	sweet basil; tulsi(Hindi); demere(Nauru)
*te marou(L); see te aroa(O)	Suriana maritima L. (I)	
te maukinikin (extreme or passionate pinch)(O)	Tribulus cistoides L. (I)	puncture vine
te maunei(L,C,s, o,T)	Cyperus laevigatus L. (I)	smooth flat sedge, makaloa sedge (Hawaii)
te maunei(C,s)	Eleocharis geniculata (L.) R. & S. (I)	sedge
te meren(l,T)	Citrullus lanatus (Thunb.) Matsum & Tan. var. caffrorum (Alef.) Fosb; syn. C. vulgaris Schrad. ex Eckl. & Zeyh. (R),F	watermelon
te meren(l,T)	Cucumis melo L. var. cantalupensis Naud. (R),F	rock melon, cantaloupe
te meria(C,s,O,T)	Plumeria obtusa L. (R),D	white frangipani, plumeria
te meria(L,C,S, O,T)	Plumeria rubra L.; syn. P. acuminata Ait. (R),D	frangipani, plumeria, temple tree
te merikora(T)	Tagetes erecta L. (R),D	merigold, African merigold
te mota(T); te moota(T); te uekeueke(S)	Amaranthus dubius Mart.; syn. A. gracilis sensu Catala and Guillaumin, non Desf. (R),W	spleen amaranth; moca (pronounced motha) (Fijian)

te mota(T), te moota(T)	Amaranthus viridis L. (R),W	slender amaranth, pig weed, green amaranth; moca (pronounced motha)(Fijian)
te motiti(C,S); te moteti(l)	Gomphrena globosa L. (R),D	bachelor button, everlasting flower
te mtea(L,C,s, O,T)	Portulaca australis Endl. syns. P samoensis v. Poelln. (I),F	nat'te, buhang. (Marshall Is.)
te mumute(T)	Cyperus rotundus L. (R),W	nut sedge, nut grass
*te mwemweara (L,S,O,T); see te babaia (C,S,O,T)	Carica papaya L. (R),F	papaya, pawpaw, dababaia(Nauru)

N

nambere(T); te bere(T)	Hibiscus manihot L.; syn. Abelmoschus manihot (L.) Moench (R),F	hibiscus spinach; bele (Fiji); pele(Tonga, Samoa)
nei karairai (Miss or Mrs. Karairai)(T)	Tecoma stans (L.) Juss. ex HBK.; syn. Stenolobium stans (L.) D.Don. (R),D	yellow elder, yellow bells
*te nekeneke(S); see te ukeuke (s,O,T);te uekeuke(l)	Laportea ruderalis (Forst.f.) Chew; syn. Fleurya ruderalis (Forst.f.) Gaud. ex Wedd. (I)	nen ketekut (Marshall Is.)
te ni(L,C,S,O,T)	Cocos nucifera L. (A),F	coconut
te nikabubuti (spreading nika)(s,O)	Sonneratia alba J.E. Sm. (I)	white mangrove
te nika matutu (sleeping nika)(S,O) te kaimatu(S)	Sophora tomentosa L. (I)	silver bush
te nimareburebu	Hernandia sonora L.; syns.	lantern tree;

c (L,C,S,O,T); te bingibing (l,S,T)	H. ovigera sensu auct. non L.; H. nymphaeaefolia (Presl) Kubitzki (I)	pingping (Marshall Is.); etiu, yetiu (Nauru)
te nimatore (l,s,T); te kimatore(l,T)	Macaranga carolinensis Volk. (I)	macaranga
te non(L,C,S, O,T)	Morinda citrifolia L. (I)	beach mulberry; nonu(Tonga, Samoa, Tuvalu); noni(Hawaii); nen, nin (Marshall Is.); deneno(Nauru)
te ntanini (L,C,S,O,T)	Cassytha filiformis L. (I)	beach dodder; kaanin, kani, kanun, kenen (Marshall Is.); denuwanini (Nauru)
NG		
te ngea(L,C, S,O,T)	Pemphis acidula Forst. (I)	pemphis; ngingie, (Tonga); ngiengie, kengi (Marshall Is.)
B		
te babaia(C,S, O,T);te mwem-weara(L,S,O,T)	Carica papaya L. (R),F	pawpaw, papaya; dababaia (Nauru)
te babai(L,C,S O,T)	Cyrtosperma chamissonis (Schott.) Merr. (A),F	giant swamp taro; dababai(Nauru)
te baigan(T)	Solanum melongena L. (R),F	egg plant, aubergine; baigan (Fiji Hindi)
te bainaboro(L,T); te bainabora (L,S)	Ananas comosus (L.) Merr. (R),F	pineapple
te baireati(L,C,	Barringtonia asiatica	fish-poison tree,

O,T); te bairiati(L,S)	(L.) Kurz (I)	barringtonia; kwenbabai, kwenababai (Nauru)
te bam(palm)(O)	Cycas circinalis L. (R),D	cycad
te bam(palm)l,s, O,T)	Prichardia pacifica Seem. and Wendl. (R),D	Fiji fan palm; dabam(Nauru)
*te bamkin(L,T); see te baukin (L.C,O,T); te bangke(N)(L,T)	Cucurbita pepo L. (R),F	pumpkin; dabam-akin(Nauru)
te banana(L,C,S, O,T)	Musa(AAA Group) äRobusta' Simmons; syns. Musa x sapientum L., M. paradi-siaca L. ssp. sapientum (L.) O. Ktze. (R),F nana(Nauru)	Cavendish banana, Mons Marie, robusta; pisang Ambon(Indo-nesia); daba-
te banana(c,s,T); te oraora(to eat raw)(T)	Musa(AAB Group) äMysore' Simmons (R),F	Lady's finger banana; tamatama ai lima(Tu-valu); dabanana (Nauru)
te banana(T), te wae(leg)(T)	Musa(AAB) Group äMaia maoli' Simmons; syn. Musa x paradisiac L. (R),F	Plaintain; maia maoli(Tahiti); vudi(pronounced vundi)(Fiji); hopa(Tonga)
te banana(c,s,T), te umuumu(T)	Musa(ABB Group) Simmons (R),F	äBluggoe' Plaintain, bluggoe; bata (Fiji); pata (Tonga,Samoa, Tuvalu); dabanana(Nauru)
*te bangke(N) (L,T); see te baukin(L,C, O,T); te bamkin(L,T)	Cucurbita pepo L. (R),F	pumpkin; dabamakin (Nauru)
te baraki(upside down(C,o,T); te bin(bean) (l,C,O,T)	Physalis angulata L.; syn. P. minima sensu auct. non L. (R),W	cape gooseberry, bladderberry, ground cherry; oatamo, watamo (Nauru)

te baraki(upside down)(S,t); te bin(bean) (N)(l,T)	Physalis peruviana L. (R),W	cape gooseberry, bladder berry; oatamo, watamo (Nauru)
te barariku(l,S); te bararuku(l)	Dioclea reflexa Hook.f.? (E?)(drift seed?)	sea bean
te baubau(l,S, O,T); te baobao(l)	Gossypium barbadense L. (R),O	sea island cotton; duwoduwo(Nauru)
te baukin(L,C,O, T);te bamakin, (L,T); te bangke(N)(L,T)	Cucurbita pepo L. (R),F kin(Nauru)	pumpkin; dabama-
te beneka(vine-gar)(T)	Capsicum annuum L. var. acuminatum Fingerh. (R),F	long cayenne chili; epeba (Nauru)
te beneka(vine-gar)(L,C,O,T)	Capsicum frutescens L. (R),F	tobasco, perennial chili, bird chili; epeba(Nauru)
*te bere(T); see nambere(T)	Hibiscus manihot L.; syn. Abelmoschus manihot (L.) Moench. (R),F	hisbiscus spinach, bele (Fijian), pele (Tonga, Samoa)
te bero(L,C, S,O,T)	Ficus tinctoria Forst.f. var. neo-ebudarum (Summerh.) Fosb. (I),F	wild fig, Pacific fig, Dyer's fig; felo (Tuvalu); debero (Nauru)
te bero(L,C, S,O,T)	Ficus tinctoria Forst.f. var. tinctoria (I),F	wild fig, Pacific fig, Dyer's fig; felo (Tuvalu); debero (Nauru)
te biku(fig)(L,C, S,O,T)	Ficus carica L. (R)	common fig
the biku(fig)(O)	Passiflora foetida L. var. hispida (DC) Killip. (R),W	wild passionfruit, stinking passion flower; oatamo,watamo (Nauru)

*te bin(bean) (l,C,O,T);see te baraki(s,T)	Physalis angulata L.; syn. P. minima sensu auch. non L. (R),W	(cape gooseberry, bladderberry, ground cherry; oatamo, watamo (Nauru)
*te bin(bean) (l,T); see te baraki (S,T)	Physalis peruviana L. (R)	cape gooseberry, bladderberry; oatamo,watamo (Nauru)
te bin(bean)(s,T)	Vigna sesquipedalis (L.) Fruw.; syn. V unguiculata (L.) Walp. ssp. sesqui-pedalis (L.) Verdc. (R),F	long bean, yard-long bean, asparagus bean snake bean
*te bingibing (l,s,T); see te nimareburebu (L,C,s,O,T)	Hernandia sonora L.; syns. H. ovigera sensu auct. non L.; H. nymphaeaefolia (Presl) Kubitzki (I)	lantern tree; pingping (Marshall Is.); etiu, yetiu (Nauru)
te bingibing(L, C,S)	Thespesia populnea (L.) Sol. ex Correa (I)	milo(Tonga, Hawaii); itira, itirya(Nauru)
te bitati(l,S,T)	Jasminum sambac (L.) Ait. (R),D	Arabian jasmine, pikake(Hawaii); pitasi(Tuvalu); rimone(Nauru)
te boi(L,C,S,O,T)	Portulaca lutea Sol. (I)	seaside purslane; purya, kiran (Marshall Is.).
te boi(S,O,T)	Portulaca oleracea L. var. granulato-stellulata v. Poelln. (R),W,F	purslane, pig-weed; debois, deboiy(Nauru)
te boi(C,O)	Sesuvium portulacastrum L. var. griseum Deg. & Fosb. (I)	seaside pruslane
te boro(T)	Capsicum annuum L. var. grossum (L.) Sendtn. (R),F	bell pepper, sweet pepper, capsicum; boro (Fiji); polo (Tonga)
*te buangi(C); see te tongo	Bruguiera gymnorhiza (L.) Lam.; syn. B. conjugata	oriental mangrove; tongo(Tonga,

(L,C,s,T); te tongo buangi (L,s)	(L.) Merr. (I)	Samoa, Tuvalu); dogo(pronounced dongo)(Fiji); etum, etam (Nauru)
te buka(L,C,S, O,T)	Pisonia grandis R. Br. (I)	pisonia; puka tea (Tuvalu); puka (Samoa); puko (Tonga);kangl (Marshall Is.): yangis, yangits (Nauru)
te bukare(C,S)	Ruppia maritima L. var. pacifica St. John & Fosb. (I)	sea tassel, widgeon grass
te bumorimori (soft bud)(O,T)	Calatropis gigantea (L.) R. Br. (R),D	giant milkweed, crown flower
te buraroti (rose-like) (C,O,T)	Catharanthus rosea (L.) G. Don; syn. Vinca rosea L. (R)	Madagascar periwinkle, vincus
*te burukam(blue gum)(O); see te katurina	Casuarina equisetifolia L.; syn. C. litorea L. var. litorea (R),O	causuarina, iron-wood, she oak

K

te kabe(l,T)	Alocasia macrorrhiza(L.) G. Don (A?),D	giant taro; 'ape (Hawaii, Cook Islands, Hawaii); kape (Tonga)
te kabekau (painted wo-man, prosti-tute)(L,C, S,O,T)	Euphorbia cyathophora Murr.; syn. E. heterophylla sensu auct. non L. (R),W	wild poinsettia, false poin-settia, dwarf poinsettia, Mexican fire plant, hypo-crite plant; deriba, deribeh (Nauru)
te kabiti(cabbage); te kabiti n Tiaina(China) (T)	Brassica chinensis Juss. var. chinensis (R),F	Chinese cabbage, paak tsoi (Chinese)

te kabiti(cabbage); te kabiti n Tiaina(China) (T)	Brassica juncea (L.) Czern & Cossin (R),F	mustard cabbage, kai tsoi (Chinese)
te kabiti(cabbage), te kabiti ni Imatang (European)(T)	Brassica oleracea L. var. capitata L.; syn. B. oleracea var. bullata DC. (R),F	English cabbage, head cabbage
te kabiti(cabbage), te kabiti n Tiaina(China), (T)	Brassica XX hybrid (R),F	saladeer hybrid Chinese cabbage
te kaibaba(plank or rope tree) (s,L)	Bambusa sp. (R),O	bamboo;ebarabaratu (Nauru)
te kaibake (tobacco plant) (L,S,O,T)	Nicotiana tabacum L. (R),O	tobacco
te kaibakoa (shark tree); (O,T); te aketia(acacia) (l)	Acacia farnesiana (L.) Willd. (R),D	klu, aroma; debena(Nauru)
te kaibaun(golden plant)(L,C,S, O,T)	Russelia equisetiformis Schlect & Cham. (R),D	coral plant
te kaibuaka(bad plant)(O,T)	Lantana camara L. var. aculeata (L.) Mold. (R),D	lantana; migiroa (Nauru)
te kaibuaka(bad plant)(O,T)	Lantana camara L. var. camara (R),D	lantana; migiroa (Nauru)
te kaiboia (smelly plant) (l,C,O,T)	Dodonea viscosa (L.) Jacq. (I?)	native hop bush; eteweo, eteweau (Nauru)
te kaikare(curry bush)(O,T);te karei(O)	Pluchea symphytifoli (Mill.) Gillis; syn, P. odorata Cass. (R),W	stinking fleabane,, curry plant
te kaimamara(weak plant)(l,O)	Polyscias fruticosa (L.) Harms (R),D	panax
*te kaimamara(weak	Polyscias guilfoylei (Cogn.	panax, hedge panax

plant)(L);see te toara(the odd number)(C,S, O,T)	& March) Bailey (R),D	
te kaimatu(sleeping plant) (L,C,S,O,T)	Phyllanthus amarus Sch. & Th. (R),W; syn. P. niruri sensu auct. plur non L.	sleeping plant
te kaina(L,C, S,O,T)	Pandanus tectorius Park. (I & A?)	pandanus, screw pine; epo, epuh (Nauru)
te kaisoka (sugar plant) (T); te kaikarewe(toddy plant)(S)	Saccharum officinarum L. (R),F	sugarcane; tugage (Nauru)
te kaitetua(law or government tree)(T)	Leucaena leucocephala (Lam.) de Wit syn. L. glauca (L.) Benth. (R),O	leucaena; koa Haole (Hawaii)
te kaitu(oozing plant)(l)	Vitex trifolia L. var. bicolor (Lam) Mold.; syn. Vitex negundo L. var. bicolor (Willd.) Lam ? (I)	beach vitex; dagaidu, degaidu(Nauru)
te kanawa(L,C, S,O,T)	Cordia subcordata Lam. (I)	sea trumpet; kou (Hawaii); nawanawa(Fiji); puataukanave (Tonga); tauanave(Samoa); kanava(Tuvalu); kano, koko (Marshall Is.); eongo, eoongo, eowongo(Nauru)
te kangkong(T); te ruku(O)	Impomoea aquatica Forsk. syn. I. reptans Poir. (R),F	water spinach, swamp cabbage, water convolvulus; karamua (Fiji Hindi); horenso(Japan); Lorenzo (Nauru)
te kateketeke (thorn or burr)	Cenchrus echinatus L. (R),W	burr grass, sand burr;

(L,C,s,O,T); te anti(O)		eakung(Nauru)
te katia(cassia) (l,O,T)	Cassia occidentalis L. (R),W	coffee senna, arsenic bean; tan braua (sunflower) (Nauru)
te katia(cassia) (l,t)	Cassia sp. (R),D	cassia tree
te katiru(s,O,T); te katuru(N) (l,s,O,T)	Ixora casei Hance (R),D	ixora
te katurina(T); te burukam(O) (blue gum); te katuarina(O)	Casuarina equisetifolia L.; syn. C. litorea L. (R),O	casurarina, ironwood, she oak; tanenbaum (German for Christmas tree)(Nauru)
te kaura(L,C, S,O,T)	Sida fallax Walp. (I) ilima (Hawaii);	kio(Marshall Is.);ekaura, idibin ekaura (Nauru)
te kaura(L,C); te kaura ni	Abutilon indicum (L.) Sweet (R?), D or A. asiaticum var. Albescens (Miq.) Fosb.	Indian mallow; ekaura, Banaba(C) inen kaura (Nauru)
te kaura(L,S);te kaura ni Banaba(C,O)	Wollastonia biflora (L.) DC.; syns. Wedelia biflora (L.) DC.; Wedelia strigulosa DC. (R?),D	wedelia; marajej, marijetch, morijetch, marjatch, marjej, mojej, moredjet, moredjit, markeue, markueue, margueue, markebuebue, markubwebwe, markuwewe, merkuekue, mergwebit (Marshall Is.)

te keang(C,O,T); te keang ni Makin(S,T), te keang ini Makin(l,O)	Polyopodium scolopendria Burm.f.; syns. Phymatodes scolopendria (Burm.f.) Ching; and Microsorium scolopendria (Burm.f.) Copel. (I)	scented fern; lawai fern (Hawaii); dakeang, dageang(Nauru)
te keang(T); te keang ni Imatang(T)	Nephrolepis hirsutula (Forst.f.) Presl. (I)	sword fern; dakeang; dageang(Nauru)
*te keang ni Makin(C); see te mai(T)	Artocarpus altilis x marianensis (A?),F	hybrid breadfruit
te keang(C,S)	Thalassia hemprichii (Erenb.) Aschers. (I)	turtle grass; seagrass
te kiaiai(L,C,S, O,T);te rao (N)(C,S,T),te rau(O)	Hibiscus tiliaceus L. (I)	beach hibiscus tree; vau (Fiji); fau (Tonga, Samoa); burao(Tahiti); purau (Tahiti) hau (Hawaii); law (Marshall Is.) ekwane(Nauru)
te kiaou(L,C,S, O,T)	Triumfetta procumbens Forst.f. (I)	beach burr; at'al (Marshall Is.); ikiau,ikiow, igiau(Nauru)
te kiebu(l,C,S, O,T); te ruru (C,O)te ruru n aine(female (O)	Crinum asiaticum L. var. (R),D	spider lily, giant crinum lily; dagiebu, dagibu (Nauru)
te kiebu(L,S)	Crinum asiaticum L. var. pedunculatum (R. Br.) Fosb. & Sachet; syns. C. pedunculatum R. Br.; C. australe Don (R),D	kiep, kieb (Marshall Is.); dagiebu, dagibu (Nauru)
te kiebu(O)	Crinum augustum Ker-Gawl? (R),D	Queen Emma lily
te kimarawa(C,S) (Nauru)	Psilotum nudum (L.) Beauv. (I)	psilotum, reed fern; ibiribir

*te kimatore(l,T); see te nimatore(l,s,T)	Macaranga carolinensis Volk. (I)	macaranga
te kiriawa(l,s); te kiriaua(l)	Ficus prolixa Forst.f.? (E?)	native banyan
te kitoko(C,s,T)	Canavalia cathartica Thou.; syn. C. microcarpa (DC.) Piper (I)	Mauna Loa bean (Hawaii); manlap, marlap, (Marshall Is.); erekogo, irekogo (Nauru)
te kitoko(s,T)	Vigna marina (Burm.) Merr. (I)	beach pea; erekogo (Nauru)
te kuawa(T); te kuwawa(T)	Psidium guajava L. (R),F	guava,quwawa (Fiji); kuava (Tonga); kuwawa (Nauru)
te kukamba(T)	Cucumis sativus L. (R),F	cucumber
te kona(S,T), te kon(T)	Zea mays L. (R),F	corn, maize
te kumara(L,C, S,O,T)	Ipomoea batatas (L.) Lam. (R),F	sweet potato, kumara; kumala (Fiji, Tonga)
te kunikun(L,C, S,O,T); te tarin(O)	Terminalia catappa L. (I),F	beach almond, sea almond, Malabar almond, Indian almond; kutil (Marshall Is.); etetah, eteto (Nauru)

R

te raim(L,S,T)	Citrus aurantiifolia (Christm.) Swingle (R),F	lime; derem, deraim(Nauru)
*te rao(N)(C,S,T); kiaiai, (L,C,S,O,T); te rau(O)	Hibiscus tiliaceus L. (I)	beach hibiscus see te tree; vau (Fiji); fau (Tonga,Samoa); burao(Tahiti);

		hau(Hawaii); ekwane(Nauru)
te rauti(l,C,S, O,T)	Cordyline fruticosa (L.) Chev., syn, C. terminalis (L.) Kunth (R?),D	cordyline; rauti (Cook Islands); si(Tonga); ti, ki(Hawaii); lauti(Tuvalu)
te reiango(l,s)	Cerbera manghas L.? (I?)	cerbera, poison apple; derei-ongo, derei-yongo(Nauru)
te remen(L,T); remon(S,T)	Citrus limon(L.) Burm.f. (R)	lemon
te ren(L,C,S,O,T)	Tournefortia argentea L.f.; syn. Messerschmidia argentea (L.f.) (I) Johnst.	beach heliotrope; irin(Nauru)
te ritanin(l,C, S,O,T); te titania(O)	Cyperus javanicus Houtt.; syn. Mariscus javanicus (Houtt.) Merr. (I)	marsh cypress; sedge; reyenbangabanga (Nauru)
*te ritanin(L);see te titania(L, s,o,t)	Cyperus odoratus L.? (I)	sedge
te riti(wick)(O)	Canna indica L. (R),D	Indian shot, canna lily
te riti(wick)(O)	Canna x hybrida Hort. ex Back (R),D	hybrid canna lily
te robu(rope) (l,c,s,o,T); te rob'(l); te kaibaba(O)	Agave rigida Mill. var. sisalana Perrine ex Engelm.; syn. A. sisalana Perrine ex	sisal, malina
Engelm. (R),O		
te roti(rose)		
Hibiscus rosa-sinensis L. (L,s,O,T)	hibiscus; dorot (R),D	(Nauru)
te roti(rose)(T)	Hibiscus ornamental hybrids (R),D	hybrid hibiscus

te roti(rose) (l,s,t)	Rosa multiflora Thunb. (R),D	rose
te roti(rose) (L,s,O)	Zephyranthes rosea (Lind.) Green (R),D	zephyr flower, zephyr lily, pink lady, pink star of Bethlehem
*te ruku(O); see kangkong(T)	Ipomoea aquatica Forsk. (R),F	swamp cabbage, te water convolvulus, cangcong (Philippines); ung tsoi (Chinese); horenso(Japan); Lorenzo(Nauru)
te ruku(T)	Ipomoea littoralis Bl., syn. I. gracilis sensu auct. non R. Br. (I)	
te ruku(L,C,S, O,T)	Ipomoea macrantha R. & S., syn. I. tuba (Sclecht.) G. Don (I)	moon flower; bele, marabele, marbele, maralap, (Marshall Is.)
te ruku(L,C,S, ruku maeao(O)	Ipomoea pes-caprae (L.) Sweet ssp. brasiliensis (L.) v. Ooststr.; syn. I. brasiliensis (L.) Sweet (I)	beach morning O,T); te glory, goat's foot morning glory; marji-ejojo(Marshall Is.); erekogo, irekogo(Nauru)
te ruru(trembling lily)(s,T); te ruru ni mmane(O)	Hymenocallis littoralis (Jacq.) Salisb.; syn. Pancratium littorale Jacq. (R),D	spider lily
te ruru ni lily of France?)(O)	Rhoeo spathacea (Sw.) Stearn; syn. R. discolor L'He'r. (R),D	oyster plant, Buranti(the tradescantia, Moses in a boat

T

te tabioka (tapioca)(l,T)	Manihot esculenta Cran M. utilissima Pohl. (R),F	cassava, manioc, tapioka;

		tavioka(Fiji)
te taninganiba (tasteless or repulsive ear) (L,s)	Earliella corrugata ? (I)	fungus
te taninganiba (tasteless or repulsive ear) (L,s)	Polyporus sanguinensis L. ex. Fries (I)	fungus
te taninganiba (tasteless or repulsive ear)	Myxomycetes (I)	fungus
te taororo(L,C, S,O,T)	Colocasia esculenta (L.). Schott (A),F	taro; talo(Tonga,. Samoa); taro (Cook Is., Tahiti); dalo, rourou(taro-leaf spinach) (Fiji); de taro (Nauru)
te taororo(T)	Xanthosoma sagittifolium (L.) Schott (R),F	tannia, cocoyam; detaro(Nauru)
te tarai(L,C,s, O,T)	Euphorbia chamissonis (Kl. & Gke.) Boiss.;syn. E. atoto sensu auct. non Forst.f. (I)	beach spurge; mal dok, beran, puripur (Marshall Is.)
te tarai(s,O,T)	Euphorbia geniculata Ortega (R),W	wild spurge
te tarai(s,O,T)	Euphorbia glomerifera (Millsp.) Wheeler (R),W	spurge
te tarai(C,s,O,T), te tarai Kutiaie(Kusaie, Korsre)(L,T)	Euphorbia hirta L. (R),W	spurge, asthma plant
te tarai(L,s,O,T)	Euphorbia prostrata Ait. (R),W	prostrate spurge
te tarai(s,T)	Euphorbia rubicunda Steud.; syn. E. thymifolia L. auct. non L. (R),W	thyme-leaved spurge
te tiare(l,T)	Gardenia taitensis DC. (R),D	Tahitian gardenia;

		tiare Tahiti (Tahiti); tiare Maori (Cook Islands); tieri(Rotuma)
te tinia(L,T)	Zinnia elegans Jacq. (R),D	zinnia
*te titania (zizania)(O); see te ritanin (l,C,s,O,T)	Cyperus javanicus Houtt. (I)	marsh cyperus
te titania (zizania) (L,s,o,t)	Cyperus odoratus L.? (I)	sedge
te titania(s,o,t)	Cyperus polystachyos Rottb. (I?)	sedge
te toara(the odd number)(l,C,S, o,T); te kai-mamara(L)	Polyscias guilfoylei (Cogn. & March) Bailey; syn. Nothopanax guilfoylei (Cogn. & March) Merr. (R),D	panax, hedge panax
te toara(the odd number)(T)	Polyscias scutellaria (Burm. f.) Fosb. (R),D	panax
te tomato(L,T)	Solanum lycopersicum L.; syn.Lycopersicon esculentum Mill. (R),F	tomato
te tongo(l,C,s, O,T)	Rhizophora mucronata Lam. var. stylosa Griff. (I)	red mangrove, American mangrove; dogo (pronounced dongo)(Fiji); tongo(Tonga); jong, chong (Marshall Is.)
te tongo(L,C,s,T); te tongo, buangi(L,s), te buangi(C)	Bruguiera gymnorhiza (L.) Lam.; syn. B. conjugata (L.) Merr. (I)	oriental mangrove; tongo(Tonga, Samoa, Tuvalu); dogo(pronounced dongo)(Fiji); etum, etam (Nauru)
*te tongo kai(L); see te aitoa (l,C,S,O,T)	Lumnitzera littorea (Jack) Voigt. (I)	

te tua(law or government) (l,C,S,O,T)	Delonix regia (Boj.) Raf. (R),D	flamboyant, flame tree,poinciana; bin(bean), red tree(Nauru)	
W			
*te wae(T)(leg); see te banana	Musa(AAB Group) Simmonds (R),	plantain,maia F vudi,vundi (Fiji); hopa (Tonga)	Maoli(Tahiti);
te wao(L,C,S,O,T)	Boerhavia repens L. syn. B. diffusa sensu auct. non L. (I)	rabijraka, matok (Marshall Is.)	
te wao(C,T); te wao n anti(O); te wao ni anti(S)	Boerhavia tetrandra Forst.;, B. diffusa L. var. tetrandra Forst. f. (I)		

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APPENDIX

The 111 plant species(plus one variety and one hybrid) reportedly present at some time in Kiribati, but which seem to have no recognized local Kiribati vernacular name (The letters L,C,F,O and T refer to those works citing the presence of a given species, with L = Luomala, 1953; C = Calala, 1956; F = Fosberg, Sachet and Oliver, 1979 or 1982, and/or Fosberg and Sachet, 1987; O = Overy, Polunin and Wimblett, 1982; and T = field citation by Thaman, 1985. I = indigenous; A = aboriginal introduction; R = recent post-European contact introduction; D = decorative or ornamental plant; F = food plant; W = weedy species and introduced grasses).

Abutilon asiaticum (L.) Sweet var. albescens (Miq.) Fosb. (F) I
Acalypha hispida Burm.f. (F) R,D
Achyranthes canescens R. Br. (F) I
Adenostemma lanceolatum Miq. (F) R?,W
Adiantum raddianum Presl (C,F) R,D
Agave americana L. (F) R,D
Allamanda hendersonii Bull (C,F,T) R,D
Allamanda violacea Gardiner & Field (T) R,D
Allophylus timoriensis (DC) Bl. (F) I
Alternanthera ficoidea var. bettzickiana (Regel) Backer (F) R,D
Angelonia angustifolia Benth. (C,T) R,D
Angelonia salicariaefolia H. & B. (F) R,D
Annona squamosa L. (T) R,F
Antigonon leptopus H & A (C,F,T) R,D
Apium petroselinum L. (F) R,F
Asclepias curassavica L. (C,F,O) R,D
Asplenium nidus L. (C,F) R,D
Aster laevis L. (F) R,D
Asystasia gangetica (L.) Andres (F,O) R,D
Bacopa monnieri (L.) Wettst. (C,F) I
Basella rubra L. (C,F) R,F
Beta vulgaris L. var cicla L. (T) R,F
Bidens pilosa L. (O,F.T) R,W
Boerhavia albiflora Fosb. (F) I
Brassica oleracea L. var. gongyloides (T) R,F
Breynia disticha J.R. & G. (Forst (T) R,D
Caesalpinia bonduc (L.) Roxb. I
Caladium bicolor (Ait.) Vent (F,O) R,D
Cestrum nocturnum L. (T) R,D
Chicorium endivia L. (C,F) R,F
Clitorea ternatea L. (L,C,F) R,D
Coccoloba uvifera L. (F,O) R,D
Codiaeum variegatum (L.) Bl. (F,O,T) R,D
Conyza bonariensis (L.) Cronq. (F) R,W

Crateva speciosa Volk (F,T) R,F
Crotalaria spectabilis Roth (F,T) R,W
Crotalaria retusa L. (O)? R,W
Curcuma longa L. (F) A?
Cymbopogon citratus (DC.ex Nees) Stapf. (T) R,F
Cynodon dactylon (L.) Pers. (F,T) R,W
Cyperus brevifolius (Rottb.) Hassk. (F) R,W
Cyperus compressus L. (C,F) R,W
Cyperus kyllingia End. (F) R,W
Daucus carota L. (T) (Nees Stapf. (T) R,F
Desmodium heterocarpon (L.) DC. (F) R,W
Desmodium tortuosum (Sw.) DC. (F,O) R, W
Digitaria pacifica Stapf. (F) I?
Digitaria radicosa (J.S. Presl.) Miq. (F) I?
Dracaena deremensis Engler (T) R,D
Dracaena fragrans (L.) Ker-Gawl (T) R,D
Echinochloa crus-galli (L.) Beauv. (F) R,W
Eleocharis acicularis (L.) R. & S. (F) I
Eleutheranthera ruderalis (Sw.) Sch.-Bip (O,T) R,W
Eragrostis whitneyi Fosb. (F) R?,W
Eustachys petraea (Sw.) Desv. (F) R,W
Fagraea berteriana Gray ex Benth. (F) R?,D
Ficus bengalensis L. (F) R,D
Fimbristylis dichotoma (L.) Vahl. I
Gaillardia pulchella Foug. (C,F) R,D
Gliricidia sepium (Jacq.) Steud. (C,F,O,T) R,D
Gloriosa superba L. (F,O,T) R,D
Graptophyllum pictum (L.) Griff. (T) R,D
Hedyotis biflora (L.) Lam. (C,F,O) I?
Hedyotis verticillata (L.) Lam. (F) I
Hemigraphis reptans (Forst.) T. Anders (F) I
Hippaestrum puniceum (Lam.) Urb. (T) R,D
Ixora coccinea L.(C,F) R,D
Kalanchoe tubiflora (Harvey) Hamet (F,T) R,D
Lactuca sativa L. (T) R,F
Lepturus pilgerianus Hans. & Potzt. (F) I?
Licuala grandis H.Wendl. (T) R,D
Melochia odorata L.f.(F) R,W
Mentha piperita L. (F,T) R,F
Momordica charantia L. (T) R,F
Mucuna gigantea Willd. (F) I(drift seed?)
Neisosperma oppositifolia (Lam.) Fosb. & Sachet (F) I
Nephrolepis biserrata (Sw.) Schott (F) I
Oxalis corniculata L. (F) R,W
Passiflora edulis Sims (F,T) R,F
Panicum distachyon L. (F) R,W
Panicum subquadriparum Trin. (F) R,W
Pedilanthus tithymaloides Poiteaa (L.) Poit (O,F,T) R,D
Pennisetum ciliare (L.) Link (F) R,W
Pennisetum polystachion (L.) Schult. (F) R,W
Pennisetum purpureum Schumach. (F) R,W
Pentas lanceolata (Forsk.) DeFlers (F) R,D

Pilea microphylla (L.) Liebm (F,C,O,T) R,W
Plectranthus scuttellariodes (L.) R.Br. (F,O,T) R,D
Pluchea indica (L.) Less. (C,F) R,W
Pluchea x fosbergii Coop. & Gal. (F) R,W
Polygala paniculata L. (F,O,T) R,W
Polyscias filicifolia (Moore) Baily (F,T) R,D
Polyscias grandifolia Volkens (F,O) R,D
Portulaca grandiflora Hook (T) R,D
Prosopis pallida (H. & B.ex Willd.) HBK. (F) R,D
Pteris tripartita Sw. (F,O) I
Pueraria lobata (Willd.) Ohwi (F,O) R,W?
Rhaphanus sativus L. var. sativa (F,T) R,F
Ricinus communis L. (L,C,F,O,T) R,D
Rosa multiflora Thunb. hort. var (F) R,D
Saintpaulia ionantha Wendl. (T) R,D
Setcreasia purpurea B.K. Boom (T) R,D
Sida rhombifolia L. (F,O,T), R,W
Solanum torvum Sw. (F,C) R,W
Spermacoce assurgens R. & P. (F,O.T) R,W
Sporobolis diander (Retz.) Beauv. (F) R,W
Sporobolis fertilis (Steud.) Clayton (F) R,W
Synedrella nodiflora (L.) Gaertn. (C,F,O,.T) R,W
Tamarindus indica L. (C, F) R,F
Tridax procumbens L. (C,F,O) R,W
Vernonia cinerea L. (Less) (L,C.O,F,T) R,W
Zinnia pauciflora L. (F) R,D