PLANT TAXONOMIC SYSTEMS AND ETHNOBOTANY OF THREE CONTEMPORARY

INDIAN GROUPS OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

(HAIDA, BELLA COOLA, AND LILLOOET)

by

Nancy Jean Turner

B.Sc., University of Victoria, 1969

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the Department of Botany

We accept this thesis as conforming to the required standard

The University of British Columbia
September, 1973

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the Head of my Department or by his representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

that the second of the second	A 47 A				
The second of th	the state of the s				
LIODONTHONE OF	D 0 T 0 1111				
Department of	ROTANY	1. 新华 - 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.	40 5 3 9 3 95		
	DULHUL		24 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 -		

The University of British Columbia Vancouver 8, Canada

Date\_\_September 14, 1973

#### ABSTRACT

Plant names in three Pacific Northwest Indian languages -- Haida (Skidegate and Masset dialects), Bella Coola, and Lillooet (Fraser River "dialect") -- were analyzed semantically and taxonomically. A computerized sorting system was developed to handle pertinent information associated with these names and their corresponding plant types.

At the present time, each language contains an average of about 150 generic-level plant names, over 50% of which correspond in a one-to-one fashion with botanical species. Some of the names have no meaning other than as plant names, but most are analyzable into smaller units of meaning, reflecting traditional beliefs, utilization, innate characteristics of the plants, or their resemblance to some substance, object, or other plant. Some of the generic terms are obviously borrowed from other languages, and a number of taxa can be found in each language which originally applied to indigenous species and have been expanded in recent times to include cultivated or imported counterparts.

Each language contains a few general "life-form" plant names, a number of intermediate taxa -- usually unnamed, and in Haida and Lillooet, a few specific-level terms. None of the groups has an all-inclusive word for "plant". There are also several specialized generic-level terms in each language, and many general names for parts of plants.

Cultural significance of plants correlates positively with the degree of specificity of names applied to them, with the number of

specialized terms associated with them, and with the lexical retention of their names in diverging dialects. Linguistic origin, floristic diversity, cultural traits, inter-group contact, and especially the recent acculturation of native peoples into "white" society, are believed to be major factors influencing the character of phytotaxonomic systems of the three study groups.

Maps of the study areas are provided, and appendixes are included listing all plant names used in the study, their botanical correspondence, and the utilization and cultural significance of the plants involved.

# CONTENTS

어머니라도 얼마나는 이 다음에 다른 병에 가지 않는데 얼마를 살아 하는데 되었다면 하는데 되었다면 하다고 되었다.	Page
ABSTRACT	
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	<b>1x</b>
INTRODUCTORY QUOTATION	хi
PREFACE	xii
PLATES	хiv
INTRODUCTION	1
BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY	7
The Haida Indians	7
The Bella Coola Indians	12
The Lillooet Indians	16
METHODOLOGY	22
Ethnoscience and Componential Analysis	22
Ethnoscience with Respect to the Present Research Program	26
Research Procedures Used in the Study	35
a) Literature research	35.
b) Field vegetation surveys	36
c) Consultation with native informants	38
d) Synthesis of data	43
RESULTS	61
Phytotaxa of the Haida, Bella Coola, and Lillooet Indians	61
a) Unique beginner	62
b) Major life-form categories	68
i) Haida life-form categories	72
ii) Bella Coola life-form categories	78
iii) Lillooet life-form categories	83

c) Intermediate categories	88
d) Generic categories	102
e) Specific and varietal categories	136
Non-taxonomic Botanical Terminology	147
Synonymy in Nomenclatural Systems	149
Cultural Dimensions of Folk Taxonomic Systems	155
DISCUSSION	171
Historical Development of Folk Phytotaxonomic Systems	171
External Factors Influencing Ethnophytotaxonomies	185
Modern Botanical Taxonomy versus Folk Taxonomic Systems	189
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	201
GLOSSARÝ	208
BĪBLĪOGRAPHY	211
Appendix 1. Native People Contributing Information to the Study.	219
Appendix 2. Practical Orthographic Symbols for the Haida Language (Masset and Skidegate dialects).	229
Appendix 3. Practical Orthographic Symbols for the Bella Coola Language.	233
Appendix 4. Practical Orthographic Symbols for Fraser River Lillooet (Upper Lillooet dialect).	235
Appendix 5. An Alphabetical Listing of Folk Segregates for Plants in Skidegate Haida.	237
Appendix 6. An Alphabetical Listing of Folk Segregates for Plants in Masset Haida.	319
Appendix 7. An Alphabetical Listing of Folk Segregates for Plants in Bella Coola.	420
Appendix 8. An Alphabetical Listing of Folk Segregates for Plants in Fraser River Lillooet.	497
Appendix 9. General Botanical Terminology in the Skidegate Dialect of Haida.	552

Appendix	10. General of Haida.	Botanical	Terminology	in the	Masset Dialect	553
Appendix	11. General Language.	Botanical	Terminology	in the	Bella Coola	554
Appendix	12. General Dialect of		Terminology	in the	Fraser River	556
Appendix	13. Index of the Study.	Common Na	mes of Plant	: Specie	es Included in	558

## TABLES

Table	1.	Card design for information directly related to folk segregates for plants.	45
Table	2.	Card design for information relating to botanical taxa delimited by the folk segregates.	50
Table	3.	Card design for information related to the utilization of plants by Pacific Northwest Indians.	53
Tab1e	4.	Keys to codes used in computor sorting system.	57
Table	5.	Examples of plant names in Haida containing the life- form markers, xi1, lhk'aayii (S) / lhk'aay (M), and tlaas or lhk'amaal 12 (M).	69
Table	6.	Haida life-form categories.	79
Table	7.	Bella Coola life-form categories.	84
Table	8.	Fraser River Lillooet life-form categories.	89
Table	9.	Some examples of intermediate taxonomic categories for plants in Haida.	93
Table	10	. Some examples of intermediate taxonomic categories for plants in Bella Coola.	96
Table	11.	. Some examples of intermediate taxonomic categories for plants in Fraser River Lillooet.	99
Table	12	Degree of correspondence of Haida, Bella Coola, and Lillooet plant segregates with botanical species.	104
Table	13.	Selected examples of the five species correspondence categories delimited in Table 12.	105
Table	14	Examples of plant taxa originally involving indigenous species, and expanded in historic times to include imported or cultivated counterparts.	109
Table	15.	Examples of generic plant names known to have been borrowed from other languages.	112
Table	16.	Some examples of unique generic plant names and segments of names.	116
Table	17.	Examples of generic plant terms originating in post-	121

Table	18.	Examples of generic plant names originating from mythology and traditional beliefs.	124
Table	19.	Examples of plants named synonymously with objects and materials manufactured from them.	126
Table	20.	Examples of plants named after innate species characteristics.	127
Table	21.	Examples of plants named after substances or objects they resemble.	131
Table	22.	Examples of plants named after other plants.	133
Table	23.	Examples of plants having generic names which are "types" for broader taxonomic categories.	135
Table	24.	A summary of the nomenclatural criteria applied to plant segregates in Haida, Bella Coola, and Lillooet.	137
Table	25.	Nomenclatural criteria for Hanunoo plants, as denoted by Conklin (1954).	138
Table	26.	Examples of named specific plant taxa in Haida and Lillooet.	140
Table	27.	Examples of specific taxa which are psychologically valid, but which are not recognized nomenclaturally.	142
Table	28.	Examples of specialized "non-taxonomic" botanical terminology in Haida, Bella Coola, and Lillooet.	150
Table	29.	Examples of synonymous generic plant names in Haida, Bella Coola, and Lillooet.	153
Table	30.	Cultural status of plants in relation to their nomen- clatural recognition in Haida, Bella Coola, and Lillooet.	158
Table	31.	Lexical retention and cultural significance of plants in the Skidegate and Masset dialects of Haida.	161
Table	32.	Examples of Skidegate and Masset Haida plant names which are: I. identical, II. cognates, and III. linguistically unrelated.	164
and the second second second	11 FT 6 13	그들은 사람들은 하고 그는 그는 작가 되는 것 같아. 그런 그렇게 그렇게 그렇게 되었습니다. 그들은 그들은 사람들이 가지 않는 것 같아. 그는 그는 것 같아. 그는 그는 그는 그를 걸었습니다.	

# FIGURES

Figure	1.	Map of British Columbia Indian groups, linguistic subdivisions.	
Figure	2.	Territory of the Haida Indians in British Columbia (Queen Charlotte Islands).	<b>.</b>
Figure	3.	Territory of the Bella Coola Indians, showing the vicinity of the permanent village sites.	13
Figure	4.	Territory of the Lillooet Indians, showing linguistic divisions.	18
Figure	5.	Diagrammatic representation of a taxonomic hierarchy.	24
Figure	6.	A diagrammatic scheme of universal phytotaxonomic category types based on conclusions of Berlin (1971) and Raven, Berlin, and Breedlove (1971).	63
Figure	7.	Diagrammatic representation of Haida life-form categories.	81
Figure	8.	Diagrammatic representation of Bella Coola life-form categories.	86
Figure	9.	Diagrammatic representation of Fraser River Lillooet life-form categories.	91
Figure	10.	Suggested historical derivation of the specific segregate, 'Haida-apples' for Pyrus fusca (wild crabapple).	145
Figure		A graphic portrayal of linguistic divergence of plant names in Skidegate and Masset Haida, showing the relationship between lexical retention and cultural significance.	162
Figure		Graph showing the relationship between the number of linguistically discrete generic-level terms applied to a plant species and cultural significance in Masset and Skidegate Haida, Bella Coola, and Lillooet.	170
Figure	13.	The domains and their chiefs in Okanagan Salish mythology.	182

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have been fortunate in having as my graduate adviser Dr. Roy L. Taylor, Director of the Botanical Garden, University of British Columbia. His continuing interest, support, and advise from the beginning of my graduate program to the preparation of this thesis is sincerely appreciated. I would also like to thank the members of my graduate advising committee -- Drs. W. Schofield, R. Foreman, and G. Hughes, of the Department of Botany, University of British Columbia, and Professor W. Duff of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology -- for their suggestions and comments on the research project and editorial criticisms of this thesis. Dr. J. Maze, Department of Botany, and my father, Dr. J. Chapman, also spent considerable time and effort in discussing my research findings with me and providing editorial criticism.

This research would not have been possible without assistance from the following specialists: Robert Levine (linguist, Department of Anthropology, Columbia University, New York); Dr. Aert Kuipers, Henk Nater, and Jan van Eijk (Department of Linguistics, University of Leiden, Holland); Randy Bouchard and his research assistant, Dorothy Kennedy (B.C. Indian Language Project, Victoria, B.C.); and Stephen Borden (programmer-analyst, Department of Botany, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C.).

I am indebted to all of the native people who contributed their time and knowledge to the study — especially George Young of Skidegate, Mrs. Florence Davidson of Masset, Mrs. Margaret Siwallace of Bella Coola, David Moody (late) of Bella Coola, and Sam Mitchell of Fountain (Lillooet).

My husband, Robert Turner, accompanied me on all of the field expeditions. He assisted me in collecting plants, photography, and tape recording, and drew the maps appearing in this thesis. He has provided limitless moral support throughout the duration of this project.

Most of the field research was funded from a National Research Council of Canada Grant (A5705) to Dr. Taylor. My graduate program was made possible through a series of National Research Council Postgraduate Scholarships, from July 1970 through October 1973.

"...I am convinced that a likely place to begin one's search for semantic universals which may reflect man's socio-technological development is precisely in the area of man's classification of his natural universe. Hence, I personally consider semantic studies of such domains as ethnobotany, ethnozoology, ethnogeography, and the like as representing important research priorities. Here, for once, is a plausible and theoretically significant reason for becoming involved in urgent ethnographic work among vanishing peoples whose appreciation of the natural world comes close to that of man in earliest times." (Berlin 1969).

#### PREFACE

Plant classification of aboriginal groups is not well known, and with each passing decade, a significant loss of information occurs. The following study includes the only known attempt to document native terminological systems for plants in the Pacific Northwest.\* Other ethnobotanical studies have been carried out in this region (Steedman 1929; Gunther 1945; Smith 1928; Turner 1972a, 1972b; Turner and Bell 1971, 1973), but these have not included investigations of plant taxonomic systems as an integral part of the project.

The present study was begun in the summer of 1970. Initially, only the Haida Indians of the Queen Charlotte Islands were included in the program. After two summers of field work with Skidegate and Masset Haida, it was decided to expand the study to include first a riverinlet group, the Bella Coola, and secondly an interior group, the Fraser River Lillooet, in order to add a cultural and vegetational comparative dimension to the program. Field work with these two groups was carried out during the summer and fall of 1972, and in the spring of 1973.

General research procedures involved interviewing older members of the native communities, either indoors, employing fresh or dried plant specimens as subject material, or where possible in actual field situations, using living plants. Information on uses of these plants, beliefs

<sup>\*</sup> This term, although variable in meaning, is the most appropriate word in the context of the present study. Here, it is defined as the region from northern Oregon to northern British Columbia, and from the Pacific coast east to the Rocky Mountains.

associated with them, names applied to them, and any ideas about their relationships with other plants, animals, or objects were recorded.

Initially an attempt was made to apply componential analysis\* techniques of ethnoscience to determine underlying structures of plant taxonomic systems. This method proved to be impractical in terms of the available time of the informants, variability of responses, non-availability of phonological and syntactical information on the languages, and the obvious influence of English folk categories on native thought.

Because of these factors, it was felt that the structure and meaning of the native plant names themselves, together with the defined conditions of their application and appropriate comments and observations obtained from general informal conversations, would give insights into both aboriginal and post-contact classification systems more effectively and efficiently than would componential analysis.

The results and ideas presented in this thesis are hopefully only the beginning of a comprehensive description of the ethnobotany and phytotaxonomy of the Indians of British Columbia. As more information from different language groups and vegetational zones in the Province is collected and analyzed, the data listed here will probably take on new meaning and significance. Meanwhile, they will contribute an additional and significant element to the knowledge of cultures and man's relationship to vegetation in the Pacific Northwest.

<sup>\*</sup> In view of the interdisciplinary nature of the study, a selected glossary of specialized terminology is provided at the end.

#### PLATES

- Plates I & II. Florence Davidson of Masset, Queen Charlotte Islands, gathering red cedar bark (<u>Thuja plicata</u>) for weaving (summer 1971 see Appendix 1).
- Plate III. <u>Ganoderma</u>, one of several types of bracket fungi called 'pilot-biscuit's grandmother' in Skidegate Haida and 'rotten-wood biscuit' in Masset Haida (see Table 17).
- Plate IV. Sam Mitchell of Fountain (Lillooet) collecting the edible stalks of "Indian rhubarb" or cow parsnip (Heracleum lanatum) (spring 1973).
- Plate V. Mature plant of Heracleum lanatum.
- Plate VI. Heracleum stalks, showing male (flowering stalks) and female (leaf stalks) types, as distinguished by Fraser River Lillooet Indians (see Table 28). Both kinds are edible, but are prepared in different ways.
- Plate VII. Five varieties of Saskatoon berries (Amelanchier alnifolia) as distinguished by Fraser River Lillooet Indians (see Table 26).

  Top left of picture: "white" variety spekpek. Top right "red" variety swelhkwa7-u7sa7. Center: "rotten" variety nek'nakw'-ukw'sa7. Bottom left: "sweet" variety stl'exelus. Bottom right: "real Saskatoons" stsekwm-ul. The photo was taken in June 1973.
- Plate VIII. The "red" variety of Amelanchier alnifolia (see Plate VII), just before the berries are ripe. When fully ripe, they are dark blue, but they are sweet and juicy even when red.



Plate I



Plate II

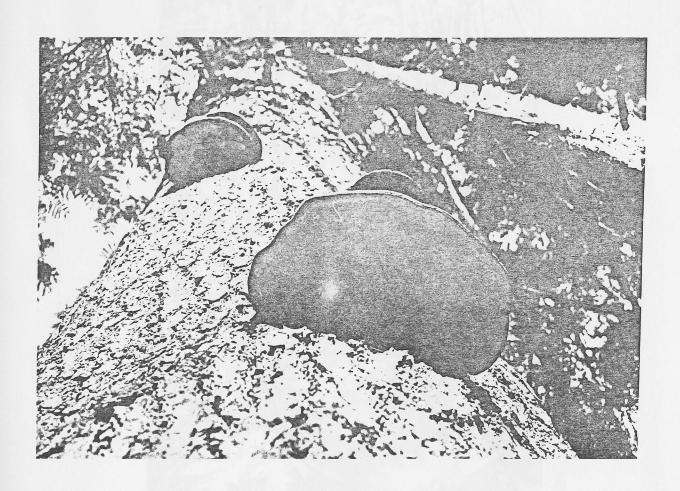


Plate III

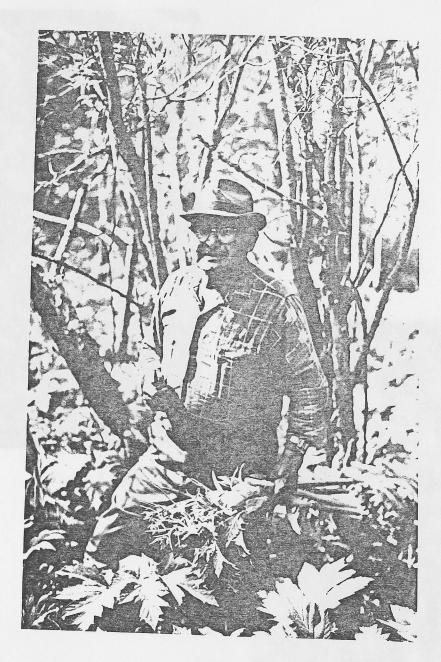


Plate IV



Plate V



Plate VI



Plate VII



Plate VIII

#### INTRODUCTION

The intellectual capacity of humans for classifying natural objects and even abstract concepts is widely recognized (Tyler 1969). Even in so-called "primitive" societies, in which technology and subsistence are at a comparatively unsophisticated level, the rich diversity of the environment is described in detail by the nomenclatural and classification systems within the culture. Lévi-Strauss (1966) has devoted an entire book, The Savage Mind, to the proposition that "savage" societies throughout the world not only have detailed systems of ordering objects and phenomena in their environments, by that these systems, far from being haphazard, are well organized and completely logical when studied on their own premises and in their cultural contexts.

Interest in aboriginal taxonomic systems has grown rapidly over the last two decades, and numerous documented descriptions of native classification systems have appeared (cf. Berlin, Breedlove, and Laughlin 1970; Berlin, Breedlove, and Raven 1966; Bright and Bright 1965; Bulmer 1967; Conklin 1954; Diamond 1965; Frake 1961; Goss 1967; Price 1967).

Many such studies have included the classification and nomenclature of local floras by aboriginal peoples. Plants provide a concrete, discrete, and virtually universal semantic domain, and for this reason, are exceptionally useful subjects for cognitive studies.

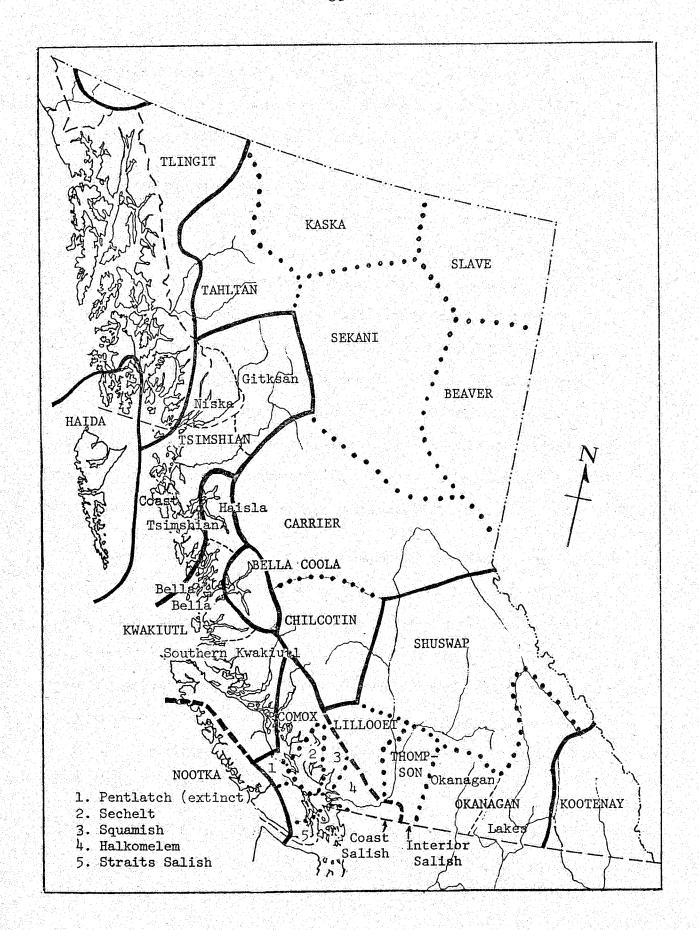
The accumulation of research data pertaining to individual folk taxonomic systems for plants has inspired the development of a number of generalizations applicable to all ethnophytotaxonomies, and in some cases, to all folk taxonomies. These include a list proposed by Raven,

Berlin, and Breedlove (1971) of general characteristics common to folk taxonomic systems, Conklin's (1966) discussion of the differences between folk taxa and the taxonomic groups of biological systematics, and Berlin's (1971) series of speculations concerning the growth and development of ethnobotanical nomenclature and classification systems.

None of the data involved in the formulation of these generalizations has originated from the cultures of the Pacific Northwest region. Indeed, the ethnophytotaxonomic studies considered have been largely from tropical or sub-tropical areas in cultures having agricultural economies, such as the Tzeltal-speaking Mayans of southern Mexico (Berlin, Breedlove, and Raven 1968), the Hanunóo of the Philippines (Conklin 1954), and the Huichol of northern Jalisco, Mexico (Price 1967). Even the temperate cultures considered — the Ojibwa (Black 1967), Navajo (Wyman and Harris 1941), Hopi (Whiting 1966), and various Californian tribes (Bright and Bright 1965) are almost all of southern temperate distribution, and most have an economy based at least partially on agriculture.

The present study considers the plant taxonomic systems of three Pacific Northwest Indian groups, all aboriginally non-agricultural. The first, Haida, is an insular group of the northern Pacific coast (Figure 1). The second, Bella Coola, is a river-inlet group of the central British Columbian coast (Figure 1), and the third, Fraser River Lillooet, is a river-oriented culture of the Interior Plateau (Figure 1). The Haida language is apparently of Na-déné stock, while Bella Coola and Lillooet are Salishan languages, and are thus distantly related. Each group is distinct from the others historically, culturally, and vegetationally.

Figure 1. Map of British Columbia Indian groups, linguistic subdivisions (after Duff 1964).



Hopefully the data presented here on plant taxonomic systems of these groups will contribute a new dimension to the general study of cognitive systems, particularly as they relate to ethnophytotaxonomies.

One advantage of research in ethnophytotaxonomic systems of the Pacific Northwest is that the flora in this region is well studied (cf. Henry 1915; Hitchcock et al. 1955 - 1969; Calder and Taylor 1968). The comparison of folk taxa with current botanical taxonomic categories is greatly facilitated in areas that have thoroughly described floras. Modern phytotaxa, when well known, can be utilized as a "translation medium" for comparison of two or more folk taxonomic systems. The present phylogenetic system, as the most universal of all nomenclatural and classification systems for plants, and the most completely documented and regulated, serves as the only available standard against which various folk taxonomies can be described and contrasted.

A disadvantage to the study of ethnophytotaxonomies in the Pacific Northwest is the recent rapid loss of language and cultural information amongst native peoples, a direct result of their acculturation into western society. None of the Indian people involved in the study was completely monolingual, although all of them learned English only as a second language in school. Interviews for this project were conducted in English, sometimes with the help of another member of the family as a partial interpreter.

The high degree of acculturation of the study groups was one of the main factors involved in the lack of success in applying componential analysis procedures in the program. Formal semantic methodology,

including componential analysis techniques, have been successfully applied in many of the more rigorous studies of folk taxonomic systems (Tyler 1969), but attempts to use them in the present study proved impractical and produced inconclusive results, at least partially because of a pronounced but immeasurable influence of "white" cognitive systems on native thought. As a result, a more informal type of interviewing was adopted. The results of these interviews were combined with an analysis of the content and conditions of application of the aboriginal plant terms themselves. From all indications, these terms, as basic lexical components of a language, seem less subject to variation over time than cultural ideas and opinions about inter-relationships between plants (cf. Bright and Bright 1965).

In the Pacific Northwest, as in other regions, it is essential to consider ethnobotanical information on the uses and roles of plants in a society as both influencing and reflecting classification of plants. Thus, collecting data on the cultural importance of plants has been an integral part of the present study. Ethnobotanical data are significant in their own right as resource materials for many different fields of study (cf. Schultes 1960; Turner and Bell 1971), and for purposes of this project, the ethnobotanical information accumulated for each of the three groups has been organized for publication as a discrete unit.

Sorting and summarizing the immense variety of data relating to aboriginal plant names, botanical taxa, and cultural information about plants was accomplished in this project by means of a computer. The coding system and the sorting program used were designed specifically to handle these data and similar types of data for other Pacific North-

west groups. To my knowledge, this particular approach to the analysis of aboriginal plant names and ethnobotanical data for the purpose of discerning and summarizing folk taxonomic relationships has not been attempted elsewhere. It has a number of advantages, and may prove useful on a wider scale.

#### BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

In this section, pertinent information on the history, culture, language, geography, and vegetation of the three study groups is presented.

## The Haida Indians

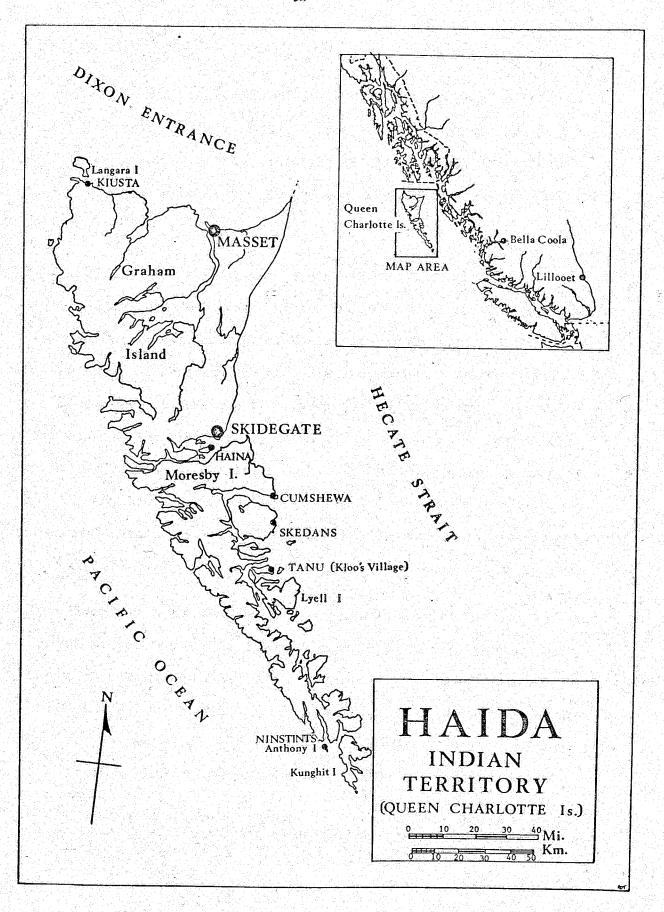
The Haida formerly occupied about 20\* permanent villages around the coast of the Queen Charlotte Islands and the Prince of Wales Island group in Alaska (see Figure 2). \*\* Their aboriginal population is estimated at 7,000 to 10,000 (Jenness 1934). By 1915 the Haida population on the Queen Charlottes had been reduced to under 600 individuals (Duff 1964). Those from the southern half of the Islands had assembled at the village of Skidegate, and are now recognized as the speakership of the Skidegate dialect. \*\*\* People from the northern villages had congregated at Masset, and now comprise the speakership of the Masset dialect. As of 1970, the Haida (excluding the Kaigani people of Alaska) numbered 1367: 1015 at Masset, and 352 at Skidegate (Department of Indian

<sup>\*</sup> Estimates of the number of village sites run as high as 39 (Harrison 1895), but for any given time, the figure of 20 is probably more realistic.

<sup>\*\*</sup> According to available information, the migration of Haida people to Alaska was relatively recent, having taken place about A.D. 1750 (Swanton 1911). The Kaigani dialect, spoken by Alaskan Haida, is very similar to the Masset dialect. The Kaigani Haida are not considered in the present study.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> The Skidegate dialect, even today, is apparently a partially artificial grouping, since different Haida speakers at Skidegate display major phonological and grammatical differences in their speech (Robert Levine, Columbia University, New York, personal communication). For purposes of this study, the Skidegate people will be considered a dialectic unit.

Figure 2. Territory of the Haida Indians in British Columbia (Queen Charlotte Islands).



Affairs and Northern Development 1970).

The linguistic affiliations of the Haida are not well understood. Like the Tlingit Indians of Alaska and the Athapaskan peoples of the northern interior of British Columbia and Alaska, their language is suggested to be an isolate of the Na-déné phylum of languages (Driver 1961).

Similarly, the territorial origins of the Haida are not known. Archaeological studies indicate that the Queen Charlotte Islands have been occupied for at least 8,000 years, presumably by at least some of the ancestors of the present day Haida population (Fladmark 1970). It has been suggested that the first people travelled to the Queen Charlottes during the Pleistocene, at the time of a glacial maximum, over an exposed section of sea floor. \* Fladmark (1970) points out that a drop of only 250 feet in sea level would connect the Charlottes to the off-shore islands and mainland of Alaska. Heusser (1960) suggested this route to explain the presence of caribou on the Queen Charlotte Islands.

The Haida Indians belong to the northern province of the Northwest Coast Cultural Area. This sub-unit also includes the Tlingit and Tsimshian cultures, and marginally those of the northern divisions of the Kwakiutl (Drucker 1955) (see Figure 1). These groups are characterized by a number of cultural traits, including a matrilineal social organization, with exogamous moieties, forming the basis of crest

<sup>\*</sup> Archaeological evidence suggests that at this time, the technology for construction of ocean-going canoes had not yet been developed (Fladmark 1973, public lecture on "The Prehistory of the Queen Charlotte Islands".

ownership, inheritance, life-cycle rituals, and social functions. The Haida, and to a lesser extent, the other groups in the northern sub-unit, are widely known for their outstanding sculptural and graphic artforms, based on stylistic representations of natural objects. Drucker (1955) lists other features characterizing the northern sub-unit.

The Haida people were coast dwellers. Their economy centered around the ocean, beaches, river-mouths, and lowland forests of the Queen Charlottes. They rarely ventured into the mountainous interior of the Islands or into the extensive muskegs of Graham Island, except to hunt waterfowl or pick berries. Their villages were situated in the wet subzone of the Coastal Western Hemlock Biogeoclimatic Zone (Krajina 1970), which extends throughout the lower elevations of the Islands.

Through seasonal migrations and inter-village contacts, the Haida encountered a variety of plant community types within this zone. Most notable are: marine and intertidal algal communities, maritime communities (including shingle and sand beaches, rocks and cliffs, and salt marshes), bog and swamp communities, fresh water aquatic communities, and forest communities (including sand-dune forest, meadow forest, and closed forest) (described in Calder and Taylor 1968). Several upland forest and montane communities also occur on the Islands (see Calder and Taylor 1968), but because of their lack of contact with upland areas, the Haida people were generally unfamiliar with montane flora.

Even before before the coming of the white man, the Haida apparently had frequent contact with other Indian groups. They crossed over to the mainland every spring to obtain eulachon grease from the Nass River Tsimshian, in exchange for canoes, carved chests, sea-otter skins, dried herring eggs on kelp, and dried <u>Porphyra</u>.\* They also traded with the Tlingit for Chilkat blankets, copper, mountain-goat horn, and mountain-sheep horn (Drucker 1950). In post-contact times, these trading expeditions increased in frequency, and potatoes, turnips, and other garden vegetables were added to the list of items traded by the Haida.

The dominant tree species of the lowland forests of the Queen Charlottes are all conifers: Tsuga heterophylla (western hemlock), Picea sitchensis (Sitka spruce), and Thuja plicata (western red cedar). All of these attain considerable stature in mature forests, and all were important economic species to the Haida. In the upland forests, of the Mountain Hemlock Biogeoclimatic Zone (Krajina 1970), Tsuga mertensiana (mountian hemlock) becomes increasingly prevalent (Calder and Taylor 1968). Pinus contorta (lodgepole pine) and Chamaecyparis nootkatensis (yellow cedar) are dominant species of the lowland muskegs, and Taxus brevifolia (western yew) occurs sporadically in the forested areas.

Alnus rubra (red alder) is the only abundant deciduous tree on the Islands. It commonly grows in burned or disturbed sites, and has undoubtedly increased in frequency since the advent of logging. Pyrus fusca (wild crabapple) and Alnus crispa ssp. sinuata (Sitka alder) also occur in many areas.

<sup>\*</sup> An index of common names of plants mentioned in this thesis is included at the end.

A number of tree species are conspicuously absent from the Queen Charlotte flora. These include <u>Pseudotsuga menziesii</u> (Douglas fir),

<u>Abies amabilis</u> (amabilis fir), <u>A. grandis</u> (grand fir), <u>A. lasiocarpa</u>

(subalpine fir), <u>Pinus monticola</u> (white pine), <u>Populus trichocarpa</u>

(black cottonwood), <u>P. tremuloides</u> (trembling aspen), <u>Betula papy-rifera</u> (paper birch), <u>Acer macrophyllum</u> (broad-leaved maple), <u>A. glabrum</u> (Rocky Mountain maple), <u>Prunus emarginata</u> (bitter cherry),

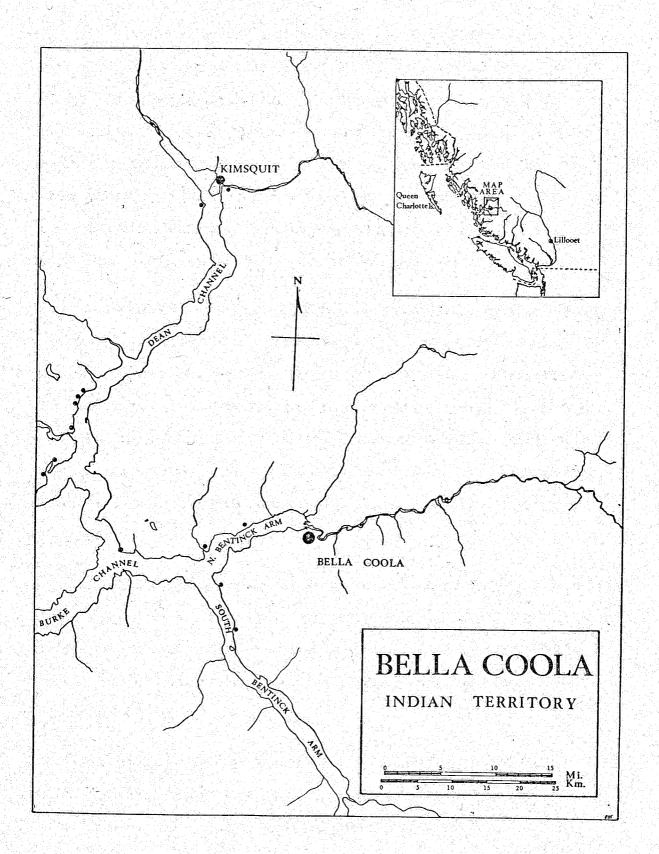
and <u>Rhamnus purshiana</u> (cascara). Most of these species do occur in the territory of the Bella Coola Indians, and form a major differentiating feature between the types of vegetation encountered by these two groups.

## The Bella Coola Indians

The Bella Coola people once lived in numerous scattered villages along the Bella Coola, Kimsquit, and Kwatna Rivers, and the upper reaches of Dean and Burke Channels (see Figure 3). McIlwraith (1948) lists about 20 villages in this area which were occupied around the time of Mackenzie's journey to the coast in 1793. Various other sites are known to have been occupied at the same period at least on a temporary basis (Hobler 1970). The most concentrated aboriginal population was apparently in the Bella Coola Valley (Hobler 1970).

In pre-contact times, the Bella Coola population probably exceeded 3,000 individuals, but by 1929, this figure had declined to 250, mostly due to disease epidemics (McIlwraith 1948; Duff 1964). As of 1970, there were 597 people in this group, occupying a single village, Bella Coola, near the mouth of the Bella Coola River (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1970).

Figure 3. Territory of the Bella Coola Indians, showing the vicinity of the permanent village sites. (The actual range of the Bella Coola extended over a significantly wider area.)



The Bella Coola are an isolated enclave of Salish speakers in a

Kwakiutl speaking region (see Figure 1). Their exact affiliations with

other Salishan groups are still unknown (see Jorgensen 1969). They may

have originally migrated northward along the coast from the lower

mainland of British Columbia, or across the Coast Mountains from the

Interior Plateau. Alternately, they may have at one time had a

continuous distribution with other Salish groups, having been subsequent—

ly isolated by the intrusion of the Kwakiutl and Carrier peoples.

The length of time the Bella Coola have occupied the area is also unknown. C<sub>14</sub> datings at one archaeological excavation site indicate the presence of humans in the area about 9,000 B.P. (P.M. Hobler, archaeologist, Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, B.C., personal communication), but the Bella Coola probably did not arrive until considerably later. Archaeological work in the Bella Coola area is continuing, and ultimately a more complete chronology of human habitation will be established.

The Bella Coola are a uni-dialectic group, although people from Kimsquit and probably from other outlying areas as well, show slight differences in their speech compared to those from Bella Coola (Henk Nater, linguist, University of Leiden, Leiden, Holland, personal communication).

The Salishan origin of the Bella Coola is reflected in part by their amorphous, informal social organization. Generally, however, Bella Coola cultural traits, particularly their material culture and mythology, show a remarkable similarity to those of the neighbouring Kwakiutl peoples, indicating a high degree of social interchange and cultural "borrowing". Thus, the Bella Coola are included in the middle, or Wakashan-speaking province of the Northwest Coast Cultural Area (Drucker 1955).

The resources of the local rivers and inlets were crucial to the subsistence of the Bella Coola people, but their resource base was broader than a local one. Within the year, they travelled over a wide territorial and elevational range hunting mountain-goat and other mammals, gathering berries, cedar bark, and various other plant products, and trading with adjacent Indian groups, including the Northern and Southern Kwakiutl on the coast, and the Carrier and/or Chilcotin \* peoples of the interior (McIlwraith 1948; Margaret Siwallace, Bella Coola, B.C., personal communication).

As with the Haida, the Bella Coola village sites are situated in the Coastal Western Hemlock Biogeoclimatic Zone (Krajina 1970), but their travels brought them in contact with a number of other vegetation zones, including the Mountain Hemlock Zone, the Engelmann Spruce - Subalpine Fir Zone, and the Caribou Aspen - Lodgepole Pine - Douglas-fir Zone (described in Krajina 1970). In terms of subsistence, the most important community types to the Bella Coola were the well vegetated estuarine flats, such as those at Bella Coola, and the various types

<sup>\*</sup> Morice (1925) states that the references of other ethnographers, such as Harlan Smith, to contacts between the Bella Coola and Carrier peoples were mistaken, and that actually the Chilcotin people, not the Carrier, were involved in contacts with the coast. McIlwraith (1948) and Goldman (1941), on the other hand, cite many instances of interaction between Carrier and Bella Coola peoples.

of forest communities. These have not been studied floristically or ecologically in any detail. The peat bog or muskeg community, so prevalent on the Queen Charlottes, is almost entirely lacking from the Bella Coola area; some of the most common plants of this community, such as <u>Kalmia polifolia</u> and <u>Vaccinium oxycoccus</u>, are unknown to the Bella Coola people, at least at the present time.

Common tree species of the Bella Coola area are: Tsuga heterophylla (western hemlock), T. mertensiana (mountain hemlock), Picea sitchensis (Sitka spruce), Thuja plicata (western red cedar), Pseudotsuga menziesii (Douglas fir), Abies amabilis (amabilis fir), Chamaecyparis nootkatensis (yellow cedar), Pinus contorta (lodgepole pine), Alnus rubra (red alder), A. crispa ssp. sinuata (Sitka alder), Populus trichocarpa (black cottonwood), Acer glabrum (Rocky Mountian maple), and Pyrus fusca (wild crabapple). Other species, less frequent, but nevertheless present are:

Taxus brevifolia (western yew), Abies lasiocarpa (subalpine fir), Picea engelmannii (Engelmann spruce), Populus tremuloides (trembling aspen), and Prunus emarginata (bitter cherry).

Notably absent from the Bella Coola flora are: Abies grandis (grand fir), Pinus monticola (white pine), Cornus nuttallii (Pacific flowering dogwood), Arbutus menziesii (Pacific madrone), and Acer macrophyllum (broad-leaved maple), whose ranges do not extend as far north as Bella Coola.

#### The Lillooet Indians

Lillooet peoples are categorized into two dialectic groups: Lower Lillooet and Upper Lillooet. These are differentiated not only

linguistically, but culturally, geographically, and ecologically. They are further divided into four smaller divisions, or "bands"\* (Teit 1906). The Lower Lillooet group includes the Lillooet River band, formerly occupying eight villages at Douglas and along the Lower Lillooet River, and the Pemberton band, formerly occupying five villages at Lillooet Lake and Pemberton Meadows (Mount Currie) (see Figure 4). Lower Lillooet people are presently concentrated at the villages of Douglas, Skookum Chuck, Samahquam, and Mount Currie.\*\*

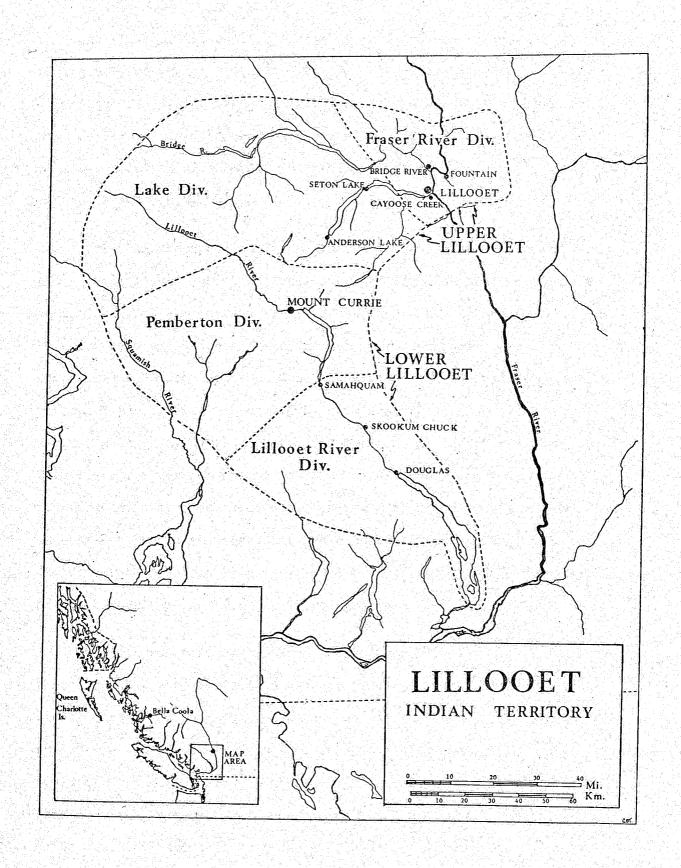
The Upper Lillooet group consists of the Lake band, formerly occupying six villages around Anderson and Seton Lakes, and the Fraser River band, formerly occupying six villages along the Fraser River from just below the present town of Lillooet to below the mouth of Pavilion Creek (Figure 4). Present Upper Lillooet settlements\*\* include Anderson Lake, Seton Lake, Cayoose Creek, Lillooet, Bridge River, and Fountain. The present study involves only the Fraser River band of Upper Lillooet; the major informant is from Fountain.

Early estimates suggest that Lillooet peoples may have numbered 4,000 in precontact days (Teit 1906). By 1903, this number had been reduced by smallpox epidemics and famines to just over 1,100 -- about 500 in the Lower Lillooet group and about 650 in Upper Lillooet (Teit 1906). In 1970, the Lillooet people numbered 2,494: 1,321 Lower Lillooet and 1,173 Upper Lillooet (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1970).

<sup>\*</sup> Teit's (1906) use of the term "band" is more general than the present day concept of "band" as a single Indian village unit.

<sup>\*\*</sup> These are "bands" in the modern context.

Figure 4. Territory of the Lillooet Indians, showing linguistic divisions.



The Lillooet language is related to the Thompson, Shuswap, and Okanagan languages of British Columbia. All of these are classified in the interior division of the Salish language family (Driver 1961), as seen in Figure 1. Recent archaeological research in the Lytton-Lillooet area has given some insights into the pre-history of this region (Sanger 1969).

After Pleistocene glaciation, the first people to enter the Lillooet area, as early as 9,000 B.P., were migrants from the area now included in the State of Washington. Their identifiable traits are known as the Lochnore complex, and are characterized by leaf-shaped projectile points, macroblades, edge-battered cobbles, and an absence of microblades (Sanger 1969). About 7,000 years ago, these people were apparently displaced by another group from the central interior of British Columbia. The new occupation, termed the Nesikep Tradition, is characterized by a more advanced stone-chipping technology with microblades. The Nesikep Tradition passed through a number of distinct periods, and can be viewed as ultimately evolving into the Interior Salish cultures of the historic period (Sanger 1969; Stryd and Hills 1972).

The cultural features of the Fraser River Lillooet are similar to those of other Interior Salish groups. Together, these groups form a rather loosely defined unit known as the Plateau Culture Area, named after the Columbia plateaus (Driver 1961). General features of this unit include: a loosely structured social organization, without emphasis on rank or class; the use of semi-subterranean winter dwellings, called pithouses, for extended family groups; and a hunting-gathering economy, with emphasis on fishing anadromous salmon.

The Plateau cultures, particularly in the peripheral groups, show many cultural traits of adjacent culture areas (Driver 1961). The Lower Lillooet, for example, are actually culturally transitional between the Northwest Coast and Plateau Culture Areas. The Fraser River Lillooet are a definite unit of the Plateau Culture Area, both culturally and geographically, but even this group had indirect access to coastal cultures through frequent trade contacts with the Lower Lillooet. This latter group used to make annual journeys to the Fraser River area in late summer, to exchange goods such as dentalia and other shells, cedar bark, wood of yew, vine maple, and yellow cedar, hazelnuts, dried huckleberries, goat-hair blankets, and fish oil, for interior products, such as Indian hemp (Apocynum spp.), Salix exigua bark twine, Erythronium grandiflorum bulbs, dried Saskatoon berries, soapberries, and choke cherries, dried meat, fat, and animal skins (Teit 1906).

Three Biogeoclimatic Zones are distinguished in the Fraser River Lillooet territory: the Ponderosa Pine - Bunchgrass Zone of lower elevations (below about 2,000 feet); the Interior Douglas-fir Zone of middle elevations (approximately 2,000 to 4,500 feet); and the Engelmann Spruce - Subalpine Fir Zone of elevations above about 4,500 feet (Krajina 1970). The permanent winter dwellings of the Fraser River Lillooet were usually located in the Ponderosa Pine - Bunchgrass Zone.

The topography of the Fraser River Lillooet territory is extremely variable. Stryd and Hills (1972) divide the area into three major physiographic units: the rocky canyon floor of the Fraser River, frequented for salmon fishing; the sloping terraces above the River, where most of the winter pithouse dwelling sites and modern settlements are

located; and the hills and mountains above the river valley, the usual sites of hunting and root-gathering activities.

Numerous plant communities occur within these biogeoclimatic zones and physiographic units, each modified by soil texture, slope, exposure, and available moisture. In terms of the Fraser River Lillooet economy, the most important communities were those of the high mountain slopes and valleys, where large quantities of "Indian potatoes" (Claytonia lanceolata and Erythronium grandiflorum) were dug annually, and the dry river terraces, where several types of berries (such as Amelanchier alnifolia, Crataegus douglasii, and Prunus virginiana) and "roots" (e.g. Balsamorrhiza sagittata) were gathered.

Common tree species in the vicinity of the Lillooet-Fountain area are: Pinus ponderosa (ponderosa pine), P. contorta (lodgepole pine),

Pseudotsuga menziesii var. glauca (interior Douglas fir), Populus tremuloides (trembling aspen), P. trichocarpa (black cottonwood), Betula papyrifera (paper birch), and Acer glabrum (Rocky Mountain maple). At higher elevations, Chamaecyparis nootkatensis (yellow cedar), Abies lasiocarpa (subalpine fir), Picea engelmannii (Engelmann spruce), Picea glauca (white spruce), Pinus albicaulis (white-bark pine), Alnus crispa ssp. sinuata (Sitka alder), and A. incana (mountain alder) are found. A number of coastal trees occur in the mountains to the west of Lillooet, and are recognized by the Fraser River Lillooet. These include Pinus monticola (white pine), Thuja plicata (western red cedar), Taxus brevifolia (western yew), Alnus rubra (red alder), Acer macrophyllum (broadleaved maple), Prunus emarginata (bitter cherry), Pyrus fusca (wild crabapple), and Rhamnus purshiana (cascara).

#### METHODOLOGY

The methodology applied in the present study was influenced and directed by methods used by other researchers in the description of folk taxonomic systems. The standard type of methodology associated with cognitive studies is outlined and discussed in the first part of this section. Following this is a discussion of the methodology in the context of the present project. Finally, the procedures ultimately adopted in the study are outlined in detail.

# Ethnoscience and Componential Analysis

Many descriptions of folk taxonomic systems have been "...nonsystematic, incomplete, and anecdotal" (Berlin, Breedlove, and Raven 1966). In
recent years, however, there has been a trend towards increased formalization in the collection and analysis of ethnosemantic data. A new
ethnographic school has developed in the past two decades, variously
known as ethnoscience, ethnosemantics, or cognitive anthropology,\* whose
basic tenets include the systematic collection and formal analysis of
cognitive and semantic terminology.

The central method within the field of ethnoscience is known as componential analysis.\*\* This method was first described in relation to cognitive systems by Goodenough (1956) in the periodical <u>Language</u> (v. 32, no. 1). Also appearing in the same number of <u>Language</u> was a paper

<sup>\*</sup> Other synonyms for these terms include: ethnographic semantics, linguistic ethnography, and folk science (Eglin 1972; Berlin 1968; Werner 1967).

<sup>\*\*</sup> This term is frequently regarded as another synonym of ethnoscience (Werner 1967; Berlin 1969), but I feel that Eglin's (1972) description of it as a method rather than a <u>discipline</u> is more appropriate.

by Lounsbury (1956) in which componential analysis was applied to the study of a kinship system. Since that time, adherents of the ethnoscientific school have produced as ever-growing body of semantic and folk taxonomic studies, based on componential analysis and other formal methods of analysis.

The goals of ethnoscience and componential analysis are commendable. "The problem is to define the taxonomic system itself -- that is, to explicate the rules by which users of the terms group various social and genealogical characteristics into concepts" (Wallace 1962), or, more generally, to discover "how people construe their world of experience from the way they talk about it" Frake 1962).

Ethnoscientific procedures can be detailed as follows:

- 1) an inventory is made of terminology within a given semantic domain;
- 2) information is assembled on each linguistic form as a semantic class of objects;
- 3) when possible, the classificatory dimensions imposed upon the field by native linguistic usage are isolated;
- 4) through a series of culturally appropriate questions, semantic distinctions (components) are established which apportion the terms into sets and sub-sets, such that every item in the domain is distinguished from every other item by at least one component, and is at the same time related to every other item by inclusion at some level in a broader taxonomic category; and
- 5) a classification is erected based on the successive inclusion and exclusion of each defined item within the domain (Lounsbury 1963; Burling 1964; Berlin 1968).

The procedures outlined are accomplished through interviews with preferably a large number of native speakers. In order that there be no cultural bias or misunderstandings on the part of the ethnographer, the interviews should be conducted entirely in the language of the

native informant (Conklin 1962; Werner 1967), and care should be taken not to bias the informant's responses by allusions to other taxonomic systems familiar to the researcher. In terms of ethnophytotaxonomic research, this means that the interviewer must make a special effort not to imply equivalence between folk phytotaxa and botanical taxa, even when it is convenient to do so.

To obtain an authentic description of a classification system in another culture, one must never incorporate assumptions or implications about the nature of the system into the elicitation process. Thus, to ask a question, "What kind of a tree is that (x)?" without first establishing the informant's definition of 'tree' and his assurance that x is a kind of tree, would immediately render the informant's response invalid. Metzger and Williams (1966), Price (1967), and Frake (1964) describe a program of elicitation based on successive or linked questions and responses which, at least theoretically, eliminates bias introduced by the questioning process. Ideally, this program allows the interviewer to begin with any given item or segregate within a domain and position it vertically and horizontally within the taxonomic hierarchy of the domain. Thus, beginning with a described lexeme, x, in a hypothetical classification system (see Figure 5), one can progress downwards through

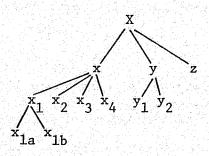


Figure 5. Diagrammatic representation of a taxonomic hierarchy.

the taxonomic hierarchy by asking, "What kinds of x are there?" Given answers  $\mathbf{x}_1$ ,  $\mathbf{x}_2$ ,  $\mathbf{x}_3$  ...  $\mathbf{x}_n$ , each differentiated from the other by at least one character, one can proceed through a similar line of questioning to discover the various sub-categories of  $\mathbf{x}_1$  (namely  $\mathbf{x}_{1a}$  and  $\mathbf{x}_{1b}$ ). When the lower taxa have been explored and described to their limits, one can return to the first item,  $\mathbf{x}$ , and define the more general taxa of the system by asking, "What is  $\mathbf{x}$  a kind of?" Given answer  $\mathbf{X}$ , one can then expand the system horizontally to include  $\mathbf{y}$  and  $\mathbf{z}$  by the question, "What other kinds of  $\mathbf{X}$  are there?"

Theoretically, this type of progressive elicitation can be applied in exploring and describing any taxonomic system. The above example is simplified to an extreme. In practise, folk taxonomic systems are more complex, irregular, and indefinite than the example implies (Conklin 1962). Checking the validity of the derived taxonomic structure can be accomplished by repeating the construction of the hierarchy from several different starting points, thus providing cross-referencing for each item. The system can also be tested by formulating questions which are indicated to be inappropriate by the nature of the derived hierarchy. For example, in the hierarchy illustrated above, one could ask, "Is y a kind of x?" or "Is z a kind of y1?" Positive responses to these questions would obviously demonstrate some irregularity in the system as it is constructed.

Numerous cognitive systems in many different cultures have been investigated using ethnoscience techniques. The most thoroughly explored domain is that of kinship (cf. Lounsbury 1964; Conklin 1964; Wallace and Atkins 1960; Romney and D'Andrade 1964), where even "Yankee"

terminology has been subjected to analysis as a test case (Goodenough 1965). Other terminological systems which have been described include: numeral classifiers (Berlin 1968); firewood (Metzger and Williams 1966); terms of personal reference (Metzger and Williams 1962); curers (Metzger and Williams 1963a); weddings (Metzger and Williams 1963b); agriculture, betel chewing, pottery, verbal play, colour, water (see Conklin 1962 for references); law (Black and Metzger 1965); spiritualist church language (Zaretsky 1969); and medicine (Werner 1967). Particularly relevant to the present study are the ethnoscientific descriptions of ethnobiotaxonomies (Berlin, Breedlove, and Raven 1966; Black 1967; Bulmer 1967, 1970; Bulmer and Tyler 1968; Conklin 1954; Diamond 1965; Bright and Bright 1965).

# Ethnoscience with Respect to the Present Research Program

Superficially, ethnoscience and componential analysis appear to provide an ideal theoretical and methodological framework for investigating and describing the ethnophytotaxonomies of the Haida, Bella Coola, and Lillooet Indians. However, attempts to apply ethnomethodology to the study of cognitive systems for plants in these groups were generally unsuccessful in producing meaningful or conclusive results. Formal analysis was ultimately abandoned as a technique, although certain procedures of the described methodology were retained. The reasons for this are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Even proponents of ethnoscience are aware of a number of methodological and theoretical limitations of the discipline. One serious
problem is that componential analysis, even when properly conducted,

does not automatically yield a single "true analysis" or description of a semantic system. Instead, there is a "virtually infinite number of ways a lexical set can be componentially divided" (Colby 1966; see also Wallace and Atkins 1960; Burling 1964; Goodenough 1965). In other words, several different models of semantic structure of a terminological system can be established, each of which can accurately account for the lexical items within the system. Even the original researchers in componential analysis admit that "... the criteria by which one chooses one model over another, however, remain to be determined" (Goodenough 1965).

Thus, the "psychological validity" of systems derived by componential analysis is subject to question. At least some ethnoscience critics have charged that any single analysis offered as the taxonomic system of a given domain in a culture is necessarily based on the arbitrary exclusion of large bodies of relevant data, and cannot in any way be taken as a complete or conclusive statement (Schneider 1969; Burling 1964; Eglin 1972). From my own experiences in attempting to apply formal analysis to discern ethnophytotaxonomies, I found it difficult to obtain consistent responses among several different informants, or even from individual informants from one day to the next.

For example, to each of the six Haida informants (four at Skidegate, two at Masset), I showed a needled branch of the botanical species <u>Picea sitchensis</u>, and asked, "What is this?" The answer was always given, "kaayt" in Skidegate (S), or "kijyt" in Masset (M). A conversation would

follow, in which kaayt \* would be described in more detail, and comments on its size and abundance on the Queen Charlotte Islands would be made. The unvarying answer to the question, "How many kinds of kaayt are there?" was always, "There is only one kind -- that's it." At this point, however, agreement ceased. Several of the informants volunteered the information that the word kaayt meant "tree" in English, so I attempted to determine how closely the taxon corresponded to our own folk taxon, "tree". I asked in turn about each of the terms I had already elicited for "trees", including k' aang (Tsuga spp.\*\*), ts'alh (Pinus contorta), ts'uu (Thuja plicata), sgaalhaan (Chamaecyparis nootkatensis), lhgiit (Taxus brevifolia), kal (Alnus spp.), and k'anlhel (Pyrus fusca), "Is this a kind of kaayt?" Those who did not give the English translation of kaayt as "tree" gave a negative response for each of the terms listed. Those who did translate kaayt as "tree", although they had just said that there was only one kind of kaayt (whose features, when described, corresponded to those of the botanical species, Picea sitchensis), gave affirmative answers for the first one, the first two, the first four, or the first five terms, all of which are "coniferous" species. In some cases, the sixth term, kal (primarily Alnus rubra), was included in the concept of "tree". One informant agreed that k'anlhel "must be" a kind of kaayt, but when asked later, disagreed. All informants were ambivalent about including kal as a kind

<sup>\*</sup> For the rest of this discussion, Skidegate names only are used, although Masset people were also involved in the study.

<sup>\*\*</sup> As far as I have been able to determine, the equilibration of Haida terms with these botanical taxa is an accurate estimate of their semantic range.

of <u>kaayt</u>, sometimes agreeing to it, and sometimes not. When the question was again asked, "what are the kinds of <u>kaayt</u>?", regardless of the answers to the questions about the other terms, each informant would emphatically and sometimes impatiently state, "There is only <u>one</u> kind of <u>kaayt</u>!" This process was repeated several times with each person, and when the opportunity arose, I would ask the same thing when outside, pointing out the various kinds of "trees". I would again receive answers which were seemingly contradictory. I concluded that the term <u>kaayt</u> is at some stage of semantic evolution between a "generic" term and a "life-form" term (see Berlin 1971). The same degree of response variability was obtained in many other discussions about other types of plants including specimens of lichens, ferns, and marine algae.

Jones (1971) found a similar situation when working with twelve informants on the English folk classification of evergreen trees. Burling (1964) implied the same degree of variation for English folk phytotaxa in general. Price (1967) was completely unsuccessful in applying this elicitation technique to Huichol phytotaxonomy.

The problem of response variation is compounded in a transitional culture such as Haida, where virtually all speakers are bilingual. It is impossible to discern the extent to which ideas of the Haida about the inter-relationships between plants have been influenced by English folk categories. For example, if the Haida term kaayt is transitional between a generic and a life-form label, it is probable that there is a strong tendency now to equate its life-form status with that of "tree", whether or not it was evolving towards an equivalence with "tree" before white contact.

Some investigators have maintained that rigorous componential analysis, by its very definition, does not allow comparison of cognitive systems between two or more cultures, since as soon as the semantic elements of a given culture are translated into terms of another culture, they lose their discrete and essential nature. This situation is comparable to one in chemistry, where a compound being subjected to analysis changes its structure as a result of the conditions imposed by the analytic process. Only the strictest of interpretations of componential analysis yields such a barrier to cross-cultural studies; indeed, some of the classic componential analyses (Lounsbury 1956; Goodenough 1956) rely heavily on cross-cultural kinship descriptions (Colby 1966).

Nevertheless, the conflict between "anthropologists who stress rigorous descriptive ethnography [of a particular culture -- i.e., 'ethnoscience'] and anthropologists who emphasize comparative studies" has been considered as a very real concern (introductory remarks, Colby 1966).

Closely related to this conflict is an argument centered on the basic goal of componential analysis — to seek out "what is inside people". The so-called "inside men", the staunch supporters of componential analysis, believe that the only meaningful and accurate description of a native's universe is that attained by investigating the very thought processes of the natives themselves. The "outside men", on the other hand, believe that, "It is not necessary that the dimensions or principles of the anthropologist's model be expressed by informants in a direct fashion or even that of their model's as given verbally or by other means, have some correspondence in their principles or dimensions with those of the analyst... If his concern is the accurate

and economical description of native behavior, or, further, of human behavior, selection of some particular native model and its translation may indeed be undesirable" (Hammel 1966). In fact, Hammel (1966) suggests that "...a good analysis by and 'inside' man and a good analysis by an 'outside' man are likely to be equivalent and only redundantly different, if not identical."

These two questions — the degree of inter-cultural comparison allowed by componential analysis, and the necessity or even desirability for an "inside view" of taxonomic perception — have been important considerations in the methodological approach of this study. They are both theoretical questions, and have been debated at length in semantic literature (cf. Colby 1966; Tyler 1969), but from a practical view, in terms of the present study, a less structured analysis allowing some means of inter-group comparison was felt to be desirable.

An incidental criticism of componential analysis is that it does not account for unlabelled folk segregates or "covert" categories, which were originally suggested to be as significant in native thought as the normally recognized monolexemically labelled folk taxa within a given semantic domain (Berlin, Breedlove, and Raven 1968). This criticism can also be directed at the methodological approach adopted in the present study, since it is directly involved with terminological systems. However, Berlin himself, in a later paper (1970), implied that covert categories, by the very fact of being unlabelled, cannot be considered to be as culturally important as labelled taxa, and are in fact highly variable and of short duration in folk taxonomies.

A consideration which to my knowledge has not been discussed in

ethnoscience literature, is the practical matter of the time and effort componential analysis requires from the informants. This was a particularly critical problem in the present study. All academic research is necessarily limited by time and available resources. In studies such as this one, where consultation with informants plays a major role, the number of available informants and the time and energy they are able to contribute to the study is of primary concern. Particularly in the case of the Haida, but also in Pacific Northwest groups generally, the only informants capable of answering the questions about plants and plant terminology required for this type of study are members of the oldest generation. These people were cooperative and enthusiastic, but were always extremely busy with affairs involving their friends and families, and interviewing time was usually "squeezed in" whenever they had a few hours of free time. Even during these periods, there were constant interruptions, which made elicitation difficult. Also, being elderly, they became tired easily, and I had to be careful to allow frequent breaks and not to let the sessions continue beyond about two hours.

All of the informants were willing to answer questions relating to the names and uses of plants and any other information they could think of concerning the plants, and with few exceptions, they stressed accuracy above all other factors.\* Additionally, since they were bilingual, they were able to give glosses for aboriginal botanical terms fairly readily,

<sup>\*</sup> Many told me at one time or another, "I don't want to say that because it might be the wrong thing, and everyone will think I am crazy." It was a point of honour and reputation to tell nothing but what was known to be true.

and with a high degree of accuracy, as I could discern by crosschecking with different people.

Thus, I was successful in obtaining native terms for different kinds of plants, in defining the extent and conditions of their actual application, in approximating their meanings by obtaining English equivalents, and in determining the cultural importance of different kinds of plants. However, all of my attempts to apply the formal questioning procedures of componential analysis were met with impatience and irritation on the part of the informants. It was not a question of lack of interest or capability, or of unwillingness to cooperate, but rather, I believe, of a true inability to provide definite answers to the questions, namely because such definite answers do not exist, at least within the present cognitive system for plants.

This apparent vagueness of semantic distinctions for plant taxa will be discussed in a later section of the paper, but essentially, it has resulted firstly in the response variation described earlier, and secondly, in the unwillingness of the informants to be "pinned down" by specific questions relating to the inter-relationship of plant categories.

It is probable that some of the difficulties in elicitation I encountered in attempting to use componential analysis in describing

Haida phytotaxonomy would have been eliminated if I had conducted the study in the Haida language, but this was impractical in view of the

scope of the study, the lack of knowledge of Haida linguistics,\* and my own lack of linguistic experience. Furthermore, since I was working directly with bilingual informants and actual communication with them was not a problem, I felt that the advantages of learning the language were substantially outweighed by the technical difficulties involved.

A more serious problem, resulting from the bilingualism of the Haida, was the already mentioned probable alteration of original Haida taxonomic categories by English folk taxonomic concepts. The extent of such interference could never be determined fully, and componential analysis, rather than indicating and crystallizing past semantic ideas about plants, served only to emphasize the complexities of the present phytotaxonomic system.

I finally concluded that if it were possible to describe original Haida phytotaxonomy under present conditions, an approach other than componential analysis should be attempted. Further, I reasoned that the actual Haida plant names, still virtually unchanged after 70 years of rapid acculturation,\*\* would provide the only valid key to the Haida

<sup>\*</sup> In 1972, Robert Levine, a doctoral student from Columbia University, New York, began an extensive study of Haida grammar, but at the time of this research, no linguists were actively involved with the Haida language in British Columbia. Two linguists, Dr. Joseph Kess, University of Victoria, and Dr. G. Bursill-Hall, Simon Fraser University, had done past field work in Haida and were helpful in making their tapes available to me, and in offering advice on Haida phonetics. Another linguist, Dr. Michael Krauss, of the University of Alaska, is engaged in studies of the Kaigani dialect of Haida, and has offered some help in transcribing tapes. Salishan linguist, Randy Bouchard, and especially Robert Levine have recently given me a great deal of assistance recording Haida phonetics.

<sup>\*\*</sup> I was able to determine the stability of Haida plant names by checking them with terms recorded at the turn of the century by Newcombe (1897 - 1906) and Swanton (1905a, 1908).

phytotaxonomic system. From this point, my investigations were directed towards the isolation and description of features of Indian plant terminology which might indicate both nomenclatural practices and direct or indirect grouping of plants into taxonomic categories. The specific procedures involved in these investigations are outlined in the following section.

## Research Procedures Used in the Study

For each of the three study groups -- Haida, Bella Coola, and Fraser River Lillooet -- research procedures can be subdivided into the following general categories: literature research and collection of background information; field vegetation surveys; consultation with native informants; and synthesis of research data.

#### a) Literature research

The accumulation of background information pertinent to the study has been a continuing process. It has involved a review of literature on ethnoscience and componential analysis, as discussed in the previous section, and of ethnological and vegetational literature relevant to each of the three groups. Ethnological materials were reviewed for the most part before field work had commenced. They allowed many insights into the cultures of these groups and in some cases provided a preliminary discussion of some of the problems I would encounter in attempting to describe plant taxonomic systems.

For example, the complexity of Bella Coola phytotaxonomy is suggested in the following statement by McIlwraith (1948):

"In regard to plants, a difficulty lies in the fact that Bella Coola nomenclature is not always strictly botanical. Two or more distinct ferns, for example, may be grouped together on account of their similar use as food, and one name applied to them indiscriminately. Conversely, different terms are sometimes given to various parts of the same tree, the roots, the bark, the leaves, etc."

Of particular value were the works of Swanton (1905a & b, 1908, 1911) and Newcombe (unpublished notes, 1897 - 1906) for Haida, McIlwraith (1948) and Smith (1928)\* for Bella Coola, and Teit (1906) for Lillooet.

Botanical references include the floras of Calder and Taylor (1968), Hitchcock et al. (1955 - 1969), and to a lesser extent, Henry (1915). These were consulted throughout the study. Unfortunately, none of these covers the Bella Coola region, and as a result, some of the plants from Bella Coola were particularly difficult to identify botanically.

One paper, "Speculations of the Growth of Ethnobotanical Nomen-clature" (Berlin 1971), proved to be exceptionally useful in the later stages of this research, by providing a directional focus for describing and explaining some of the observed characteristics and trends in the terminological systems studied. Other papers by Berlin, Breedlove, and Raven (1966, 1968, no date), Berlin, Breedlove, and Laughlin (1970), and Raven, Berlin, and Breedlove (1971) have also been helpful in this regard.

# b) Field vegetation surveys

At each of the three locations included in the study, an effort was

<sup>\*</sup> A number of Smith's manuscripts (Smith 1920-22a, b, c, d, & e) are available at the National Archives of Canada in Ottawa, and would undoubtedly have proven useful, but were not known to me until the summer of 1973.

made to compile an inventory of the flora encountered in the area, particularly those species noted by the Indian people themselves to be of some significance. In Bella Coola and Lillooet, most of the inventories were carried out during field expeditions with informants, while on the Queen Charlottes, vegetational survey work was accomplished during the course of the first summer of field work.

Whenever possible, herbarium specimens of these plants were prepared, although I was limited both in time and collecting materials. Drying the plant specimens proved to be the most serious problem, both on the Queen Charlottes and at Bella Coola. On cool, wet days, the presses were set on an oil stove, and most plants dried within two days, but during hot spells, this method produced intolerably high temperatures in our living quarters, and had to be abandoned. Space limitations permitted us only a few hundred sheets of pressing cardboard, so that the combination of poor drying facilities and lack of cardboard placed severe restrictions on our collections. Photographs of plants were also taken on many occasions during the field work.

Some of the plants described by the informants could not be located in the field, and their identification could only be approximated from descriptions. In some cases, these descriptions were detailed, allowing an almost positive botanical designation, while in other cases, usually when a type of plant had not been encountered directly by the informant, the descriptions were too vague to allow even remote speculation about its botanical characteristics.

I had to emphasize to myself constantly the necessity of not

harbouring preconceptions about the botanical status of aboriginal plant segregates. In this regard, having a botanical background was a distinct disadvantage, since it was extremely difficult not to immediately perceive native categories in terms of botanical species. ever, since every growing plant or plant specimen referred to in the study was botanically identifiable as a species or even subspecies, plant species names could be used without bias as labels for the types of plants involved in the study. The semantic range of a particular Indian plant taxon could then be defined in terms of the range of botanical species and subspecies shown by all plant specimens designated by a single folk segregate. Not surprisingly, in a majority of cases, the folk segregates did in fact show a one-to-one correspondence with botanical species (see RESULTS). As mentioned earlier, botanical species also provide a "translation medium" for describing the semantic ranges of folk segregates in different Indian languages. Thus, familiarity with modern nomenclature and classification of plant species. while detrimental in maintaining a completely unbiased perspective in folk taxonomic studies, is useful in labelling and cataloguing folk segregates, and is also essential in comparative semantic studies.

#### c) Consultation with native informants

Interviewing has been the most enjoyable, and also the most challenging part of this project. A list of the native people consulted in the study is given in Appendix 1. As mentioned earlier, the informants are all elderly members of the Indian communities and all are bilingual to some extent. Most of the interviews took place at the informants' homes. They continued over several to many sessions, depending on the

extent of the informant's knowledge about plants. In each group, two or three people provided a major part of the information, although others contributed significant details. Whenever possible, the informants were taken on field trips to areas surrounding the villages, in order to observe plants in their natural habitats. At Lillooet, for example, all of the preliminary interviewing was done in the field.

More commonly, fresh plant specimens would be collected on the morning before an interview, and in the afternoon each plant would be discussed with the informant to learn details of its Indian name, its relationship to other plants, seasonal variation, growth features, habitat, and cultural significance. Care was taken not to refer to the English common names of the plants unless they were already known by the informant. Collections of fresh plants were supplemented with herbarium specimens, or even photographs, of plants not readily available.

Verifying the Indian plant names and information was accomplished by asking the informant about the same plant in a later session or through discussions with other informants. The first technique was especially effective in the Haida study, where I was able to repeat the interviewing process over two consecutive years. I did find a few inconsistencies from one year to the next, but for the most part, the data collected over the two years were remarkably consistent. Historical records of plant names and terms previously collected by other field workers were also useful in corroborating my own data.

In many cases, the plants under discussion had not been seen or talked about by the informants for a long time -- sometimes for as long

as 50 years. Under these circumstances, the names and characteristics of the plants did not always come readily to mind. Often, additional details about a plant would be remembered after several sessions of talking and thinking about plants, or after consultations with friends or relatives.

Sometimes, a plant was recognized only after some previously elicited details about it were furnished, such as its name or use. This was done only as a last resort, when it was obvious that the informant would not remember anything without assistance. At times, an informant would specifically ask what another informant had said about a plant. When told, he would often volunteer supplementary information. I do not feel that providing this kind of stimulus produces biased or false results, since each informant was sincere in his attempts to tell only "the truth". Information volunteered by myself or others resulted in a negative or non-committal response as often as a confirmation. Realistically, the "suggestion" technique provided a significant amount of data to which I would not otherwise have had access.

All of the informants were pleased at being able to refresh their memories on "Indian plants", and all made very positive comments about having this information recorded and written down.\* The informants were

<sup>\*</sup> For each of the groups where I have done field work, I have provided the informants and the local Band Councils with copies of the information I obtained on the names and uses of plants, organized in a popularized format, and accompanied by tapes of the plant names pronounced by the informants. These have been greatly appreciated, and, as I have heard indirectly, are a source of considerable pride to the people who originally provided the information.

given an hourly payment of about \$2.50,\* but in no case was monetary gain a primary motivation for providing information.

Each of the Indian languages in the study has a unique inventory of consonants, vowels, and phonetic sequences. Many of the sounds in these languages do not occur in English speech. Accurate transcriptions of the plant names would have been impossible without the help and advice of several linguists presently involved in field work in these areas. They include: Robert Levine, doctoral student at Columbia University, New York, who is currently working on the Skidegate dialect of Haida: Dr. Aert Kuipers, Professor of Linguistics at the University of Leiden, Holland, a Salish language specialist; two of Dr. Kuipers' students, Henk Nater and Jan van Eijk, working on Bella Coola and the Fraser River "dialect" of Lillooet respectively; and Randy Bouchard, of the B.C. Indian Language Project, Victoria, B.C., who has provided general assistance throughout this project, particularly with the Salishan languages.

During the course of their own field work, these linguists were able to transcribe all of the plant names directly from the native informants, either in conjunction with my elicitation sessions, or independently.

Each of them spent considerable time and energy on my behalf, not only in the original transcription process, but also in subsequent checking and revision of the plant names. Undoubtedly, further corrections and additions

<sup>\*</sup>This was more or less standard payment for field work in linguistics and anthropology in the Pacific Northwest, although there has been a recent trend towards higher rates. Some field workers pay over \$5.00 per hour at present.

to the plant names will be necessary over the course of the next few years, but I feel confident in presenting the data as linguistically accurate and complete within the practical time limits of this study.

The orthographies used for writing Indian plant names in this study have been adopted from a series of practical writing systems developed and described by Randy Bouchard with the assistance of a number of native language specialists (cf. Bouchard 1970, 1971, 1972). Practical orthographies are currently being used by native peoples in several Salish groups for recording their own languages. In the case of Haida, a number of modifications to the system originally described by Bouchard have been made, with advice from Robert Levine (cf. Levine 1973). Descriptive keys to the pronunciation of the orthographic symbols in Haida, Bella Coola, and Fraser River Lillooet are given in Appendixes 2, 3, and 4 respectively.

Tape recording, while not a substitute for actual speech, proved valuable in the study, both as a note-taking device during elicitation sessions, and in providing a permanent record of the plant names in the three languages. In the latter capacity, tapes are useful for checking or confirming linguistic transcriptions, but in most instances, absolute final decisions on phonetic designations can be made only in the field.

In the present study, a Uher 4400 stereo recorder was used. Copies of all of the tapes made in conjunction with the study have been filed with the B.C. Indian Language Project, sponsered by Randy Bouchard, and with the National Museum of Canada in Ottawa. A number of informants were distinctly apprehensive of the tape recorder, and some of the Haida

people requested that I not use it. In these cases, I asked other informants to repeat any new or unique names given by these people in order to have a complete taped record of the plant names.

## d) Synthesis of data

The cognitive data resulting from the elicitation process take two forms: unstructured statements and opinions about relationships between plants, derived from informal conversations; and, a series of actual native names applied to different kinds of plants. The first type of information is generally variable and incomplete. It was considered in formulating and influencing ultimate conclusions about folk categories in the three groups, but was too irregular to be regarded as anything other than supplementary information. The series of plant names, on the other hand, show constancy and stability, and in the context of other types of related data, can be construed as a discrete set of verifiable information, to which quantitative sorting techniques can be applied, and from which trends and generalities can be realized. These names formed the major resource data in this study.

Various factors must be considered in conjunction with the Indian plant names, including details of their source and terms of application; their origin, when known; and their semantic range. Also relevant are data on the habitats, distributions, and botanical status of the kinds of plants referred to by the folk segregates, and information concerning the cultural significance of these plants.

Consideration of these parameters, within the context of three unique cultural and linguistic groups (one of which is further divided into two

dialectic units) requires the multi-dimensional sorting of a vast quantity of diverse data.

To meet this requirement, acoding system was designed for computerized sorting of the various details associated with the folk segregates.

Three separate sets of standard Fortran data cards were employed to
accommodate these details. The first set includes the folk segregates
themselves and information relating directly to them, such as language
and dialect, descriptive characteristics of the terms, assumed origin,
and botanical equivalence (see Table 1). The second set contains information relating to the various botanical taxa delimited by the folk
segregates (see Table 2). The third set includes information on the
cultural significance of the plants in each of the linguistic groups
(see Table 3). Keys to the various codes in the system are provided in
Table 4.

The card layouts, coding systems, and sorting program were designed so that additions and alterations can be made at any time, as new information becomes available. This means that the comparative base for this type of study can be expanded to include as many different linguistic and dialectic groups in the Pacific Northwest as can be adequately described botanically.

Table 1. Card design for information directly related to folk segregates for plants.

Field number	Column number	Description of information
	1	CARD SET LABEL - All cards in this set are labelled "A" in this column.
2	2- 3	LANGUAGE - Each different language group in the study is given a separate code (see Table 4).
3	4	DIALECT - When more than one dialect is represented in a language, letter codes are used when necessary to refer to a specific dialect (see Table 4).
4	5- 7	PLANT SEGREGATE NUMBER (right-adjusted) - This number is unique for each different term applied to a part of a specific plant, a plant taxon, or a group of taxa within a given language and dialect.
5	8-43	FOLK SEGREGATE - The native terms for different kinds of plants are written in a modified practical orthography (see Appendixes 2, 3, and 4). Underlining is indicated in the computor printout by a slash following a letter (e.g., $\underline{k} = k/$ ), and accent marks are printed as an asterisk *. English glosses for the terms are also given when known.
	44	CONTINUING INFORMATION - When the folk segregate and its English gloss is too long to fit the alloted number of columns in one card, a "C" is placed here, and a second card is used to continue the information. In this case, the first four fields are repeated on the second card, as identification.
6	45	PART OF PLANT REFERRED TO BY SEGREGATE - Specifies application of the term, either for a specific part of a plant (e.g., fruit, bark, or cambium) or for a specific growth stage or state (e.g., immature or prepared for use). (See Table 4 for specific codes used.)
7	46-47	REFERENCE SOURCE - Each different source of folk plant segregates is indicated by a unique code (see Table 4).
8	48-67	DESCRIPTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PLANT SEGREGATES (20 subfields).

Field number	Column number	Description of information
<b>8a</b>	48	Uniqueness - Terms which have no meaning other than as plant segregates, or terms including segments which have no meaning (according to native informants) are indicated by a "l" placed in this column.
86	49	Generic term polysemous with or partially inclusive of a term of broad taxonomic standing (e.g. plant, berry, tree, or grass) - indicated by a code (see Table 4).
8 <b>c</b>	50	Compound lexeme with a specifying modifier (e.g. 'Haida-apples', 'real-saskatoons') - indicated by a "l" placed in this column.
8đ	51	Sex differentiation indicated - If sexual status is specified or implied in a folk segregate, an M (male), F (female), or N (neuter) is placed in this column.
8e	52	Colour - If specified or implied in a segregate, an appropriate symbol is given (see Table 4).
<b>8f</b>	53	Texture - If a term indicates or implies texture (e.g. 'soft', 'rough', 'sticky'), a "1" is placed in this column.
8g	54	Shape or growth form - If a segregate indicates or implies the shape or growth form of a plant (e.g. 'climbing-plant', 'bunched-up', 'strings-along'), a "1" is placed in this column.
8h	55	Taste, smell, touch, or sound - If a plant term refers to any of these factors (e.g. 'sweet-berry', 'smells-nice', 'burning'), a "l" is placed in this column.
<b>8i</b>	56	Reference to anatomical feature (e.g. 'rain's-navel', 'goose-tongue', or 'man-foot') - indicated by a "1" in this column.
<b>8</b> j	57	Comparison of plant to some substance or object (other than to an anatomical feature) (e.g. 'crow's-lace', 'tree-biscuit', 'Raven's-canoe') - indicated by a "l" in this column.
8k	.58	Other quality of plant indicated by name - If the term includes some other descriptive feature not covered in Fields 8e to 8j (e.g. location within a plant: 'inside'; or state of plant: 'prepared'), a "1" is placed in this column.

Field number	Column number	Description of information
81	59	Plant name includes reference to habitat - appropriate code is placed in this column (see Table 4).
8m	60	Plant name includes reference to use - An "H" indicates use by humans (e.g. 'bow-tree', 'rope-plant'), and an "A" indicates use by an animal (e.g. 'Raven's-canoe', 'grizzly's-highbush-cranberries').
8n	61	Term indicates some action or process associated with the plant (e.g. 'bustling', 'hold-in-the-mouth', 'buy-ing') - A "1" is placed in this column.
80	62	Name indicates some human attribute of plant - An "R" denotes use of a kinship term (e.g. 'pilot-biscuit's-grandmother', 'tobacco-mother'), and an "H" indicates some other human attributes (e.g. 'child', 'thief').
8p	63	Name indicates association of plant with an animal - appropriate code is placed in this column (see Table 4).
<b>8</b> q	64	Name indicates association of plant with a supernatural being (e.g. 'hermaphrodite-plant', 'ground-ghost') - A "1" is placed in this column.
8 <b>r</b>	65	Name indicates association of plant with a natural phenomenon or astronomical feature (e.g. 'rain-leaves', 'forest-cumulus-cloud') - A "l" is placed in this column.
8s	66	Name includes segregate for a plant - An "S" indicates inclusion of another segregate applied to the same kind of plant (e.g. in Haida, lhk'iit-lhk'aayii 'lhk'iit-branches' contains lhk'iit, the term applied to the entire plants or stems of the same kind of plant).
		A "D" indicates inclusion in a term of a segregate referring to a related, but recognizably different kind of plant (e.g. in Haida, the term 'lhk'iit-baby' for a plant related to lhk'iit, but smaller).
		A "U" indicates inclusion in a term of a segregate referring to a perceptually unrelated (or not closely related) kind of plant (e.g. 'village-skunk-cabbage' in Haida, for <u>Plantago</u> <u>major</u> ).

100		- 44				
Fi	eld		С	01	un	ın
กเม	mbe	r	n	um	Ъé	r
						Ψ.
			1.1. 1			
100						

## Description of information

A "T" indicates inclusion in a term of a segregate referring to a perceptually higher taxonomic order than the plant named (e.g. 'red-rain-leaves', for a particular kind of 'rain-leaves' in Haida).

- 8t 67 Meaning of a term or term segment unknown or not understood - A "1" is placed in this column.
- 9 68-69 ASSUMED LANGUAGE OF ORIGIN OF PLANT TERM This field is necessary to indicate borrowing of terms from other languages. In many cases, more information is needed to determine the origin of terms than is available at present. In cases of dialectic borrowing, the dialect code is given in column 69. Language and dialect codes are the same as those used in fields 2 and 3 of this card set.
- 10 DATE OF ORIGIN OF TERM, WHEN KNOWN An "M" is used for terms whose origin is specifically explained in mythology. An "A" refers to terms whose origin is assumed to be aboriginal (pre-white contact). An "R" refers to terms whose origin is indicated to be recent (post-contact), such as names for introduced plants, or terms derived from English, French, or Chinook jargon. A "C" indicates those few terms which were known to be "coined" or "made up" by an informant.
- 11 71-79 BOTANICAL EQUIVALENTS OF FOLK SEGREGATES (3 subfields).
- 11a 71-74 First species reference number When folk segregates approximate a botanical species or a discrete larger taxon, the unique number of the taxon is given in this subfield (see Table 2). If the semantic range of the folk taxon covers more than one botanical species, the first (or major) species number is given here.
- 75-78 Second species reference number When more than one botanical species or discrete larger taxon is covered by the semantic range of a folk segregate, the unique number of the second species is given in this subfield.

Field Column number number

79

80

Description of information

11c

Indication of three or more species included under a single folk segregate - A "1" is used to indicate a single additional species covered by a folk taxon. An "F" indicates a few (3 or less) additional species covered. An "S" indicates several (4 to 10) additional species included, and an "M" indicates many (over 10) additional species referred to by a single folk segregate (as in the word for 'moss' in a three language groups). It is possible, in the case of general terms, to have a symbol in this subfield, without having specified a second botanical taxon in field 11b.

12

DEGREE OF CORRESPONDENCE OF FOLK SEGREGATES TO BOT-ANICAL CATEGORIES - A "O" indicates that the folk segregate refers to a fraction of a botanical species. A "1" indicates a one-to-one correspondence with a botanical species. A "2" indicates a folk segregate which applies to two or more closely related species which are difficult to distinguish botanically (e.g. <u>Porphyra</u> spp., <u>Salix</u> spp.). A "3" indicates a segregate applying to two or more distinctly different, but related plant species (e.g. "moss", "grass", "thallose lichens"). A "4" indicates a segregate referring to two or more botanically unrelated (at the family level for angiosperms) plant species (e.g. Campanula rotundifolia and Aquilegia formosa). Finally, an "I" refers to a folk segregate originally applied to a native plant, but expanded in post-contact times to include an imported or cultivated counterpart (e.g. wild and garden "strawberries").

Table 2. Card design for information relating to the botanical taxa delimited by the folk segregates.

Field number	Column number	Description of information
1		CARD SET LABEL - All cards in this set are labelled "B" in this column.
2	2- 5	BOTANICAL TAXON NUMBER (right-adjusted) - This number is unique for each plant species or discrete higher taxon included in the semantic range of any folk segregate (listed in card set "A").
<b>3</b>	6-42	SCIENTIFIC NAME OF PLANT SPECIES OR HIGHER TAXON - The scientific names used are standardized with those of Hitchcock et al. (1955 - 1969) or Calder and Taylor (1968).
4	43–56	RANGE OF PLANT SPECIES OR HIGHER TAXON IN BRITISH COL- UMBIA (According to Biogeoclimatic Zones, after Krajina, 1970) - This section must remain incomplete until further information is available. A "D" indicates dominance of a plant in any site within the zone, while a "1" indicates presence of the plant within the zone. An "R" indicates that the plant is extremely rare. The range categories are as follows:
	43	Alpine Tundra Biogeoclimatic Zone (BGC Zone)
	44	Mountain Hemlock BGC Zone
	45	Engelmann Spruce - Subalpine Fir BGC Zone
	46	Boreal White and Black Spruce BGC Zone
	47	Sub-boreal Spruce BGC Zone
	48	Caribou Aspen - Lodgepole Pine - Douglas-fir BGC Zone
	49	Interior Western Hemlock BGC Zone
	50	Interior Douglas-fir BGC Zone
	51	Ponderosa Pine - Bunchgrass BGC Zone
	52	Coastal Douglas-fir BGC Zone

Field number	Column number	Description of information	
4	53	Coastal Western Hemlock BGC Zone	
	54	Queen Charlotte Islands (not a BGC Zone, but a discrete geographical and floristic unit which is distinguished for convenience.)	
	55	Cultivated or imported (does not occur in a wild state within the Province.)	
	56	Weed (non-native wild plant)	
	57-58	Undesignated	
5	59-70	HABITAT OF PLANT SPECIES OR HIGHER TAXON - A "1" indi- cates presence of the plant in a habitat (a general guide only). Habitat types are as follows:	
	59	Epiphytic (on trees or other plants)	
	60	Marine	
	61	Beach and sand dunes	
	62	Fresh water swamps and lakes	
	63	Bog, muskeg	
	64	Alluvial terraces, deltas, flood plains, and salt marshes	
	65	Deciduous forest	
	66	Coniferous forest	
	67	Subalpine - alpine meadows	
	68	Rock or talus	
	69	Dryland sage or grassland	
	70	Disturbed areas meadows, burns, clearings	
	71	Undesignated	

Field number	Column number	Description of information
6	72-76	FAMILY NAME OR BROAD TAXONOMIC GROUPING (Families given for vascular plants, phyla for non-vascular plants and fungi) - Usually the first five letters of the family name are used (e.g. Rosaceae is given as ROSAC), unless a conflict occurs between family names with the same abbreviation. In this case, some other abbreviation is adopted for one of the families.
7	77-80	REFERENCE TO COMMON NAME - If a species or larger taxon has a colloquial name, a unique number is listed here. The common names can then be given in a separate listing, and in the future, if desired, printouts of the information can be made using common plant names along with botanical names. This listing was not utilized for this project.

Table 3. Card design for information related to the utilization of plants by Pacific Northwest Indians.

Field number	Column number	Description of information
1	4	CARD SET LABEL - All cards in this set are labelled "C" in this column.
2	2- 5	BOTANICAL TAXON REFERENCE NUMBER - This is the unique number of the plant species or higher taxon to which the information on utilization and aboriginal beliefs refers. For folk segregates which include more than one botanical species, each species involved is list- ed separately in this card set.
3	6-7	LANGUAGE CODE - Since uses of plants and beliefs about them can be specific to any linguistic or cultural groups, each kind of plant is listed separately for each Indian group in which it was utilized, and the language of that group is indicated in this field (see Table 4 for key to language codes).
4	8	DIALECT CODE - If the use of a plant is restricted to a particular dialectic group within a language group, the dialect is indicated here (see Table 4 for dialect codes).
5	9-21	USE AS FOOD (OR ORAL STIMULATION) - When known or specified, seasonal codes are given (see Table 4). Otherwise, a "1" is placed in the appropriate column(s). Categories are as follows:
	9	Undesignated
	10	Underground parts (roots, rhizomes, bulbs) eaten
	11	Fruits eaten (mostly berries)
	12	Seeds or nuts eaten
	13	Cambium or sap eaten
	14	"Greens" or above-ground stems eaten (including mush-rooms)
	15	Flavouring for food, or for tobacco
	16	Chewing or smoking

Field number	Column number	Description of information		
5	17	Used as beverage		
	18	Used in collection of herring spawn		
	19	Food preserved for winter use		
	20	Food of a particular animal (either in fact or in be- lief only)		
	21	Considered inedible or poisonous (to eat or to handle)		
6	22-29	USE IN TECHNOLOGY - When known or specified, seasonal codes are given (see Table 4). Otherwise a "1" is placed in the appropriate column(s). Categories are as follows:		
	22	Wood (for carving or manufacture)		
	23	Fuel or tinder (when specified by informant)		
	24	Dye, decoration, cosmetic, tattooing		
	25	Fiber or fibrous tissue used		
	26	Lining steaming pits or drying racks, covering berries or floors, generating steam for cooking or wood-moulding, and similar uses		
	27	Bedding, stuffing (pillows, etc.), bandaging, towelling		
	28	Unmodified implements or containers		
	29	Cement, binding substance		
7	30-58	MEDICINAL USE - A "1" is placed in the appropriate col- umn(s). Categories are as follows:		
	30	Removing warts		
	31	Poultice (for burns, sumburn, wounds, infections)		
	32	Blistering agent		
	33	Casts, splints, poultice coverings		
	34	Cauterizing		

Field number	Column number	Description of information
7	35	Antiseptic or deodorant
	36	Headaches
	37	Toothaches
	38	Eye medicine (sties, infections)
	39	Colds, sore throats, whooping cough, flu, fevers
	40	Lung ailments (pneumonia, bronchitis, tuberculosis)
	41	Heart troubles
	42	Ulcers and stomach troubles
	43	Laxative
	44	Diarrhoea medicine
	45	Emetic
	46	Bladder or urinary ailments
	47	Childbirth or female disorders
	48	Venereal diseases
	49	Unspecified internal complaints (e.g. cancer)
	50	Rheumatism, arthritis, muscular disorders, paralysis
	51	Used in steam-bath, or sweat-house
	52	General tonic
	53	Pain killer, anaesthetic
	54	Contraceptive, abortive
	55	Goitres, mineral deficiencies
	56	Medicine of a particular animal
	57	Medicine, unspecified
	58	Antidote for poisoning

Field number	Column number		
	59–60	Undesignated	
8	61-70	ROLE OF PLANTS IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION - A "1" is placed in the appropriate column(s). Categories are as follows:	
	61	Ceremonial purifier, for obtaining supernatural power	
	62	Used for beating or washing in purification ritual	
	63	Involved in some other ceremony or ritual	
	64	Good luck or protective charm	
	65	Involved in some taboo or superstition	
	66	Role in myths as a "humanized" figure or dramatis per- sonae	
	67	Supernatural or magical role in myths (non-human)	
	68	Natural role in myths	
	69	Crest, totem, or dance symbol	
	70	Love charm	
9	71-72	OTHER USES (e.g. recreation) - Codes given in Table 4.	
10	73	IMPORTED (not used locally or aboriginally)	

Table 4. Keys to codes used in computor sorting system\*

I. Indian languages and dialects - Many of these codes are not used in the present study, but are included in anticipation of eventual expansion of the system. These codes are used in card set "A" (fields 2 and 3, 7, and 9) and in card set "C" (fields 3 and 4).

Code	Language/Dialect	Code	Language/Dialect
HA	HAIDA	LI	LILLOOET
S M	Skidegate dialect Masset dialect	F P	Fraser River (Upper LI)
	여행 (낚시됐다. 그 아이 반으로 하다면 보기하다.		Pemberton (Lower LI)
TS C	TSIMSHIAN Coast Tsimshian	SH S	SHUSWAP
G	Gitksan	N N	Southern Shuswap Northern Shuswap
N	Niska		클레이 스타일 때문에 가장 하는 경우의 후에 발맞하는 모든 물란
KW	KWAKIUTL	KO	KOOTENAY
S	Southern Kwakiutl	CN	CHILCOTIN
В	Bella Bella (Heiltsuk)	ĊA	CARRIER
H	Hais1a	SK	SEKANT
NO	NOOTKA	ТА	TAHLTAN
S	Southern Nootka		일본 경기 되었다는 아이들은 스달리를 보는 말이 되었다.
N	Northern Nootka	KA	KASKA
BC	BELLA COOLA	SL	SLAVE
CS	COAST SALISH (general)	BE	BEAVER
СО	COMOX	TL	TLINGIT (Alaska)
SE	SECHELT	EN	ENGLISH
SQ	SQUAMISH	FR	FRENCH
HM	HALKOMELEM	СН	CHINOOK JARGON
SS	STRAITS SALISH	ВО	Borrowed word, but source
IS	INTERIOR SALISH (general)		not known
TH	THOMPSON		전문 경험 전 경험을 받았는 보고 있다. 1800년 전 1일 등을 위하여 - 1848년 1968년 1일 대한민국의 시민국의 1848년 1861년 1881년 1881
ок	OKANAGAN		

<sup>\*</sup> Each of these code systems can be expanded at a future date to allow for incorporation of new information.

II. Part or state of plant referred to by folk segregate (card set "A", field 6).

Code	Description	Code	Description
Α	abnormal growth of some kind	0	old or dead individual
В	bark	P	whole plant (including
C	cambium		fruiting fungi)
D	dried or prepared material	R	root, underground part
F	fruit, flower, cone, seed,	S	stem, stipe, sprouts
	or floats of algae	T	thorns, slivers, spines
G	gum, pitch	Y	young plant
L	1eaves	1	branch
N	numerous individuals, plural form		

#### III. Reference sources for folk plant segregates (card set "A", field 7)

Code	Reference source
на	my own field work with contemporary Haida informants
LI	my own field work with contemporary Lillooet informants
ВС	my own field work with contemporary Bella Coola informants
2	Newcombe, C.F. (unpublished notes, 1897 - 1906)
3	Swanton, J.R. (any publication listed in Bibliography)
4	Steedman, E. (1929)
5	Boas, F. (any publication listed in Bibliography)
6	Curtis (1916)
7	Dawson (1880)
8	McIlwraith (1948)

# IV. Broad taxonomic plant segregates incorporated in generic segregates (card set "A", field 8b)

Code	Gloss of term	Code	Gloss of term
В	berry, fruit, or nut	R	root
E	evergreen boughs	Т	tree
F	fern	W	wood, stick
G	gum, pitch		branches
Ĺ	leaves	2	grass
M	moss	3	flower
P	plant	4	bark

### V. Colours referred to in folk plant segregates (card set "A", field 8e)

Code	Colour Code Colour
В	blue Y yellow, or yellow/green
G	green D dark-coloured
L	light-coloured, blond W white
R	를 하는 바람이 되었다. 이번 시간 아무지는 이 그림이 되었다는 사람이 되었다. 그는 이 사람들이 되었다는 것이 되었다. 그런 사람이 되었다는 것이 되었다는 것이 되었다. 그런 그는 것이 없는 것 그 red) 사람들이 보면 보다는 것이 되었다. 그는 것이 되었다는 것이 되었다는 것이 되었다. 그런 그는 것이 되었다는 것이 되었다.

# VI. Habitat types referred to in folk plant segregates (card set "A", field 8)

Code	Habitat	Code Habitat
В	beach	S substrate (rock, ground, etc.)
F	forest	V village
М	muskeg	W water
0	ocean	T time of growth (not a habitat,
P	epiphytic on a pla	nt but appropriate here)

VII. Animals referred to in folk plant segregates (card set "A", field 8p)

Code	Animal	Code	Animal
В	bird (other than Raven)	М	mamma1
A	amphibian or reptile	R	Raven
	fish insect	S	shellfish, marine inverte- brates

# VIII. Seasons for collection of plants for food and in technology (card set "C", fields 5 and 6)

Cc	de	Season
	E	early spring
보는 시간이 많다는 사이다. 집에 12년 대로 보는 것이 없다.	S	late spring and early summer
	F	late summer and fall
	W	winter

	Code	Use
	C	children's games or toys
	G	games
	F	fertilizer
	H	hair tonic
	P	perfume
(1) 10 10 12 12 13 13 13 14 15 15 15 15 15 15 15 15 15 15 15 15 15	S	Soap

#### RESULTS

#### Phytotaxa of the Haida, Bella Coola, and Lillooet Indians

The various folk plant segregates of Skidegate Haida, Masset Haida, Bella Coola, and Fraser River Lillooet are listed alphabetically in Appendixes 5, 6, 7, and 8 respectively. Their English glosses, botanical counterparts, economic uses, and cultural roles are also noted. As can be seen from the data, folk segregates are applicable at varying levels of botanical specificity, from very general, such as the terms for "moss" or "grass", to highly specific, such as the Lillooet names for different kinds of Saskatoon berries (Amelanchier alnifolia). Some general terms for morphological features of plants are given for each of the four groups in Appendixes 9, 10, 11, and 12.

Berlin (1971) and Raven, Berlin, and Breedlove (1971) have delineated the varying levels of specificity shown by folk phytotaxa into six major types of categories, which are, according to their research, found in the lexicons of all languages. These categories are labelled in hierarchical sequence from the most general to the most specific, as follows:

- 1) unique beginner the highest level in a given domain, including all other categories. In the case of phytotaxonomies, this is the taxonomic category implied by the term "plant".
- 2) major life-form Only a few abstract general taxa, such as "tree", "vine", and "herb" are included at this level. They cover the majority of lesser ranked taxa in the system, although some important generics are not included in life-form taxa (cf. Bulmer 1967).
- 3) intermediate Taxa at this level, called "covert categories" (Berlin, Breedlove, and Raven 1968), are rather ephemeral and ambiguous in definition. They are more specific than life-form taxa and more general than generic taxa, but show varying degrees of specificity within this range. When they do exist, they are not usually labelled linguistically.

- 4) generic The greatest number of taxa are included at this level within
  any ethnobiotaxonomy -- usually about 500 (Raven, Berlin, and Breedlove
  1971). They are linguistically recognized as the usual "names" of different kinds of plants. They correspond generally to our English folk
  taxonomic concepts of "oak", "columbine", "apple", and "squash".\*
- 5) specific a less common type of category than generic. Specific taxa characteristically exist as sets of a few members within a given generic (e.g. "red oak", "white oak").
- 6) varietal this level is recognized only occasionally in folk phytotax-onomies, usually for plant types of critical cultural importance, such as cultivated plants (e.g. peppers, beans, corn).

A diagrammatic scheme of these taxon types is presented in Figure 6. A number of generalizations concerning their origin and development have been suggested by Berlin (1971) and will be discussed later. Since they are considered to be universal, it is convenient to present the terminological data collected in this study in relation to them.

#### a) Unique beginner

No monolexemic term corresponding to "plant" exists in any of the three language groups in the study, although "plant" as a concept was obviously valid to the informants. They showed no hesitancy or lack of comprehension when I told them I wanted to find out names and uses of "plants", and they would often immediately provide unsolicited information about particular "plants" which were important to them. In almost all cases, their concept of "plant", as inferred from their responses, coincided with the English folk concept of "plant", if not the scientific concept.\*\*

<sup>\*</sup> Other researchers (e.g. Price 1967) often refer to this taxonomic level as "specific" rather than "generic", and employ the term, "generic", for more general (i.e. major life-form taxa).

<sup>\*\*</sup> The actual scientific definition of "plant" is still subject to debate (cf. Whittaker 1969).

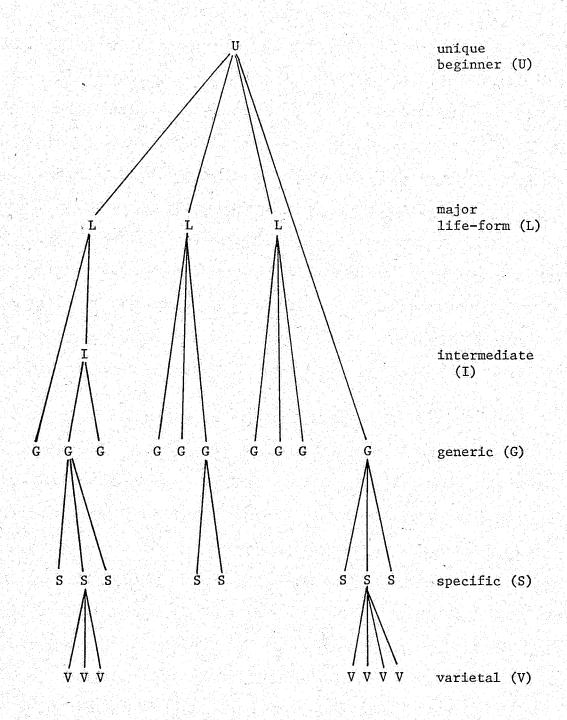


Figure 6. A diagrammatic scheme of universal phytotaxonomic category types based on conclusions of Berlin (1971) and Raven, Berlin, and Breedlove (1971).

In one instance, I tried to determine the present semantic limits of "plant" by asking George Young of Skidegate (see Appendix 1) about a number of natural objects he professed never to have seen before. His conclusions, assumed to be based solely on his own criteria for distinguishing a "plant" from a "non-plant", were as follows: "plants" - specimens of lichens\* (Icmadophila ericetorium, Caloplaca sp., Candelariella sp., Hypogymnia enteromorpha, Pilophorus acicularis, Cladonia? amaurocraea), marine algae (Codium fragile, C. setchellii, Laurencia spectabilis), and a feathery bryozoan; "non-plants" - a lichen (Graphis scripta), a whitish fungal mycelium mat beneath the bark of a spruce log, and an encrusting bryozoan; intermediates - a lichen (Placopsis gelida), and some egg cases of a whelk (Thais lamellosus).

One might assume the "plant" concept to have been acquired by
Pacific Northwest Indian groups only in post-contact times, in conjunction with the adoption of the English language. Certainly, European contact must have resulted in substantial re-structuring and expansion of the native semantic domains for vegetation; the introduction of new materials and knowledge would be expected to have such an effect. However, in the languages of the three study groups, a number of terms and morphemes are known which imply the aboriginal existence of broad semantic categories approximately equivalent to the English taxon, "vascular plants", by their most conservative interpretation, or to "plants" generally if a more flexible interpretation is allowed.

<sup>\*</sup> The lichens were identified by Dr. I.M. Brodo, lichenologist at the National Museum of Natural History, Ottawa, Canada.

In Bella Coola and Lillooet, as well as in many other Salishan languages (Turner and Bell 1971; Turner 1973), the suffixes, -lhp and -az respectively, when added to various native terms for fruits or other structures of specific kinds of plants, refer to the "plant", "bush", or "tree" in its entirety.

Thus, in Bella Coola, the term for wild and garden strawberries (Fragaria spp.) is kwululuuxwu, while the term referring to the strawberry plant is kwululuuxwu-lhp (Turner 1973). Similarly, the name for Prunus emarginata bark is plhtkkn, while the name for the entire tree is plhtkn-lhp.\* In other cases, the stem (i.e., the term without the -lhp suffix) does not refer to a particular plant structure, and lacks meaning as a botanical entity without the "plant" suffix [cf. Achillea millefolium - its'yaaxw-lhp 'flicker-plant'; Abies spp. - k'-lhp (stem has no apparent meaning to the informants)].

A total of 47 percent of Bella Coola plant names in this study\*\* contained the suffix, -lhp, either manditorily or optionally. The majority of plant names to which the suffix could not be applied (according to the informants) were botanically referable to algae, fungi, lichens, bryophytes, grasses, or species whose underground parts were

<sup>\*</sup> The formation of the term for a plant is not always as simple as adding the "plant" suffix to a pre-existing word. In Bella Coola, the addition of -lhp is often accompanied by complete or partial reduplication of the original word [cf. Pyrus fusca fruit - p'x, tree - ixp'ix-lhp; Dryopteris filix-mas rootstock - skw'alm, plant - skw'alkw'alm-lhp (Turner 1973; see also Newman 1969)].

<sup>\*\*</sup> In cases where two or more related names exist for the same plant, or different parts of the same plant, only one is included in the total.

eaten (see Appendix 7).

A parallel situation is seen in the Lillooet language, with the "plant" suffix, -az. Fruit-bearing plants are commonly named after the fruit [cf. strawberries - skw'elap, strawberry plant - (s)kw'elap-az; Shepherdia canadensis berries - sxwusum, bush - xwusum-az]. In other cases, the stem itself has no botanical application; the term has meaning as a plant name only when the suffix, -az, is attached [cf. Holodiscus discolor bush - pats7-az (\parallel patsa7 'digging stick'); Oplopanax horridus - k'atl-az (stem has no apparent meaning)].

The Lillooet language contains a significant number of plant names borrowed from other Salishan languages, such as Shuswap and Thompson (in the case of the Fraser River Lillooet). The "plant" suffix in these languages, varying from -lhp, to -lhep, to -alhp, was often retained when the word was transferred to Lillooet. A total of 52 percent of all Lillooet plant names in this study contained the "plant" suffix, -az, or the borrowed "plant" suffix, -lhp, -lhep, or -alhp. Most of the plant names to which these suffixes could not be applied were botanically referable to fungi, lichens, bryophytes, or species whose underground parts were eaten (see Appendix 8).

These "plant" suffixes in Bella Coola and Lillooet demonstrate the aboriginal existence of a definite category for at least "vascular plants". Application of these suffixes can be regarded as defining the minimal limits of the original semantic unit; it is probable that the semantic range for the category "plant", was more extensive in both groups, if other terminological data are considered. For example, in Bella Coola,

the "verb", pus 'to grow', when nominalized by adding the initial "s" -s-pus -- means 'leaf'. The verb itself applies to children and young
animals as well as to plants, but the origin of 'leaf' from 'to grow'
implies a semantic category of "things that grow" which corresponds with
"plant" in a broad sense.

In the Haida language, a different, though comparable situation exists. There is no single inclusive lexical segment applicable to the names of different types of plants, as there are in Bella Coola and Lillooet. Instead, almost all botanically recognized species are nomenclaturally referable to one of several partially overlapping life-form categories, which together, as a semantic continuum, represent the domain of "plant".

Three of the major categories are those represented by the terms: xi1\* [approximated as 'leaf/leaves', 'medicine', or 'herbaceous plant(s)']; lhk'aayii (S) or lhk'aay M ['plant(s)', 'bush(es)', 'leafy branch(es), 'defoliated branch(es)', or 'stems of clustered berries']; and lhk'amaal 12 (M) or tlaas\*\* ['evergreen bough(s)']. These terms will be discussed in greater detail in the next section. Like the suffixes, -lhp and -az, they are applied mandatorily or optionally in the naming of plants. They are mutually exclusive, in that they do not normally occur together in a single plant name,\*\*\* although in some cases, they can be used inter-

<sup>\*</sup> Terms common to Skidegate and Masset are unmarked. Skidegate words are indicated by an (S), Masset words by an (M). The numbers following (M) terms indicate pitch (see Appendix 2).

<sup>\*\*</sup> Only tlaas is used in (S), while in (M), tlaas and lhk'amaal 12 are used with equal frequency and appear to be synonymous.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> One exception is xil-k'únlhelh-lhk'aay (M) 'yellow-leaves-branches', for Ranunculus acris.

changeably. Some examples of their use are given in Table 5.

In all, approximately 42 percent of the Skidegate plant names, and 65 percent of the Masset plant names in this study were assigned linguistically to one of these three categories. No types of fungi or bryophytes were included, but every other major botanical group, including algae, lichens, pteridophytes, gymnosperms, and angiosperms (except Poaceae and Cyperaceae), were represented in at least one of the categories.

#### b) Major life-form categories

In this study, major life-form categories, as defined by Berlin (1971), and Raven, Berlin, and Breedlove (1971), are interpreted broadly as "major plant classes" (cf. Berlin, Breedlove, and Raven, no date), and hence include economically inspired taxa, such as "berries" and "edible roots" as well as conventional growth-form taxa, such as "trees", "grasses", and "herbs". Major life-form taxa are often both economic and physiognomic units, as in the case of the Haida xil category, since xil means both 'leaf' and 'medicine'.

The life-form categories described here are not necessarily definitive or exclusive. Certain ambiguities and discrepancies exist in the allocation of types of "plants" to the different categories. Some plants are not directly referable to any one major taxon, while others are referable to more than one category, depending on the context of the discussion or the opinion of an individual informant. A similar situation exists in English folk taxonomy, where, for example, a tomato can be classed as either a fruit or a vegetable, and Acer

Table 5. Examples of plant names in Haida containing the life-form markers, xil, lhk'aayii (S) / lhk'aay (M), and tlaas or lhk'amaal 12 (M). These terms, by their combined wide-ranging application to many types of plants, can be said to confirm the psychological validity of a domain for plants in the Haida language.

#### Names containing xil 'leaf/medicine'

Dial.	Plant name	English gloss*	Botanical designation
\$ >	chaagaán-xiilaay	'deep-ocean-leaves'	Corallina spp., Constan- tinea subulifera
S	yaanaang-xilgaa	'fog-leaves'	Equisetum spp., Lyco- podium spp., Achillea millefolium (plants)
S	tlelgaa-xilgaa	'earth-leaves'	Rubus pedatus, Linnaea borealis (plants)
S	xilaa-gaáydlelging	'floating-leaves'	Nuphar luteum ssp. poly- sepalum (leaves, flow- ers, rhizomes)
M	saágwaal-xi1 22-1	'saagwaal-leaves'	leaves (plant) of fine- leaved ferns (e.g. Athyrium filix-femina)
M	stléguu-xílaay 11-22	'land-otter leaves'	Apargidium boreale (plant)
M	ts'iík!ep-xí1 21-2	'ts'iik'ep-leaves'	Cornus unalaschensis (plant)
M	sgaán-xiilaa 2-12	'killer-whale leaves'	unidentified herb (grow- ing beneath Rubus spectabilis)

II. Names containing 1hk'aayii (S) / 1hk'aay (M) 'deciduous branch'

Dial.	Plant name	English gloss	Botanical designation
S	1hk'iít-1h <u>k</u> 'aayií	'lhk'iit-branches'	Heracleum lanatum (plant)
S	<u>k</u> al-1h <u>k</u> 'aayii	' <u>k</u> al-branches'	Alnus rubra (tree,
			branch)

<sup>\*</sup> As given by the native informants.

Dial.	Plant name	English gloss	Botanical designation
S	lhaayaa-lh <u>k</u> 'aayii	'lhaayaa-branches'	Viburnum edule (bush)
S	gaalguun-lh <u>k</u> 'aayii	'currant-branches'	Ribes bracteosum (bush)
М.	<u>k</u> 'ún1he-1h <u>k</u> 'aáy 21-2	'rose-branches'	Rosa spp. (bush)
М	sk'iilhe-lh <u>k</u> 'aay 21-2	'salal-branches'	Gaultheria shallon (plant)
M	hegwet1'iít-lhk'aáy 112-2	'soapberry-branches'	Shepherdia canadensis (bush)
M	sk'egechaáy-1h <u>k</u> 'aáy ,112-2	'dog-salmon-egg- branches'	Vaccinium vitis-idaea (plant)

III. Names containing lhk'amaal (M) or tlaas 'evergreen bough'

Dial.	Plant name	English gloss	Botanical Designation
S	sgaálhaan-tlaas	'sgaalhaan-boughs'	Chamaecyparis nootka- tensis (boughs)
S	kaayt-tlaas	' <u>k</u> aayt-boughs'	Picea sitchensis (boughs)
S	k'aang-tlaas	' <u>k</u> 'aang-boughs'	Tsuga heterophylla (boughs)
M	ts'uu-tlaas 2-1 ts'uu-lh <u>k</u> 'ámeleey 2-111	'ts'uu-boughs'	Thuja plicata (boughs)
M	ts'élhel-tlaas 11-2 ts'élhel-lh <u>k</u> 'ámeleey 11-222	'ts'elhel-boughs'	Pinus contorta (boughs)
M	<u>k</u> 'állaa-lh <u>k</u> 'ámeleey 22-211	'muskeg-boughs'	Juniperus communis (plant)

<u>circinatum</u> (vine maple) can be considered either a shrub or a tree, depending on the viewpoint of the classifier.

Furthermore, the categories do not necessarily have equivalent status, such as implied by the model in Figure 6. Some of them are actually overlapping paradigmatic subsets of others. An appropriate example in English is the taxon "fruit", which can itself be considered a life-form category of "plant", but is composed of members of several other life-form categories, including "trees", "shrubs", and "herbs". The "berry" category of Bella Coola and Lillooet, and especially of Haida, is a similarly composite life-form category.

Despite these indeterminacies, life-form categories definitely do exist in the cognitive systems of the study groups and are definable in general terms, if not in specifics. Some of these are actually named (e.g. 'tree' in Bella Coola and Lillooet; 'berry' in Haida, Bella Coola, and Lillooet; 'flower' in Bella Coola and Lillooet; and 'grass' in Haida, Bella Coola, and Lillooet). In these cases, any member of the category can be called "a kind of ('tree', 'berry', 'flower', 'grass')".

Other life-form categories are not actually labelled, but instead are implied by differential application of terminology for certain parts or structures of various plants. For example, the Haida category of "plants having deciduous branches", indicated by application of the term lhk'aayii (S) or lhk'aay (M) to the name of a plant, is not named, but is a real category nonetheless. Price (1967) has documented a number of life-form categories of this type in Huichol.

Still other life-form categories — perhaps the most nebulous and inconclusive — are unnamed and defined only by conversational associations or by English terminology for which there is no native equivalent. For example, in both Haida and Bella Coola, there is a definite association between different types of marine algae, delineated by the English term "seaweed", but in neither case is there any indication of an aboriginal term applicable to all seaweeds or even to a majority of them. It is impossible to determine whether an aboriginal life-form category for "seaweeds" actually existed before white contact, or whether the concept of "seaweed" was acquired only recently. Intuitively, one would expect that seaweeds were always considered as a discrete category, at least in maritime cultures such as Haida, but no proof or even suggestive linguistic evidence for this premise exists at present.

Unnamed life-form categories differ little from intermediate categories, as defined on page 61. For purposes of this study, the distinction is made that an unnamed life-form category encompasses a group of commonly associated plants which are not generally included in any other life-form category, while intermediate categories are subgroups of life-form categories, and as such are at a lower hierarchical level.

#### i) Haida life-form categories

Three major life-form categories in the Haida language have already been mentioned, namely those defined by the terms xil,  $1h\underline{k}$ 'aayií (S) /  $1h\underline{k}$ 'aay (M), and  $1h\underline{k}$ 'amaál (M) or tlaas. These categories can be termed: "herbaceous plants (other than grasses)"; "branching shrubs and deciduous trees (also some herbaceous species)"; and "coniferous trees".

These categories are not strictly definable. The terms xil and lhk'aayii (S) / lhk'aay (M) can be applied interchangeably to some plant names, with only slight alterations in meaning. For example, Alnus rubra, because it is used medicinally and because it has leaves, can be called kal-xil (S), but the preferred name is kál-lhk'aayii. In Masset, the terms, saá|an-xil 22-l and saá|aan-lhk'aay 22-l for Maianthemum dilatatum, are virtual synonyms.

Theoretically, all different kinds of leaves and everything used for medicine by the Haida, even white beach agates and "periwinkles" (Littorina spp.), are called xil, and could be said to belong to a xil category. However, when xil is applied to plant names, it delimits a particular group of plants, almost all of which fit the description of leafy herbs, not necessarily used medicinally.

Lhk'aayií (S) / lhk'aay (M) was translated as 'branch', and was offered as the Haida equivalent of "branch" by all of the Haida informants. Further questioning invariably established its meaning as 'deciduous branch'. Nevertheless, a number of non-branching herbaceous forms, such as Maianthemum dilatatum and Carex macrocephalum Exaálhk'ets'e-lhk'aay 221-2 (M) 'porcupine-branches'], are nomenclatural members of the lhk'aay category.

The lhk'amaal / tlaas category corresponds generally with the apparent semantic range of the term kaayt (S) / kijyt (M), which specifically refers to Picea sitchensis, but which in its broadest sense can be translated as 'evergreen tree', although the life-form category also includes two low evergreen shrubs: Juniperus communis and Empetrum nigrum

in Masset. Juniperus is actually the "type" for the lhk'amaal category, since it is commonly called k'alla-lhk'ameleey 22-211 'muskeg-boughs', or simply lhk'amaal 'bough' in the Masset dialect. It does not grow at Skidegate, and is not known by Skidegate speakers at the present time.

A fourth major semantic category in Haida is that of "berries".

The term for 'berry', gaan (S) / gaan (M), is actually an element in many of the generic names of types of "berries" [cf. sk'aw-gaan (S) 'thorn-berry' (Rubus spectabilis); gaan-xawlaa (S) 'sweet-berry' (Ame-lanchier alnifolia); taan-gaan-naa 2-1-1 (M) 'black-bear's-berries' (Streptopus amplexifolius)], although many other "berries" do not contain this term [cf. 7aas (S) (Shepherdia canadensis); daah (S) 'buying' (Vaccinium oxycoccus); sk'aagii-chaay (S) 'dog-salmon-eggs' (Vaccinium vitis-idaea); 1hdaan (Vaccinium alaskaense and V. ovalifolium)].

The category for "berries" is indicated, both for aboriginal times (since it recognized terminologically and nomenclaturally) and for the present Haida cognitive system. In the latter case, its semantic range may have been altered from the original meaning to better conform with that of the English "berry".

"Berries" as a life-form category is non-exclusive in terms of the types of "plants" which are included in it. In a sense, it is a subgroup of the "shrubs and deciduous trees" category, but it also overlaps terminologically and semantically into the "herbs" category, and even into the "coniferous trees" category, with <u>Juniperus</u> and <u>Empetrum</u> (see Figure 7). Strictly speaking, the "berry" designation in Haida refers only to berries and berry-like objects (such as the succulent leaves of Sedum

divergens — saat-gaán-gaa in Skidegate), but actually, it is often applied to the entire plant, much in the same way as "blackberry" or "elderberry" may be applied in English to the plants bearing these fruits. Often, when the informant was asked about a type of berry plant — even without its berries — he would first give only the "abbreviated" version of the name (i.e., the name for the berries), and would use the "proper" name (for the branch or whole plant) only when I repeated his first answer in a questioning voice. Two typical conversations about berry plants are as follows:

1. "What is this called?" (a branch of <u>Rubus spectabilis</u> without berries)

George Young (Skidegate) - "That's sk'áw-gaan."

"Sk'áw-gaan?"

Young - "Yes, sk'aw-gaan -- sk'aw-gaan-lhk'aayii." (pause) "The berries are sk'aw-gaan."

2. "What is this?" (a non-fruiting plant of <u>Streptopus amplexifolius</u>)

Florence Davidson (Masset) - "Taán-gaán-naa."

"Taán-gaán-naa?"

Mrs. Davidson - "Taán-gaán-naa-xíl."

In all, about 10 percent of Skidegate plant names and 7 percent of Masset plant names are included linguistically in the "berry" category. Many others are semantic members.

A life-form category of similar status to "berries", but not as well defined is that of "edible roots and underground parts" (hereafter simply "roots"). There is no special name or exclusive term for members of this category, but invariably edible "roots" are considered jointly

Potentilla pacifica, for example, would be answered and followed up immediately by unsolicited information about Trifolium wormskjoldii, Fritillaria camtschatcensis, Lupinus spp., Pteridium aquilinum, Polystichum munitum, and Dryopteris filix-mas. The above-ground parts of these plants are included variously in the xil or 1hk'aayii (S) / 1hk'aay (M) categories, or are considered as independent units, but the underground parts form a definite association of another dimension.

Another life-form category is that of "grasses and grass-like plants" (hereafter simply "grasses"), called k'an. Elymus mollis can be considered the generic "type" for this category, since most informants, when first asked what k'an is, would say, "It's that tall stuff down on the beach" (namely Elymus). When shown other kinds of grasses and sedges, however, they say, "That's k'an too." This taxon includes many different botanical species — namely the various members of Poaceae, Cyperaceae, and Juncaceae — but only a few of these are recognized with generic names. Most of the generic names which were used were simply descriptive modifiers of the 'grass' term, such as 'tall-grass', 'wide-leaved-grass', 'fine-grass', and 'round-grass', and these were used inconsistently by different informants.

An apparent post-contact extension of the semantic range of k'an is indicated by the term, xaáydaa-k'án-gaa (S) 'Haida-grass', which was applied by Maude Moody to many types of weeds and wild flowers (e.g. Hypochaeris radicata, Corallorhiza maculata, Tanacetum huronense, and Cakile edentula). This term was used interchangeably with the anglicized expression, xaáydaa-flawérsgaa (S) 'Haida-flowers'. Neither term was

employed to any extent by other Haida informants. This type of category can be referred to as an "empty" taxon, since it contains few or no named subtaxa, although it includes a large number of members.

Another "empty" life-form category is that of "mosses" -- k'inxaan (S) / k'innaan 22 (M). This taxon includes all species of Musci and all of the Jungermanniales in the Hepaticae, as far as I could determine. In the Skidegate dialect, none of the different types of mosses was generically named, although George Young told me such names used to exist but had been forgotten. In the Masset dialect, only Sphagnum was consistently recognized with a generic name -- k'allaa-k'innaaneey 22-112 'muskeg-moss'. Several other types were named by Emma Matthews, but the names were not corroborated by Florence Davidson.

The status of the Haida category for different types of "seaweeds" has already been discussed. At present, macroscopic marine algae and vascular plants are all categorized as "seaweeds", but, with one possible exception\* no Haida term or lexical segment exists which corresponds even remotely to this English folk segregate. At least one kind of "seaweed", chaagaan-xiilaay, is included nomenclaturally in the xil category, but most types are independent of any other major category.

An unexpected feature of Haida phytotaxonomy is an apparent lack of folk segregates at any taxonomic level for types of fungi, with the

<sup>\*</sup> Becky Pearson of Skidegate, when asked about the meaning of the term, t'al, which is normally applied to <u>Fucus</u>, stressed that it referred to only one kind of "seaweed" (namely, <u>Fucus</u>), but that if someone found any kind of "seaweed" on the beach which he did not recognize, he would say, "T'al 7uu 7iijii." ("It's t'al.") or "T'al gwaa 7is." ("Is it t'al?"). (Interrogative tone is not used in Haida.)

exception of various members of Polyporaceae (see Appendixes 5 and 6). All of the informants were familiar with the English terms, "mushroom" and "toadstool", and recognized several different types I asked about, but they knew of no Haida terms for these.

The various Haida life-form categories discussed are listed in Table 6, and portrayed diagrammatically in Figure 7. As can be seen, they are not always mutually exclusive, and do not include all of the types of "plants" for which Haida generic names are designated.

### ii) Bella Coola life-form categories

Most Bella Coola life-form categories for plants are delimited nomenclaturally. These include: "trees" (stn 'tree, log, or pole'); "berries (and berry plants)" (skaluts 'berry'; a-skaluts-aak 'berry-bearing branch or bush'); "flowers" (sxiximuuts 'flower of any kind'); "grasses and grass-like plants" (slaws); "ground mosses (and lichens)" (ipts); "mosses (and lichens) on trees" (ipts-aak 'limb-moss'); and "mushrooms" (snu-kakayt-iikw, <kayt 'hat'). The last five categories ("flowers", "grasses", "ground-mosses", "tree-mosses", and "mushrooms") are "empty"; they each contain many recognizably different members, but few or none of these possess generic names.

The Bella Coola 'tree' (stn) has a broader semantic range than the English "tree", since it includes logs, poles, and standing snags. It might be better translated as 'tall or long wooden structures'. As would be expected, it includes both coniferous and deciduous species. However, a sub-category of "needled trees" is indicated by application of the term, kwals, to the boughs or needles of Tsuga heterophylla,

Table 6. Haida life-form categories.\*

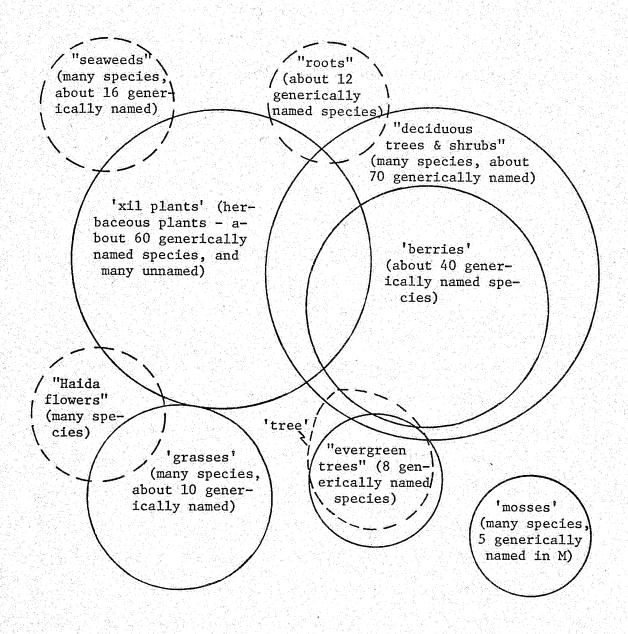
Life-form categories	Number of ling-guistically dis- crete Haida terms involved (total - 154 in Skidegate, and 167 in Masset)	Approximate number of species involved	Examples of plant species included
"herbaceous plants"	48 generic-level terms in S, 45 in M (over-laps with next cate-gory)	over 60 spe- cies in each dialect.	Nuphar luteum ssp. polysepalum, Mon- eses uniflora, Campanula rotundi- folia
"deciduous trees and shrubby plants"	about 50 generic-level terms in each dialect (overlaps with pre- vious category; in- cludes 'berry' group)	65-70 species in each dia- lect	Rubus spectabilis, Heracleum lanatum, Alnus rubra
"evergreen trees (and shrubs)"; cf. also kaayt (S)/kiiyt (M	11 generic-level terms in S, 15 in M (1 is also a general term)		s Picea sitchensis, Juniperus communis, Thuja plicata
'berries'	33 generic-level terms in S, 31 in M (over- laps with first and second categories)		Vaccinium spp., Gaultheria shallon, Viburnum edule
"roots (and underground parts)"	12 generic-level terms in S, 9 in M		Trifolium wormsk- joldii, Polystichum munitum, Solanum tuberosum
'grasses (and grass-like plants)'	1 general term, 7 gen- eric-level terms in S 13 in M, but all are poorly defined		Elymus mollis, Triglochin mariti- mum, Scirpus microcarpus

<sup>\*</sup> Single quotation marks signify a direct English translation of a Haida term; double quotes represent expressions found only in English, or of English origin. Note that generic names are counted only once, but semantic overlap with other categories is mentioned where it occurs.

Life-form categories	Number of ling- uistically dis- crete Haida terms involved	Approximate number of species involved	Examples of plant species included
"Haida flowers"	<pre>1 general term (Skide- gate only) - consider able overlap with xil category</pre>	- (a rather nebulous cat-	cata, Corallo-
'mosses'	1 general term (6 gen- eric-level terms in Masset)	(over 20 in	Eurhynchium oreganum, Sphagnum spp., Hylocomium splen- ens
"seaweeds"	16 generic-level terms in S, 15 in M (some overlap with xil category)	ies in each	keana, Halosaccion
uncategorized types*			Fomes spp., Cladonia ct spp., all mushroom species

<sup>\*</sup> About 10 terms in Skidegate and 8 terms in Masset, recorded by C.F. Newcombe, were not included for lack of classificatory evidence.

Figure 7. Diagrammatic representation of Haida life-form categories.\*



<sup>\*</sup> Numbers are averaged from Skidegate and Masset dialects. Dotted lines indicate categories for which no particular Haida term exists, or whose aboriginal existence in Haida is doubtful. Single quotation marks signify a direct English translation of a Haida term; double quotes represent expressions found only in English.

Abies spp., Picea sitchensis, Taxus brevifolia, Pseudotsuga menziesii, and Pinus contorta, and of "scaled evergreen trees" by use of the term, ts'ap'ax for the boughs of Chamaecyparis nootkatensis and Thuja plicata. There is no term, other than s-pus 'leaf', applying to deciduous trees as a group, and there is no term, other than a general word and suffix for 'branch' to distinguish bushes or shrubs from other types of "plants", although the English term "bush" is commonly used at present.

Unlike the Haida 'berry' -- gaan (S) / gaan (M), the Bella Coola 'berry' (skaluts) is not incorporated into the names of different kinds of "berries". Only one species, <u>Vaccinium membranaceum</u>, the generic "type" of "berry", is called skaluts.

Some more nebulous life-form categories are implied by conversational associations and differential application of terminology. The first of these -- "edible or useful roots and underground parts" (hereafter, "roots") -- is at least partially recognized linguistically, by use of the suffix -nk (literally 'foot'), to refer to the "roots" of certain plants (e.g., Lysichitum americanum top - ukw'uk', roots - ukw'uk'-nk; Pteridium aquilinum plants - saxsakwm-lhp, rhizomes - saxsakwm-lhp-nk). However, not all of the plants included by association in the "root" category have names to which this suffix is applicable. As in Haida, the "root" plants are usually discussed as a group: Potentilla pacifica, Trifolium wormskjoldii, Lupinus nootkatensis, Allium cernuum, and the other "roots" mentioned for Haida.

No "herbaceous plant" category comparable to the Haida xil taxon

exists in Bella Coola. However, the "tops" of some "root" plants are delineated by the suffix -iixw (? -iixw), much in the same way as the leaves of carrots in English are called "carrot-tops" (e.g., Allium spp. bulbs - tl'xwtsn, leaves - tl'xwtsn-iixw; Veratrum eschscholtzii tops - putsk'-lh-iixw; Trifolium spp. tops - t'xwsusus-iixw; Potentilla pacifica tops - uk'k'al-iixw).

In Bella Coola, as in Haida, there is no general term for the concept of "seaweed", although various types of marine algae are recognized with generic names.

There is no term for "garden or cultivated plants", but volunteer plants, which grow without being planted, are called spuus-timut (<pus 'to grow'). Some other broad, but casual categories, such as "ferns" and "green vegetables" could probably be considered as life-form categories in Bella Coola, but are discussed as intermediate categories.

The various life-form categories of Bella Coola are enumerated in Table 7 and presented diagrammatically in Figure 8.

### iii) Lillooet life-form categories

Lillooet life-form categories appear to be generally similar to those of Bella Coola. There are named taxa for "trees" (segáp), "berries (and berry bushes)" (skw'el, \langle kw'el 'ripe, cooked'; bushes - kw'el-az; and 7úsa7), "flowers" (sp'ak'em, \langle pak' 'white, light-coloured'), "grasses (hay)" (slékem); "mosses" (pa7sem); and possibly "mushrooms", since the term smetl'éka7, for a type of edible mushroom, is apparently also applicable to mushrooms generally, at least in some contexts.

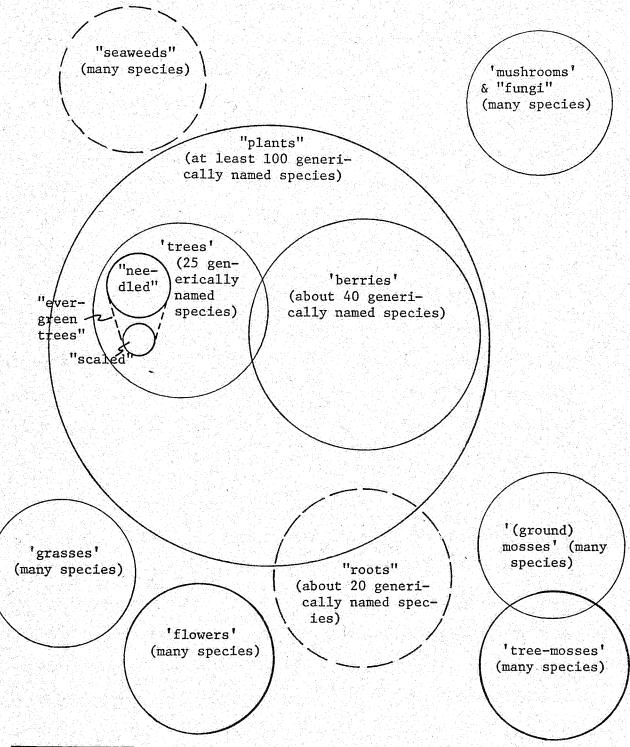
Table 7. Bella Coola life-form categories.\*

Life-form categories	Number of ling- uistically dis- crete Bella Coola terms in- volved (total - 152)	Approximate number of species involved	Examples of plant species included
'trees'			
"with leaves"	16 generic-level terms	about 15 spec- ies	Populus tremuloi- des, Rhamnus pur- shiana, Prunus emarginata
"evergreen"	- 1일 하시 - 교육하는 1일 시간 1일 1일 19 2일 - 1일 시간 1일		
'scaled'	2 generic level terms, 4 general	2 species	Thuja plicata, Chamaecyparis nootkatensis
'needled'	11 generic-level terms, 1 general	8 species	Pseudotsuga men- ziesii, Tsuga heterophylla, Picea sitchensis
'berries'	40 generic-level terms, (1 also general)	about 39 spec- ies	Gaultheria shallon, Rubus spectabilis, Maianthemum dila- tatum
'flowers'	3 generic-level terms, 1 general	many (over 20) species	Pyrola asarifolia, Aquilegia formosa, Corallorhiza spp.
'grasses (and grass-like plants)'	1 general term (2 gen- eric-level terms overlapping with other categories)	many (over 25) species	Carex lyngbyei, Dactylis glomer- ata, Juncus effu- sus
'mosses' (on ground)	1 generic-level term, 1 general	many (over 20) species	Rhytidiopsis ro- busta, Plagiomnium insigne, Poly- trichum juniper- inum

<sup>\*</sup> Single quotation marks signify a direct English gloss of a Bella Coola term; double quotes represent expressions found only in English or of English origin.

Life-form categories	Number of ling- uistically dis- crete Bella Coola terms in- volved	Approximate number of species involved	Examples of plant species included
'tree-mosses'	2 generic-level terms, 1 general	many (over 15) species	Isothecium stoloni- ferum, Lobaria pulmonaria, Alectoria sarmentosa
'mushrooms' and "fungi"	2 general terms	many (over 20) species	Agaricus spp., Lyco- perdon spp., Poly- porus officinalis
"roots" (un- derground parts)	19 generic-level terms	about 18 spec- ies	Pteridium aquilinum, Trifolium wormsk- joldii, Cicuta douglasii
"seaweeds"	6 generic-level terms (one also general)		Fucus spp., Macro- cystis integrifolia, Porphyra spp.
other "plants"	42 generic-level terms		Equisetum telmateia, Holodiscus discolor, Urtica dioica

Figure 8. Diagrammatic representation of Bella Coola life-form categories.\*



<sup>\*</sup> Dotted lines indicate categories for which no particular Bella Coola term exists, or whose aboriginal existence in Bella Coola is doubtful. Single quotation marks signify a direct English translation of a Bella Coola term; double quotes represent expressions found only in English.

The "flower" and "mosses" categories are "empty, but "grasses" and "mushrooms" each have several named components. Agropyron spicatum (bunchgrass) is the generic "type" for "grasses", since it is called slékem-úl 'real-grass/hay'.

Another named category, similar to the "Haida flowers" taxon in Haida, is that of "weeds", swa7púlmexw (literally 'ground-hair'), which includes various introduced and native herbs not recognized with generic names.

As in Bella Coola, a sub-category of "trees", namely "trees with needles", is suggested by the differential use of the term k'áma7 'needles' for <u>Pseudotsuga menziesii</u> and other conifer needles. <u>Pseudotsuga</u> is the generic "type" for the "tree" category in Lillooet, being called segáp-úl 'real-tree'. It is also a type for "tree" in the Yurok and Smith River languages of California (Bright and Bright 1965).

One Lillooet term for 'berry', skw'el, is derived from the "verb" 'to ripen', and has no generic "type". However, the other term (usually a suffix), -úsa7 (sometimes in a reduplicated form), is a component of several names of members of this life-form class (e.g. Rubus leucodermis berries - tsats7-úsa7 'black-berries'; Amelanchier alnifolia berries, "rotten" variety - nek'nakw'-úkw'sa7 'rotten-berries'). In fact, Vaccinium membranaceum, the generic "type" for "berry" in Bella Coola, is called 7úsa7 in the Lillooet language.

An unnamed "edible root and underground parts" category also exists, and includes many members, especially in Liliaceae. The generic names of most of these do not include the -az "plant" suffix; rather the name

applies specifically to the root or underground part of the plant and generally to the entire plant (e.g., <u>Calochortus macrocarpus</u> bulb and plant - mekw7- ú7sa7 'round-thing-held-in-the-mouth'; <u>Erythronium grandiflorum</u> bulb and plant - sk'amts; <u>Lomatium macrocarpum</u> root and plant - <u>kw'ekw'ila</u>). In English, a similar naming system exists for many "root" plants, such as carrot, onion, potato, and turnip.

Lillooet life-form categories are enumerated in Table 8, and presented diagrammatically in Figure 9.

## c) Intermediate categories

In each of the three study groups, there are many intermediate plant categories — more general than generic taxa, and more specific than life-form taxa. These are informal associations, and many are not linguistically recognized, except by English terminology. Thus, their existence in aboriginal times usually cannot be substantiated, although intermediate categories undoubtedly did exist in pre-contact days. Some, involving introduced or imported plants and English terminology, are obviously of post-contact origin. Most of the intermediate taxa in this study were derived from conversational associations of the informants, or from common nomenclatural designations.

As already mentioned, the unnamed categories discussed as life-form taxa in the previous section, such as "edible roots" and "seaweeds", could be considered as intermediate categories, but were included as life-form categories because of their apparent high taxonomic level. The intermediate categories themselves are not all of equivalent taxonomic status. They can occur at any taxonomic level within the

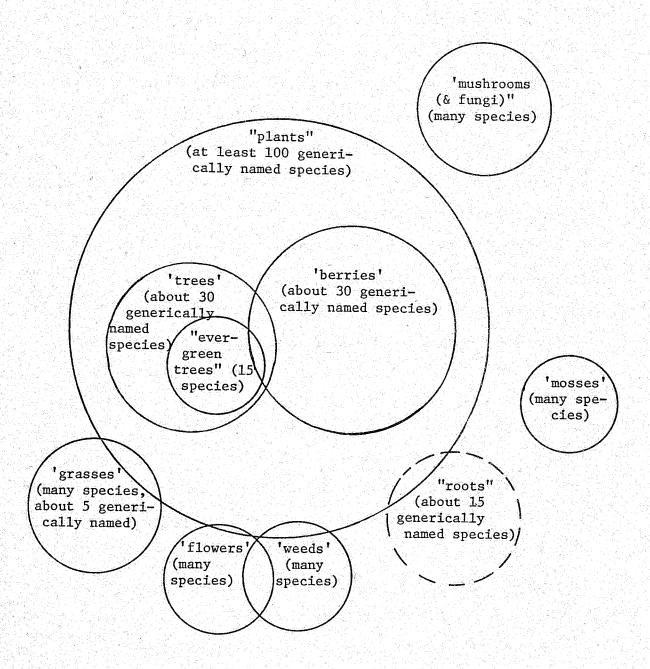
Table 8. Fraser River Lillooet life-form categories.\*

Life-form categories	Number of ling- uistically dis- crete Lillooet terms involved (total, Fraser River Lillooet - 137)	Approximate number of species involved	Examples of plant species included
'trees'	1 general term		
"with leaves"	15 generic-level terms	about 13 spec- ies	Acer glabrum, Populus tricho- carpa, Prunus emarginata
"ever- greens"	19 generic-level terms (one also general)	about 15 spec- ies	Pseudotsuga men- ziesii, Pinus albicaulis, Juni- perus scopulorum
'berries'	31 generic-level terms (one also general)	over 33 spec- ies	Vaccinium spp., Actaea rubra, Lonicera invol- ucrata
'flowers'	1 general term (in- cludes 1 or 2 gener- ics) (overlaps with 'weeds')	many (over 20) species	Penstemon fruti- cosus, Lilium columbianum, Gaillardia aris- tida
'grasses (and grass-like plants)'	3 general terms, 4 generic-level terms	many (over 20) species	Agropyron spica- tum, Elymus cin- ereus, Distichlis spicata
'mosses'	1 general term	several (about 15) species	Selaginella walla- cei, Polytrichum piliferum, Funaria hygrometrica

<sup>\*</sup> Single quotation marks signify a direct English translation of a Lillooet term; double quotes represent expressions found only in English or of English origin.

	- 90 -		
Life-form categories	Number of ling- uistically dis- crete Lillooet terms involved	Approximate number of species involved	Examples of plant species included
"mushrooms and fungi"	5 generic-level terms (one possibly more general)	many (over 20) species	Polyporus spp., Agaricus spp., Clavaria spp.
'weeds'	1 general term (over- laps with 'flowers' and "plants")	many (over 20) species	Asclepias specio- sus, Sisymbrium altissimum, Tan- acetum vulgare
"roots (and un- derground part including poi- sonous types)	15 generic-level terms	s about 15 spec- ies	Calochortus macro- carpus, Erythron- ium grandiflorum, Lomatium macro- carpum
other "plants"	42 generic-level terms	over 46 spec- ies	Elaeagnus commu- tata, Artemisia tridentata, Rhus radicans

Figure 9. Diagrammatic representation of Fraser River Lillooet lifeform categories.\*



<sup>\*</sup> Dotted lines indicate categories for which no particular Lillooet term exists, or whose aboriginal existence is doubtful. Single quotation marks signify a direct English translation of a Lillooet term; double quotes represent expressions found only in English.

limits of the category type, they can involve any number of generic taxa, from two to many, and they can result in several different types of associations between plants. Some, such as the Haida and Bella Coola "ferns" and "umbelliferous plants", originate from obvious structural similarities between plants. Others are derived from similar utilization (e.g. Haida and Bella Coola "green vegetables" and "strong medicines"). Some intermediate relationships result from habitat similarities (e.g. Haida "muskeg plants", Lillooet "tree lichens"), while others appear to have been derived mainly from English categories being superimposed on native categories, and are named accordingly (e.g. Lillooet "onions", "sage", "pines"). Hence, a single type of plant can be included in more than one intermediate category, depending on the desired context. Furthermore, an intermediate category can include two or more sub-categories which are also intermediate.

It would be impossible to enumerate all intermediate taxa for each group, since the number is potentially limitless; casual associations between plants are made at many different levels, using many different criteria. The categories range in extent from those of short duration, recognized by only a few individuals, to those of longer standing, generally recognized throughout the society. New categories are constantly being initiated, especially with the introduction or superimposition of the taxonomic categories of another language, such as English. At the same time, other categories are forgotten as their necessity for existence is eliminated through cultural change.

In Tables 9, 10, and 11, some notable examples of intermediate categories, ranging from general to specific, are provided for Haida,

Table 9. Some examples of intermediate taxonomic categories for plants in Haida.

	Designated	Examples of plant	Linguistic reco	ognition
Dial.	category name	species included in category	Native lang.	English
S, M	thered in spring;	Heracleum lanatum, Stachys cooleyae, Epilobium angustifolium, Rubus par- viflorus, R. spectabilis, Rumex oc- cidentalis, lhk'uúxaay (S, indet.)	no inclusive term	"greens", "vege- tables"
S, M	"ferns"	Polystichum munitum, Blechnum spicant, Polypodium glycyrrhiza, Athyrium filix-femina, Dryopteris spp., Pter- idium aquilinum, Gymnocarpium dryo- pteris, Adiantum pedatum, Botrychium multifidum (leaves)	ts'aágwel (S) (M terms are more specific)	"ferns"
M	"fine-leaved ferns"	Pteridium, Athyrium, Dryopteris, Gym- nocarpium, Adiantum, Botrychium, Tanacetum huronense (leaves)	saágwaál 22 (M)	no corresponding term
M	"coarse-leaved ferns"	Polystichum, Blechnum, Polypodium, Achillea millefolium (leaves)	ts'aágwaál 22 (M)	no corresponding term
S, M	"thorny or spiney plants" (used as protection against witchcraft)	Ribes lacustre, Oplopanax horridus, Picea sitchensis, Rosa nutkana, R. gymnocarpa, Crataegus douglasii	no inclusive term	no inclusive term
Š	"fresh-water aquatic plants"	Callitriche heterophylla, Potamogeton spp., Fontinalis spp., "any green thing in the water"	gándel-xílgaa 'water-leaves'	"hydrophytes"

**-** 93

	ı		
١	Ċ	1	١
1		ī,	
ď	C	٦	۰
1			
	•		

Dial.	Designated category name	Examples of plant species included in category	Linguistic recog Native lang.	nition English
<b>M</b> .	"muskeg plants"	Eriophorum spp., Juncus effusus, Fauria crista-gallii, Juniperus communis	k'állaa - 22- 'muskeg' (inclu- ded in the gener- ic names of these plants)	"bog plants"
S, M	"plants which are strong medicines"	Veratrum eschscholtzii, Moneses uni- flora, Oplopanax horridum, Nuphar luteum ssp. polysepalum and others	no inclusive term	no inclusive term
<b>M</b>	"blueberry-like forest shrubs"	Vaccinium alaskaense, V. ovalifolium (generic "types"), V. parvifolium, Menziesia ferruginea, Symphoricarpos albus	lhdaán-lhe 2-1 ( <lhdaan "blue-<br="">berry")</lhdaan>	no correspond- ing term
S, M	"kelps"	Macrocystis integrifolia (generic "type"), Alaria marginata, Laminaria spp., Pleurophycus gardneri, Costaria costata, Nereocystis blades, Egregia menziesii, Agarum sp.	ngaal (Macrocystis) (others called "fancy ngaal", or "a kind of ngaal")	"ke1p"
S, M	"umbelliferous plants"	Heracleum lanatum (generic "type"), Conioselinum pacificum, Oenanthe sar- mentosa, Glehnia littoralis	<pre>lhk'iit (Heracleum)   (others called   'lhk'iit-baby')</pre>	Family Apiaceae
S, M	"hollow-stemmed plants"	Nereocystis luetkeana, Heracleum lana- tum, Elymus mollis	lhky'aámaa (S) / lhk'aámaa (M)	no correspond÷ ing term
s, M	"stem-fiber plants" (used for making twine)	Urtica dioica, Epilobium angustifolium	no inclusive term, but usually discus sed together	no inclusive - term

Dial.	category name	species included in category	Native lang.	English
S	"trailing plants"	Linnaea borealis, Rubus pedatus, (Arc- tostaphylos uva-ursi sometimes in- cluded)	tlélgaa- 'earth, ground' (includ- ed in generic name	ing term
S. M	"bog cranberries"	Vaccinium oxycoccus, V. vitis-idaea	no inclusive term, but usually discus sed together	
S, M	"fibrous-barked trees"	Thuja plicata, Chamaecyparis nootka- tensis	inner bark of these trees - giixiidaa (S)	"cedar"
S, M	"fruit stored in water and grease"	Pyrus fusca, Viburnum edule (Rubus chamaemorus often included in M)	no inclusive term	no inclusive term
S, M	"trees with edible cambium"	Picea sitchensis, Tsuga heterophylla	xii (cambium)	no corresponding term

Linguistic recognition

Examples of plant

Designated

- 96 -

Table 10. Some examples of intermediate taxonomic categories for plants in Bella Coola.

Designated	Examples of plant	Linguistic reco	
category name	species included in category	Native lang.	English
"green vegetables"	Epilobium angustifolium, Heracleum lan- atum, Urtica dioica, Rubus spectabi- lis, R. parviflorus	no inclusive term	"greens"
"tree fungi"	Fomes officinalis (apparently the "type"), various other Fomes, Polyporus, and Ganoderma species, especially those which can be drawn on	kanani	Family Poly- poraceae
"green rock algae and aquatic plants"	Rhizoclonium sp. ("type"), also Fontin- alis, Spirogyra, Potamogeton spp., and other fresh-water aquatics	swanalhkw	no correspond- ing term
"plants with barbed or pappused fruits"	Bromus erectus ("type"), Bromus spp., Osmorhiza chilensis, Antennaria neglecta	nususkw'ii <u>k</u> w 'she flies'	no equivalent term
"trailing plants"	Lycopodium clavatum (vegetative), Linnaea borealis	ix7l <u>x</u> ulmxmayx 'beats earth'	no equivalent term
"non-edible ferns"	Athyrium filix-femina, Polystichum munitum, Dryopteris austriaca, Ad- iantum pedatum,(sometimes Gymno- carpium dryopteris)	<u>x</u> â1a	no correspond- ing term
"stem-fiber plants"	Apocynum androsaemifolium, (sometimes Aralia nudicaulis), Urtica dioica	no inclusive term, but usually dis- cussed together	no inclusive term

	i	Į	ŀ		
ì	į	i		)	,
	٠			i	
		i			

Designated	Examples of plant	Linguistic rec	
category name	species included in category	Native lang.	English
"umbelliferous plants"	Heracleum lanatum, Cicuta douglasii, Angelica genuflexa, Sium suave, Oenanthe sarmentosa, klhpuulx (indet. violently poisonous)	no inclusive term, but often , discussed to- gether	Apiaceae (but not all mem- bers)
"poisonous plants used medicinally"	Oplopanax horridus, (Ribes lacustre sometimes), Physocarpus capitatus, Cicuta douglasii, klhpuulx (see above), Veratrum eschscholtzii	no inclusive term	no inclusive ter
"alders"	Alnus rubra, A. incana, A. sinuata	no inclusive term, but often con- sidered together	genus Alnus
"white berries"	Symphoricarpos albus, Cornus stoloni- fera	ts'xw- 'white-' included in name	no correspond- ing term
"Arctostaphylos-like plants"	Arctostaphylos uva-ursi ("type"), Pachystima myrsinites	milmilixw-lhp 'Arctostaphylos- plant'	no correspond- ing term
"blueberries"	Vaccinium membranaceum, V. ovalifol- ium, V. alaskaense, V. caespitosum, V. parvifolium (also red garden currants)	no inclusive term	"blueberries and huckleberries"
"clovers"	Trifolium wormskjoldii ("type"), T. repens, T. pratense	t'xwsusus-iixw 'clover-plant'	genus Trifolium

	ļ		
(	٥		,
C	)	c	)
	ı		

Designated	Examples of plant	Linguistic rec		
category name	species included in category	Native lang.	English	
"currants"	Ribes bracteosum, R. laxiflorum, black garden currants	no inclusive term	"currants"	
"swamp shrubs"	Myrica gale ("type"), Spiraea doug- lasii	1kw'lu-1hp	no correspond- ing term	
"white-flowered shrubs"	Holodiscus discolor ("type"), Ceano- thus velutinus, (sometimes Aruncus sylvester)	mnmnts'-1hp 'blond-plant'	no correspond- ing term	
"raspberry-like berries"	Rubus idaeus, garden raspberries, R. leucodermis, garden blackberries, R. parviflorus, R. spectabilis	no inclusive term, but usually con- sidered together		
"dancing trees"	Populus tremuloides ("type"), P. trichocarpa	no inclusive term	genus Populus	
"willows"	Salix spp. ("old" and "young" kinds)	no inclusive term	genus Salix	

었다. 전 등 하는 바로 10 등 경험 하는 하다. 그런 하는 하는 하는 것이 되는 것이 되는 것이 되었다. 한 하는 것은 하는 것이 되는 것이 되는 것이 되는 것이 되는 것이 되는 것이 되는 것이 되었다. 그렇게

Table 11. Some examples of intermediate taxonomic categories for plants in Fraser River Lillooet.\*

Designated category name	Examples of plant species included in category	Linguistic reco Native lang.	gnition English
"tree lichens"	Alectoria fremontii, A. sarmentosa group, Evernia vulpina	no inclusive term	no corresponding term (closest is "fruticose lichens")
"pines"	Pinus contorta, P. monticola, P. ponderosa, P. albicaulis	no inclusive term	genus Pinus
"maples"	Acer circinatum, A. glabrum, A. macro- phyllum	no inclusive term	genus Acer
"junipers"	Juniperus communis, J. scopulorum	no inclusive term	genus Juniperus
"alders"	Alnus rubra, A. sinuata	no inclusive term	genus Alnus
"sage"	Artemisia tridentata, A. frigida, A. campestris, A. dracunulus, (some-times Chrysothamnus nauseosus)	no inclusive term	genus Artemisia
"nüts"	Corylus cornuta ("type"), various imported "nuts" (e.g. walnuts, al- monds, pecans, cashews, peanuts), Commandra umbellata	k'apxw 'nut'	"nuts"

<sup>\*</sup> Note that almost all of these categories are derived from English generic terms. This is probably due to the fact that the major informant, Sam Mitchell, was more familiar with English plant names than any other informant in the study, and tended to think of Lillooet plants in terms of English categories.

1	ì	نـ	
	Ć	>	5
1	C	כ	
	1		

Designated category name	Examples of plant species included in category	Linguistic recognition Native lang. English	
"willows"	Cornus stolonifera ("red willow"), Sa- lix exigua ("pink-barked willow"), Salix sitchensis ("main willow"), Salix amygdaloides ("match willow"), xwetl'mam-lhp (indet "mountain willow")	no inclusive term	"willow" in a very general sense
"blueberries"	Vaccinium membranaceum, V. ovalifolium, V. caespitosum, V. parvifolium	no inclusive term	"blueberries and huckleberries"
"bulrushes"	Equisetum hyemale, E. laevigatum, Scirpus validus, Typha latifolia	no inclusive term	no exactly corres- ponding term
"twine plants"	Apocynum cannibinum ("type"), A. andro- saemifolium, Urtica dioica, (some- times Asclepias speciosa), commer- cial fibers	sp'ats'en 'twine'	no correspond- ing term
"onions"	Allium cernuum ("type"), Calochortus macrocarpus ("sweet onions"), Zy- gadenus venenosus ("poison onions garden onions	kwelawa 'onion'	no correspond- ing term
"edible roots"	Balsamorrhiza sagittata, Lewisia rediviva, Lomatium macrocarpum, Daucus carota, Brassica campestris, sxlilem (indet.)	no inclusive term	no inclusive term
"sweet potatoes"	Potentilla anserina, Erythronium grand- iflorum, commercial sweet potatoes	no inclusive term	no inclusive term

	1	
1	_	1
50	100	
	c	١.
1	Ě	4
	t	

Designated	Examples of plant	Linguistic recognition	
category name	species included in category	Native lang.	English
"potatoes"	Claytonia lanceolata, Lilium parvi- florum, Irish potato (Solanum tuberosum)	no inclusive term	no inclusive term
"strong medicines"	Veratrum eschscholtzii, Actaea rubra, Solidago spathulata var. neomexi- cana, Rhododendron albiflorum, Loni- cera involucrata, Anemone spp., Urtica dioica	no inclusive term	no inclusive term
"berries made into bread"	Amelanchier alnifolia (spékpek variety) Crataegus douglasii	, sza <u>k</u> '-úl 'real- bread'	no correspond- ing term

Bella Coola, and Lillooet respectively. Some of these (e.g. "fresh-water aquatic plants" in Haida) could equally well be considered as broad generic categories, since each member is called by the same name, but since the category is relatively wide-ranging, it is included as a supra-generic taxon.

A number of the intermediate categories listed are of a type designated by Bright and Bright (1965) as "sphere of influence" categories. They involve a central kind of plant, usually of high economic importance, about which other plants are grouped on the basis of their similarity to the "type" plant. Examples are the Haida categories of "umbelliferous plants" ("type" is <a href="Heracleum lanatum">Heracleum lanatum</a>), "kelps" ("type" is <a href="Macrocystis integrifolia">Macrocystis integrifolia</a>), and "blueberry-like shrubs" ("type" is <a href="Waccinium alaskaense">Waccinium alaskaense</a> and <a href="Woodle U. ovalifolium">Woodle U. ovalifolium</a>). "Sphere of influence" categories are common at all taxonomic levels in folk taxonomies, and association of non-economic plants with similar economically important plants is a common method of horizontal expansion of taxonomic hierarchies (Berlin 1971).

## d) Generic categories \*

A substantial majority of the native terms listed in Appendixes 5, 6, 7, and 8 are generic plant names, similar in function to colloquial English genus-level names such as "oak", "rose", "columbine", and "strawberry". In each language group, over half of these names show

<sup>\*</sup> Many of the remarks on generic folk segregates in this section are applicable generally to folk segregates at all taxonomic levels, but are included specifically for generic taxa because they are by far the most common type in non-scientific languages.

a one-to-one correspondence with botanical species. Except for a very few cases of "overdifferentiation", the remaining terms are variously "under-differentiated" as defined by Berlin, Breedlove, and Raven (1966). Five different kinds of species correspondence categories have been delimited (see Table 1, field 12). A summary of the degree of correspondence of plant segregates to botanical species is given for each language in Table 12.\* Some examples of terms assigned to these categories are given in Table 13.

In each language group, a number of generic names originally having a one-to-one correspondence with indigenous species or genera have been expanded in post-contact times to include conceptually similar imported or cultivated counterparts. Examples of these recently expanded taxa are given in Table 14. In some cases, the introduced plants are closely related botanically to the native plants they are named after (e.g. garden and wild strawberries — Fragaria spp.), while in other instances they are unrelated and named on the basis of some superficial similarity or common usage (e.g. the bur plants in Lillooet — Hackelia sp. and Arctium minus).

Some generic terms originate through borrowing from the vocabularies of other languages. Recently borrowed terms can be identified by the informants themselves, but those of long standing can be determined only by knowing the terms in the original language. Some borrowed terms are maintained in their original form in the second language, while

<sup>\*</sup> In this table, recently expanded taxa (see Table 14) are included under appropriate categories (0 to 4), rather than being maintained as a separate unit, as shown in Table 1, field 12.

Table 12. Degree of correspondence of Haida, Bella Coola, and Lillooet plant segregates with botanical species. Figures indicate the numbers of terms in each category, and the percentage of the total number of terms in each language.

		Species correspondence categories (as in Table 1, field 12)					
		O Fraction of a botan- ical species	one-to-one corres- pondence	two or more closely related species	two or more related but easily disting- uishable species	two or more botanically Pourelated species	unknown
Haida (tota "d 154)	(S) i1 -		87 (56.5%)	21 (13.6%)	26 (16.9%)	17 (11.0%)	3 (2.0%)
segregates * Haida (tota (167)    **Boll (188)    **Boll (188)		2 (1.2%)	100 (60.0%)	17 (10.1%)	24 (14.3%)	23 (13.8%)	1 ( .6%)
A Bella Coola se Bella coola	(to- 152)	2 (1.3%)	93 (61.2%)	15 ( 9.9%)	26 (17.1%)	16 (10.5%)	
ថ្ម ៩ Lilloo H (total 137)		8 (5.8%)	98 (71.6%)	18 (13.1%)	10 ( 7.3%)	2 ( 1.5%)	1 ( .7%)

<sup>\*</sup> In cases where more than one term of the same root can be applied to different parts of the same plant, only the most basic term is included in compiling these totals.

Table 13. Selected examples of the five species correspondence categories delimited in Table 12.

 $\frac{\text{Code}}{\text{of a botanical species.}}$  "overdifferentiated"; it refers to a fraction

Lang. & Dial.	Folk segregate	Botanical designation
Bella Coola	maxwuuli	Cicuta douglasii, moderately poisonous variety*
Bella Coola	<u>k</u> lhpuul <u>x</u>	Cicuta douglasii, extremely poisonous variety*
Lillooet (F)	<u>k</u> 'ánkw'-aż	Typha latifolia with fruit- ing heads
Lillooet (F)	kwutálixw	Typha latifolia, vegetative plants only

 $\underline{\underline{\text{Code}}}$   $\underline{\underline{\text{1.}}}$  Folk segregate corresponds in a one-to-one fashion with a bot-anical species.

Lang. & Dial.	Folk segregate	Botanical designation
Haida (S)	ts'iik'áp	Cornus unalaschensis
Haida (S) (M)	sgaálhaán sgaálhaan 12 }	Chamaecyparis nootkatensis
Haida (S)	k'aaxuu-ts'aalaáng-gaa 'rotten-log'	Rubus chamaemorus
Haida (S, M)	<u>k</u> 'as	Menziesia ferruginea
Haida (M)	lhaay (~lhaáyii 21)	Viburnum edule
Bella Coola	k'tsaatsaay 'strike or cut with an axe'	Polypodium glycyrrhiza
Bella Coola	ii <u>x</u> -1hp	Chamaecyparis nootkatensis

<sup>\*</sup> See Turner (1973)

Lang. & Dial.	Folk segregate	Botanical designation
Bella Coola	1hmk'm-1hp	Pinus contorta
Bella Coola	ukw'uk	Lysichitum americanum
Bella Coola	putsk'	Veratrum eschscholtzii
Lillooet (F)	ts'k'-aż	Pinus albicaulis
Lillooet (F)	mekw7ú7sa7 'round~ object-held~in- the-mouth'	Calochortus macrocarpus
Lillooet (F)	maká7	Zygadenus venenosus
Lillooet (F)	ts'walhtn-aż	Acer glabrum
Lillooet (F)	s7an <u>k</u> '	Lomatium nudicaule

Code 2. Folk segregate is "underdifferentiated", applying to two or more closely related species which are difficult to distinguish botanically (at least to non-botanists)

Lang. 8	& Dial.	Folk segregate	Botanical designation
Haida (	(S)	sgyuu	Porphyra spp.
Haida (	(M)	<u>k</u> 'aang	Tsuga heterophylla, T. mertens- iana
Bella (	Coo1a	sts'wakt-aak	Lobaria pulmonaria, L. oregana
Bella (	Coola	siisxmi	Rhizomnium glabrescens, Plagio- mnium insigne
Bella (	Coola	<u>k</u> '-1hp	Abies amabilis, A. lasiocarpa
Bella (	Coola	supus-1hp	Salix sitchensis, Salix spp. (small willows)
Lillooe	et (F)	muxwan	Equisetum hyemale, E. laevi- gatum
Lillooe	et (F)	tsá <u>x</u> -aŻ	Picea engelmannii, P. glauca

Lang. & Dial.	Folk segregate	Botanical designation
Lillooet (F)	sp'ats'en-úl 'real-	Apocynum androsaemifolium, A.
	twine'	cannibinum
Lillooet (F)	zásaw-aż	Alnus incana. A. crispa

 $\underline{\text{Code}}$  3. Folk segregate is "underdifferentiated", referring to two or more distinctly different, but related species.

Lang. & Dial.	Folk segregate	Botanical designation
Haida (S)	chagaan-xiilaay 'deep ocean-leaves'	Constantinea subulifera, Cor- allina sp., and several other marine algae
Haida (S)	1hk'inxaa-kwii7aawaay 'forest-cumulus- cloud'	Lobaria pulmonaria, Peltigera canina, and other foliose lichens
Haida (S, M)	1hdaan	Vaccinium ovalifolium, V. alaskaense
Haida (M)	xil- <u>k</u> egen 2-11	Ledum palustre ssp. groenlandi- cum, Kalmia polifolia
Bella Coola	k'xnxna-lhp 'crunch- plant'	Maianthemum dilatatum, Smila- cina racemosa, S. stellata
Bella Coola	ts'ay <u>x</u>	Epilobium angustifolium, E. latifolium
Lillooet (F)	skeżk	Opuntia fragilis, O. poly- cantha
Lillooet (F)	ts'iwk'	Sambucus racemosa, S. cerulea
Lillooet (F)	<u>keik</u>	Rosa acicularis, R. nutkana, R. gymnocarpa

<u>Code</u> 4. Folk segregate is "underdifferentiated", referring to two or more botanically unrelated (at the family level for Angiosperms) plant species.\*

<sup>\*</sup> Some of the segregates in this category can actually be regarded as intermediate taxa (Tables 9-11) rather than generic taxa.

Lang. & Dial.	Folk segregate	Botanical designation
Haida (S)	1hkyaamaa	Nereocystis luetkeana, Elymus mollis, Heracleum lanatum
Haida (S)	taagaan-sky'aaw 'bear- tail'	Pteridium aquilinum (rhizome), Lupinus littoralis (roots)
Haida (S)	yaanaang-xilgaa 'fog- leaves'	Achillea millefolium, Equi- setum arvense, E. telmateia, Empetrum nigrum
Haida (M)	k'an-sk'engaandaa 2-222 'round-grass'	Triglochin maritimum, Elymus mollis (fruiting stalks)
Bella Coola	swanalhkw	Rhizoclonium sp., Fontinalis spp., Potamogeton spp.
Bella Coola	ix71 <u>x</u> u1mxmayx 'beat- earth'	Linnaea borealis, Lycopodium clavatum (vegetative shoots)
Bèlla Coola	nususkw'ii <u>k</u> w 'she flies'	Bromus erectus, Osmorhiza chilensis, Antennaria neglecta
Bella Coola	1kw'1u-1hp	Myrica gale, Spiraea douglasii
Lillooet (F)	ts' <u>k</u> 'alhtúmx	Hackelia sp. (?), Arctium minus

Table 14. Examples of plant taxa originally involving indigenous species, and expanded in historic times to include imported or cultivated counterparts.

Lang.	& Dial.	Folk segregate		Original species	Introduced species
Haida	<b>(</b> S)	inlheng-ts'in 'inlheng-teeth'		Fritillaria cam- schatcensis (bulblets)	Oryza sativa (rice)
Haida	<b>(</b> \$)	xuuyaa-tluúgaa 'Raven's-canoe'		Vicia gigantea, Lathyrus japoni- cus (seed pods)	
Haida	(S)	guutgaagiigeéyt 'run-backwards'		Ribes lacustre (berries)	Ribes sp. (garden gooseberries)
Haida	(S) (M)	tl'aán <u>k</u> 'uús tl'aá <u>k</u> 'uus 21	}	Rumex occidentalis	Rheum sp. (rhubarb)
Haida	(S) (M)	hilguudaagaang hildaang 12	}		Fragaria sp. (gar- den strawberries)
Haida	(S) (M)	$\frac{\underline{k}'$ ung $\underline{\underline{k}}'$ unlhe 21	}	Rosa nutkana (flowers)	Rosa spp. (garden rose)
Haida	(S, M)	gwel (gwul)		Nicotiana quadri- valvis (see Turner & Taylor 1972)	Nicotiana tabacum
Haida	(M)	k'ay		Pyrus fusca (fruit)	Pyrus malus (orch- ard apples)
Bella	Coola	t1' <u>x</u> wtsn		Allium cernuum (bulb)	Allium cepa (gar- den onions)
Bella	Coola	<u>k</u> w'al <u>x</u> s		"wild parsnip" (?Angelica lu- cida)	Pastinaca sativa (parsnips)
Bella	Coola	s <u>k</u> ala		Vaccinium parvi- folium (berries)	Ribes sp. (red garden currants)
Bella	Coola	t' <u>x</u> wsusus-ii <u>x</u> w		Trifolium wormsk- joldii (leaves)	Trifolium repens, T. pratense
Bella	Coola	ts¹psxili		Ribes laxiflorum (berries)	Ribes sp. (black garden currants)

Lang, & Dial.	Folk segregate	Original species	Introduced species
Bella Coola	kwululuu <u>x</u> wu	Fragaria vesca, F. virginiana (berries)	Fragaria sp. (gar- den strawberries)
Bella Coola	skwupik	Rosa nutkana, R. gymnocarpa (flowers)	Rosa spp. (garden roses)
Bella Coola	usukw'lt	Rubus leucodermis (berries)	Rubus procerus (Him- alayan blackberry)
Bella Coola	<u>k</u> alh <u>k</u> a	Rubus idaeus (berries)	Rubus sp. (garden raspberries)
Lillooet (F)	ts' <u>k</u> 'alhtúmx	Hackelia sp. (?)	Arctium minus
Lillooet (F)	ts'k'laws-xn	Cirsium undulatum	Cirsium brevistylum, C. vulgare
Lillooet (F)	skw'elap	Fragaria vesca (berries)	Fragaria sp. (gar- den strawberries)
Lillooet (F)	s7ayts <u>k</u> w	Rubus idaeus (berries)	Rubus sp. (garden raspberries)
Lillooet (F)	smanx 'smoking'	Nicotiana atten- uata	Nicotiana tabacum

others are altered to integrate better with the new phonology and grammar. For example, in Haida, the English expression "Haida tea" for Ledum palustre ssp. groenlandicum is pronounced xaáydaa-tiígaa in Skidegate, and the expression "goose-tongue" (Triglochin maritimum) becomes lhgiduuwén-taángel 112-22 'goose-tongue' in Masset. Examples of known borrowed generic plant names are given in Table 15. Additional borrowed terms may be discovered as knowledge of botanical nomenclature of other Pacific Northwest groups becomes available.

Many of the generic plant names in the study are "unique". They are not readily analyzable into smaller semantic units,\* and have no meaning other than as names of plants. Some examples of unique terms are given in Table 16. Unique terms are apparently the oldest type of generic name in a language; the terms from which they were originally derived have been obscured or forgotten with time. Certain segments of generic plant names can also be considered unique, even when other segments within the same term have definite meanings. An example in English is the segment "cran-" in "cranberry", which has no meaning at present, but historically originated from German "kraan" ('crane'). Not all unique terms or segments have such a logical history; some may have been unique from the time of their origin. Possible examples are the terms for "garden carrot" in Haida [ts'ii-ts'ii (S) / ts'e-ts'e 11 (M)] and Bella

<sup>\*</sup> In other words, the informants themselves do not recognize smaller semantic units within the terms, although a thorough linguistic analysis would undoubtedly yield grammatical sub-units in some cases. Unique terms are similar to the "single unitary lexemes" described by Conklin (1962), and Berlin, Breedlove, and Raven (no date), but the latter are not necessarily semantically unitary. For example, the Bella Coola name for Arctium minus, mtm, could be termed a simple unitary lexeme, but not a unique term, since its original meaning is 'sea-urchin'.

Table 15. Examples of generic plant names known to have been borrowed from other languages.\* '

Lang.	& Dial.	Generic term	Botanical designation	Lang. of origin of term
Haida	(S) (M)	<pre>xuút-taangélgaa xuut'aángel 222 'hair-seal's- tongue'</pre>	Conocephalum con- icum	English "tongue", Tsimshian "hair- seal
Haida	(S) (M)	k'aát-deljiigaáwaay k'aát-deljgaáweey 2-122 'deer's- belt'	Lycopodium clava- tum, L. annoti- num	Tlingit (transla- tion borrowing, by way of Masset)
Haida	(S)	laáts'ii	Sambucus racemosa	Tsimshian
Haida	<b>(</b> S)	7aas	Shepherdia cana- densis	Tsimshian
Haida	(M)	hegwetl'iit 112	Shepherdia cana- densis	Tlingit
Haida	(S) (M)	xaáydaa-tiígaa haádaas-tiígaa 11- 21 'Haida-tea'	Ledum palustre ssp. groenland- icum	English "tea"
Haida	(S)	daáktaa-xílgaa 'doc- tor's-medicine'	Ranunculus spp.	English "doctor"
Haida	(S)	sgaal-flaawersgaa 'bee-flowers'	Mimulus guttatus	English "flowers"
Haida	(S) (M)	sgáwsiit sguúsiít 22	Solanum tuberosum	English "good seed"**

<sup>\*</sup> In cases where a term is present in two languages, it is sometimes impossible to prove the language of origin. Some of the terms in this table may have originated first in the study languages and have been subsequently transferred to the second language.

<sup>\*\*</sup>This translation may be a folk etymology. Variations of the same name occur in Bella Coola (kwusi) and Pemberton Lillooet (skawts). These terms appear to have a common origin, but only Masset and Bella Coola informants suggested a derivation from English "good seed".

Lang.	& Dial.	Generic term	Botanical designation	Lang. of origin of term
Haida	(M)	lhgiduuwén-taángel 112-22 'goose- tongue'	Triglochin mari- timum	English (trans- lation borrow- ing)
Haida	(M)	7aányaas	Allium cepa	English "onions"
Haida	(M)	gémdiigek'ifys-gid- (t7)áng-xi1 2222- 111 'do-not-forget- me-leaves'	Pinguicula vul-	English (trans- lation borrow- ing from "for- get-me-not")
Haida	(M)	dénnex 21	Arctostaphylos uva-ursi	Tlingit
Haida	(M)	duús-xil 2-1 'pussy-leaves'	Salix spp. ("pussy-willows")	Chinook "cat" (translation bor- rowing from Eng- lish)
Bella	Coola	1 <u>k</u> '11is	Macrocystis inte- grefolia	Kwakiutl
Bella	Coola	lhak's	Porphyra spp.	Kwakiutl
Bella	Coola	kanani	Polyporus spp., Fomes spp.	Kwakiutl
Bella	Coola	sakwm	Pteridium aquili- num	Kwakiutl
Bella	Coola	ukw¹uk	Lysichitum ameri- canum	Kwakiutl
Bella	Coola	tanáps	Brassica campes- tris	English
Bella	Coola	st'ls	Viburnum edule	Kwakiut1
Bella	Coola	<pre>snknixs-ti-mstskw' 'frog's-food'</pre>	Cornus unalaschen- sis	Kwakiutl (trans- lation borrow- ing)
Bella	Coola	puuyas	Ledum palustre ssp. groenlandi- cum	Kwakiut1
Bella	Coola	stu <u>x</u> wsuli	Rumex occidental- is	Kwakiut1

Lang. & Dial.	Generic term	Botanical designation	Lang. of origin of term
Bella Coola	antsns	Citrus auranti- cum	English "oranges"
Bella Coola´	t1'aw <u>k</u> w'	Nicotiana taba- cum	Kwakiut1
Bella Coola	kwusi	Solanum tubero- sum	English "good seed"*
Lillooet (F)	melán-lhp	Abies amabilis, A. lasiocarpa	Shuswap
Lillooet (F)	<u>k</u> weliyt	Pinus contorta	Shuswap
Lillooet (F)	<u>x</u> aláxweza7	Fritillaria pudica	Thompson
Lillooet (F)	ts'wálhtn-aż	Acer glabrum	Shuswap
Lillooet (F)	k'éml-aż	Acer macrophyllum	Coast Salish (⟨'paddle')
Lillooet (F)	<u>k</u> 'ets'yu7á7-1hep	Achillea mille- folium	Shuswap
Lillooet (F)	ts'iw <u>k</u> '	Sambucus cerulea, S. racemosa	Coast Salish
Lillooet (F)	máwas-aż 'deer- plant'	Kalmia polifolia	Chinook jargon "deer"
Lillooet (F)	su <u>x</u> ws <u>kakx</u> atn	Ledum palustre ssp. groenland- icum	Shuswap
Lillooet (F)	táka	Gaultheria shal- lon	Coast Salish
Lillooet (F)	lagasa7	Ribes cereum	Thompson
Lillooet (F)	1hukw'pín	Lewisia rediviva	Thompson
Lillooet (F)	(s)psos	Prunus emargin- ata	Thompson
Lillooet (F)	zelkwú7	Prunus virgini- ana	Thompson

<sup>\*</sup> See footnote\*\*, p. 112.

Lang. & Dial. Generic term	Botanical designation	Lang. of origin of term
Lillooet (F) <u>k</u> w7up	Pyrus fusca	Coast Salish
Lillooet (F) ptok	Solanum tubero-	French "le petak"

Table 16. Some examples of unique generic plant names and segments of names.

Lang.	& Dial.	Unique name	Botanical designation
Haida	(S, M)	ngaal	Macrocystis integrifolia
Haida	(S)	snánjaang	Polystichum munitum, Blechnum spicant
Haida	<b>(</b> S)	saat-gaangaa 'saat- berries'	Sedum divergens
Haida	(S)	1hgun	Lysichitum americanum
Haida	(S)	gwaayky aa	Veratrum eschscholtzii
Haida	(S, M)	lhk'iit	Heracleum lanatum
Haida	(S, M)	ts'uu	Thuja plicata
Haida	(M)	dlaayengwaal 221	Polypodium glycyrrhiza
Haida	(S, M)	<u>ka1</u>	Alnus rubra, A. crispa ssp. sinuata
Haida	<b>(</b> S)	ts'iilhenjaaw	Oplopanax horridum
Bella	Coola	skip'	Daucus carota
Bella	Coola	xwik'	Heracleum lanatum
Bella	Coola	putsk'	Veratrum eschscholtzii
Bella	Coola	p'ani-lhp	Alnus incana, A. crispa ssp. sinuata
Bella	Coola	k <b>'</b> ipt	Sambucus racemosa (berries)
Bella	Coola	p'xwlht	Cornus unalaschensis (berries)
Bella	Coola	milixw	Arctostaphylos uva-ursi (berries)
Bella	Coola	t'at'kana-1hp	Nuphar luteum ssp. polysepalum
Bella	Coola	sk'sk	Amelanchier alnifolia (berries)
Lilloo	et (F)	sk <sup>†</sup> amts	Erythronium grandiflorum
Lilloo	et (F)	skimut	Lilium parviflorum

Lang. & Dial.	Unique name	Botanical designation
Lillooet (F)	p'ustn	Elymus (?) cinereus
Lillooet (F)	kawkwu	Artemisia tridentata
Lillooet (F)	snilh <u>k</u> en	Balsamorrhiza sagittata (roots when prepared for cooking)
Lillooet (F)	waxw-az	Philadelphus lewisii
Lillooet (F)	sxak't	Epilobium angustifolium

Coola (skip'), which are apparently of recent derivation, yet have no meaning other than as plant names.

Tracing the origins of generic plant terms is further complicated by the existence of folk etymologies, in which terms whose primary meanings have been obscured are later attributed secondary meanings, which are often just as logical as the original meaning. An example in English is the Appalachian Mountain rendering of "asparagus" as "sparrow-grass".\*

Folk etymologies are difficult to identify, but a comparison of Masset and Skidegate Haida plant names reveals some examples. These involve the names for turnip (Brassica campestris), Pinus contorta, "old man's beard" lichens (Alectoria sarmentosa, Usnea longissima, and others), and strawberries (Fragaria chiloensis and cultivated species).

The Skidegate name for turnip is yaánaahuu,\*\* while the Masset name is 7innuú 12. The Masset name is almost certainly derived from the Skidegate name, but while the Skidegate informants attribute no meaning to their term, the Masset informants state that their term originates from the word for 'half', 7inneweéy 112 [cf. 7inneweéy k'ál 1hk'édaang 112 2 11 'cut the turnip (in half)']. The Skidegate word for 'half' has no relation to the name for 'turnip'. It appears, therefore, that the association of 'turnip' with 'half' in Masset is secondary to the origin of the name from Skidegate.

<sup>\*</sup> This example was provided by Robert Levine, Columbia University, New York.

<sup>\*\*</sup> The Bella Coola name for turnip is also yanahu. This is not a Chinook term, but its use must have been widespread on the Northwest Coast in post-contact times. Bella Coola people also use the name tanáps, (English "turnips".

Similarly, the Masset name for <u>Pinus contorta</u>, ts'elhe 11, apparently has a common origin with the Skidegate term, ts'alh, but while the Skidegate informants maintain that the name, ts'alh, has no meaning other than as a plant name, the Masset people suggest that their name means 'pillow'. It would appear that the relationship between <u>Pinus contorta</u> and 'pillow' is a superficial one, originating only in recent times.

The Masset name for "old man's beard" lichens is k'aalts'iidaliijaa 212-22 'crow's-whiskers', while the Skidegate name is k'aaltsiidaaleéysgaa 'crow's-lace' (leéysgaa is, according to informants, derived
from the English "lace" ). The two terms, liijaa and leéysgaa, are remarkably similar, and since liijaa is an archaic word for 'hair' or
'whiskers' (Florence Davidson, Masset, B.C., personal communication), and
leéysgaa is a post-contact term, it seems likely that the Skidegate
term was actually derived from a similar sounding Haida term, and that
its translation as "lace" is secondary.\*

The Skidegate name for strawberries, hilguúdaagaang, is sometimes mistakenly pronounced as xil-guúdaagaang, substituting the Haida term xil 'leaf/medicine' for the meaningless segment, hil-. Since many plant names actually contain the term xil, this mistaken pronounciation seems logical, and perhaps with time, if the Haida language were maintained and allowed to continue development, it would have been instated as the correct version of the name.

<sup>\*</sup> Another possible derivation of leeysgaa is as a Haida pronunciation of English "whisker", but the word is definitely applied to "lace" at the present time.

The majority of generic plant names in Haida, Bella Coola, and Lillooet can be analyzed into component semantic units having meanings independent of their connotations as plant names or portions of plant names. These are comparable to the "unitary complex lexemes" of Conklin (1962). One can only assume that most of these are not folk etymologies, but true primary terms. Analysis of these generic names can give insights into the origin of the terms, the economic importance and innate characteristics of the plants themselves, and even some cultural traits of the group in which the names originated.

In any language, the vocabulary is constantly changing. Terms are added or semantically revised as new items and concepts are introduced into the culture, and words no longer culturally appropriate are gradually forgotten. Furthermore, terms change in structure and form without external stimulation, as the grammar and phonology of the language change. Vocabulary evolution is difficult to observe or measure, especially in unwritten languages.

Some indication of changes in botanical terminology of Pacific

Northwest Indian languages can be gained by observing generic terms

currently applied to introduced or imported plants and those of both

indigenous and introduced plants containing evidence of association with

English, Chinook, or other post-contact languages. Generic plant names

of known recent origin are listed in Table 17.

A number of generic plant names in each language suggest association of the plants named with mythology or cultural tradition. Some, such as those in the Haida language involving Raven, have substantiated origins

Table 17. Examples of generic plant terms originating in post-contact times.

Lang.	& Dial.	Generic term	English gloss	Botanical designation
Haida	(S) , <sup>°</sup>	gyaalgaas-naán-gaa	'pilot-biscuit's grandmother'	Polyporus spp., Fomes spp.
Haida	<b>(</b> S)	lhk'inxaa(t)-sgaaw- shiiday	'forest-potatoes'	Oenanthe sarmen- tosa
Haida	(S)	xuút-taángélgaa }	'hair-seal's	Conocephalum con-
	(M)	<u>x</u> uut'aángel 222 $\int$	tongue'	icum
Haida	(S)	ts'ií-ts'ii }		Daucus carota
	(M)	ts'e-ts'e 11		Daucus carota
Haida	(S)	yaanaahuu )	경험, 그리아 왕왕, 하고 있었다. 성도 사람이 동안하는 사용하다.	7 <b>7</b>
	(M)	7innuu 12		Brassica campes- tris
Haida	(S)	xaaydaa-tiigaa )	'Haida-tea'	Ledum palustre
	(M)	haádaas-tiígaa 11-21	nalda-tea	ssp. groenlandi- cum
Haida	<b>(</b> \$)	daáktaa-xílgaa	'doctor's-medi- cine	Ranunculus spp.
Haida	<b>(\$)</b>	yaats' <u>x</u> aaydgaay- s <u>k</u> 'aw-gaan	'white-man's- salmonberry'	Rubus sp. (gar- den raspberry)
Haida	<b>(</b> \$)	tlélgaa-sk'aw- gaán-gaa	'ground-salmon- berry'	Rubus ursinus*
Haida	(s)	sgaál-flaawérsgaa	'bee-flowers'	Mimulus guttatus
Haida	(s)	sgawsiit	'good-seed'	Solanum tuberosum
	(M)	sguúsiít 22	· good-seed	poranum ruberosum
Haida	(M)	jaátaa-saágwaál 22-21	'lady-fern' ( <english)< td=""><td>Athyrium filix- femina</td></english)<>	Athyrium filix- femina
Haida	(M)	1hgiduuwén-taángel 112-22	goose-tongue' ( <english)< td=""><td>Triglochin mari- timum</td></english)<>	Triglochin mari- timum

<sup>\*</sup> Rubus ursinus does not grow on the Queen Charlotte Islands.

Lang.	& Dial.	Generic term	English gloss	Botanical designation
Haida	(M)	sk'én-flaáwersgeey 2-211	'seagull-flowers'	Viola langsdorfii
Haida	(M)	sk'aáwwaan-giít7ii 22-21	'salmonberry-baby'	Rubus sp. (gar- den raspberry)
Haida	(M)	gemdiigek'iiys-gid- (t7)ang-xil 2222- 111	'do-not-forget-me- leaves'	Myosotis laxa, Pinguicula vul- garis
Haida	(M)	haaskaawaa 121	'dog's-ball' *	Empetrum nigrum
Haida	(M)	gink'ál-sguunaás 12-12	'stink-peel'	Citrus auranticum .
Haida	(M)	duus-xil 2-1	'pussy-leaves'	Salix spp.
Bella	Coola	skip'		Daucus carota
Bella	Coola	mtm	'sea-urchin'	Arctium minus
Bella	Coola	kwulh-pats'alhta	'has-many-awls'	Cirsium spp.
Bella	Coola	nu <u>k</u> w'piip <u>k</u> w-1hp	'bald-head-plant'	Matricaria matri- carioides
Bella	Coola	yanahu		Brassica campestris
Bella	Coola	tanáps		Brassica campestris
Bella	Coola	nut' <u>kklk</u> saki	'small or narrow'	Stellaria media
Bella	Coola	(s)ts'ixts'ikm-1hp	'dirty-plant'	Chenopodium album
Bella	Coola	yumalxw-1hp	'sour-plant'	Rumex acetosella
Bella (	Coola	antsns	"oranges"	Citrus auranticum
Bella (	Coola	siskw'uulh	'peel'	Citrus auranticum
Lilloo	et (F)	mawas-aż	'deer-plant' ((Chinook jargon)	Kalmia polifolia
Lilloo	et (F)	ptok		Solanum tuberosum

<sup>\*</sup> This term may actually be aboriginal, since the Haida apparently kept dogs as pets in pre-contact times (Drucker 1950).

in recorded myths (Swanton 1905a). The circumstances surrounding the origin of others can only be surmised. Some plant names actually or apparently linked with cultural tradition in Haida, Bella Coola, and Lillooet are given in Table 18.

Some economically important plants are named synonymously with objects and materials manufactured from them (see Table 19). Others are named after actions or processes involving their preparation or use Le.g. Haida - dah (M) 'buying' (Vaccinium oxycoccus); Bella Coola - k'tsaatsay 'strike-or-cut-with-an-axe' (Polypodium glycyrrhiza), slhxwmlh 'bustling' (as when women go to get elderberries) (Sambucus racemosa, dried berries); Lillooet - smanx 'smoking' (Nicotiana spp.), mekw7-ú7sa7 'round-object-held-in-the-mouth' (Calochortus macrocarpus), xetkálhmxal 'it-makes-a-hole-in-your-gut' (Lonicera involucrata -- used for abortions)].

Taxonomic and ecological characteristics of plants often provide a basis for generic names. Traits such as habitat, growth form, and texture, colour, and taste or smell are nomenclatural criteria applied in all three groups (examples in Table 20). Sometimes plants are named by analogy, after actual objects and substances they resemble (see Table 21). A number of plants are named after other plants (see Table 22). Their incorporation into the taxonomic system is obviously secondary to that of the plants they are named after.

As has been mentioned, a few plants are actually generic "types" for broader taxonomic categories. Examples of these are given in Table 23.

In addition to the various semantic components included in Tables 18 to

Table 18. Examples of generic plant names originating from mythology and traditional beliefs.\*

Lang.	& Dial.	Generic name	English gloss	Botanical designation
Haida	(s)	xuuyaa-sgyuugaa	'Raven's-mustache'	Ahnfeltia plicata ?
Haida	(S)	k'aálts'iidaa-leéys- gaa	'crow's-lace'	Usnea longissima, Alectoria spp.
Haida	(S) (M)	taagaan-sky'aaw taan-sky'aaw 2-1	'bear-tail'	Pteridium aquilinum, Lupinus littoralis
Haida	<b>(</b> S)	xuuyaa-sgawgaa	'Raven's-knife'	Scirpus microcarpus
Haida	(S)	st'aw- <u>g</u> aan-gaa	'witch/screech- owl-berries'	Streptopus spp.
Haida	(S)	sgaánaa-xílgaa	'killer-whale- leaves/medicine'	unidentified herb
Haida	<b>(</b> S)	<u>x</u> uuyaa-tluugaa	'Raven's-canoe'	Vicea gigantea, Lathyrus japonicus, Pisum sativum, Phaseolus vulgaris
Haida	(s)	daá7el-sgílgaa	'rain's-navel'	Aquilegia formosa, Dodecatheon jeff- reyi & others
Haida	(s)	xuu7aajii-xi1gaa	'grizzly-leaves/ medicine'	Heuchera chlorantha
Haida	(S)	sgaal-chiit'Ísguu	'bumblebee's-coat'	Mimulus guttatus
Haida	(M)	snaál-jaat 2-2	'scabby-girl'	young Polystichum munitum, Blechnum spicant (root- stocks)
Haida	(M)	taán-gaánnaa 2-11	'bear-berries'	Streptopus spp.
Halda	(M)	stléguu-xiílaay 11-22	'land-otter- leaves/medicine'	Apargidium boreale

<sup>\*</sup> Not all of these examples have been substantiated in recorded mythology or by informants; some are included only as suggested links with cultural traditions.

Lang. & Dial.	Generic name	English gloss	Botanical designation
Haida (M)	daál-xíl 2-2	'rain-leaves'*	Aquilegia formosa, Campanula rotun- difolia
Haida (M)	haat -	'grave-post'	unidentified plant which brings property & luck
Bella Coola	s <u>k</u> aluts-ti-nutsa- kwaa <u>x</u>	'wolf's-berries'	Clintonia uniflora
Bella Coola	sklh7ans-tsi- <u>x</u> wn <u>x</u> wnum	'hummingbird's- menstrual-pad'	Acer glabrum in- fected with eriophyid mites
Bella Coola	st'1s-ti-nan	'grizzly's-high- bush-cranberries	Oplopanax horridum ' (berries)
Bella Coola	nunan-ta	'grizzly's-den'	Aquilegia formosa
Lillooet (F)	sxwalh-púlmexw	ground-ghost'	Lycoperdon spp.
Lillooet (F)	ne <u>k</u> w'tsamumlh	"thief"	Rhus glabra
Lillooet (F)	ze <u>k</u> wze <u>k</u> w-ú <u>k</u> wsa7	'corpse-berries'	Symphoricarpos albus

<sup>\*</sup> Masset people used to believe that if these flowers were picked, it would rain and prevent the seaweed from drying (Florence Davidson, personal communication).

Table 19. Examples of plants named synonymously with objects and materials manufactured from them.

Lang. & Dial.	Folk segregate	English gloss	Botanical designation
Haida (S)	lhgiit lhgeeyt	'bow'	Taxus brevifolia
Haida (S, M)	tlegaay 21	'fish-line'	Nereocystis luetke- ana (stipe)
Haida (S, M)	sin,	gambling-sticks'	Acer glabrum (im- ported)
Bella Coola	ts'ixwta	'sandpaper'	Equisetum hyemale (and other Equi- setum species)
Bella Coola	i <u>x</u> ii <u>x</u> wta-lhp	'burn-plant'	Alnus rubra (fuel)
Lillooet (F)	te <u>x</u> w7ats-aż	'bow-tree'	Taxus brevifolia
Lillooet (F)	slé <u>k</u> em-ul	'real-hay'	Agropyron spicatum
Lillooet (F)	sp'áts'en-úl	'real-twine/net'	Apocynum cannibinum, A. androsaemifolium
Lillooet (F)	<u>k</u> wé1h7in	'birch-bark con- tainer'	Betula papyrifera (bark)
Lillooet (F)	nexwtin-aż	'rope-plant'	Salix exigua
Lillooet (F)	sza <u>k</u> '-úl	'real-bread'	Amelanchier alnifolia (variety), Crataegus douglasii
Lillooet (F)	páts7-aż	'digging-stick- plant'	Holodiscus discolor
Lillooet (F)	xwul-aż	'match-tree'	Salix amygdaloides (used for tinder)

Table 20. Examples of plants named after innate species characteristics.

I. <u>Habitat</u>.

Lang.	& Dial.	Folk segregate	English gloss	Botanical designation
Haida	(S)	gándel-sgiínaa- waay gándle-sginaáw- geey 21-222	\rightarrow\ \righ	Spirogyra sp., Ulva
	(M)	gándle-sginaáw- geey 21-222		lactuca, & others
Haida	(S)	chaa <u>g</u> aán-xiilaay	'deep-ocean- leaves'	Constantinea subuli- fera, Corallina sp.
Haida	(S)	ts'uu-leéys <u>g</u> aa	'red-cedar-lace'	Cetraria glauca & other lichens
Haida	(S)	tlelgaa-xílgaa	'earth-leaves'	Linnaea borealis, Rubus pedatus
Haida	(S, M)	t'aanuú 12	'salt-water'	Zostera marina, Phyllospadix spp.
Haida	(M)	kuukge-gilgaay 11-22	'rotten-wood- biscuit'	Polyporus spp., Fomes spp.
Haida	(M)	k'állaa-k'in- naaneéy 22- 122	'muskeg-moss'	Sphagnum spp.
Haida	(M)	t'iis-xil 21	'rock-leaves'	Peltigera canina, P. aphthosa
Bella	Coola	ipts-aak	'limb-moss'	epiphytic mosses & lichens
Lilloo	et (F)	s <u>k</u> 'emsálekw	'stick-mushroom'	Polyporus spp., Fomes spp.
II. <u>Gro</u>	wth form	, shape, or textu	re.	N. 149 - S. 2012 (1913)
Lang.	& Dial.	Folk segregate	English gloss	Botanical designation
Haida	(S)	xil-gaaydlelging	'floating leaves/ medicine'	Nuphar luteum ssp. polysepalum
Haida	<b>(</b> S <b>)</b>	sk'aw-gaan	'thorn-berry'	Rubus spectabilis

Lang.	& Dial.	Folk segregate	English gloss	Botanical designation
Haida	(S) (M)	ts'aalh-t'áw- t'iis ts'elh-t'áw- sgiit 1-2-2	'it-sticks-to- you'	Galium spp.
Haida	<b>(</b> S)	k'an-lhgamgandaa	'round-grass'	Triglochin maritimum
Haida	(M)	k'innaan-k'ih- skaawes 11-2- 21	'sharp-moss'	Polytrichum juniper- inum
Haida	(M)	stle-k'ist'aa 1-21	'round-thing-dug- out-with-the finger'	Fritillaria cam- tschatcensis
Haida	(M)	gaawá-sk'ejaaw 12-12	'narrow, furry object'	Ledum palustre ssp. groenlandicum
Haida	(M)	xil-7andán-ti- daáls 1-22-12	'climbing-leaves'	Mimulus guttatus
Bella	Coola	nuslalh <u>x</u> -aak	'branching, bunched-up'	Lycopodium clavatum (fertile shoots)
Bella	Coola	alhaa <u>k</u> 'ikw-lhp	'all-intertwined- plant'	Juniperus communis
Bella	Coola	nu <u>k</u> w'piip <u>k</u> w-lhp	'bald-head-plant'	Matricaria matri- carioides
Bella	Coola	na(a)xnaa <u>x</u> wm-1hp	'dancing-plant'	Populus tremuloides
Lilloo	et <b>(</b> F)	s <u>x</u> wúsum	'foaming'	Shepherdia canadensis (berries)
Lilloo	et <b>(</b> F)	nkxmamle <u>k</u> w	'walking-along- a-stick'	Ribes bracteosum (berries)
Lilloo	et (F)	lhetxa7	'slimey'	Hygrophorus eburneus (?)
Lilloo	et (F)	zaxalmíxw-až	'tall-tree'	Pinus monticola
Lilloo	et (F)	kexwi-á1hp	'breaks-easily plant'	Rhododendron albiflo- rum
Lilloo	et (F)	<u>k</u> 'ets'usninina	'tangled'	Clematis ligustici- folia

5 6 7						
т-	гΤ		$\alpha$	. 1		
I	1 1 :	2	Co	) L	οι	H

Lang.	& Diál.	Folk segregate	English gloss	Botanical designation
Haida	(S) (M)	sgiinaaw sginaaw 12	'green'	Ulva lactuca, Entero- morpha intestinalis
Haida	(S)	sgiidlelguu	'red-on-ground'	Vaccinium parvifolium (berries)
Haida	(S)	sgiit-gáng- <u>x</u> aal	'red-blossoms'	Rosa nutkana (flowers)
Haida	(M)	chaaw-(selii)-xi k'énlhelh-jaá- juu 1-(12) - 2-21-11	l-'sloppy-yellow- leaves-on-the- beach'	Tanacetum huronense
Haida	(M)	xi1-k'únlhelh 2-21	'yellow-leaves'	Ranunculus spp., Tar- axacum officinale, & others
Haida	(M)	1hdaan	"dark" (bruise or dark complexion 1hdaan sgingaang	
Bella	Coola	ts' <u>x</u> wta-1hp	'white-plant'	Cornus stolonifera (referring to berries)
Bella (	Coola	spuu <u>x</u> altswa	'moldy'	Vaccinium ovalifolium (berries)
Bella (	Coola	snu <u>k</u> wl <u>k</u> wliik- 1hp	'yellow/green- plant'	Rumex occidentalis
Bella	Coola	muxwmukwlx-1hp	'wine-red-plant'	Aruncus sylvester (referring to young plants)
Bella (	Coola	mnmnts'-1hp	'blond-plant'	Holodiscus discolor
L111000	et (F)	kwól-makst	'yellow-branch'	Evernia vulpina
Lilloo	et (F)	ts'exwts'exw-aż	'red-plant'	Cornus stolonifera
Lilloo	et (F)	p'up'u <u>k</u> w	'grey'	Vaccinium ovalifolium (berries)
Li11000	et (F)	spekpek _	'white'*	Amelanchier alnifolia (variety)

<sup>\*</sup> This name is interesting, since the variety named actually has dark berries, although these have whitish hairs on the end. The name, spekpek, is a specific rather than generic term (see Table 30).

IV. Smell or taste.

Lang. & Dial.	Folk segregate	English gloss	Botanical designation
Haida (S)	xil-sgun-xul	'good-smelling leaves'	Achillea millefolium, Tanacetum huronense
Haida (S) (M)	gaan-xáwlaa gaán- <u>h</u> aáwlaa 2-22	'sweet-berry'	Amelanchier alnifolia, Vaccinium uliginosum* (berries)
Haida (S, M)	k'ay	k'ay-welh 'sour'	Pyrus fusca (fruit)
Bella Coola	<u>k</u> 'ay	'poor, humble'**	Crataegus douglasii (berries)
Bella Coola	snu <u>k</u> l <u>x</u> layk	'watery'	Vaccinium alaskaense (berries)
Lillooet (F)	(n)p'u7th-á1hp	'fart-plant'	Chrysothamnus nauseosus
Lillooet (F)	ts'olts'el	'tart, sour'	Berberis aquifolium (berries)
Lillooet (F)	ne <u>k</u> 'na <u>k</u> w'ú <u>k</u> w'sa7	'rotten-berries'	Amelanchier alnifolia (variety)***
Lillooet (F)	stl'exelus	'sweet-eye'	Amelanchier alnifolia (variety)***

<sup>\*</sup> Vaccinium uliginosum is included only in the Masset dialect.

<sup>\*\*</sup> This name apparently refers to the quality of <a href="Crataegus">Crataegus</a> berries, which are considered bitter.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> These are actually specific, rather than generic, names (see Table 26).

Table 21. Examples of plants named after substances or objects they resemble.

Lang.	& Dial.	Folk segregate	English gloss	Botanical designation
Haida	(S)	<u>k</u> aajaándaa	'hair'	Desmarestia sp. (?)
Haida	(S)	lhtangwaay	'eagle-down'	Eriophorum spp.
Haida	(S) (M)	sk'aágii-chaay sk'ege-chaáy 11-	'dog-salmon-eggs' 2	Vaccinium vitis-idaea
Haida	(S, M)	xil- <u>k</u> wii7aawaa	'cumulus-cloud- leaves'	Peltigera spp. & other lichens
Haida	(M)	sk'aángk'iís 22	'fish air-sac'	Halosaccion glandi- forme
Haida	(M)	skwaánkaa 21	'sponge'	Leathesia difformis
Haida	(M)	kiiyt-gebbeéye- wiijaa 2-1111	'tree-scallops'	Polyporus versicolor
Haida	(M)	lh <u>k</u> 'amaál- <u>k</u> ats 12-1	'bough_hair'	Alectoria jubata complex
Haida	(M)	1hkaám-sdlaán 2-2	'kelp-intestines'	Nereocystis luet- keana (stipe)
Haida	(M)	<u>x</u> aálhk'ets'e- 1h <u>k</u> 'aáy 211-2	'porcupine- branches'	Carex macrocephala
Haida	(M)	taginaán-k'uúk- (ga) 112-2(1)	'many-hearts'	Drosera rotundifolia
Haida	(M)	s <u>k</u> íl-táw 2-1	'black-cod- grease'	Calypso bulbosa
Bella	Coola	snu <u>kak</u> aytii <u>k</u> w	∢ <u>k</u> ayt 'hat'	mushrooms
Bella	Coola	k'amk'	'water-hose'*	Nereocystis luet- keana
Bella	Coola	mtm	'sea-urchin'	Arctium minus

<sup>\*</sup> In this case, the name for 'water-hose' must have been derived from the name for Nereocystis, not vice versa.

Lang. & Dial.	Folk segregate	English gloss	Botanical designation
Bella Coola	kwulh-pats'alhta	'has-many-awls'	Cirsium spp.
Bella Coola	<u>x</u> saasay	'strung-salmon- roe'	Sedum divergens
Bella Coola	muxwmu <u>k</u> w'la- lhp	'louse-plant' (seeds resemble lice)	Geum macrophy11um
Lillooet (F)	swu7pus	'hairy-face'	Ribes lacustre (berries)
Lillooet (F)	pupts <u>k</u> i *	'downy-head'	Anemone cylindrica, A. multifida

<sup>\* &#</sup>x27;putskwam 'downy feathers of a duck when used in an Indian doctor's head-dress' (Randy Bouchard, personal communication).

Table 22. Examples of plants named after other plants.

Lang.	& Dial.	Folk segregate & English gloss	Botanical designation	Derivation of term
Haida	(S)	lhk'in <u>x</u> aa(t)-sgaáw- shiidaay 'forest- potatoes'	Oenanthe sar- mentosa	∢sgáwsiit (Solanum tuberosum)
Haida	(s)	1hk'iít-giítgii '1hk'iit-baby'	Conioselinum pacificum	<pre>&lt;1hk'iit (Hera- cleum lanatum)</pre>
Haida	(S)	lhk'iít-xiilaágii 'lhk'iit-fruiting stalks'	"rolled oats"	⟨lhk'iit (Hera- cleum lanatum)
Haida	(S)	gwul-7aawgaa 'tobacco- mother'	Cirsium brevi- stylum	<pre> ⟨gwul (Nicotiana spp.) </pre>
Haida	<b>(</b> S)	laanaa-lhgun 'village- skunk-cabbage'	Plantago major	<pre>1 lhgun (Lysich- itum americanum)</pre>
Haida	(S)	lhgun-chii-gaagaa (translation uncer- tain)	unidentified woodland plan	<pre></pre>
Haida	<b>(</b> \$)	sk'aáw-gaan-giítgii 'salmonberry-baby'	Vaccinium uli- ginosum	(sk'aáw-gaan (Rubus spectabilis)
Haida	(S)	tlélgaa-sk'aáw-gaan- gaa 'ground-salmon- berries'	Rubus ursinus	(sk'aáw-gaan (Rubus spectabilis
Haida	(M)	séngk(e)-sgiíwee 2(1)- 22 'winter-sgiw'	Iridaea sp. (?)	∢sgiw (Porphyra spp.
Haida	(M)	chaagaán-k'innannii 12-211 'deep-ocean moss'	unidentified Fucus-like alga	∢k'ínnaan 22 (moss)
Haida	(M)	chaaw-ts'aágwaal 1-22 'beach-(sword)fern'	Achillea mille- folium	<pre><ts'aágwaal &="" (polystichum="" 22="" er="" ferns)<="" munitum="" oth-="" pre=""></ts'aágwaal></pre>
Haida	(M)	ts'ets'e-k'ukém 11-12 'soft-carrot'	Achillea mille- folium	<ts'éts'é (dau-<br="" 11="">cus carota)</ts'éts'é>

Lang. & Dial.	Folk segregate & English gloss	Botanical designation	Derivation of term
Bella Coola	t' <u>x</u> wsusus-nk 'clover- root-foot'	Agropyron re- pens	<pre>(t'xwsus (Trifol- ium wormskjoldii roots)</pre>
Bella Coola	tsk'alhkw	Oplopanax horridum	<pre></pre>
Bella Coola	milmilixw-lhp-aak 'kinnikinnick-plant- branches'	Pachystima myrsinites	<pre></pre>
Lillooet (F)	s <u>k</u> 'emsále <u>k</u> w 'stick- mushroom'	Polyporus spp., Fomes spp.	∢k'ems (mushroom)
.Lillooet (F)	xek'tn-álhp 'fire- weed-plant'	지수는 사람이 되는 것이 모든 그 그들은 그 사람들이 많아 보는 것이다.	<pre></pre>

Table 23. Examples of plants having generic names which are "types" for broader taxonomic categories.

Lang. & Dial.	Folk segregate	English gloss (general context)	Botanical designa- tion (specific)
Haida (S) (M)	<u>k</u> aayt <u>k</u> iiyt	'tree' (approx- imately)	Picea sitchensis
Haida (M)	lh <u>k</u> 'aamaal 22	'evergreen-bough'	Juniperus communis
Haida (S, M)	k'an	'grass'	Elymus mollis
Bella Coola	s <u>k</u> aluts	'berry'	Vaccinium membran- aceum (berries)
Lillooet (F)	segáp-úl	'real-tree'	Pseudotsuga men- ziesii
Lillooet (F)	kweláwa-úl	'real-onions'	Allium cernuum
Lillooet (F)	<u>k</u> !ap <u>x</u> w	'nut'	Corylus cornuta (nuts)
Lillooet (F)	7úsa7	'berry'	Vaccinium membran- aceum (berries)

21, many generic terms also contain domain and life-form category indicators, such as xil, gaan (S) / gaan (M), lhk'aayii (S) / lhk'aay (M) in Haida, -lhp in Bella Coola, and -az (or -lhp, -lhep, -alhp) in Lillooet. The inclusion of these segments in generic terms may be optional or compulsory, depending on the names themselves and on the part of the plant inferred by the name.

A summary of the various types of nomenclatural criteria for plant terms discussed in the preceding pages is listed in Table 24, along with corresponding numbers and percentages of terms and term segments for each group. Reasons for the variation in types of criteria applied to plants in different cultures are not always immediately apparent. Conklin (1954) obtained substantially different results in a similar type of analysis of Hanunóo plant names (see Table 25). Leaf shape designators, for example, occurred in 31 percent of Hanunóo plant names, but were scarcely present in the botanical lexicons of the three study languages.\*
Only 10 percent of Hanunóo plant names could not be analysed into smaller semantic units (i.e., were "unique"), while an average of 29.6 percent of Haida plant names, 58.6 percent of Bella Coola plant names, and 60.5 percent of Fraser River Lillooet plant names were unique or partly unique.

## e) Specific and varietal categories

Specific and varietal categories in the present study, as in the studies of Berlin (1971) and Raven, Berlin, and Breedlove (1971), are

<sup>\*</sup> In these languages, leaf shape is included under "Form, texture, or shape" in Table 24. Only a very few plants are actually named for leaf shape [cf. Haida (M) - k'án-tl'engaándaa 2-222 'flat/wide-grass' (Elymus mollis); Bella Coola - nut-kklksaki (<t'ki 'small narrow thing') (Stellaria media), pipk'aak (<pik' 'wide') (Plantago major)].

Table 24. A summary of the nomenclatural criteria applied to plant segregates in Haida, Bella Coola, and Lillooet.\*

Total numbers and percentages of folk segregates in each category\*\*

				Bella Coola (total-152)	
	Unique	49 (31.8%)	46 (27.5%)	89 (58.6%)	81 (59.2%)
	Mythology & beliefs	27 (18.2%)	24 (14.4%)	12 ( 7.9%)	5 ( 3.6%)
	Use	12 ( 7.8%)	6 ( 3.6%)	6 (4.0%)	11 ( 8.0%)
criteria	Habitat	19 (12.3%)	26 (15.6%)	6 ( 4.0%)	3 ( 2.2%)
ral	Form, shape, or texture	28 (18.2%)	44 (26.4%)	22 (14.5%)	10 ( 7.3%)
	Colour	6 (3.9%)	12 ( 7.2%)	7 ( 4.6%)	6 ( 4.4%)
•	Taste, smell	8 ( 5.2%)	4 ( 2.4%)	3 ( 2.0%)	5 ( 3.7%)
Types of	Substances or objects	21 (13.6%)	26 (15.6%)	9 (5.9%)	3 ( 2.2%)
Ţ	Other plants	8 ( 5.2%)	11 ( 6.6%)	6 ( 4.0%)	2 ( 1.5%)
	General tax- onomic terms	100 (65.0%)	132 (82.0%)	91 (60.6%)	83 (60.6%)
	Categories not appli- cable	29 (18.8%)	27 (16.2%)	3 ( 2.0%)	3 (2.2%)

<sup>\*</sup> The sum of percentages is greater than 100%, since folk segregates may be listed in more than one category.

<sup>\*\*</sup> In cases where more than one term of the same root can be applied to different parts of the same plant, the root is counted only once in formulating these totals.

Table 25. Nomenclatural criteria for Hanunóo plants, as denoted by Conklin (1954).

Criteria	Number of occurrences	Percentage of occurrences
Unique terms ("original")	80	10.0%
Leaf shape	249	31.0%
Colour	170	21.4%
Habitat	125	15.7%
Plant host	14	1.8%
Sex	28	3.5%
Growth form	16	2.0%
Size	87	11.0%
Growing time	14	1.8%
Taste and smell	14	1.8%
TO	ral 797	100.0%

much less significant than generic categories. In fact, there are no plant segregates in Haida, Bella Coola, or Lillooet which could be interpreted as varietal names; such detailed distinctions in folk phytotaxonomies are, as far as can be determined, restricted to agricultural societies (Berlin 1971).

Only a few examples of lexically recognized specific taxa can be found in Haida and Lillooet.\* These are listed in Table 26. Additionally, a number of unlabelled but psychologically valid specific categories were delimited by informants in all three language groups, and are shown in Table 27.

Most of the labelled specific taxa in Table 26 consist of modified generic names (e.g. 'sweet-tobacco', 'real-Saskatoons', 'Haida-rhubarb'). Their format is similar to that of many generic names, especially in Haida, which are composed of life-form category names with an associated modifier [e.g. Haida - k'álla-k'innaáneey 22-122 (M) 'muskeg-moss', k'án-sk'engaándaa 2-222 (M) 'round-grass', gaan-xáwlaa (S) 'sweet-berry'; Lillooet - segáp-úl 'real-tree', zekwzekw-úkwsa7 'corpse-berries']. In fact, it is possible to find examples of specific names which are actually modified generics, which are themselves modified life-form terms [e.g. Haida - daál-xíl-gólhelh 2-2-11 (M) 'blue-rain-leaves', sk'áw-wan-sgét 2-2-1 (M) 'red-thorn-berries (salmonberries)'].

<sup>\*</sup> No true specific taxa exist in Bella Coola, although there is a term, ts'ats'kalusuulh (<ts'aakaluuslh 'white variety of spring salmon') for the pale forms of different berries, such as <a href="Shepherdia canadensis">Shepherdia canadensis</a>, <a href="Rubus idaeus">Rubus idaeus</a>, <a href="Rubus idaeus">R. leucodermis</a>, and <a href="Rubus idaeus">Rubus idaeus</a>, <a href="Ru

Table 26. Examples of named specific plant taxa in Haida and Lillooet.

Lang.	& Dial.	Specific folk segregate	Botanical designation	Inclusive generic segregate
Haida	(S)	xaáydaa-gúlgaa 'Haida-tobacco'		gulgaa, gul, (Nicoti- ana spp.)
Haida	(M)	gwél-haáwlaa 2- 22 'sweet to- bacco'	Nicotiana tabacum (chewing tobac- co) & N. quad- rivalvis	gwel (Nicotiana spp.)
Haida	(M)	daál-xíl-gólhelh 2-2-11 'blue- rain-leaves'*	Campanula rotund- ifolia	daál-xíl 2-2 'rain- leaves' (Campanula
Haida	(M)	daál-xíl-sgét 2- 2-1 'red-rain- leaves'*	Aquilegia formosa	& Aquilegia)
Haida	(M)	haád(e)s-hil- daangaá 21- 112 'Haida - strawberries'	Fragaria chiloen- sis	hildaang 12 (Fra- garia spp garden & wild strawberries)
Haida	(M)	haádes-tl'aák'uu- jaá 11-212 'Haida-rhubarb'	Rumex occidentalis	tl'aák'uus 2-1 (Ru- mex spp., Rheum sp. - garden rhubarb)
Hai.da	(M)	haáds-k'ayaá 1- 12 'Haida- apples'	Pyrus fusca	k'ay (Pyrus spp garden apples & wild crabapples)
Haida	(M)	sk'áw-wan-sgét 2-1-2 'red- salmonberry'	Rubus spectabilis (ruby form)	sk'áw-wan 2-l
Haida	(M)	haang-k'aátdaa- waa 2-111 '?red-face'	Rubus spectabilis (dark red-black form)	(Rubus spectabilis, all colour forms)
Lilloc	et (F)	tl'em <u>k</u> '-áż	Taxus brevifolia (female tree, with berries)	texw7ats-áż 'bow- tree' (Taxus brev- ifolia, male & female)
			참 그 생물이 발견하다는	

<sup>\* &</sup>quot;Flower colour is a major semantic dimension used to differentiate many closely related species" (Berlin 1971).

Lang. & Dial.	Specific folk segregate	Botanical designation	Inclusive generic segregate
Lillooet (F)	stsekwm-úl 'real saskatoons'	Amelanchier alni- folia (variety with tall bushes small seeds, & good-tasting fruit)	•
Lillooet (F)	nek'nakw-úkw'sa7 'rotten-ber- ries'	A. alnifolia (var- iety with tall bushes, big seeds, & bad- tasting fruit)	
Lillooet (F)	spékpek 'white'	A. alnifolia (var- iety with low bushes, small seeds, & juicy fruit)	stsakwm (Amelan- chier alnifolia, all varieties)*
Lillooet (F)	swelhkwa7-ú7sa7	A. alnifolia ("red variety, with tall bushes & large red berrie	
Lillooet (F)	stl'exelús 'sweet-eye'	A. alnifolia (var- iety with medium bushes & very sweet berries)	
Lillooet (F)	stex-lûs 'bitter-eye'	A. alnifolia (var- iety with medium bushes & bitter, late-ripening fruit)	

<sup>\*</sup> The bushes of all of these varieties of Amelanchier are called (s)tsákwm-aż, except for the bushes of the "white" saskatoon, which are called pekpk-áż.

Table 27. Examples of specific taxa which are psychologically valid, but which are not recognized nomenclaturally

Lang.	& Dial.	Description of specific taxon (by informants)	Botanical desig- nation of speci- fic taxon	Inclusive generic category
Haida	<b>(</b> S)	sgiinaaw - long, growing at river mouths		sgiinaaw 'green' (Ulva, Entero-
Haida	(s)	sgiinaaw - wide, flat, growing in ocean	Ulva lactuca	morpha, & other algae)
Haida	(S)	"baby" gyaalgaas- naangaa	Polyporus versi- color	gyaalgaas-naángaa 'pilot-biscuit's grandmother' (all types of bracket fungi)
Haida	<b>(S)</b>	"real white" chaagaan-xiilaay	Corallina spp.	chaagaan-xiilaay 'deep-ocean- leaves' (various marine algae)
Haida	(s)	" <u>k</u> 'aang up in the mountains"	Tsuga mertensiana	k'aang (Tsuga spp.)
Haida	(M)	"xil- <u>k</u> egeen used for tea"	Ledum palustre ssp. groenland-	xíl- <u>k</u> egeen (both (Ledum & Kalmia)
Haida	(M)	"xil-kegeen used for medicine"	Kalmia polifolia	
Bella	Coola	"low" <u>k'xnx</u> na-1hp	Maianthemum dilata tum	
Bella	Coola	"slender" <u>k'xnx</u> na- lhp (with few berries)	Smilacina stellata	k'xnxna-lhp crunch-plant' (Smilacina spp., Maianthemum)
Bella	Coola	"tall" <u>k'xnx</u> na-lhp (with a large cluster of ber- ries)	Smilacina racemosa	
Bella	Coola	short bushy ts'ay <u>x</u> growing in river beds & avalanche runs	Epilobium latifol- ium	ts'ay <u>x</u> (Epilobium angustifolium, E. latifolium)

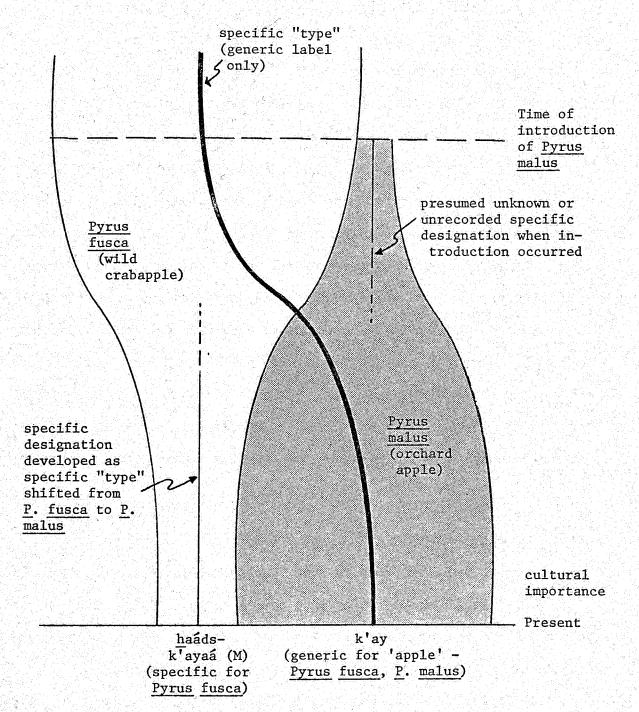
Lang. & Dial.	Description of specific taxon (by informants)	Botanical desig- nation of speci- fic taxon	Inclusive generic category	
Bella Coola	"small" skwukwpik- 1hp (with many small prickles, growing at high- er elevations)	Rosa gymnocarpa	skwukwpik-1hp (Rosa spp.)	
Lillooet (F)	red <u>kwnúx</u> wxa1	Actaea rubra (red form)	/kwnúxwxal 'sick'	
Lillooet (F)	white <u>k</u> wnú <u>x</u> wal	A. rubra (white form)	> (Actaea rubra, both forms)	
Lillooet (F)	psós7-aż with red- "varnished" bark (used in baskets)	(forms of Prunus emarginata)	psós7-az (Prunus emarginata)	
Lillooet (F)	psós7-aż with grey bark (not used)			
Lillooet (F)	black zelkwú7 ("they choke you" not good eating)	((forms of Prunus	zelkwú7 (Prunus	
Lillooet (F)	red zelkwú7 (do not choke - excellent eating)	virginiana)	virginiana - berries)	

The modified generic format is a typical one for specific names in folk taxonomies (Berlin, Breedlove, and Raven 1970). However, linguistically independent specific segregates also exist [cf. Haida - haang-k'aátdaawaa 2-211 (M) (red-black form of Rubus spectabilis); Lillooetstl'exelus 'sweet-eye', spékpek ((pek 'white') (specific names for varieties of Amelanchier alnifolia)]. These independent specifics have exactly the same taxonomic status as the modified generic type of specific. Both types can actually exist as contrasting members within the same generic (e.g. In Haida, haang-k'aátdaawa and sk'aw-wan-sgét are contrastive members of the generic, sk'aw-waan 2-2 'thorn-berry', for Rubus spectabilis in Masset).

Four of the examples of Haida specifics in Table 26 -- namely those including 'Haida' -- have a common construction and are obviously of post-contact origin. These are a direct result of the expansion of some generic taxa to include imported plant species, as discussed in the previous section on generic terms. They follow a compositional pattern described by Berlin (1971).

Their suggested derivation is illustrated diagrammatically in Figure 10, using the binomial specific, haads-k'ayaa 1-12 (M) 'Haida-apples', as an example. In each case, only the indigenous member of a recently expanded generic is marked with a specific modifier, 'Haida'. The introduced member of the generic is identified simply by the generic name. This indicates that the introduced member, rather than the native member, is at present regarded as the "typical" representative of the generic taxon.

Figure 10. Suggested historical derivation of the specific segregate, 'Haida-apples' for Pyrus fusca (wild crabapple). A similar origin is postulated for the specifics, 'Haida-rhubarb', 'Haida-straw-berries', and 'Haida-tobacco' (see Table 26).



Obviously, this situation has not been in effect indefinitely, since in pre-contact times, the indigenous members would have been the only representatives of the taxa, and therefore there would have been no need for specific marking. It is postulated that when the imported species were first introduced, they were regarded as the atypical members of the newly expanded generics and were themselves marked with specific modifiers, such as "white man's" or "English". At that time, the indigenous members, still being regarded as the typical representatives of the generics, would not have had specific names. However, as the imports gradually became more widespread, and attained greater economic importance, and as the indigenous varieties lost their cultural significance, the "typical generic representative" status was transferred from the wild type to the imported type, and the necessity for specific marking was directed towards the wild type rather than the imported type. As a result, the specific expressions, 'Haida-apples', 'Haida-strawberries', and 'Haida-rhubarb' in Masset, and 'Haida-tobacco' in Skidegate must now be used to differentiate the wild types of these plants.

The unlabelled specific categories in Table 27 are indicative of ongoing terminological evolution. Some of these have had specific names in the past, which have since been forgotten through disuse.\* Others may be recently distinguished categories at the first stages of linguistic encoding, and might now have had valid specific names had the languages been allowed to continue developing for a few more generations. It is

<sup>\*</sup> For example, the Bella Coola categories for Epilobium angustifolium and Rosa gymnocarpa, according to Margaret Siwallace.

impossible to estimate the influence of European culture of the delineation of specific taxa.

## Non-taxonomic Botanical Terminology

In addition to the terminology associated with various kinds of plants and groups of plants (i.e., specific, generic, and life-form category names), each language has a substantial lexicon of botanical terms which, while perhaps restricted in their association to one or two types of plants, cannot be considered as having direct taxonomic status. These non-taxonomic expressions are of two types: names for parts of plants and plant products (e.g. 'cone', 'pitch', 'bark', 'root', 'flower', 'seed', 'berry', 'branch', 'leaf'); and specialized terms for certain states, structures, or processes associated with particular plants.

Names for parts of plants in Skidegate and Masset Haida, Bella Coola, and Lillooet are listed in Appendixes 9, 10, 11, and 12 respectively. Some of these terms are very general (e.g. 'root', 'leaf', 'bark'), while others are applicable only to certain groups of plants (e.g. 'cone', 'berry', 'nut'). Many of these actually double as life-form category names, or at least imply life-form categories by their restricted application to certain types of plants. For example, the general terms for 'leaf', 'branch', 'bough', and 'berry' in Haida denote life-form categories, as discussed previously.

Just as names for certain kinds of plants can be elevated to a higher taxonomic status as generic "types", so can names for particular parts of plants assume a more general status. Thus, in Haida, the terms

Thélngaa (S) / Thiíying 21 (M) in a specific context refer to the long thin roots of <u>Picea sitchensis</u>, which were widely used in basketry, but they also apply generally to any kind of root. Similarly, in Bella Coola, the term tl'akw't refers specifically to <u>Pseudotsuga menziesii</u> bark (cf. tl'axtl'akw'-lhp - <u>Pseudotsuga</u> tree), but can denote any kind of bark when used in a general context. In Lillooet, the terms, sts'ek' and sts'ek'kín, apply to the "nuts" and cones of <u>Pinus albicaulis</u> (cf. ts'k'-aż - <u>Pinus albicaulis</u> tree), but at the same time, they can refer to the seeds and cones of any conifer, even of <u>Alnus</u>.

Specialized terminology is usually applicable at the generic level, but only for a limited number of plants, commonly those of high cultural significance. There are few examples in English of specialized botanical terms. The names, "husk" and "cob" for specific parts of corn (Zea mays), "hip" for rose fruits (Rosa spp.), and "acorn" for oak fruits (Quercus spp.) are some examples. In zoological terminology, however, there are numerous specialized non-taxonomic terms, especially for domestic animals. For example, there are at least six special terms for various ages and sexes of horses -- stallion, mare, gelding, filly, colt, and foal; six for pigs -- sow, boar, barrow, gilt, shoat, piglet; and five for cattle -- cow, bull, steer, heifer, and calf (Tyler 1969). A colt could not be said to be "a kind of" horse, in the same way that an Apaloosa is a kind of horse. Nevertheless, the term cannot be applied to any other kind of animal; it is thus a generic term, but non-taxonomic in terms of classifying natural objects.

Certain verbs, associated with plants at the generic level can also be included as special terms. Some examples of specialized botanical

terminology in the three Pacific Northwest Indian languages included in this study are given in Table 28. Almost all of the specialized terms found in these languages apply to economically or culturally significant plants.\* In addition to these terms, which are unrelated linguistically to the generic names of the plants they are associated with, there are numerous terms in all three languages for specific parts of plants which contain or consist of the linguistic stem of the generic name. Some examples are: in Haida (M), Fucus plant - t'al, receptacles -t'al-kaw 't'al-eggs'; Heracleum lanatum plant - lhk'iit, fruiting heads - lhk'iit-kats 'lhk'iit-hair/head'; in Bella Coola, Tsuga heterophylla cambium - st'ala, tree -sat'la-lhp; Ribes bracteosum berries - ts'psxili, bush - ts'ints'ipsxili-lhp; and in Lillooet (F), Pinus albicaulis "nuts" - sts'ek', tree - ts'k'-az'; Artemisia tridentata plant - káwkwu, plants (plural) - kewkáwkwu.

## Synonymy in Nomenclatural Systems

Some examples of synonymous plant names in Haida, Bella Coola, and Lillooet are given in Table 29. Synonymous names contribute to overall variation in terminological systems, but have been little discussed in ethnotaxonomic literature. There are numerous examples of synonymy in English folk taxonomy [e.g. "spud" and "potato" (Solanum tuberosum) "bunchberry" and "dwarf dogwood" (Cornus unalaschensis, C. canadensis); "lamb's quarters" and "pigweed" (Chenopodium album); and "Saskatoon berry" and "service berry" (Amelanchier alnifolia)]. Even in scientific

<sup>\*</sup> One exception is the Skidegate Haida term for Rosa nutkana blossoms. These flowers are not used and apparently have little cultural significance, except as aesthetic objects.

Table 28. Examples of specialized "non-taxonomic" botanical terminology in Haida, Bella Coola, and Lillooet.

Lang. & Dial.	Special term & English gloss	Application of term
Haida (S)	sgiit-gaáng-xaal 'red- blossoms'	Rosa nutkana flowers
Haida (M)	lhk'amél-k'ií 'sharp- branches'	Picea sitchensis branches
Haida (M)	tl'e	young Thuja plicata trees
Haida (M)	gyaáh-getdaáng 1-12	krummholtz trees (especially Chamaecyparis nootkatensis) around the edge of muskeg
Bella Coola	<u>k</u> amats	dead fronds of Pteridium aquilinum (& Athyrium filix- femina)
Bella Coola	ts'ap'a <u>x</u>	branch tips of Thuja plicata & Chamaecyparis nootkatensis
Bella Coola	si(i)m	Thuja plicata limbs twisted into rope
Bella Coola	tsaltxw	outer bark of Thuja plicata & Chamaecyparis nootkatensis
Bella Coola	lhu <u>k</u> 'alht	inner bark of Thuja plicata & Chamaecyparis nootkatensis
Bella Coola	k'ak'patuts-1hp (k'apat 'sharp')	young Picea sitchensis
Bella Coola	stsk'	slivers of Pseudotsuga menziesii bark
Bella Coola	st'ls-ti-nan 'grizzly's high-bush-cranberries'	Oplopanax horridum (berries)
Bella Coola	sk'awlht	old (dead) Alnus rubra
Bella Coola	alh <u>k</u>	cooked sauce of Sambucus race- mosa (& other fruits)

Lang. & Dial.	Special term & English gloss	Application of term
Bella Coola	<u>k</u> at'ii <u>x</u> wn 'pulling-it- towards-you'	picking Sambucus berries
Bella Coola	yulakm	whipping Shepherdia canaden- sis berries
Bella Coola	st'umts'a	ripe Pyrus fusca fruit
Bella Coola	$\underline{\mathtt{k'}}\mathtt{ls}$	cambium of Populus trichocarpa
Bella Coola	stxwts'	buds of Populus trichocarpa
Lillooet (F)	kalkn 'delousing'	cleaning Alectoria fremontii for steam-cooking
Lillooet (F)	ilawx	soaking Alectoria (or salmon- bones) before cooking
Lillooet (F)	sluw-aż *	inner bark of Thuja plicata
Lillooet (F)	tl'ekwl-áż *	pitch from bark-blisters of Abies spp.
Lillooet (F)	spelkwap	opaque pink pitch of Pinus ponderosa
Lillooet (F)	<u>k</u> welakin	young Pseudotsuga menziesii
Lillooet (F)	ts'áylup	Pseudotsuga boughs on the floor of the sweat-house
Lillooet (F)	<u>k</u> walts	boughs from young Pseudotsuga
Lillooet (F)	<u>k</u> 'íwlap	preparing Pseudotsuga boughs for the sweat-house
Lillooet (F)	ts'alhiman	inner bark of Acer glabrum (used to whip Shepherdia canadensis berries)
Lillooet (F)	nkayxw-xn 'man's-foot'	flower-stalks of Heracleum lanatum (at edible stage)
Lillooet (F)	nmulhats-xn 'woman's- foot'	leaf-stalks of Heracleum lanatum (at edible stage)

<sup>\*</sup> Note that, although these are not names of kinds of plants, they contain the "plant" suffix, -az.

Lang. & Dial.	Special term & English gloss	Application of term
Lillooet (F)	t1'ákwu7	seed-stalks of Lomatium nudicaule
Lillooet (F)	k'í7em	beating Apocynum spp. fibers to remove the "bark"
Lillooet (F)	sélem	twisting Apocynum spp. fibers into twine
Lillooet (F)	snílh <u>k</u> en	"barbecued" Balsamorrhiza sagittata root
Lillooet (F)	tet-sem ("tet-tet-tet", pounding sound)	breaking "bark" of Balsamor- rhiza root by pounding
Lillooet (F)	hámsa7	"frying" Arctostaphylos uva- ursi berries
Lillooet (F)	swiwxw	bark of Prunus emarginata (used in basket imbrication)

Table 29. Examples of synonymous generic plant names in Haida, Bella Coola, and Lillooet.

Lang.	& Dial.	Synonymous terms		Botanical designation
Haida	<b>(</b> S)	xaaydaa-tiigaa "Haida-tea" ( English)	)	Ledum palustre ssp. groenlandicum
Haida	<b>(S)</b>	k'uusiingaa-xilgaa 'cough- medicine'	)	
Haida	(S)	laats'ii ((Tsimshian)	)	Sambucus racemosa (berries)
Haida	(S)	jiítl'el	J	
Haida	(M)	ngaal	)	Macrocystis integri- folia
Haida	(M)	k'aay	J	
Haida	(M)	lhgidduuwén-taángel 112-22 'goose-tongue' (¿English)	$\left. \left. \right\rangle \right.$	Triglochin maritimum
Haida	(M)	<u>k</u> 'an-sk'engaándaa 2-222 'round-grass'	)	
Haida	(M)	haaskaawaa 121 'dog's-ball' (apparent recent origin)	}	Empetrum nigrum
Haida	(M)	ts'élhel-tlaás 11-2 'pine- branches'	)	
Haida	(M)	haadaas-tiigaa 11-21 "Haida- tea" (‹English)		
Haida	(M)	gaawaask'ejaaw 1212 'narrow/ pointed-furry (thing)'		Ledum palustre ssp. groenlandicum
Haida	(M)	xíl-kégen 2-11	<del>】</del>	
Haida	(M)	stl'éguudiis-xil 112-1	)	Rubus parviflorus (plants)
Haida	(M)	maátdellaáw 112	ノ	

Lang. & Dial.	Synonymous terms	Botanical designation
Bella Coola Bella Coola	alhaak'likw 'all-intertwined'  k'suslmx-lhp 'tight-to-the- ground-plant'	} Juniperus communis
Bella Coola Bella Coola	yanahu (native term) tanáps (Œnglish "turnips")	} Brassica campestris
Bella Coola Bella Coola	skw'anik's skaluts-ti-t'ixlhala 'berries of-the-robin'	Lonicera involucrata (berries)
Bella Coola Bella Coola	tl'intl'ik'lhkn-lhp (a)stsltsli (astsli 'fish- strung-on-rope-in-water'	} Vaccinium caespitosum (plant)
Bella Coola Bella Coola	siskw'uulh 'peel' antsns (‹English "oranges")	} Citrus auranticum
Lillooet (F) Lillooet (F)	k'ems ((Thompson) smetl'éka7	Agaricus sp.

taxonomies, although strictly speaking, each species has only one valid botanical name, there is often disagreement among botanists over which name should be in effect, for both nomenclatural and taxonomic reasons.

In folk taxonomies, synonymy often results when names are borrowed from other languages, and rather than replacing their counterparts in the original language, they are used interchangeably with them depending on the context of speech or the preference of the speaker. Some examples of synonyms are: in Haida, xaáydaa-tiígaa (S) "Haida tea" (borrowed term) and k'uúsiingaa-xílgaa (S) 'cold-medicine' (original term) for Ledum palustre ssp. groenlandicum; lhgiiduuwén-taángel 112-22 (M) 'goose-tongue' (borrowed term) and k'án-sk'engaándaa 2-222 (M) 'round-grass' (original term) for Triglochin maritimum; in Bella Coola, antsns "oranges" (English-derived term) and siskw'uulh 'peel' (native language) for Citrus auranticum; and in Lillooet (F), k'ems (introduced term, from Thompson) and smetl'éka7 (original term) for Agaricus sp.

Although synonyms, by their very definition, are interchangeable in application, they often vary in priority; informants usually prefer to use one over another. Hence, over many generations, one term is promoted through continual use, while the second is gradually forgotten through disuse. The process of gradual replacement of an original term by a secondary term has undoubtedly been of major significance in the evolution of botanical vocabulary.

## Cultural Dimensions of Folk Taxonomic Systems

No matter how many plant species exist in a given region, only a limited number of them are recognized lexically in unwritten languages

at any taxonomic level below that of a life-form category. On the Queen Charlotte Islands, for example, over 594 species of vascular plants (Calder and Taylor 1968) and many hundreds of species of macroscopic algae, lichens, fungi, and bryophytes have been recorded, but only about 150 of these, most of them vascular plants, are recognized with generic names in the Haida language.

Berlin and his co-workers (1966, 1970, no date) have postulated a definite positive relationship between the cultural significance of plants and their nomenclatural recognition at the generic level. They suggest that plants which are used as food, medicine, or in technology, or those which play important roles in religion or mythology are far more likely to have generic labels than plants which have just as wide a range, but which have no cultural value. Furthermore, they provide evidence from their own field data on Tzeltal and Tzotzil Mayan Indian languages of Mexico to demonstrate "...a positive correlation between lexical retention and cultural significance." In other words, there is less variation over time, and between dialectic groups, for terms associated with plants which are culturally important than for names of plants of little or no cultural significance.

A preliminary analysis of ethnobotanical data for the study groups supports the first suggestion for Bella Coola and Lillooet, but not for Haida. In Bella Coola and Lillooet, about 65 percent and 67 percent respectively of generically named species are of moderate or high cultural importance, but in Skidegate and Masset Haida, only about 37 percent and 44 percent of species recognized with generic names are moderately or highly important culturally. However, these figures are

misleading, since there are varying degrees of specificity of generic-level names. Many of the species of low cultural significance have very general generic names (i.e. of categories 3 and 4 -- see Tables 12 and 13), while many of the species of moderate or high cultural significance have generic names of categories 1 and 2. Of the species of low cultural importance having generic names of the lower correspondence categories, most are either locally common or distinctive species (e.g. Tanacetum huronense on the Queen Charlottes, and Arctium minus and Holodiscus discolor in the Bella Coola area), or closely resemble some culturally significant species and are named by analogy (e.g. Plantago major, named after Lysichitum americanum in Haida).

As far as could be determined, all culturally significant plants in the three language groups are recognized with generic names, or at least were in the past.\* Additionally, in all cases, "empty" life-form taxa (those having few or no inclusive generics) exist only for non-economic groups of plants, such as "mosses", "grasses" (in Haida and Bella Coola), and "flowers".

Table 30 summarizes the relationship between cultural status of plant species and their degree of nomenclatural recognition in Skidegate and Masset Haida, Bella Coola, and Lillooet. Note that all species having generic-level names were regarded as having at least some degree of cultural significance.

<sup>\*</sup> Some generic terms have been recorded by past researchers, but are not known at the present time. The existence of some names is remembered by the informants, even though the actual names have been forgotten.

Table 30. Cultural status of plants in relation to their nomenclatural recognition in Haida, Bella Coola, and Lillooet. \*

SKIDEGATE HAIDA	None	Cultural s	significance Moderate	High
Life-form name only	120			
Intermediate name	<b>&gt;10</b>	<b>&gt;</b> 6		
	4	15	2	
pondence cate-	3	28	15	<b>3</b>
gory) **	<b>2</b>	36	4	<b>. 3</b>
		38	34	17
		7 7 2 3 4 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5		(1) 1 <del>- 1</del> 1 1 1 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2
Specific name				1

하시아되었다. 이 성으로 보다는 것이다. 소프로 하지만 하시아 보고 되었다.			Cultural	significance	
MASSET HAIDA		None	Low	Moderate High	
Life-form name onl	y	× 130			
Intermediate name		<b>&gt;</b> 10	> 10	: 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1	
Generic name (by	4		38	3. ************************************	
species corres- pondence cate-	3		27	15 6	
gory) **	2		19	7	
	1		33	36 23	
	0				
Specific name				5	

<sup>\*</sup> Figures indicate approximate numbers of botanical species included under each category.

<sup>\*\*</sup> See Table 1, field 4 for a description of species correspondence categories.

		Cultural	significance		
BELLA COOLA	None	Low	Moderate	High	
Life-form name only	› <b>13</b> 5				
Intermediate name	<b>&gt;</b> 40	<b>&gt; 5</b>			
Generic name (by 4		4	2	1	
species corres- pondence cate-		16	14	1	
gory) 2		13	11	1	
0		<b>19</b>	42	14 _	
Specific name					

		Cultura1	significance	
FRASER RIVER LILLOOET	None	Low	Moderate	High
Life-form name only	> 100			
Intermediate name	>20		10 - 10 - 10 - 10 - 10 - 10 - 10 - 10 -	
Generic name (by 4 species corres- 3 pondence cate- 2		2 7 7	- 10 9	1
1		25	48 2	13 _
Specific name	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	2		1967 - 1968 1964 - 1968 - 1968 - 1968 - 1968 - 1968 - 1968 - 1968 - 1968 - 1968 - 1968 - 1968 - 1968 - 1968 - 1968 - 1968

The relationship between lexical retention and cultural significance suggested by Berlin, Breedlove, and Laughlin (1970) is demonstrated for the Masset and Skidegate dialects of Maida in Table 31, and is illustrated graphically in Figure 11. The length of separation between Masset and Skidegate is not known. Linguists generally agree that Skidegate is a more archaic dialect, and that Masset was derived from Skidegate secondarily, as a contracted form.\* The third Haida dialect, Kaigani, is a recent offshoot of the Masset dialect.

The major life-form categories and intermediate categories of Masset and Skidegate plants are virtually identical, with a few exceptions. An additional term, lhk'amaál 12, is found in the Masset life-form lexicon, as a synonym of tlaas 'evergreen boughs', and an extra intermediate category, "muskeg plants", is apparent in Masset. Both of these features are a result of the close association of the Masset people with the muskeg area at the north end of Graham Island. The term, lhk'amaál, apparently originates from the name for Juniperus communis -- lhk'amaál, or k'állaa-lhk'ámeleey 22-221 'muskeg-boughs'. This plant is not even recognized by Skidegate informants, and therefore, the omission of this term from the Skidegate lexicon is not surprising. Most muskeg plants are not known to Skidegate people, even though many now have access to muskeg areas. In fact, the term, k'allaa 'muskeg', a common modifier of Masset plant names, is not employed in any Skidegate plant names known by present day informants.

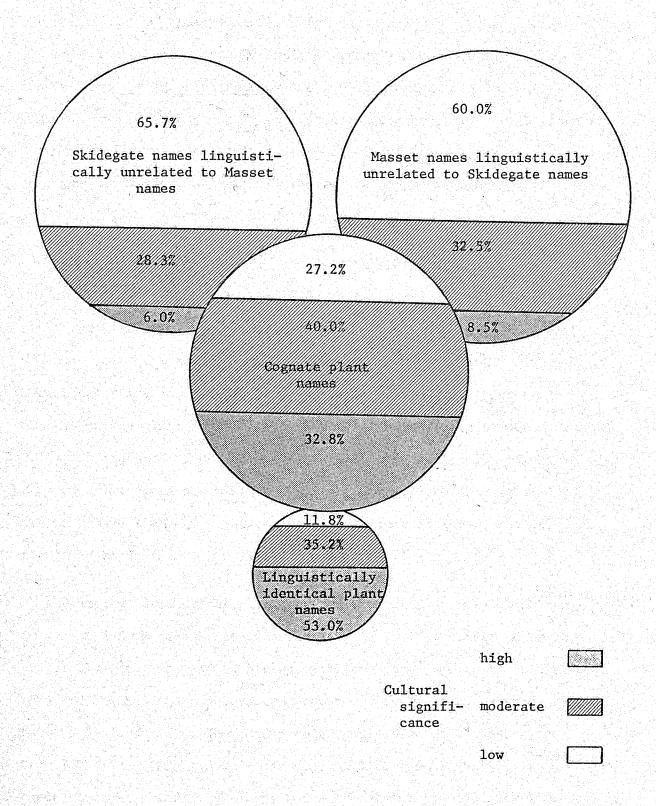
<sup>\*</sup> Skidegate and Masset are mutually intelligible to experienced Haida speakers, but Skidegate informants say Masset people talk "way too fast" and Masset informants feel that Skidegate is "long and drawn out".

Table 31. Lexical retention and cultural significance of plants in the Skidegate and Masset dialects of Haida.\*

Cultural significance Low Moderate High Plant segregates identical between Skide-2 6 9 gate and Masset % Skidegate segregates (1.3%)(3.9%)(5.8%)% Masset segregates (1.2%)(3.6%)(5.4%)Segregates cognate between Skidegate and 19 28 23 Masset % Skidegate segregates (12.3%)(18.2%)(14.9%)% Masset segregates (11.4%)(16.8%)(13.8%)Skidegate segregates linguistically unrelated to Masset seg-44 19 regates (28.6%)(12.3%)(2.6%)Masset segregates linguistically unrelated to Skidegate segre-47 26 gates (28.2%)(15.5%)(4.2%)

<sup>\*</sup> The total number of Skidegate plant segregates is 154, and of Masset plant segregates is 167.

Figure 11. A graphic portrayal of linguistic divergence of plant names in Skidegate and Masset Haida, showing the relationship between lexical retention and cultural significance.



Other original Masset intermediate categories include "blueberry-like forest shrubs" and "fine- and coarse-leaved ferns" (as opposed to Skidegate "ferns" (see Table 9). The origin of these categories is uncertain; the first was apparently derived from the generic term, lhdaan, for Vaccinium alaskaense and V. ovalifolium. The Masset terms, saágwaál 22 and ts'aágwaál 22 for fine- and coarse-leaved ferns respectively, differ only in the initial phoneme, and hence apparently have a common derivation, presumably from the second term, since its cognate, ts'aágwel 'fern' is present in Skidegate.

Despite these differences, it could be stated, as a corollary to Berlin, Breedlove, and Laughlin's (1970) observations on lexical retention at the generic level, that names for higher taxonomic categories such as major life-form terms, once established, tend to be lexically and semantically stable, even when considerable lexical divergence occurs at the generic taxon level. This is demonstrated in the Masset and Skidegate dialects of Haida, but also apparently at the language level, between Bella Coola and Lillooet, which though only distantly related, are much more similar in their life-form categories for plants than either is to Haida.

Examples of identical, cognate, and unrelated generic plant names in Masset and Skidegate are given in Table 32. In a number of cases, culturally important plants having unrelated names are introduced or imported species whose names were acquired from different sources by the two dialects (e.g. Shepherdia canadensis: Skidegate name - 7aas, from Tsimshian; Masset name - hegwetl'iit 112, from Tlingit). In other cases, the names refer to plants which are absent from the territory

Table 32. Examples of Skidegate and Masset Haida plant names which are: I. identical, II. cognates, and III. linguistically unrelated.

## I. Terms which are identical in Skidegate and Masset:

Plant segregate	Botanical designation	Comments
t'al	Fucus spp.	name borrowed from Tsimshian
ngaal, k'aay	Macrocystis integri- folia	traded between Skid- egate & Masset
tlégaay 'fishline'	Nereocystis luetkeana (stipe)	
sky'aaw 'tail'	various ferns & some other species	name has a different semantic range be- tween the dialects
ts'uu	Thuja plicata	high cultural signi- ficance
<u>k</u> 'aang	Tsuga heterophylla	high cultural signi- ficance
Χi	Tsuga & Picea cambium	eaten by Haida, but this use was adop- ted recently from the Tsimshian
<u>k</u> 'an	"grass"	life-form category namè
t'aanuú 'salt-water'	Zostera marina & Phyllospadix spp.	also the name of a village on Moresby Island
gwaayk'aa	Veratrum eschscholtzii	important medicinal herb
lhk'iit	Heracleum lanatum	important green vegetable
<u>k</u> a1	Alnus rubra	
k'as	Menziesia ferruginea	name not known in Skidegate today
lhaayii	Viburnum edule	formerly an impor- tant food

Plant segregate	Botanical designation	Comments
k'ay	Pyrus fusca, P. malus (fruit)	important food
lĥdaan	Vaccinium ovalifolium, V. alaskaense	important food
chaanaang	Salix spp., Populus trichocarpa	name apparently borrowed from Tlingit
gwel, gwul	Nicotiana spp.	formerly of high cultural impor- tance

II. Cognate terms in Skidegate and Masset:

Skidegate segregate	Masset segregate	Botanical designation
sgiinaaw 'green'	sginaáw 12 'green'	Ulva lactuca, Enteromor- pha intestinalis
sgyuu	s <u>g</u> iw	Porphyra spp.
gyaalgaas-naangaa 'pilot-biscuit's- grandmother'	kuukge-gilgaay 11-22 'rotten-wood-bis- cuit'	Polyporus spp., Fomes spp.
k'aálts'iidaa-leéys- gaa 'crow's-lace'	k'aalts'iida-liijaa 212-22 'crow's- whiskers'	Usnea longissima, Alec- toria sarmentosa complex
xuút-taángélgaa 'hair-seal's- tongue'	huut'aangel 222 'hair- seal's-tongue'	Conocephalum conicum
sgaálhaán	sgaalhaán	Chamaecyparis nootka- tensis
<u>k</u> aayt	<u>ki</u> iyt	Picea sitchensis (also approximates "tree")
siigaan	saalaán 12	Maianthemum dilatatum (berries)
ts'ií-ts'ií	ts'é-ts'é 11	Daucus carota

Skidegate segregate	Masset segregate	Botanical designation
sgaánaa-xílgaa 'killer-whale- leaves'	sgaán-xiilaa 2-11 'killer-whale- leaves'	unidentified herb (grows near water, beneath Rubus spectabilis)
yaánaahuu	7innuú 12 'half'	Brassica campestris
jiitl'el	jétl'e 21	Sambucus racemosa (berries)
sgiidelguu 'red-on- ground'	sgeédluu 21 ((sgeed 'red)	Vaccinium parvifolium (berries)
daah	dah 'buying'	Vaccinium oxycoccus
xuuyaa-tluúgaa 'Ra- ven's-canoe'	yaálh-tluuwa 2-11 'Raven's-canoe'	Vicea gigantea, Lathyrus japonicus, garden peas & beans
xuudaan	<u>h</u> odaán 12	Stachys cooleyae
hilguudaagaang	hildaáng 12	Fragaria spp. (berries)
k'aáxuu-ts'aalaáng- gaa ( <k'aáxuu 'rotten log') *</k'aáxuu 	k'aawts'ellaáng-gaa 1-122 (‹k'aáwts'elh 'crack') *	Rubus chamaemorus (berries)
guugaadiis	stl'éguudiís 112 'turn-insíde-out'	Rubus parviflorus (berries)
ts'aalht'áwt'iis 'it-sticks-to-you'	ts'elht'áwsgit 'it-sticks-to-you'	Galium spp.

III. Skidegate and Masset plant names which are completely unrelated linguistically:

Botanical taxa involved Skidegate segregate	Masset segregate
Halosaccion glandiforme t'aask'aat'uúgaa	sk'aángk'i1s 22 'fish- air-bladder'
Polyporus versicolor no generic name	kiiyt-gebbeéyewiijaa 2- 11111 'tree-scallops'

<sup>\*</sup> One of these terms, probably the Skidegate one, must be a folk etymology, since although they are linguistic cognates, they are attributed completely different meanings in the two dialects.

Botanical taxa involved	Skidegate segregate	Masset segregate
Sphagnum spp.	no generic name	k'állaa-k'innaaneéy 22-112 'muskeg-moss'
Lycopodium spp., Achil- lea millefolium	yaanaang-xi1gaa 'fog- leaves'	no equivalent name
Scirpus microcarpus	xuuyaa-sgawgaa 'Raven's-knife'	no equivalent name
Allium spp.	no generic name	aanyaas "onions"
Triglochin maritimum	k'an-1hgaamgaandaa 'round-grass'	1hgiiduuwen-taangel 112-22 'goose-tongue'
Fritillaria camtschaten- sis	7inlheng	stlek'ist'aa 122 'round- thing-you-dig-out-with- your-finger'
Cirsium spp.	gwul-7áwgaa 'tobacco-mother'	no generic name
Rubus pedatus, Linnaea borealis	tlelgaa-xilgaa 'earth-leaves'	tl'énjuut-gaanaa-xí1 22-22- 'steller's-jay- berry-leaves'
Viola spp.	one of the plants called daá7el-sgíl- gaa 'rain's-navel'	sk'én-flaáwersgeey 2-211 'seagull's-flowers'
Drosera rotundifolia	no generic name	taagiinaan-k'uukgaa 112- 21 'many-hearts'
Shepherdia canadensis	7aas (Tsimshian)	hegwet1'iit 112 ('Tlingit)

of the other dialect (e.g. <u>Drosera rotundifolia</u>, which has a Masset name, but no Skidegate name). Only about 3 percent of the Skidegate names unrelated to Masset names and 4 percent of Masset names unrelated to Skidegate names are for plants of high cultural significance which occur commonly in both regions.

Even between seemingly unrelated generic names, relationships can sometimes be demonstrated. For example, Streptopus amplexifolius is called st'aw-gaan-gaa 'screech-owl-berries'\* in Skidegate and taan-gaannaa 2-11 'black-bear-berries' in Masset. Swanton (1905b) records that, according to Haida tradition, when screech-owls were heard calling in the woods, it signified that black-bears were near the camp. There is thus a definite traditional relationship between these two animals, and, indirectly, between the Skidegate and Masset terms for Streptopus.

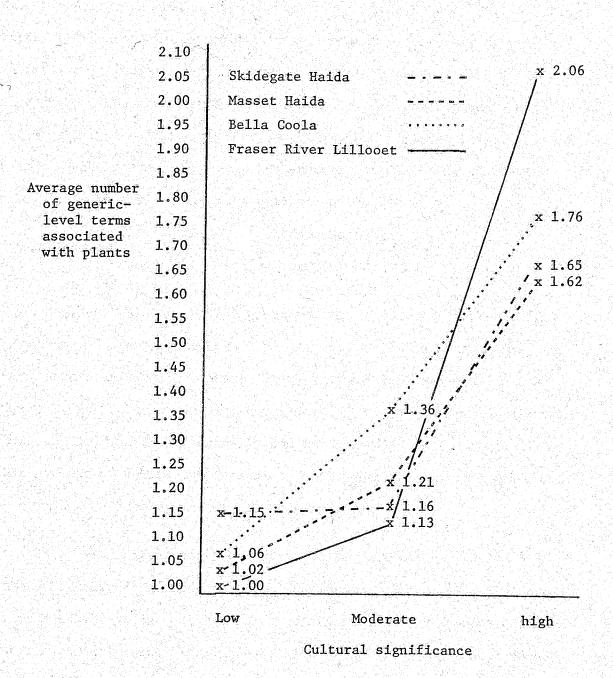
Cognate Skidegate and Masset plant names have a similar semantic range, although there are some notable exceptions, usually involving the relative inclusion or exclusion of certain plant species from a given generic taxon. For example, Skidegate informants stress that there is "only one" gaan—xáwlaa 'sweet-berry', namely Amelanchier alnifolia, while in Masset, gaán—haáwlaa 2-22 refers to both Amelanchier and Vaccinium uliginosum. In Skidegate, daa7el—sgílgaa 'rain's—navel' applies to Aquilegia formosa, Dodecatheon jeffreyi, and Viola spp., whereas its Masset counterpart, daál—xíl 2-2 'rain—leaves' applies to Aquilegia

<sup>\*</sup> This name can also be translated as 'witch-berries', since st'aw also means 'witch' in Haida. However, my Skidegate informants usually translated it as 'screech-owl-berries' (actually, 'night-hawk-berries', because 'screech-owls' are called 'night-hawks' by the Haida).

### and Campanula rotundifolia.

There has been little mention in folk taxonomic literature of the significance of specialized botanical terminology, such as is listed in Table 28. It has already been suggested here that such terminology is generally associated with plants which are culturally significant, or have been in the past. A graphic demonstration of the relationship between special terminology and cultural significance is provided in Figure 12. It should be added, however, that the postive correlation between special terminology and cultural significance may be an incidental one. Many plants are of moderate or high cultural significance because they have two or more different parts which are useful or notable (e.g. Rubus spectabilis sprouts and berries, Lomatium nudicaule seeds and stalk). These are more likely to have special terms associated with them than plants having only one usable portion and therefore usually of lower cultural significance.

Figure 12. Graph showing the relationship between the number of linguistically discrete generic-level terms applied to a plant species and cultural significance in Masset and Skidegate Haida, Bella Coola, and Lillooet.



#### DISCUSSION

# Historical Development of Folk Phytotaxonomic Systems

Berlin (1971) has proposed a scheme concerning the historical development of ethnobotanical nomenclature in folk taxonomies. After studying ethnobotanical terminology in a number of diverse, so-called "primitive" cultural groups, he suggests that these not only have similar types of phytotaxonomic categories (i.e., unique beginner, major life-form, intermediate, generic, specific, and varietal taxa), but that as each language develops, the encoding or labelling of these taxa occurs in a fixed order, diagrammed as follows:

Thus, according to Berlin's scheme, the original ethnobotanical vocabulary of any language was composed entirely of generic expressions, which were semantically unitary (i.e., "unique" as discussed in this study). Generic names were gradually expanded by a process of "concrete transposition" until semantically complex lexical forms also existed. This process of horizontal expansion of the generic lexicon continues throughout the development of the language.

Following the establishment of at least some generic expressions, labels for life-form categories and specific categories were developed through a simultaneous process of generalization and differentiation of generic nomenclature. Berlin feels that life-form categories have been conceptually recognized since earliest times, but were not encoded into languages until after the establishment of generic terms. In fact,

"...in many languages the labels for life-form categories are drawn directly from the existing inventory of generic names." Hence, in many North American Indian languages, the name for the life-form category "tree" is synonymous with or related to the generic names of some particular type of tree which is common in the area and/or economically important. For example, in Tewa, Pueblo, Hopi, and Kiowa (also in New Mexican Spanish), 'tree' = 'cottonwood' (see Trager 1939). In Karok, 'tree' = 'juniper', in Achumawi, 'tree' = 'sugar pine', and in Yana 'tree' = 'broad-leaved maple'. In Diegueño and Chumash, 'tree' = 'live oak'. Berlin suggests that there is probably an intermediate "suprageneric" status assumed by a generic term before it gains major lifeform status. In Shoshone and Northern Payute, for example, the generic name for 'cottonwood' may also be applied generally to 'willow', 'aspen', and some other broad-leaved trees, but not necessarily to all trees.

Specific taxa usually develop as contrast sets within selected generics, and most often consist of binary sets of the type representative of the generic (often, at least initially, polysemous with its super-ordinate generic) and another "atypical" specific, usually designated with a modifier describing an obvious differentiating trait, such as colour, size, growth habit, or habitat. For example, in Haida there can be said to be two specifics for the generic, k'ay 'apples': k'ay (polysemous with the generic) for orchard apples; and haads-k'ayaa 'Haida-apples', the marked specific, for wild crabapples.

Both in the case of generics polysemous with life-form names and specific names polysemous with generics, Berlin notes that there is a tendency to develop "...an attributive like expression best glossed as

'genuine', 'real', or 'ideal-type'" for the name of the lower taxonomic order. This attributive, first optional and used only in ambiguous circumstances, eventually becomes obligatory.

A further developmental sequence suggested by Berlin is that the generics or specifics initially designated by the 'real' or 'genuine' modifier eventually assume another modifier, giving the taxon a status more equivalent with that of other generics or specifics in the same contrast set. For example, in a hypothetical case where there are originally two specifics, designated as 'real' X and 'red' X, the 'real' segment may eventually be altered to 'white' or 'blue' as a more appropriate contrast to 'red'. After this type of alteration occurs, it is impossible to determine in a unwritten language which of the two kinds of X was originally the specific "type". This sequence probably took place in the development of the Haida (M) specific segregates, 'red-rain-leaves' and 'blue-rain-leaves' (see Table 26).

Following the incorporation of life-form and specific taxon names into the vocabulary, intermediate and varietal taxa may be encoded under appropriate circumstances. As has been noted, varietal names occur almost exclusively in the classification of important cultivars, and are usually involved in genetic selection and maintenance of different strains of such species as maize, squash, beans, and peppers. Named intermediate categories are also very rare, and Berlin suggests that they are basically unstable and ephemeral, even when they do exist. They are frequently associated with the introduction of new generics which are reminiscent of existing types, but not similar enough to be included within the same generic taxon.

Finally, Berlin maintains, after the encoding of generics, specifics, life-form category terms, and sometimes varietals and intermediate category terms, a name is designated in a language for "plant", the unique beginner of the semantic domain. "While man has no doubt tacitly recognized the world of plants as a conceptual category since earliest times, it does not appear to have been essential to provide the concept with a distinctive label until quite recently." Just as life-form category names are frequently derived from generic names, so the unique beginner is usually borrowed from a life-form term or from some lower order term (Berlin 1971).

Each of these categories, except the unique beginner, is theoretically an open class, and can thus continue to expand horizontally as the hierarchy itself is growing vertically. New taxa at any of these levels can be instituted at any stage of development of the language, especially if a group of people migrates to a new area with different types of vegetation, or if secondary acculturation results in the introduction of many new species.

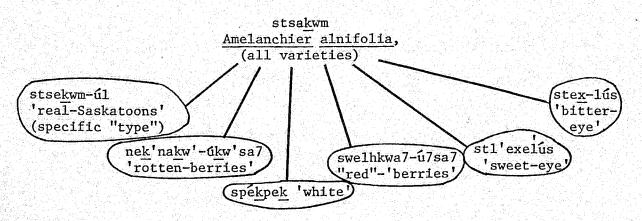
None of Berlin's speculations on ethnobotanical terminological development was drawn from phytotaxonomic data of the Pacific Northwest, yet in general, the principles outlined could be applied very well to languages in this area, if the three study groups are any indication. In fact, it has been convenient in this thesis to dicuss the phytotaxonomies of Haida, Bella Coola, and Lillooet in terms of the nomenclatural scheme proposed by Berlin and his co-workers, Breedlove, Raven, and Laughlin.

There are many specific instances of coincidence between taxonomic situations exemplified by Berlin and those existing in the three study

groups. For example, in Lillooet (F), the name for <u>Pseudotsuga menziesii</u> is segáp-úl 'real-or genuine-tree'. Thus, the original generic name would have been segáp, and by a process of taxonomic expansion this name would have eventually been accorded life-form status, with <u>Pseudotsuga</u> being the "type" representative. Finally, to prevent ambiguity about the taxonomic level intended when segáp was mentioned, <u>Pseudotsuga</u> would begin to be designated the "real" segáp, first optionally, and then obligatorily.

In a similar manner, the Lillooet life-form term for "grass" must have been derived from the generic name for Agropyron spicatum (bunch-grass). This species is now called slekem-úl 'real-grass', to distinguish it from the life-form term in ordinary conversation.

At the generic-specific level, the generic taxon for Saskatoon berries (Amelanchier alnifolia) in Lillooet, stsakwm, must have originally been differentiated into at least two contrasting specifics, one of which was polysemous with the generic. With time, as the other specifics developed, the polysemous specific must have been modified by the 'real' term — stsekwm-ûl — to eliminate ambiguity as to which taxonomic level was inferred. At present, there are six contrasting specific names for Saskatoons, as follows (see also Table 26):



Eventually, if Berlin's projected sequence is correct, the 'real' modifier if the specific "type" name might have been altered with time to a term more equivalent with names for the other Saskatoon varieties, without the interference caused by the adoption of English.

A similar type of sequence must have been involved in the origin of the name, kwelawa-úl 'real-onion' for Allium cernuum, except that the situation has apparently been complicated by the introduction of English terminology. It appears that the intermediate category, "onion" must have arisen in post-contact times following the acquistion of garden onions. At this time, A. cernuum was probably called simply kwelawa, as it is in the Thompson language (Steedman 1929). Soon, however, kwelawa must have become equated with "onion" in English, and thus gained broader taxonomic status, including not only Allium cernuum and garden onions, but other bulb plants such as Calochortus macrocarpus ("sweet onions"), and Zygadenus venenosus ("poison onions").\* At this point, A. cernuum must have gained the 'real' marking. At the present time, however, it is not usually called 'real-onions'. More often, the English expression, "barbecuing onions", is applied. Hence, indirectly, Berlin's prediction about the eventual substitution of the 'real' term for a modifier more equivalent with those of other members of a contrastive set is being realized.

There are many examples in the Lillooet language of the use of the term 'real' or 'original'. In fact, the Upper Lillooets' name for them-

<sup>\*</sup> The Lillooet names for these species do not include kwelawa. Only use of the English "onions" identifies them as belonging to this intermediate category.

selves is 'real Lillooet'. However, there is no term glossing as 'real' or 'original' in ethnobotanical terminology of either Bella Coola or Haida. In Haida, the term, xaáydaa (S) / haádes (M) "Haida", seems to fulfil the same function as the '-ul' term in Lillooet [cf. xaáydaa-flawérsgaa (S) 'Haida-flowers'; xaáydaa-gwúlgaa (S) 'Haida-tobacco'; haádes-tl'aákuujaa (M) 'Haida-rhubarb']. It implies 'wild' or 'original' and is usually employed as a contrastive with imported or cultivated plants.

In Bella Coola, there are no true named specific plant taxa, and hence, there is no necessity of a 'real' or 'original' term for marking specific types.

In all three languages, examples exist of generics which are completely polysemous with life-form category names. In Haida, the name for Picea sitchensis, kaayt (S) / kiiyt (M), is polysemous with an approximation of "tree". In both Bella Coola and Lillooet, the name for Vaccinium membranaceum is polysemous with "berry". Supposedly, this indicates a less advanced situation than where generic "types" are marked with some specifier such as 'real'.

From this study, it appears that life-form category names are not always derived by the process of elevating a generic "type" to a higher taxonomic status, as implied by Berlin (1971). On the contrary, a number of life-form categories, especially in Haida, seem to be delimited from anatomical terms associated with members of the category. An example is in the Haida life-form category, "deciduous trees and shrubs", denoted by application of the term,  $1h\underline{k}$ 'aayii (S) /  $1h\underline{k}$ 'aay (M) to plants in this category. This term translates approximately as 'branch',

but can also be glossed as 'bush' in many circumstances.

Similarly, in Haida, xil 'leaf/medicine' not only denotes the anatomical feature, "leaf", in all foliose plants, but also implies the life-form category of "herbaceous plants". As an example, stélguu-xílgaa (S) 'land-otter-leaves/medicine' refers to both the leaves and the plant of Apargidium boreale, and xil-gaáydlelging (S) 'floating-leaves/medicine' refers to the leaves, plant, or rhizomes of Nuphar luteum ssp. polysepalum. Apparently, the term xil was originally applied only to 'leaf'. Gradually, its semantic range was extended to include 'any kind of medicine', and eventually, it was applied to the names of a limited category of plants, to imply not only their leaves, or their use, but the entire plants themselves.

At present, it appears that the meaning of xil is being extended still further to include 'flowers'. Thus, daál-xíl-sgét (M) (Aquilegia formosa) can be translated as 'red-rain-leaves', 'red-rain-medicine', or 'red-rain-plant', but the most obvious rendition is 'red-rain-flowers', and in fact this translation is usually given by Masset informants. The Masset name for Ranunculus plants, xil-k'únlhelh-lhk'aay, translated literally, would be 'yellow-leaves-branches', but when first asked the meaning of this name, Florence Davidson said, "yellow flowers — yellow flower plant". Here, xil assumes the status of 'flower', and lhk'aay a 'plant' status. Both terms could be said to be not only life-form category terms, but even unique beginners in some circumstances, yet neither shows any indication of having been derived from a generic plant name.

The origin of the Haida life-form term "berry", gaan (S) / gaan (M) is open to speculation. If the developmental pattern described by Berlin were in effect, there would have originally been a type of berry in Haida named only gaan. Eventually, because the generic type was common or economically valuable, the term was accorded life-form status. The generic type itself may have retained the gaan label for some time afterwards, or it may have been immediately designated with a secondary marker, comparable with the 'real' term in Lillocat.\* Meanwhile, other kinds of berries were designated names incorporating gaan -- yaanaanggaángaa 'fog-berries', st'áw-gaángaa 'screech-owl-berries', xuúyaagaángaa 'Raven's-berries', taán-gaángaa 'black-bear-berries', gaanxáwlaa 'sweet-berries', sk'áw-gaan 'thorn-berries', and so on. Finally, the generic type would have been instated with a marker more equivalent with those of the other kinds of berries, making it impossible to trace the original gaan at the present time. Notably, there are a number of "berries" in Haida whose names do not include gaan, such as guugaadiis (Rubus parviflorus), k'ung (Rosa nutkana), hilguudaagaang (Fragaria spp.), guutgaagiigeeyt 'run-backwards' (Ribes lacustre), sk'aagii-chaay 'dogsalmon-eggs' (Vaccinium vitis-idaea), gaalguun (Ribes bracteosum), and sgiidlelguu 'red-on-the-ground' (Vaccinium parvifolium). These may be recent abbreviations of longer terms incorporating gaan, or, if the sequence just described is authentic, they may have originated before gaan was elevated to life-form status (i.e., they may be very old generic names.

<sup>\*</sup> Perhaps a term such as -aálgaa 'like' or 'imitation' (also 'slave') was used. This lexical segment is sometimes used as a generic marker for Elymus mollis -- k'an-7aálgaa 'looks like grass'.

Just as likely an occurrence is that gaan has been a general anatomical term from the very beginning, like lhk'aayii and xil. Like these terms, with time, it may have been incorporated into the names of many, but not all, members of the life-form category "berry". In cases such as this, where there is no longer a generic "type", it is impossible to verify any suggested sequence for the development of life-form category terminology.

A similar situation exists for the life-form category "tree" in the Bella Coola language. The term for "tree", stn, is not included in the generic names of any individual kinds of trees. Instead, it can be said to be a true life-form term in the botanical sense, since it applies to all tall or long wooden objects, including logs and telephone poles. It seems doubtful that such a term would have its origins as a generic name, as did the life-form name for "tree" in the Lillooet language, or the life-form term for "berry" in Bella Coola. More likely, it has always been a general term, comparable to the xil, lhk'aayii, and perhaps gaan terms in Haida.

In any case, the psychological validity of life-form categories as a discrete type of taxon is clear, not only from conversational associations of native speakers, but also, in many cases, from linguistic and nomenclatural evidence.

An interesting confirmation of the existence of life-form taxa, as described by Berlin, and particularly as presented here for Fraser River Lillooet, is a detailed outline of mythological "domains" in Okanagan, a language and culture closely related to Lillooet. This

outline was provided in 1971 by Selina Timoyakin, an elderly Okanagan speaker from the Penticton Band.\* It delineates the different "domains" or "kingdoms" of living beings which were believed to exist in mythical times, when all organisms and even rocks had human forms. For each "kingdom", there is a chief; the chief of all the domains is Coyote, the Interior Salish counterpart of Raven on the Northwest Coast. Above Coyote, the "great Chief", an old man known as kwilstn 'sweat-house' has supreme authority (see Figure 13).

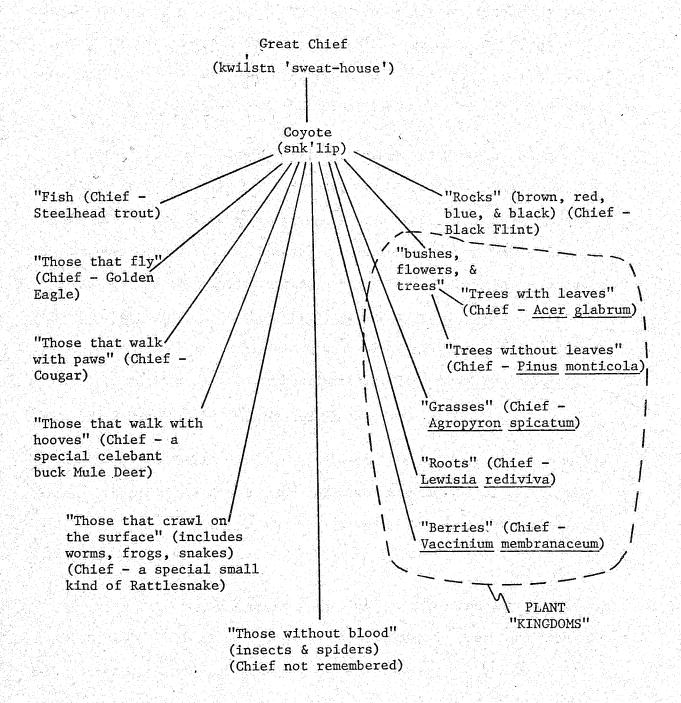
The domains delineated for "plant-people" show remarkable similarity to the life-form taxa described for Lillooet plants, and, notably, the chiefs of two of the domains -- "grass" and "berry" -- are the same species that are the generic "types" for these life-form categories in Lillooet, namely bunchgrass (Agropyron spicatum) and mountain blueberry (Vaccinium membranaceum).

There are several phytotaxonomic indications that Haida, Bella Coola, and Lillooet are not particularly advanced languages, if indeed as Berlin suggests, phytotaxonomic structure and ethnobotanical nomenclature reflect linguistic development. Each language has a good inventory of generic plant names, and probably many more existed in the past and have been forgotten. However, there are very few specific terms in Haida and Lillooet, and none in Bella Coola, although here again, there is evidence that some existed in the past.

In each group, there are a number of named life-form category terms,

<sup>\*</sup> Selina Timoyakin has been a friend and teacher of Randy Bouchard. She provided this information during an evening lecture in Anthropology 534 (Computor analysis of myth) at the University of British Columbia.

Figure 13. The domains and their chiefs in Okanagan Salish mythology.



but many of these are at the first stages of development, still being associated with generic "types" which are partially or completely polysemous with them. Those not associated with a generic "type" are not necessarily more advanced in development. Rather, they seem to have had a different origin -- from anatomical terms or shape category names.

Furthermore, the life-form category names which are delineated, especially in Bella Coola and Lillooet, are by no means exhaustive. For example, there is no named category for "bush" in these languages, and although many types of "bushes" are included in the "berry" life-form category, a significant number are not (e.g. Philadelphus lewisii, Holodiscus discolor, Ceanothus velutinus, and Myrica gale). Neither of these two groups has a life-form taxon including herbaceous plants without conspicuous flowers or berries (e.g. Veratrum eschscholtzii, Rumex occidentalis, and Urtica dioica).\*

In Haida and Bella Coola, there is no life-form category for marine algae, although these form a discrete, psychologically real group, as evidenced by the adoption of the English life-form category expression, "seaweeds".

There are no varietal names in any of the three languages, which is expected, since none of the groups is agricultural. There are many intermediate taxa, but most are unnamed, and many are of obvious recent origin, involving the adoption of English terminology. Finally, there

<sup>\*</sup> Recently, I have found that such a category does exist in the Thompson Salish language. Herbaceous plants are called stuyt-úyemxw 'ground-growth'. This term is actually incorporated into the names of many small leafy plants (Annie York, Spuzzum, B.C., personal communication).

is no unique beginner expression in any of the three languages. The Bella Coola and Lillooet "plant" suffixes are not universal in their application, and although the Haida expressions, xil 'leaf/medicine' and lhk'aayií (S) / lhk'aay (M) 'branch' show tendencies towards developing into "plant" terms, their application is still limited to only certain types of plants. They are not normally applied to mosses or seaweeds, for example. Hence, it can be stated that Haida, Bella Coola, and Lillooet are relatively "young" in phytotaxonomic development, in comparison with Tzeltal, Hanunóo, or Indo-European languages.

Another factor to be considered in the discussion of phytotaxonomy is the devolution or decay of terminological systems. Ethnobotanical nomenclature is in a constant state of change, due not only to the addition of new terminology and taxonomic information, but also to the loss or alteration of semantic and lexical components. Two general observations can be made concerning the loss of phytotaxonomic information: 1) vocabulary loss seems to occur from particular to general; and 2) the lexical components of taxa appear to be more persistent than the semantic components.

Hence, unlike nomenclatural development, which is initiated at the generic level and progresses through both differentiation and generalization, nomenclatural loss seems to occur first at the specific (and varietal) level, next at the generic level, and finally at the life-form taxon level (Berlin 1971). As Berlin points out "...speakers of English who have been reared in an urban setting will recognize at once that they known virtually no specific names for kinds of plants, [and] that many generic names are recognizable linguistically only..." Yet all

English speakers are familiar with colloquial life-form category term-inology.

The second observation is evident from questioning younger native speakers in the three study languages about plants. They are frequently familiar with plant names, but are usually unable to identify the plants referred to by the names. Similarly, in English, most people are familiar with the names, "cowslip", "primrose", and "mangosteen", but few North Americans could describe or recognize these plants.

## External Factors Influencing Ethnophytotaxonomies

The three Indian groups involved in the study were chosen in part for their comparative potential. Linguistic and vegetational differences can be summarized as follows:

	Language		
		Na-déné	Salish
Vegeta-	Coastal	Haida	Bella Coola
tion	Interior		Lillooet (F)

Linguistic origin and floristic diversity are believed to be of fundamental importance in determining the ultimate structure and composition of phytotaxonomies. Other influencing factors include cultural attributes of the groups, history of inter-group contact, and, in the case of the study groups, the influence of English cognitive systems on native thought. The extent to which these factors have affected the phytotaxonomies described here is subject to speculation, but the data allow some conclusions to be drawn concerning the effects of each of them.

Linguistic origin is not indicated to be of great significance in defining generic-level taxa, although closely related groups such as Lillooet, Shuswap, and Thompson (all Interior Salish) have a high proportion of generic cognates. Territorial proximity and inter-group contact seem to have an equal or greater function in promoting generic similarity, as can be seen by a significant number (12) of generic-level cognates between Bella Coola and Kwakiutl, languages which are completely unrelated. It is notable, however, that of the three study groups, the two which are related linguistically, namely Bella Coola and Lillooet, have similar life-form category structures, while the third language, Haida, has a substantially different set of life-form categories (see Figures 7, 8, and 9). It appears, therefore, that taxonomic terminology changes more rapidly than underlying taxonomic structure, once such a structure is established.

From every indication, local vegetational features are the most important single factor in determining the generic taxa employed by a group. Only a small percentage of the generic names in each group apply to plants which are not locally available. Many of the differences in the generic inventories are directly attributable to vegetational dissimilarities. The Haida, being insular, have a predictably large number of generic names pertaining to marine algae, while the Bella Coola have only a few, most of them borrowed from the Kwakiutl, and the Lillooet have none. The Lillooet, however, have many names for plants not recognized in coastal languages (e.g. Artemisia tridentata, Pinus ponderosa, Prunus virginiana, Calochortus macrocarpus, and Rhus radicans).

At the dialectic level, one of the main differences between Masset and Skidegate Haida inventories is that the Masset people, being surrounded by muskeg habitat, have more names for muskeg plants than do the Skidegate people.

Notably, in each area, almost all local trees and shrubs have aboriginal generic-level names, while a relatively small number of foliar herbs, and an even smaller number of grasses, mosses, lichens, and fungi are named generically. A generalization can be made that in folk taxonomies, cultural and economic considerations excluded, the larger and more obvious a plant is, the more likely it is to be recognized with a generic name. One notable exception is Menziesia ferruginea in Bella Coola. It is extremely common locally, but no generic name for is was obtained.

It should be mentioned that in many cases, the botanical species correspondence categories assigned to various generic folk taxa are largely a function of the species present in an area, rather than of the level of generalization of the native term. As an example, the Lillooet name for "spruce" has a species correspondence rating of 2 (see Table 1), since it refers to two closely related species — Picea glauca and P. engelmannii, while the Haida name for "spruce" is rated 1, since it corresponds in a one-to-one fashion with the only local spruce — P. sitchensis. Were a second, closely related Picea in existence on the Queen Charlottes, the Haida name would probably apply to it also, and would then be rated 2. On the contrary, if only one species existed in the Interior, the Lillooet name would have a 1 rating.

Thus, within any restricted locality, at least in north temperate regions, from species presence probabilities alone one can expect to find a high proportion of aboriginal generic names having a one-to-one correspondence with a botanical species, and a lesser, but significant number of names corresponding to two or more related species, some of which are obviously different (category 3) and some of which are difficult to distinguish (category 2). However, names which correspond to a fraction of a botanical species (category 0) and those referring to two or more species unrelated at the family level (category 4) are unpredictable.

The relationship between cultural significance and the establishment and retention of generic names has already been discussed. Cultural importance of plants is closely associated with floristic abundance; plants having economically exploitable qualities are useful only when readily available, either locally or through trade. In Bella Coola and on the Queen Charlottes, for example, Amelanchier alnifolia is not widely abundant, is not used in any quantity, and has only generic-level names. In the Lillooet area, however, Amelanchier is extremely common, is a major food source, and is recognized with a generic name and six specific names. On the other hand, Rubus spectabilis is not found or utilized at Lillooet, and has no Fraser River dialect name, while on the Queen Charlottes, it is abundant, widely used, and has several generic- and specific-level terms associated with it in Haida (Masset).

As already suggested, folk taxonomies are frequently influenced terminologically by trade and inter-group contacts. This is indicated by the number of generic names in the three study groups which have been

borrowed from other languages, including English. The influence of outside cultures on the actual structure of folk taxonomic systems is difficult to demonstrate, although examples have been given of probable semantic alterations of aboriginal folk taxa by English folk taxonomic concepts. Inter-group contact has a secondary effect on ethnophytotaxonomic systems by promoting the introduction of new types of plants to be accommodated.

The recent assimilation of native languages and cultures into the English-speaking "white" culture of western North America has without doubt had a much more drastic effect on Pacific Northwest phytotaxonomies than the trade and inter-cultural communication which took place in precontact and early post-contact times. The changeover from one phytotaxonomy to the other has been so rapid that few native people under the age of thirty know more than half a dozen generic plant names in their own language. Thus, one could say that of all of the factors influencing folk taxonomies, cultural and linguistic assimilation is responsible for the most rapid and far-reaching alterations.

# Modern Botanical Taxonomy Versus Folk Taxonomic Systems

A number of different taxonomic systems for plants have been devised since the time of Linnaeus. These include the systems of the de Jussieus, the de Candolles, Bentham and Hooker, Gray, Engler and Prantl, Hutchinson, Takhtajan, and Cronquist (see Lawrence 1951; Takhtajan 1969; Cronquist 1968). For purposes of the present discussion, they will be considered together as "modern phytotaxonomic systems".

Several readily observable differences can be noted between these modern systems and folk phytotaxonomies such as those of Haida, Bella Coola,

and Lillooet.\* In modern phytotaxonomies, one maximal taxon, traditionally the Kingdom Plantae, is involved. It is thoroughly defined and includes
all other taxa in the system. The maximal category in folk phytotaxonomies
is frequently not lexically marked, and its semantic range if often arbitrarily defined.

In the modern systems, there is a finite number of levels in the taxonomic hierarchy, and these are applied uniformly throughout the system
(i.e., kingdom, phylum, class, order, family, genus, species). It is
possible to artificially assign folk phytotaxa to different types of categories for descriptive convenience (i.e., life-form, intermediate, generic,
specific, and varietal taxa), but they actually cover a continuous spectrum of taxonomic levels, from general to highly specific.

Each modern taxon is applicable at only one taxonomic level, which is identifiable through nomenclatural attributes (e.g., all family names end in -aceae). Folk taxa can apply at two or more levels simultaneously. In Bella Coola, for example, exactly the same word is used for "berry" and Vaccinium membranaceum fruit. There are no apparent nomenclatural rules for marking hierarchical levels.

In modern systems, each taxon, theoretically at least, has only one valid name. Synonyms are sometimes used unknowingly, and often there are disagreements about which name is correct, but whenever possible, the principle of standardized international names is upheld. In folk taxonomies, synonyms are often encountered and are freely accepted by the

<sup>\*</sup> Some of the differences listed here were noted previously by Conklin (1962).

users, although sometimes one term is used preferentially to another.

In modern phytotaxonomies, any specialized terminology related to parts or phases of plants, such as kinds of fruits, or leaf types, is applied generally to classes of plants, but not to individual taxa. In folk taxonomies, specialized terminology for particular parts or phases of individual taxa is often used. In some cases, even special verbs are applied at the generic taxon level.

Nomenclature in modern systematics is developed on the basis of type specimens, which are retained in herbaria as concrete examples of particular taxa. There are no such preserved type specimens in folk phytotaxonomies, although, as noted earlier, some taxa contain typical representatives which can be considered as generic or specific "types".

Modern phytotaxa at the same hierarchical level are always mutually exclusive. Folk taxa may overlap semantically or may change in application depending on the context of reference. For example, in Haida, "berries" can be classed simultaneously as "deciduous trees and shrubs" or as "herbaceous plants".

The modern systems theoretically include every known species of plant irrespective of cultural significance or conspicuousness, whereas folk systems usually relate only to locally relevant types. They have no requirement or necessity for an exhaustive treatment of every recognizably different kind of plant. In fact, generic segregates are usually limited to 500 or less, even in vegetationally rich areas (Raven, Berlin, and Breedlove 1971).

In modern taxonomic systems, efforts are made to formulate precise

rules for exactly delimiting taxa, so that there is no ambiguity about the taxonomic status of any individual within the domain. Folk taxonomies have no formal rules for nomenclatural recognition of taxa. The semantic range of folk taxa can vary with subtle differences in conversational context or intonation. Even the users of folk systems find it difficult to verbally define the semantic limits of a given taxon.

Modern phytotaxonomies utilize numerous criteria in characterizing taxa at every level. At present, these include genetic, anatomical, morphological, embryological, cytological, phytochemical, and ecological data. In folk phytotaxonomies, only a few criteria are considered in delimiting folk taxa, at least at a conscious level. These are usually obvious physical attributes or cultural traits.

Modern phytotaxa are, at least in principle, monophyletic. Every member of a genus or family is believed to have a common evolutionary origin, and to be more closely related to other members of the taxon than to members of other taxa at the same level. Folk taxa can be said to be "polyphyletic". They frequently reflect gross morphological similarities, but only when such recognition is convenient. They often include taxonomically diverse members on the basis of common utilization, traditional beliefs, habitat, or growth form.

The ultimate aim of the present phytotaxonomic system is to reflect the total diversity of the world's flora in the context of evolutionary relationships, whereas the only apparent aim of folk taxonomies is the practical one of communication. Classification, at least in the three study groups, seems to be a passive rather than an active pursuit.

Despite these basic differences between modern phytotaxonomic systems and folk phytotaxonomies, Raven, Berlin, and Breedlove (1971) maintain that the modern systems — even the most recent — are merely a "Renaissance codification of folk taxonomic principles". They have increased in scope, in structuralization, and in formalism, but they still reflect their origin and history.

The close historical ties between modern botanical taxonomic systems and the early written classificatory attempts of Theophrastus, Pliny the Elder, and Dioscorides are well appreciated by taxonomists. Even more closely associated with modern taxonomies are the systems devised by the herbalists of the Middle Ages, and those of the taxonomists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such as Cesalpino, Jung, Ray, Magnol, de Tournefort, and most notably, Linnaeus (see Lawrence 1951; Porter 1959).

Raven and his co-workers contend that all of the early written works, particularly the systems of the Greek, Roman, and European herbalists, were nothing other than printed folk taxonomies, sharing completely the structural and conceptual features of the folk taxonomic systems of such groups as the Tzeltal, Hanunóo, and by inference, the Haida, Bella Coola, and Lillooet. Like folk taxonomies, they had a limited number of generics, usually around 500, with organisms of high cultural significance subdivided into more categories than those of lower significance. There were few specifics and varietals in relation to the number of generics. Few named intermediate categories were recognized, and only a small number of major life-form categories were defined. For example, Theophrastus utilized four life-form categories:

trees, shrubs, undershrubs, and herbs (Porter 1959).

Raven, Berlin, and Breedlove (1971) attribute the limited number of segregates in folk taxonomies and in the early written taxonomies to the limited operational capacity of the human memory in the first case, and of duplicating and distributing methods in the second. "In an operational system, especially one that is strictly verbal, the number of names cannot be multiplied beyond meaningful limits; many speakers of the language must be familiar with each name that is passed down from generation to generation as part of the language. As there are more and more names, the names become less and less useful." Additionally, both folk taxonomies and early herbalists' taxonomies were constructed on the basis of a relatively small number of organisms — those of local distribution plus a few imported types.

By the 17th century, printing techniques had been improved, allowing a slightly more efficient distribution of taxonomic literature, and hence an expansion of the number of taxa which could be practically accommodated in a written taxonomic system. At the same time, exploration and trade resulted in a rapid accumulation of organisms to be incorporated in taxonomic systems. Nevertheless, taxonomies of this period were still restricted to a limited number of generics. At the end of the 17th century, for example, de Tournefort defined 698 genera, "a number still consistent with the number of generics recognized in folk taxonomic systems" (Raven, Berlin, and Breedlove 1971).

Even Linnaeus, one of the first to use the binomial system of nomenclature employed by present day taxonomists, described only 935 genera in his Genera Plantarum of 1737. In later editions and supple-

ments, he included a total of 1,336. Raven, Berlin, and Breedlove (1971) point out that Linnaeus recognized almost no named taxa above the generic level, although "he perceived and discussed many such groupings ...He presumably saw no need to give them names, since he still considered his genera to be limited in number and memorizable." They also note that Linnaeus recognized many genera in economically significant groups such as Brassicaceae and Apiaceae, while distinguishing only a few genera in families of low cultural significance, such as Cyperaceae. "These historical trends are still reflected in the level at which genera are recognized in the respective families at present."

Thus, Linnaeus' system of plant classification does differ from those of folk taxonomies and earlier written taxonomies in having a somewhat larger number of generics and a considerably greater number of differentiated specifics. This expansion was a combined result of improvements in printing mechanisms and of an increasing number of organisms to be described.

Post-Linnaean taxonomists have attempted to deal with the everincreasing numbers of genera being discovered by developing "the curiously
deep and cumbersome taxonomic hierarchy that is characteristic of modern
classification schemes". In modern systems, according to Raven and his
co-workers, families of plants begin to assume the role of folk generics,
as taxa limited to a few hundred, and thus memorizable, while the number
of genera was expanded beyond the recollection capacity of any human
mind.

It is true that modern phytotaxonomies have greatly increased in

scope both vertically and horizontally, but nevertheless, they were originally formulated "on the implicit assumption that the number of organisms to be dealt with would perhaps be 25,000 to 50,000." In view of the present estimates of about 10 million species of organisms in the world, the present system is believed to be inadequate and antiquated.

Like their predecessors, modern taxonomic systems were designed not for the retrieval of vast quantities of information necessary to describe the diversity of organisms recognized today, but for communicating about organisms whose relevant features are understood by both the communicator and those receiving the information. When folk-type classifications are extended to hundreds of thousands, or eventually millions, of poorly known organisms, they become cumbersome and inefficient.

It is suggested that our current taxonomic system, based on the principles of folk taxonomy, should be replaced by one more appropriate for the vast quantities of data and numbers of species which must now be accommodated. Towards this end, new technological systems, such as the computer, are required to sort and handle the necessary descriptive material. Raven, Berlin, and Breedlove (1971) believe that the computer has potentially even more impact in the development of a "new" taxonomic system than the printing press had in expanding and directing early written taxonomic systems. They suggest that the naturally occurring discontinuities between members of the biological community, which form the basis of all taxonomic systems, can be crystallized with the aid of electronic data processing equipment to enable us to readily compare and

differentiate organisms, and at the same time to acquire pertinent up-to-date information about them. "By using such equipment to its full potentialities, we should be able to achieve a qualitative improvement in our perception of the living world."

With the initiation of systematics programs, such as <u>Flora Europaea</u>, <u>Flora North America</u>, and <u>Flora British Columbia</u>,\* the first stage of the proposal for computerized data storage for taxonomic purposes is being realized. Essentially, man's classification of living organisms has taken a full turn in the developmental spiral. Computerized data storage systems are in a sense more analogous to folk taxonomies than are the written classification systems developed over the last few centuries.

Initially, the human mind, a natural computing device, enabled man to establish verbal classification and nomenclatural systems on a limited local basis. These systems, known as folk taxonomies, were erected from a restricted set of readily observable, culturally pertinent characteristics, and knowledge of their structure and associated terminology was universal within a group of people. Folk taxonomies can be multidimensional, and can be readily altered with the input of new information. There is no necessity for rigidity within such a system; the human "computer" can make individual qualitative decisions about the taxonomic status of each separate organism. The system can be varied

<sup>\*</sup> Unfortunately, the <u>Flora North America</u> project has been suspended through lack of funding, but its aims and principles remain (see Taylor, 1969, 1971). <u>Flora British Columbia</u> was initiated at the University of British Columbia from National Research Council of Canada funds remaining when <u>Flora North America</u> was suspended.

with conversational context, or through the aims and opinions of individual classifiers.

Written classifications have been able to accommodate a wider diversity of organisms, since they are not limited by the human memory, but as a result, they are more rigid and much less widely known. Even in early times, before they were much more extensive than the folk taxonomies they were derived from, knowledge of them was restricted to those who could read. In recent times, most people, at least in Western cultures, have learned to read, but written systems have become so complicated and cumbersome that only a very few taxonomic specialists have been able to utilize them. Their level of abstraction has also increased, making them difficult for most people to comprehend. Even professional taxonomists are able to become familiar with only a fraction of the described taxa. Most taxonomists confine the scope of their research to a restricted geographical region, to a paritcular taxonomic group, or to a specialized field of taxonomic study, such as genetics, phytochemistry, or cytology.

Non-professionals have maintained less complex, locally valid taxonomies, sharing some of the features of scientific taxonomies, but with many characteristics of unwritten folk taxonomies. An example of such a "modern" folk taxonomy is seen in C.P. Lyons' book, <u>Trees</u>, <u>Shrubs</u>, and Flowers to Know in B.C., where common plants of the Province are classified into the life-form categories, "trees", "shrubs", "flowers", and "ferns", and intermediate categories denoting flower colour are erected for the "flowers" category. The necessity for using such a scheme demonstrates the impracticality of present scientific

phytotaxonomies for utilization by the general public.

Even with the present state of almost unmanageable complexity in our biological taxonomic systems, only about 10 to 15 percent of the world's estimated 10 million organisms have been described, and for about 99 percent of these, only preliminary morphological and locational data are known (Raven, Berlin, and Breedlove 1971).

The advent of computerized systematics will result in the return to a flexible, multi-dimensional, potentially universally available taxonomic system, only at a vastly greater scale than was realized with any folk taxonomy. Relevant information about organisms, instead of being retained in the human mind, would be stored and sorted by an electronic "brain". It would be retrieved not through thought processes, but through a series of mechanical manoeuvers. New information about organisms could be immediately incorporated into the system, just as introduced and cultivated species have been assimilated into the cognitive systems of the Haida, Bella Coola, and Lillooet.

Contextual and conceptual differences between different users of the system could be accounted for instantaneously by multi-dimensional sorting of information. Theoretically, with an identical store of information, classifications could be established using artificial categories delineated by non-botanists, and phylogenetic categories as defined by professional taxonomists. Under these circumstances, the system could be used by all members of the society, not just taxonomic specialists.

Hence, it could be said that a taxonomy based on electronic data

storage is potentially more flexible and practical, both in terms of describing floral diversity and in human utilization, than the written classifications being followed at the present time. A careful study of the world's folk phytotaxonomies will provide information on the requirements placed by non-botanists on systems for naming and grouping plants, and this information can then be considered in planning and initiating electronic systematics programs.

Hopefully, computerized sorting systems for folk taxonomic data, such as the one developed and utilized in the present study, will allow rapid and complete investigations of many folk taxonomic systems, and will enable man to better enjoy and appreciate the diversity he perceives in his universe.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Over 150 linguistically and semantically independent genericlevel plant names in Skidegate Haida, 160 in Masset Haida, 150 in Bella
Coola, and 135 in Fraser River Lillooet have been recorded. In each
language, the majority of these terms correspond in a one-to-one fashion
with botanical species. Some of the names are "unique"; they have no
meaning other than as names of plants. A few are obvious folk etymologies, assuming the form and meaning of more logical or familiar words.
Borrowing of generic names from other languages occurs frequently, and
in each language there is a number of names known to be of recent origin.
Several taxa in each group originally applying to indigenous species have
been expanded in recent times to include cultivated or imported counterparts.

Most generic names can be linguistically analyzed into smaller units of meaning, reflecting roles in mythology or tradition, economic uses, innate characteristics of the plants named, such as habitat, growth form, colour, taste, and smell, or resemblence of the plants to objects, substances, or even other plants.

Each language contains at least some major life-form category names, although not all semantically valid life-form categories are delimited nomenclaturally. Life-form taxa in these languages are not necessarily mutually exclusive. They imply utilization categories as well as growth form categories, sometimes both simultaneously. Some life-form taxa, notably those containing plants of low economic and cultural importance, can be termed "empty". They contain many distinct members, but few or

none of these are lexically marked at a generic level.

In each language, there is a large number of intermediate categories, ranging from general to only slightly more inclusive than generic
taxa. Many of these are obviously derived from English folk taxa, and
represent a transitional stage from native folk categories to English
folk categories.

None of the three study languages contains a word whose semantic range coincides with "plant". Nevertheless, "plant" is a psychologically valid category in these groups. In Bella Coola and Lillooet, a suffix is used with generic plant segregates to denote "plant", while in Haida, several different terms can each imply "plant" when included in a generic level name.

In Haida and Lillooet, there are a few named specific-level taxa, although none exists in Bella Coola. There are no varietal categories in any of the groups.

Aside from names for plant taxa at various levels of generality, a few specialized terms can be found in these languages which are applicable at a generic level, but are non-taxonomic. These include names for age-classes of individuals, for cooked or prepared products of specific plants, and even verbs associated with the collection and preparation of certain plants. Virtually all specialized terms apply to plants which are culturally significant. Each language also contains a number of general botanical terms, such as 'bark', 'cone', 'branch', 'leaf', and 'root', which are applicable to the parts of any appropriate plant.

The cultural significance of plants is believed to have a definite bearing on the level of nomenclature applied to them. In general, the greater the cultural importance of a plant, the more likely it is to be nomenclaturally differentiated from other types of plants. Cultural significance is also related to lexical retention in diverging dialects. Over 75 percent of the generic segregates which are identical or cognate between Skidegate and Masset Haida are of high or at least moderate cultural importance.

Of the various external factors influencing the phytotaxonomies of Haida, Bella Coola, and Lillooet, local floristic diversity is thought to be of prime importance in determining the types of generic-level taxa to be delineated. Linguistic relationships are not believed to be especially important in promoting similarities at the generic level, but would appear to be significant in terms of gross taxonomic structure. The two linguistically related groups, Bella Coola, and Lillooet, have a similar type of life-form category structure, while Haida, which is unrelated to these languages, has a significantly different system of life-form taxa.

Trade and inter-group communications, both pre- and post-contact, have affected the phytotaxonomies of the study groups through the intro-duction of new types of plants, and new terminology. Such cultural interchange is seen as a natural and productive influence on ethnophyto-taxonomies. However, the present linguistic and cultural assimilation of the native groups into western "white" society can be said to be a destructive influence on the native folk taxonomic systems, since it will ultimately result in a complete loss of their integrity.

Compared to modern phytotaxonomic systems, folk taxonomies are less formal structurally and nomenclaturally, and less inclusive in terms of floristic coverage. Modern systems are in principle monophyletic and reflective of evolutionary relationships, while folk taxonomies are "polyphyletic", and are based on any convenient relationships perceived between plants, including growth form, habitat, and utilization. However, folk classification systems exist primarily to permit communication, and hence are more flexible and more universally applicable within a society than are modern phytotaxonomies. Thus, folk taxonomies have some features that it would be desirable to incorporate into modern phytotaxonomies. Electronic taxonomic systems should allow a blending of these characteristics with those of present day phylogenetic systems.

This study is essentially a pioneering one in the field of ethnophytotaxonomy in the Pacific Northwest region. Many questions are left
unanswered and many ideas undeveloped, but this very fact indicates the
potential scope for future research in this and related fields. Although
the scarcity of background information and the lack of comparative material has resulted in some difficulties, I feel that the excitment,
challenge, and opportunity for new discoveries in this field have compensated for any problems encountered.

A warning must be added, however, that the promise of this type of research will not last indefinitely. Time is running short. Taxonomic systems are a human resource, and can therefore be rapidly altered through acculturation. Soon the sources of information for ethnophyto-

taxonomic research in this region will disappear completely. Further research must be initiated in the near future if the potential of this field is to be fully realized.

As emphasized by Raven, Berlin, and Breedlove (1971), folk phytotaxtaxonomies relate historically and psychologically to modern phytotaxonomic systems. Studies such as the present one should ultimately
result in a better understanding of the discipline of plant taxonomy,
and can be logically included as a subfield of plant systematics. The
fact that much of the information obtained in this study would not have
been available to a non-botanist is justification for considering the
project at least as much a part of botany as it is of anthropology or
linguistics. However, it has been a source of constant concern to me
that as a result of my botanical background, some imposition of preconceived taxonomic notions on actual native categories has been inevitable. I would be most interested to see the interpretations of an
anthropologist or linguist of the same body of data. I suspect there
would be at least some discrepencies between their conclusions and my
own.

As a concluding remark, I would like to emphasize the desirability for botanists to communicate with professionals in other disciplines and with members of the general public interested in plants. Interdisciplinary studies, such as this one, can be extremely productive. A fresh, even naive, outlook on a problem can provide new insights, which a more traditional approach may overlook. At a time when professionals are becoming more specialized, I believe it is important to broaden one's view and to try to regard every specific topic from as wide a base of

knowledge and experience as possible.

As specialists in a subject of widespread popular appeal, botanists have the responsibility of conveying knowledge about plants to the public in a meaningful and helpful way. Before such a task can be accomplished, it is necessary to first understand the attitudes and objectives of laymen. Many botanists fail to realize that public aims and requirements for knowledge about plants differ from their own. Until this fact is appreciated, it will be impossible to develop a truly universal taxonomic system.

If, as expected by botanists, the public is to make the transition from the various folk taxonomic systems now in use to the more sophisticated system used by professionals, the change-over must be accomplished gradually, with the assistance and encouragement of taxonomists and other botanists. The first step is for botanists to familiarize themselves with the various features of folk phyto-taxonomic systems, such as those described here, so that they can communicate with non-botanists from a mutually understandable base. From this point, non-professionals can be introduced to botanical systematics in an incremental fashion, as an extension of existing knowledge.

Folk taxonomies are a natural part of the human heritage. They cannot be completely eliminated, but only altered and directed. The task of taxonomists should be to influence the direction of change of English folk taxonomies in the same manner as these latter systems

have influenced the form and content of native folk taxonomies. Just as native folk systems will eventually assimilate completely with English folk taxonomies, so may English folk systems, with some guidance and direction from taxonomists, assume the character of botanical taxonomic systems.

#### GLOSSARY \*

- <u>Classification</u> a systematic arrangement of entities (e.g., plants) in groups or categories according to specific criteria.
- <u>Cognition</u> the perception and organization of objects or phenomena within a culture.
- <u>Cognitive</u> <u>system</u> the various relationships resulting from the perception and organization of entities.
- Cognitive anthropology the formal study of cognitive systems (see also Ethnoscience). Its aims are to discover how different peoples perceive their universe.
- Componential analysis the central method associated with cognitive anthropology or ethnoscience. It involves the systematic designation of terms within a domain into sets and sub-sets through contrast and inclusion based on semantic distinctions provided by informants.
- Concrete transposition the development of taxon names on the basis of analogy or comparison of one entity with another (e.g., "cabbage", and "skunk cabbage").
- Covert category a psychologically valid category which is lexically unmarked.
- <u>Domain</u> the total semantic range of a group of lexemes which in a given culturally relevant context share at least one feature in common.
- "Empty" taxon a general taxon involving many recognizably different members, few or none of which are lexically differentiated at a lower taxonomic level.
- Ethnobotany the study of the inter-relationships between man and his surrounding vegetation.
- Ethnophytotaxonomy any folk (non-botanical) classification of plants.
- Ethnoscience the formal study of cognitive systems, specifically involved in the description and characterization of folk taxonomies. (Synonyms are: cognitive anthropology, ethnosemantics, ethnographic semantics, linguistic ethnography, and folk science.)

<sup>\*</sup> The definitions offered here are applicable only in the context of this thesis. They are not necessarily exhaustive descriptions of the terms.

- Etymology the historical and linguistic derivation of any term.
- Folk etymology the transformation of a name so as to give it an apparent relationship to other better-known words (e.g. "asparagus" rendered as "sparrow-grass").
- Folk segregate the name of any taxon in a folk taxonomy.
- Folk taxonomy a system of relevant conceptual categories (folk taxa) which are hierarchically ordered by relations of contrast and inclusion.
- Generic (folk) taxon the most fundamental type of folk category, comparable to an genus-level name in modern phytotaxonomy. It is usually monolexemically labelled.
- Gloss an approximate translation of a word from one language to another.
- Hierarchy an arrangement of taxa into a graded series on the basis of semantic inclusion and exclusion.
- Intermediate (folk) taxon a folk category, usually unnamed, which is more general than a generic taxon, but more specific than a life-form taxon.
- Lexeme an elementary unit of speech whose signification cannot be inferred from a knowledge of anything else in the language (ie., a "word"). It can be unitary (e.g. "apple") or compound (e.g. "pineapple").
- <u>Life-form (folk) taxon</u> a major taxonomic grouping, frequently based on common growth form features (e.g. "tree").
- Morpheme an elementary unit of meaning, at times equivalent to a unitary lexeme (e.g. "apple"), or else a lesser grammatical segment (e.g. the "-s" in "apples").
- Nomenclature the lexical marking or "naming" of taxa, or of non-taxonomic entities.
- Phonemics the system of minimally differentiating speech units in a language.
- Phonetics the system of all speech sounds in a language.
- Phonology the phonetics and phonemics which characterize any language.
- Phytotaxonomy any plant taxonomy.

- Polysemy (cf. polysemous taxa) a situation where phonemically identical lexemes designate taxa at different hierarchical levels (e.g. "man" versus "animal", "man" versus "woman").
- Semantics the study of meaning and perception in a language.
- Specific (folk) taxon a category derived from the differentiation of a generic taxon. It may or may not be lexically recognized. When it is, the name frequently incorporates the superceding generic segregate.
- Synonym a term which has an identical semantic range with that
   of another term (e.g. "avacado" and "alligator pear").
- Taxon (plural taxa) any psychologically valid category within a taxonomy, or the label of such a category.
- Taxonomy The classification and nomenclature of entities within a given domain, or the study of the history and development of this activity (also called systematics).
- "Type" (in folk taxonomy) the most typical or "ideal" representative subgroup within a folk taxon, often named polysemously with it. It is somewhat analogous to a type collection in modern phytotaxonomy, but refers to a group of individuals rather than one particular individual.
- Varietal (folk) taxon a rarely occurring sub-category of specific (folk) taxa. It is found only in folk taxonomies of agricultural societies, and even then it restricted to plants of high economic importance.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Berlin, Brent. (1961). A Universalist-Evolutionary Approach in Ethnographic Semantics. Working Paper No. 27, Language-Behavior Research Laboratory, University of California, Berkeley, Ca., 22 pp.
- Berlin, Brent. (1968). <u>Tzeltal Numeral Classifiers</u>, A Study in Ethnographic Semantics. Mouton & Co., The Hague, Holland, 243 pp.
- Berlin, Brent. (1971). Speculations on the Growth of Ethnobotanical Nomenclature. Working Paper No. 29, Language-Behavior Research Laboratory, University of California, Berkeley, Ca., 51 pp.
- Berlin, Brent, Breedlove, Dennis E. and Robert M. Laughlin. (1970).

  Lexical Retention and Cultural Significance in Tzeltal-Tzotzil

  Comparative Ethnobotany. University of California, Berkeley,
  Ca., 15 pp. (References and Appendixes numbered separately).
- Berlin, Brent, Breedlove, Dennis E., and Peter H. Raven. (1966). "Folk Taxonomies and Biological Classification". Science, 154 (3746): 273 275.
- Berlin, Brent, Breedlove, Dennis E., and Peter H. Raven. (1968). "Covert Categories and Folk Taxonomies". <u>American Anthropologist</u>, 70: 290 299.
- Berlin, Brent, Breedlove, Dennis E., and Peter H. Raven. (no date).
  "Folk Taxonomies and Ethnobiological Nomenclature". Unpublished manuscript, University of California, Berkeley, Ca., 25 pp.
- Black, Mary B. (1967). An Ethnoscience Investigation of Ojibwa Ontology and World View. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Stanford University, Stanford, Ca., 281 pp.
- Black, Mary B. and Duane Metzger. (1965). "Ethnographic Description and the Study of Law". American Anthropologist, 67 (6), Part 2 (Special Publication), pp. 141 165. Also in: Tyler, S.A. (ed.) (1969).

  Cognitive Anthropology, pp. 137 165.
- Boas, Franz. (1891). "Vocabularies of the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian Languages". Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 29: 183 193.
- Boas, Franz. (1898). The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians. Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. 1, pp. 25 127.
- Bouchard, Randy. (1970). How to Write the Lillooet Language (Fountain Dialect). Unpublished primer, with accompanying tape. B.C. Indian Language Project, Victoria, B.C., 14 pp.

- Bouchard, Randy. (1971). How to Write the Bella Coola Language. Unpublished primer, with accompanying tape. B.C. Indian Language Project, Victoria, B.C., 9 pp.
- Bouchard, Randy. (1972). How to Write the Haida Language (Skidegate Dialect). Unpublished primer, with accompanying tape. B.C. Indian Language Project, Victoria, B.C., 12 pp.
- Bright, Jane O. and William Bright. (1965). "Semantic Structures in Northwestern California and the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis". American Anthropologist, 67 (5), Part 2 (Special Publication), pp. 249 258. Also in: Tyler, S.A. (ed.) (1969). Cognitive Anthropology, pp. 66 78.
- Bulmer, Ralph N.H. (1967). "Why is a Cassowary not a Bird? A Problem of Zoological Taxonomy among the Karam of the New Guinea Highlands".

  Man, 2 (1): 5 25.
- Bulmer, Ralph N.H. (1970). "Which Came First, the Chicken or the Egghead?"
  In: Pouillon, Jean and Pierre Maranda (eds.) Echanges et Communications, Mélanges offerts à Claude Lévi-Strauss à l'occasion de son 60ème anniversaire. (seen as mimeographed copy, 23 pp.)
- Bulmer, Ralph N.H. and M.J. Tyler. (1968). "Karam Classification of Frogs". <u>Journal of the Polynesian Society</u>, 77: 333 385.
- Burling, R. (1964). "Cognition and Componential Analysis: God's Truth or Hocus-Pocus?" American Anthropologist, 66: 20 28. Also in: Tyler, S.A. (ed.) (1969). Cognitive Anthropology, pp. 419 428.
- Calder, James A. and Roy L. Taylor. (1968). Flora of the Queen Charlotte

  Islands, Part I. Canada Department of Agriculture, Research Branch,
  Monograph No. 4, Ottawa, Ont., xiii 659 pp.
- Colby, B.N. (1966). "Ethnographic Semantics: A Preliminary Survey".

  <u>Current Anthropology</u>, 7: 3 32.
- Conklin, Harold C. (1954). The Relation of Hanunoo Culture to the Plant World. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Yale University, New Haven, Conn., 471 pp.
- Conklin, Harold C. (1962). "Lexicographical Treatment of Folk Taxonomies".

  International Journal of American Linguistics, 28 (2, Supplement):

  119 141. Also in: Tyler, S.A. (ed.) (1969). Cognitive Anthropology, pp. 41 59.
- Conklin, Harold C. (1964). "Ethnogenealogical Method", In: Goodenough, W.H. (ed.) Explorations in Cultural Anthropology. McGraw-Hill, Inc., New York, N.Y. Also in: Tyler, S.A. (ed.) (1969). Cognitive Anthropology, pp. 93 122.

- Cronquist, Arthur. (1968). The Evolution and Classification of Flowering Plants. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, Mass., x 396 pp.
- Curtis, Edward S. (1916). The North American Indian, Vol. 2, Nootka; Haida. The Plimpton Press, Norwood, N.J., ix 235 pp.
- Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. (1970).

  Linguistic and Cultural Affiliations of Canadian Indian Bands.

  Indian Affairs Branch, Ottawa, Ont., 42 pp.
- Diamond, J.M. (1965). "Zoological Classification System of a Primitive People". Science, 151: 1102 1104.
- Driver, Harold E. (1961). <u>Indians of North America</u>. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill., xvii 632 pp.
- Drucker, Philip. (1950). "Culture Element Distributions: Northwest Coast". <u>University of California Anthropological Records</u>, 9 (3): 157 294. University of California Press, Berkeley, Ca.
- Drucker, Philip. (1955). <u>Indians of the Northwest Coast</u>. Natural History Press, Garden City, N.Y., viii 224 pp.
- Duff, Wilson. (1964). The Indian History of British Columbia, Vol. 1,

  The Impact of the White Man. Anthropology in British Columbia,

  Memoir No. 5, Provincial Museum, Victoria, B.C., 117 pp.
- Eglin, Peter. (1972). Arguments Towards a Dissertation Proposal. Term paper for Sociology 522, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., 80 pp.
- Fladmark, K.R. (1970). "Preliminary Report on the Archaeology of the Queen Charlotte Islands: 1969 Field Season". pp. 18 45, in: Carlson, Roy L. (ed.) "Archaeology in British Columbia, New Discoveries". BC Studies, No. 6-7 (Special Issue), 152 pp.
- Frake, Charles O. (1961). "The Diagnosis of Disease Among the Subanum of Mindanao". American Anthropologist, 63: 113 131.
- Frake, Charles O. (1962). "Ethnographic Study of Cognitive Systems". In: Anthropology and Human Behavior, Anthropological Society of Washington, Washington, D.C. Also in: Tyler, S.A. (ed.) (1969). Cognitive Anthropology, pp. 28 41.
- Frake, Charles O. (1964). "Notes on Queries in Ethnography". American Anthropologist, 66 (3), Part 2 (Special Publication), pp. 132 145. Also in: Tyler, S.A. (ed.) (1969). Cognitive Anthropology, pp. 123 137.
- Goldman, Irving. (1941). "The Alkatcho Carrier, Historical Background of Crest Perogatives". American Anthropologist, 43: 396 418.

- Goodenough, Ward H. (1956). "Componential Analysis and the Study of Meaning". Language, 32 (1): 195 216.
- Goodenough, Ward H. (1965). "Yankee Kinship Terminology: A Problem in Componential Analysis". American Anthropologist, 67 (5), Part 2 (Special Publication), pp. 259 287. Also in: Tyler, S.A. (ed.) (1969). Cognitive Anthropology, pp. 255 288.
- Goss, James A. (1967). "Ute Language, Kin, Myth, and Nature: A Demonstration of a Multi-dimensional Folk Taxonomy". Anthropological Linguistics, 9 (9): 1 11.
- Gunther, Erna. (1945). Ethnobotany of Western Washington. University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, 10 (1), Seattle, Wash., 61 pp.
- Hammel, E.A. (1964). "Further Comments on Componential Analysis".

  American Anthropologist, 66: 1167 1171.
- Harrison, Charles. (1895). "Haida Grammar". <u>Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada</u>, 1 (2), Series 2: 123 226.
- Henry, J.K. (1915). Flora of Southern British Columbia and Vancouver Island. W.J. Gage & Co., Ltd., Toronto, Ont., xiv 363 pp.
- Heusser, C.J. (1960). Late Pleistocene Environments of Pacific North

  America. American Geographical Society, Special Publication No.

  35, New York, N.Y., xiii 308 pp.
- Hitchcock, C.L., Cronquist, Arthur, Owenby, Marion, and J.W. Thompson. (1955 1969). <u>Vascular Plants of the Pacific Northwest</u>, Parts 1 5. University of Washington Press, Seattle, Wash.
- Hobler, Phillip M. (1970). "Archaeological Survey and Excavations in the Vicinity of Bella Coola", pp. 77 94. In: Carlson, Roy L. (ed.) "Archaeology in British Columbia, New Discoveries". BC Studies, No. 6-7 (Special Issue), 152 pp.
- Jenness, Diamond. (1934). "Indian Vikings of the North West Coast". Canadian Geographical Journal, 8: 235 - 246.
- Jones, Paul. (1971). Some Problems in the Eliciting of Taxonomies of Coniferophyta (in British Columbia). Term paper for Anthropology 417, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., 53 pp.
- Jorgensen, Joseph G. (1969). Salish Language and Culture, a Statistical Analysis of Internal Relationships, History and Evolution. Indiana University Language Science Monographs, Vol. 3. Mouton & Co., The Hague, Holland, 173 pp.
- Krajina, V.J. (1970). "Ecology of Forest Trees in British Columbia". Ecology of Western North America,  $\underline{2}$  (1): 1 146.

- Levine, Robert. (1973). "Notes on a Haida Text:1". The Charlottes

  (A Journal of the Queen Charlotte Islands), 2: 28 32. The

  Queen Charlotte Islands Museum Society, Skidegate, B.C.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. (1966). The Savage Mind. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill., xii 290 pp.
- Lounsbury, Floyd G. (1956). "A Semantic Analysis of Pawnee Kinship Usage". Language, 32: 158 194.
- Lounsbury, Floyd G. (1963). "Linguistics and Psychology", In: Kock, S. (ed.) Psychology: A Study of a Science. McGraw-Hill, New York, N.Y., Vol. 6: 552 582.
- Lounsbury, Floyd G. (1964). "A Formal Account of Crow- and Omaha-Type Kinship Terminologies", In: Goodenough, W.H. (ed.) Explorations in Cultural Anthropology. McGraw-Hill, Inc., New York, N.Y. Also in: Tyler, S.A. (ed.) (1969). Cognitive Anthropology, pp. 212 255.
- Lyons, C.P. (1952). Trees, Shrubs, and Flowers to Know in B.C. J.M. Dent & Sons (Canada) Ltd., Vancouver, B.C., 194 pp.
- McIlwraith, T.F. (1948). The Bella Coola Indians, Vol. 1 & 2. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, Ont.
- Metzger, Duane and Gerald Williams. (1962). <u>Patterns of Primary</u>

  <u>Personal Reference in a Tzeltal Community</u>. Anthropology Research

  <u>Projects</u>. <u>Preliminary Report No. 10, Stanford University, Stanford, Ca. (not seen reference from Frake 1964)</u>.
- Metzger, Duane and Gerald Williams (1963a). "Tenejapa Medicine I: the Curer". Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, 19: 216 234.
- Metzger, Duane and Gerald Williams. (1963b). "A Formal Ethnographic Analysis of Tenejapa Ladino Weddings". American Anthropologist, 65: 1072 1101.
- Metzger, Duane and Gerald Williams. (1966). "Procedures and Results in the Study of Native Categories: Tzeltal Firewood". American Anthropologist, 68: 389 407.
- Morice, A.G. (0.M.I.). (1925). "Two Points of Western Déné Ethnography".

  American Anthropologist, 27: 478 482.
- Newcombe, C.F. (1897 1906). Uncatalogued Newcombe Papers. Provincial Archives, Victoria, B.C.
- Newman, Stanley. (1969). "Bella Coola Grammatical Processes and Form Classes". <u>International Journal of American Linguistics</u>, 35: 175 179.
- Porter, C.L. (1959). <u>Taxonomy of Flowering Plants</u>. W.H. Freeman & Co., San Francisco, Ca., 472 pp.

- Price, P. David. (1967). "Two Types of Taxonomy: A Huichol Ethnobotanical Example". Anthropological Linguistics, 9 (7): 1 28.
- Raven, Peter H., Berlin, Brent, and Dennis E. Breedlove. (1971). "The Origins of Taxonomy". <u>Science</u>, <u>174</u>: 1210 1213.
- Romney, A.K. and R.G. D'Andrade. (1964). "Cognitive Aspects of English Kin Terms". American Anthropologist, 66 (3), Part 2 (Special Publication), pp. 146 170. Also in: Tyler, S.A. (ed.) (1969). Cognitive Anthropology, pp. 369 396.
- Sanger, David. (1969). "Cultural Traditions in the Interior of British Columbia". <u>Syesis</u>, <u>2</u> (Parts 1 & 2): 189 200.
- Schneider, David M. (1969). Componential Analysis: A State-of-the-Art
  Review. Paper prepared in advance for participants in Symposium
  on "Cognitive Studies and Artificial Intelligence Research", March
  2 8, 1969, at the University of Chicago Center for Continuing
  Education. Unpublished Manuscript.
- Schultes, Richard Evans. (1960). "Tapping our Heritage of Ethnobotanical Lore". Economic Botany, 14 (4): 251 262.
- Smith, Harlan I. (1920-22a). <u>List of Plants Not Named by the Bella Coola</u>

  <u>Indians of British Columbia</u>. Unpublished Manuscript, National
  Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ont. (Catalogue No. 1192.1K4).
- Smith, Harlan I. (1920-22b). <u>List of Plants Not Used by the Bella Coola Indians of British Columbia</u>. Unpublished Manuscript, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ont. (Catalogue No. 1192.1K3).
- Smith, Harlan I. (1920-22c). <u>List of Plants Used by the Bella Coola Indians of British Columbia</u>. Unpublished Manuscript, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ont. (Catalogue No. 1192.2B5).
- Smith, Harlan I. (1920-22d). <u>List of Plants Introduced into the Bella Coola Indian Area of British Columbia</u>. Unpublished Manuscript, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ont. (Catalogue No. 1192.1K2).
- Smith, Harlan I. (1920-22e). The Uses of Plants by the Bella Coola Indians of British Columbia. Unpublished Manuscripts, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ont., 3 Vol. (1: 1 95; 2: 101 200; 3:201 330?) (Catalogue No., Vol. 1 & 2 1192.1J1; Vol. 3 1192.1K1).
- Smith, Harlan I. (1928). "Materia Medica of the Bella Coola and Neighbouring Tribes of British Columbia". <u>National Museum of Canada Bulletin</u>, No. 56, King's Printers, Ottawa, Ont., pp. 47 68.
- Steedman, E.V. (1929). "The Ethnobotany of the Thompson Indians of British Columbia". Bureau of American Ethnology, 45th Annual Report, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., pp. 445 522.

- Stryd, A.H. and L.V. Hills. (1972). "An Archaeological Site Survey of the Lillooet Big Bar Area, British Columbia". Syesis, 5: 191 209.
- Swanton, John R. (1905a). Haida Texts and Myths, Skidegate Dialect.

  Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin No. 29, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 448 pp.
- Swanton, John R. (1905b). Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida.

  Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. 5,

  Part 1. G.E. Stechert & Co., New York, N.Y., xxvi 300 pp.
- Swanton, John R. (1908). <u>Haida Texts Masset Dialect</u>. <u>Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition</u>, Vol. 10, Part 2. G.E. Stechert & Co., New York, N.Y., pp. (271) 812.
- Swanton, John R. (1911). "Haida, an Illustrative Sketch". In: Boas, F. (ed.) Handbook of American Indian Languages. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin No. 40, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., pp. 205 282.
- Takhtajan, Armen. (1969). Flowering Plants -- Origin and Dispersal. Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh, U.K., x 310 pp.
- Taylor, Roy L. (1969). "Flora North America -- Project '67". Current

  Topics in Plant Science, Academic Press, Inc., New York, N.Y.,

  pp. 161 166.
- Taylor, Roy L. (1971). "The Flora North America Project". Bioscience, 21 (11): 521 523.
- Teit, James A. (1906). The Lillooet Indians. Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. 2, Part 5, pp. 193 300. G.E. Stechert & Co., New York, N.Y.
- Trager, George. (1939). "'Cottonwood' = 'Tree': A Southwestern
  Linguistic Trait". International Journal of American Linguistics,
  9: 117 118.
- Turner, N.J. (1972a). <u>Squamish Plant Names</u>. Unpublished Manuscript, Department of Botany, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., 17 pp.
- Turner, N.J. (1972b). <u>Sechelt Plant Names</u>. Unpublished Manuscript, Department of Botany, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., 16 pp.
- Turner, N.J. (1973). "The Ethnobotany of the Bella Coola Indians of British Columbia". Syesis, 6 (in press).
- Turner, N.C. and M.A.M. Bell. (1971). "The Ethnobotany of the Coast Salish Indians of Vancouver Island". Economic Botany, 25 (1): 65 105.

- Turner, N.C. and M.A.M. Bell. (1973). "The Ethnobotany of the Southern Kwakiutl Indians of British Columbia". <u>Economic Botany</u>, <u>27</u> (in press).
- Turner, N.J. and R.L. Taylor. (1972). "A Review of the Northwest Coast Tobacco Mystery". Syesis, 5: 249 257.
- Tyler, Stephen A. (ed.) (1969). Cognitive Anthropology. Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., New York, N.Y., xiii 521 pp.
- Wallace, A.F.C. (1962). "Culture and Cognition". <u>Science</u>, <u>135</u>: 351 357.
- Wallace, A.F.C. and J. Atkins. (1960). "The Meaning of Kinship Terms".

  American Anthropologist, 62: 58 79. Also in: Tyler, S.A. (ed.)

  (1969). Cognitive Anthropology, pp. 345 367.
- Werner, O. (1967). "Systematized Lexicography or 'Ethnoscience': The Use of Computer Made Concordances", American Behavioral Science, 10 (5): 5 8.
- Whiting, Alfred F. (1966). Ethnobotany of the Hopi. Museum of Northern Arizona, Flagstaff, Ariz., 120 pp. (Originally published in 1939 as Bulletin No. 15).
- Whittaker, R.H. (1969). "New Concepts of Kingdoms of Organisms". Science, 163: 150 160.
- Wyman, L.C. and S.K. Harris. (1941). <u>Navajo Indian Medical Ethnobotany</u>. The University of New Mexico Bulletin, Anthropological Series, Vol. 3 (No. 5), University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, N.M., 76 pp.
- Zaretsky, I.I. (1969). The Message is the Medium: an Ethno-semantic

  Study of the Language of Spiritualist Churches. Unpublished

  Doctoral Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, Ca.

  (not seen -- no page number listed in Doctoral Dissertations Index).

Appendix 1. Native People Contributing Information to the Study.

HAIDA (Skidegate dialect)

1. George Young - a major Skidegate informant. He was born at Cumshewa in the late 1800's, moved to Skedans, and when still young, he moved with his family to Skidegate. His mother spoke Tsimshian and Haida. His father was from Maude Island. His maternal uncle, Henry Moody, was a major informant and interpreter for John Swanton. George Young went to Indian school at Chilliwack during his teens, but has spent most of his life at Skidegate.

I spent many hours with him during the summers of 1970 and 1971. He was ill during our winter visit to the Queen Charlottes in 1972. He speaks English, but prefers to talk in Haida, and sometimes had trouble understanding my questions. He had an excellent knowledge of local vegetation and Haida plant names, and almost all of the information he gave was accurate when checked with literature references and other informants. As with most of the informants, his ideas about plant classification were generally informal and variable.

2. Ada Yovanovich - a daughter of George Young, and one of the few middleaged speakers of the Skidegate dialect. She participated in one interview with her father during the second summer of field work (1971).

She had a good voice for taping, and, for her age group, a good knowledge of Haida plants, although her knowledge overlapped with that of
her father to a large extent. She has an excellent command of English,
and was very helpful in interpreting some of our questions for her
father.

- 3. Sarah and Watson Price elder sister and brother-in-law of George Young. These people participated in one interview with George Young during the second summer (1971). They substantiated information given by him, and also added new information not known or remembered by him.
- 4. Maude and Agnes Moody sisters, who have been living at Skidegate for most, if not all of their lives. They are apparently in their late sixties. Maude spoke English very well, while Agnes did not speak English, but appeared to understand it. Maude translated my questions for Agnes and her answers for me. Both of them appeared to have a good knowledge of plants, and were consulted several times in the first summer (1970). Unfortunately, they were apprehensive of the tape recorder and preferred that I not use it.
- 5. Ed Calder a good friend of George Young and a contemporary of his.

  We visited him for about two hours during the first summer (1970), and acquired a few detailed recipes for plant medicines, but he was not very familiar with the names of plants.
- 6. Emma Wilson (passed away, fall 1972) born in Skidegate in the late 1800's. Her grandmother was from Tanu. She spent many years away from Skidegate supervising fish-packing operations. I spent several sessions with her during the first summer (1970), acquiring a good quantity of information, but unfortunately did not tape these sessions, and was unable to work with her in the second summer because she was too ill. Her husband, Sol, originally from the west coast of the Queen Charlottes, and subsequently from Maude Island, also provided some information, but did not seem very interested in the project. He was

- a linguistic informant of Robert Levine for a short time, and provided some taxonomic information indirectly through him.
- 7. Elizabeth Collinson a middle-aged Haida speaker. We visited her once in the first summer, and she provided a number of plant names, and apparently knew information on medicines, but did not seem to want to provide details.
- 8. Gertrude Kelly (wife of the late Rev. Peter Kelly) raised in Skidegate, but has been away from the Queen Charlottes since she was married. She is well over 80 years old. She now lives in Vancouver, and I was able to visit her many times during the winters of 1971 and 1972 to check specific points for Haida terminology. Her English is excellent, and she has a good speaking voice for tape recording, but has had little contact with the Haida language for over 50 years, and her botanical knowledge is very restricted. She has been a linguistic informant for Dr. Joseph Kess, University of Victoria, for Randy Bouchard, and for Robert Levine.
- 9. Kathleen Hans elder sister of Elizabeth Collinson, born and raised in Skidegate. I spent one session with her in the company of Randy Bouchard and Robert Levine when she was visiting Mrs. Kelly in Vancouver. She knew almost all of the plant names previously elicited from George Young and others, and was able to provide some additional information. A tape was made of her and Mrs. Kelly pronouncing the names.
- 10. Becky Pearson born in the late 1800's and raised at Skidegate. She spent a number of years away from Skidegate without contact with the

Haida language, but is a highly competent Haida speaker. She has been the major linguistic informant of Robert Levine, and has provided indirect information for the study through him. Additionally, Robert Levine and I spent several sessions with her during the Christmas season of 1972, going over all of my Skidegate terminology data to check for linguistic accuracy. She recognized almost all of the plant names I had previously elicited, although she did not know what some of the plants looked like. She also provided semantic data on the different terms under discussion. At a later date, Robert Levine made a tape recording of her repeating the various plant names.

# HAIDA (Masset dialect)

1. Florence Davidson - born in 1896, and raised in Masset. She is a daughter of the well-known Haida artist, Charlie Edenshaw, who was born at Skidegate, but whose family was from Kiusta at the Northwest corner of Graham Island. When my husband and I visited her in the summer of 1970, she professed to know nothing about plants, but within a couple of sessions she proved to be an extremely valuable botanical informant. She said she learned most of the information about the names and uses of plants from her late husband, Robert Davidson, Sr.

During the second summer (1971), we boarded with her at Masset for a month, and became closely involved with her family life. We went on a number of trips with her — to Skidegate, and to collect cedar bark and spruce roots for her weaving. I was thus able to check much of my information from growing plant material. She has

made a number of trips to Vancouver since we first met her, and I have had frequent opportunity to check specific terminological details with her. We spent several days with her during our Christmas trip in 1972, and Robert Levine and I spent a number of sessions with her at that time checking my data for linguistic accuracy. I also made a final tape with her of Masset plant terms. She and members of her family have become close personal friends of ours.

- 2. Dora Brooks a niece of Florence Davidson's late husband, and a close friend of hers. Dora was present during a number of elicitation sessions with Mrs. Davidson, and confirmed many of the names and uses she gave. Both of them have family ties in Hydaburg, Alaska, and Dora provided some information of Kaigani Haida uses of plants. Dora's pronunciation was significantly different from Mrs. Davidson's for some plant terms.
- 3. Emma and William Matthews Mrs. Matthews was born at the Yakoun River, but was raised at Masset, and has been a friend of Florence Davidson's since childhood. Both she and Mrs. Davidson are in their mid-seventies. William Matthews, now well over ninety, was also raised at Masset, and has been the hereditary chief of Masset for many years. Several sessions were spent with the Matthews, both in 1970 and 1971, and they provided much botanical information. Mr. Matthews is partially deaf, and while he speaks English, he could only understand questions when his wife translated them into Haida for him. Many of our questions were answered by both of them.
- 4. Amanda Edgars a relative of George Young in Skidegate. She was

raised at Naden Harbour, and has lived in Masset for most of her life. She was unwell during the second summer (1971), and I was able to see her for only one session, but she provided some information which Florence Davidson could not remember at first. Mrs. Davidson also went to see her to check a few plant names.

5. Eliza Abrams - born in the late 1800's, apparently spent most of her life at Masset. She makes cedar bark hats, but could not offer much knowledge about the names of plants in general. We spent only a couple of hours with her during the second summer.

#### BELLA COOLA

Margaret Siwallace - a major Bella Coola informant. She was born and raised at Kimsquit, but has spent most of her life at Bella Coola. I spent many hours with her while we were at Bella Coola. In a couple of sessions, I was accompanied by Dr. Aert Kuipers or his student, Henk Nater, and all of the terms I collected were checked by them with her. Some of her plant names showed slight differences compared to those of Dave Moody and Felicity Walkus, probably because of her Kimsquit origin.

On one occasion, I was able to accompany her, her grand-daughter, and her grand-daughter's husband on an expedition to pick soapberries (Shepherdia canadensis) at the head of the Bella Coola Valley, and had a good opportunity to learn about the plants of that area. She also came on one local field trip with us.

Margaret has been a major linguistic informant of Dr. Kuipers and Henk Nater. Dorothy Kennedy, research assistant to Randy

Bouchard, made a preliminary tape of Bella Coola plant names with her the winter before this field work, and Dr. Wayne Suttles, anthropologist at Portland State University, did some ethnobotanical work with her the previous summer (1971). The only tape I was able to make of Bella Coola plant names was with Margaret. She has an excellent speaking voice.

Margaret's husband, Stephen Siwallace, was not able to speak well, because of a stroke, but he had a good knowledge of plants and plant names and was able to convey some information through Margaret.

- 2. David Moody (passed away, summer 1973) a second major informant, also in his sixties. He spent many of his earlier years trapping in the Chilcotin area with his father, and acquired a wide knowledge of plants from him. We spent a full day with him, accompanied by Dr. Kuipers and Henk Nater, travelling by car to different localities around Bella Coola and learning names and information about the plants we saw. Dave also worked with Dr. Suttles on ethnobotany the summer previous to our field work.
- 3. Felicity Walkus a third major informant for Bella Coola, although not as much time was spent with her as with the first two. She is in the same age group, and has spent almost all of her life at Bella Coola. She spends much of her time during the summer picking berries, and is one of the last people who still occasionally use wild roots, such as <a href="Trifolium wormskjoldii">Trifolium wormskjoldii</a>. She was not home most of the time we were in Bella Coola, and I did not make any field trips with her, but I did spend several hours going through a large number of fresh

plant specimens with her, and saw her later when she was in the hospital in Vancouver. Most of the plant names and information she gave were similar or identical those those given by Margaret Siwallace and Dave Moody.

- 4. Andy Schooner in his seventies, raised at Bella Coola, but has spent a good part of his life as a seaman, and therefore knows very little about wild plants. We accompanied him, with Dr. Kuipers and Henk Nater, on a trip up Thorson Creek, near Bella Coola, to see some petroglyphs. At that time, I asked him about many of the plants we saw, but most of them he did not recognize. However, he did know a few things about plants that the others did not -- notably about aboriginal smoking practises and the manufacture of pipes. He has been a linguistic informant of Dr. Kuipers.
- 5. Hank King in his seventies, a linguistic informant of Henk Nater.

  We did not meet him, but Henk Nater checked many of the botanical terms I had collected with him. He is virtually blind, and was therefore not able to positively verify any of the plants.
- 6. Addie Saunders and Agnes Edgar Mrs. Saunders is a sister-in-law of Margaret Siwallace. I went to see her once, at Margaret's suggestion, to learn the Bella Coola name of juniper (Juniperus communis). She had used it medicinally, and told me some information about it, then took me to see Agnes Edgar, one of the oldest Bella Coola people. who told me the name, and some information about other plants also.

LILLOOET (Fraser River dialect)

1. Sam Mitchell - in his mid-seventies, with an incredible knowledge of plants in the Lillooet area. He has lived much of his life around Fountain, but has also travelled widely in the Province, especially in the Caribou, where he worked as a prospector for a number of years. He has also worked around Pemberton. He speaks Shuswap, as well as Lillooet, and is fluent in English.

We spent several days with him in August, 1972, accompanied by Martina LaRochelle and Jan van Eijk, another of Dr. Kuipers' students. (Both Martina and Sam are linguistic informants of Jan van Eijk.)

During this time, we drove to several different locations around the Fountain-Lillooet area looking at plants, and we also spent several sessions indoors, taping Lillooet plant names. On one of the field trips, we walked from the road above the Fraser River down to the Lillooet salmon-fishing area, an elevational distance of about 1,000 feet. We also drove along the Fountain Valley road, stopping many times, although unfortunately we did not get into any high country.

In the fall of 1972, Sam stayed with us in Vancouver for two days, and I was able to go through all of the terms and information I had collected earlier, and to make a final tape. At an earlier date, Randy Bouchard also went through the list of plant names I had collected, and Jan van Eijk checked them through for linguistic accuracy also.

I worked with Sam again in the spring of 1973, and confirmed a number of plant identifications at that time. He has been extremely enthusiastic about this project, and has stressed accuracy and authenticity in all of the information he has given.

2. Martina LaRochelle - lives at Lillooet, and is not officially a native, because her late husband was a white man. She is about ten years younger than Sam Mitchell, but has an excellent knowledge of plants, and was able to provide some information not known to Sam, although she stated that she had learned as much from the sessions with Sam as I had. Jan van Eijk finds her a valuable linguistic informant.

Appendix 2. Practical Orthographic Symbols for the Haida Language (Masset and Skidegate dialects).

The following orthographic conventions are employed in the study:\*

- 1) A glottal stop [7] is written here as the number 7.
- 2) An accent (') marks stressed syllables. (In the computer printout, an asterisk is used instead.)
- 3) An apostrophe following a consonant (e.g. k') indicates a sound technically known as an ejective. The tongue makes the same motions as for the sound represented by the plain symbol (i.e., k), but during this process, the glottis remains completely closed. As the characteristic closure of the sound is released, the air trapped between the point of closure and the closed glottis is released rapidly, being forced out of the mouth by the rising glottis. The sound has an explosive quality, In older notations, it was written with an exclamation mark (e.g. k!). Continuant consonants (n, m, ng, 1, w, y) may also be "glottalized", or pronounced with a slight "catch" in the throat. These are indicated by an apostrophe directly over the letter (e.g. y), or in the computer printout, following the letter.
- 4) Underlining is used to designate sound which are produced "at the back of the throat", by contact between the back part of the tongue and the roof of the mouth directly above. The German sound corresponding to the "ch" in the name of the composer Bach is made at this position in the mouth. All sounds with this type of closure are referred to as uvular sounds. In the computer printout, underlining is indicated by a slash / following the letter to be underlined.
- 5) Pitch differences are employed in the Skidegate dialect to distinguish meanings, though apparently only in extremely few cases. At the moment, it appears that pitch distinctions are functionally employed far more widely in Masset and Kaigani, and are therefore explicitly indicated in Masset. The numbers 1 (low tone) and 2 (high tone) are placed after the Masset words in order of the syllables to which they correspond: sginaaw 12 = sginaaw.
- 6) The phonemic system of the Haida vowels is still highly problematic. The vowels employed here are therefore phonetic rather than phonemic, although there is probably not a radical difference between the two. There are eight vowel sounds in Skidegate Haida: three front vowels (ii, i, ee), three mid vowels (e, a, aa), and two back vowels (uu, u). In Masset Haida, the system is the same except for the additional

<sup>\*</sup> Much of the information given here was provided by Robert Levine, a linguist specializing in Haida.

presence of an allophone of one or possibly both back vowels; this allophone is written o.

The symbols are listed here in alphabetical order. Equivalent linguistic symbols are given, where appropriate, in square brackets.

a [A] - as in English "but".

aa [a] - as in English "hot"; somewhat fronted following y, backed following uvular segments.

b - as in English; rare in Haida.

ch [c] - as in English "church".

d - as in English.

dl [ $\lambda$ ]- "d" and "1" slurred together, as in "tid<u>dly</u> winks", spoken quickly.

e [3]- a neutral vowel, like the vowel in the second syllable of "rubble".

ee [£]- as the first "e" in French 'lettre' ('letter').

f - as in English; restricted to loan forms from English.

g - as in English.

gy [gy] - g followed by a rapid y, as in "egg yolk".

gw  $\lceil g^W \rceil$  - g pronounced with rounded lips, as in "big one".

g [G] - pronounced like g, but further back in the throat in the uvular position (Skidegate only; see notation 4).

gy [GY]- g followed by a rapid y (Skidegate only).

gw [GW] - g pronounced with rounded lips (Skidegate only).

g [G] - a sound produced by a complete glottal closure which is released with marked laryngeal friction (Masset dialect only). This sound corresponds to g in Skidegate, in syllable-initial and second position in consonant clusters.

h - as in English.

h [h] - voiceless pharyngeal fricative (Masset dialect only). This sound corresponds to Skidegate x.

i [I] - as in English "b<u>i</u>t".

ii [i] - as in French'midi" ('noon').

j [j̃], or [j̃] - as in English "judge", or "adze".

k - as in English.

ky  $[k^y]$  - k followed by a rapid y, analogous to gy.

kw  $\[k^w]$  - k pronounced with rounded lips, analogous to gw; as in English "quick".

 $\underline{k}$  [q] - pronounced like k, but in the uvular position (see notation 4).

 $\underline{k}^{y} [q^{y}] - \underline{k}$  followed by a rapid y, analogous to gy.

 $\underline{k}\underline{w} \, [q^{\underline{w}}] - \underline{k}$  pronounced with rounded lips, analogous to  $\underline{g}\underline{w}$ .

k', ky', kw', k', ky', kw' - see notation 3.

1 - as in English.

- 1 1 pronounced with a "catch" in the throat in the initial phase of pronounciation (see notation 3).
- 1h [2] a sound produced in the same position in the mouth as 1, but
   without vibrating the vocal cords. The sound is similar to "sh"
   in English, with strong friction. The closest English approximation is the "thl" in a rapid pronunciation of "athlete".

m - as in English; comparatively rare in Haida.

n - as in English.

ng [] - like the "ng" in English "singer".

- o [9] apparently the allophone of one or both Masset back vowels following  $\underline{g}$  or  $\underline{h}$ ; the tongue is lower than for uu or u, and somewhat further back in the throat.
- p as in English; comparatively rare in Haida.

r - found only in forms involving loans from English.

s - as in English.

t - as in English.

t' - ejected t; see notation 3.

tl 🔾 - rapidly pronounced tlh, as in English "rightly" (approximately).

t1' [X] - ejected t1; see notation 3.

ts [c] - t followed rapidly by s, as in English "wits".

ts' [c'] - ejected c; see notation 3.

u[V] - as in English "but".

uu [u] - as in French 'tous' ('all'), pronounced in isolation.

w - as in English.

 $\dot{\mathbf{w}}$  -  $\mathbf{w}$  pronounced with a "catch" in the throat at the beginning; analogous to 1.

x [x] - as in German'ich' ('I').

 $xy Ex^{y}I - x$  followed by a rapid y, analogous to gy.

 $xw \ [x^w] - x$  pronounced with rounded lips, analogous to gw.

 $\underline{x}$  [x] - pronounced like x, but in the uvular position, as in German Bach; see notation 4).

 $xy [x^y] - x$  followed by rapid y; analogous to gy.

 $\underline{x}$ w  $[\underline{x}^{W}] - \underline{x}$  pronounced with rounded lips; analogous to gw.

y - as in English.

y - y pronounced with a "catch" in the throat at the beginning; analogous to 1.

Appendix 3. Practical Orthographic Symbols for the Bella Coola Language.\*

The orthographic conventions employed for Bella Coola are the same as those for Haida, except that neither pitch nor stress is marked in this language, as neither are considered phonemically distinctive. Vowels are phonemic rather than phonetic. Six vowels are recognized: three short vowels (a, i, u) and three long ones (aa, ii, uu). The Bella Coola symbols are listed here in alphabetical order.

a [æ] - short "a", as in English "bat".

aa [a·] - long "a", as in English "father".

h - as in English; rare in Bella Coola.

i [i], [I], [e] - short "i", varying between sounds of English "beat" and "bait", depending on the surrounding consonants.

ii [i.], [I.], [e.], [E] - varies from a "long" pronunciation of Bella Coola "i" to a "long" pronunciation of English "there".

k - as in English.

kw,  $\underline{k}$ ,  $\underline{k}$ w,  $\underline{k}$ ',  $\underline{k}$ w',  $\underline{k}$ w' - similar to a Haida pronunciation of these sounds (see Appendix 2).

1 - as in English.

1h - see Haida 1h.

m - as in English.

n - as in English.

p - as in English.

p' - ejected p (see Appendix 2, notation 3).

s - as in English.

t - as in English.

<sup>\*</sup> The writing system used for Bella Coola was designed by Randy Bouchard and Dr. Aert Kuipers.

t' - see Haida t'.

ts, ts' - see Haida pronunciation of these symbols.

tl' - see Haida tl'.

u [u], [o] - short "u", varying between sounds of English "boot" and "boat", depending on surrounding consonants.

uu [u·], [o·], [ɔ·] - varies from a "long" pronunciation of Bella Coola "u" to a long pronunciation of English "more".

w - as in English.

x, xw,  $\underline{x}$ ,  $\underline{x}$ w - see Haida pronunciation of these symbols.

y - as in English.

Appendix 4. Practical Orthographic Symbols for Fraser River Lillooet (Upper Lillooet dialect).\*

The orthographic conventions employed for Fraser River Lillooet are the same as those for Haida, except that pitch is not considered phonemically significant, and is not marked. Five phonemically distinct vowel sounds are recognized in the Lillooet language: a, e, i, o, u.

- a [æ], [a], [a·] varies from the vowel sound of English "bet" to that of "bat", to that of "father".
- e [I], [A], [V], [ə]- varies from the vowel sound of English "bit", to that of "but", to that of "earth".
- g []] a voiced friction sound, pronounced with the tongue in the same position as for pronouncing a "k" sound.
- $\underline{g}$  [ $\gamma$ ] similar to the Lillooet "g", but produced further back in the mouth, with a "raspy" or "strangulated" quality.
- gw [ $)^{W}$ ] like g, but pronounced with rounded lips.
- h as in English.
- i [i], [I], [e] varies between sounds of English "beat" and "bait", depending on the surrounding consonants.
- k as in English.
- kw,  $\underline{k}$ ,  $\underline{k}$ w,  $\underline{k}$ ',  $\underline{k}$ w',  $\underline{k}$ w' similar to a Haida pronunciation of these sounds (see Appendix 2).
- 1,  $\dot{1}$  see Haida pronunciation of these symbols.
- 1h see Haida 1h.
- m as in English.
- $\dot{\mathbb{m}}$   $\mathbf{m}$  pronounced with a slight "catch" in the throat.
- n as in English.
- n n pronounced with a slight "catch" in the throat.

<sup>\*</sup> This writing system was designed by Randy Bouchard.

- o [a], [3] varies from the vowel sound in English "father", to that of "law".
- p as in English.
- p' an ejected p (see Appendix 2, notation 3).
- s [s], [s] as in English "ship", or occasionally as in English see".
- t as in English.
- tl' see Haida tl'.
- ts [c], [c] usually pronounced like the "ch" in "church", but phonemically identical with the "ts" in "cats".
- u [o], [u] varies from the vowel sound of English "boat", to that of "boot", to that of "lord".
- w as in English.
- w w pronounced with a slight "catch" in the throat.
- x, xw, x, xw see Haida pronounciation of these symbols.
- y as in English.
- $\ddot{y}$  y pronounced with a slight "catch" in the throat.
- z as in English.
- $\dot{z}$  z pronounced with a slight "catch" in the throat.

APPENDIX 5. AN ALPHABETICAL LISTING OF FOLK SEGREGATES FOR PLANTS IN SKIDEGATE HAIDA.

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CORNUS UNALASCHKENSIS/CANADENSIS USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CORALLINA SP.

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CONSTANTINEA SUBULIFERA

SEVERAL MORE SPECIES ARE INVOLVED(4 TO 10)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SALIX SPP.
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTOOING
MEDICINAL USE:
USED IN STEAM-BATH OR SWEAT-HOUSE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: POPULUS TRICHOCARPA

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: CHII\*X/UU-K/'AN 21-1 ? 'BEAD GRASS' PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT (OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT) ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ELYMUS MOLLIS USE IN TECHNOLOGY: FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: DAAH PART OF PLANT: FRUIT, FLOWER, CONE, SEED, OR FLOATS OF ALGAE ONE-TO-DNE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM DXYCOCCUS USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: DAA\*KTAA-XI\*LG/AA 22-21 \*DOCTOR S MEDICINE/LEAVES\* PART OF PLANT: FRUIT, FLOWER, CONE, SEED, OR FLOATS OF ALGAE LANGUAGE OF ORIGIN: ENGLISH TWO OR MORE CLOSELY RELATED SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RANUNCULUS OCCIDENTALIS MEDICINAL USE: POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS) BLISTERING AGENT

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RANUNCULUS ACRIS\*

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: DAA\*7EL-SGI\*LG/AA 11-21 \*RAIN\*S BELLY-BUTTON® PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)

NAME REFERS TO TWO OR MORE DISTINCTLY DIFFERENT.

## UNRELATED PLANT SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: AQUILEGIA FORMOSA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: DODECATHEON JEFFREYI

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: AQUILEGIA FORMOSA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: DODECATHEON JEFFREYI

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CHAMAECYPARIS NOOTKATENSIS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
FUEL OR TINDER
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: POLYPODIUM GLYCYRRHIZA

USE AS FOOD:

FLAVOURING

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS) COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS

\***\*** 

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: DLAAYAA\*NG-WAAL-XIL 22-1-1
PART OF PLANT: LEAVES
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: POLYPODIUM GLYCYRRHIZA

USE AS FOOD: FLAVOURING

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS
CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: GAA\*LGAAG/UU ? (NE)
PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: GEUM MACROPHYLLUM MEDICINAL USE:

RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS USED IN STEAM-BATH OR SWEAT-HOUSE

\*\***\*\***\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: GII\*XIIDAA 211
PART OF PLANT: BARK
TWO OR MORE RECOGNIZABLY DIFFERENT,
BUT OBVIOUSLY SIMILAR SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: THUJA PLICATA USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

FUEL OR TINDER

DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTODING
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION
BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING

MEDICINAL USE:
CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS
CAUTERIZING

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL
ROLE IN MYTHS AS A 'HUMANIZED' FIGURE
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CHAMAECYPARIS NOOTKATENSIS USE IN TECHNOLOGY: WOOD

FUEL OR TINDER
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CIRSIUM BREVISTYLUM\*

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: UNKNOWN LICHEN 2 USE AS FOOD: GREENS! OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS PARVIFLORUS USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS PARVIFLORUS USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ANGELICA LUCIDA USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: FOMES PINICOLA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: POLYPORUS VERSICOLOR

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SPIROGYRA SP.

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ENTEROMORPHA INTESTINALIS

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: POTAMOGETON EPIHYDRUS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CALLITRICHE HETEROPHYLLA

MANY OTHER PLANT SPECIES ARE INVOLVED(OVER10)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ARUNCUS SYLVESTER

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES BRACTEDSUM
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
SORE EYES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES (BLACK GARDEN CURRANTS)\*

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES BRACTEOSUM
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
SORE EYES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES (BLACK GARDEN CURRANTS)\*

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES BRACTEOSUM
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
SORE EYES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES (BLACK GARDEN CURRANTS)\*

PART OF PLANT: FRUIT, FLOWER, CONE, SEED, OR FLOATS OF ALGAE ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS PEDATUS USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: AMELANCHIER ALNIFOLIA USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: AMELANCHIER ALNIFOLIA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ULVA LACTUCA USE AS FOOD: \*GREENS\* OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ENTEROMORPHA INTESTINALIS

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CRABAPPLE-LIKE TREE USE IN TECHNOLOGY: WOOD ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES LACUSTRE USE AS FOOD:

OR CULTIVATED COUNTERPART

CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES (CULTIVATED GOOSEBERRY)\*

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES LACUSTRE
USE AS FOOD:
CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES (CULTIVATED GOOSEBERRY)\*

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VERATRUM ESCHSCHOLTZII USE AS FOOD: CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS MEDICINAL USE: POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS) SORE EYES COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES EMETIC BLADDER & URINARY AILMENTS VENEREAL DISEASES UNSPECIFIED INTERNAL COMPLAINTS (E.G. CANCER) RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: GWEL, GWUL 'TOBACCO'
PART OF PLANT: DRIED OR PREPARED MATERIAL
ORIGINALLY A NATIVE PLANT - EXPANDED TO IMPORTED
OR CULTIVATED COUNTERPART

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: NICOTIANA QUADRIVALVIS
USE AS FOOD:
CHEWING OR SMOKING
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: NICOTIANA TABACUM\*
USE AS FOOD:
CHEWING OR SMOKING
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: NICOTIANA QUADRIVALVIS
USE AS FOOD:
CHEWING OR SMOKING
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: FRAGARIA CHILOENSIS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
MEDICINAL USE:
CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: FRAGARIA (GARDEN STRAWBERRY)\*

USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: UNKNOWN LICHEN 1
MEDICINAL USE:
MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SORBUS SITCHENSIS USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: FRITILLARIA CAMSCHATCENSIS
USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SAMBUCUS RACEMOSA

USE AS FOOD:
 FRUITS EATEN

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
 CEMENT, BINDING SUBSTANCE

MEDICINAL USE:
 LAXATIVE
 CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
 CEREMONIAL PURIFIER-FOR OBTAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER
 NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
 CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SAMBUCUS RACEMOSA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
CEMENT, BINDING SUBSTANCE
MEDICINAL USE:
LAXATIVE
CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CEREMONIAL PURIFIER—FOR OBTAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CRATAEGUS DOUGLASII USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: KAWAGA\*XAYA ? (NE)
PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: KIND OF VEGETABLE USE AS FOOD:
•GREENS\* OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS

WILLOWS")

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
TWO OR MORE CLOSELY RELATED SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SALIX SPP.
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTOOING
MEDICINAL USE:
USED IN STEAM-BATH OR SWEAT-HOUSE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM ULIGINOSUM USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
TWO OR MORE CLOSELY RELATED SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ERIOPHORUM SPP. USE AS FOOD:

FOOD OF A PARTICULAR ANIMAL (ACTUAL OR BELIEF)
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTODING

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PYRUS FUSCA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
MEDICINAL USE:
CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS
CONTRACEPTIVE, ABORTIVE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL
ROLE IN MYTHS AS A 'HUMANIZED' FIGURE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PYRUS MALUS\*
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PYRUS FUSCA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
MEDICINAL USE:
\_CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS
CONTRACEPTIVE, ABORTIVE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL ROLE IN MYTHS AS A "HUMANIZED" FIGURE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PYRUS MALUS\*
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PYRUS FUSCA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
MEDICINAL USE:
CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS

CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS
CONTRACEPTIVE, ABORTIVE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL
ROLE IN MYTHS AS A 'HUMANIZED' FIGURE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PYRUS MALUS\*
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: USNEA LONGISSIMA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ALECTORIA SARMENTOSA COMPLEX MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

UNRELATED PLANT SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LONICERA INVOLUCRATA
MEDICINAL USE:
 POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
 TOOTHACHES
 SORE EYES
 HEART TROUBLES
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
 SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
OTHER USES
HAIR TONIC

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CRATAEGUS DOUGLASII USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: USNEA LONGISSIMA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PARMELIA SP.

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

TWO OR MORE CLOSELY RELATED SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LYCOPODIUM CLAVATUM

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LYCOPODIUM ANNOTINUM & (L. SELAGO)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MACROCYSTIS INTEGRIFOLIA USE AS FOOD:
COLLECTION OF HERRING SPAWN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MOSS, GENERAL
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION
BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

MANY OTHER PLANT SPECIES ARE INVOLVED(OVER10)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SYMPHORICARPOS ALBUS USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

## UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SYMPHORICARPOS ALBUS USE IN TECHNOLOGY: UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: EQUISETUM ARVENSE USE AS FOOD:

UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ALNUS RUBRA
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
FUEL OR TINDER
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTOOING
MEDICINAL USE:
SORE EYES
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION
ROLE IN MYTHS AS A "HUMANIZED" FIGURE
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ALNUS CRISPA SSP. SINUATA, A. SINUATA USE IN TECHNOLOGY: WOOD

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ALNUS RUBRA USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

WOOD

FUEL OR TINDER

DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTODING

MEDICINAL USE:

SORE EYES

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION
ROLE IN MYTHS AS A 'HUMANIZED' FIGURE
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ALNUS CRISPA SSP. SINUATA, A. SINUATA USE IN TECHNOLOGY: WOOD

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

TWO OR MORE CLOSELY RELATED SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ALNUS RUBRA USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

MOOD

FUEL OR TINDER

DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTOOING

MEDICINAL USE:

SORE EYES

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION

ROLE IN MYTHS AS A "HUMANIZED" FIGURE SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ALNUS CRISPA SSP. SINUATA, A. SINUATA USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: KALMIA POLIFOLIA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LUPINUS NOOTKATENSIS USE AS FOOD: UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ULVA LACTUCA USE AS FOOD:
•GREENS• OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: K/AAJAA\*NDAA 121 \*HAIR\*
PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: DESMARESTIA SP.

\*\***\***\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: K/AAYT
PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PICEA SITCHENSIS

USE AS FOOD:

CAMBIUM.

CHEWING OR SMOKING

PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

MODD

FUEL OR TINDER

FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

LOVE CHARM

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: K/AAYT-GYAA\*7AAT 1-21 \*TREE BLANKET\*

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
TWO OR MORE CLOSELY RELATED SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LOBARIA PULMONARIA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LOBARIA OREGANA

MEDICINAL USE:

COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: K/AAYT-TLAAS 21

PART OF PLANT: BRANCH

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PICEA SITCHENSIS

USE AS FOOD:

CAMBIUM

CHEWING OR SMOKING

PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

WOOD

FUEL OR TINDER

FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

LOVE CHARM

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: K/UUG/AA-KW'INDAA ? (NE)
PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ACHILLEA MILLEFOLIUM

USE AS FOOD:

FLAVOURING

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: K/'A\*LLAA-XILG/AA 22-21 'MUSKEG

LEAVES\*

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT (OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CAMPANULA ROTUNDIFOLIA

\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: K/OAN
PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
NAME REFERS TO TWO OR MORE DISTINCTLY DIFFERENT.
UNRELATED PLANT SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: GRASS, GENERAL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CAREX SPP.
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

MANY OTHER PLANT SPECIES ARE INVOLVED (OVER10)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ELYMUS MOLLIS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ELYMUS MOLLIS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: K/'A\*N-LHGAMG/A\*NDAA 2-221 'ROUND' GRASS'

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PLANTAGO MARITIMA

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
TWO OR MORE RECOGNIZABLY DIFFERENT,
BUT OBVIOUSLY SIMILAR SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: GRASS, GENERAL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ELYMUS MOLLIS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MENZIESIA FERRUGINEA USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTODING MEDICINAL USE:
ANTISEPTIC OR DEODORANT
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL
INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ALNUS CRISPA SSP. SINUATA, A. SINUATA USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TSUGA HETEROPHYLLA
USE AS FOOD:
CAMBIUM
COLLECTION OF HERRING SPAWN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TSUGA MERTENSIANA USE AS FOOD:
CAMBIUM
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TSUGA HETEROPHYLLA USE AS FOOD: CAMBIUM COLLECTION OF HERRING SPAWN PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE USE IN TECHNOLOGY: WOOD BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING MEDICINAL USE: POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS) CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TSUGA MERTENSIANA
USE AS FOOD:
CAMBIUM
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TSUGA HETEROPHYLLA

USE AS FOOD: CAMBIUM

COLLECTION OF HERRING SPAWN

PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

WOOD

BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM

SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TSUGA MERTENSIANA USE AS FOOD:

CAMBIUM

PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: K/'AAX/UU-TS'AALAANG-G/AA 21-121
"ROTTEN LOG-"

PART OF PLANT: FRUIT, FLOWER, CONE, SEED, OR FLOATS OF ALGAE ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS CHAMAEMORUS

USE AS FOOD:

FRUITS EATEN

PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: K/'II\*TGWAA\*NT
PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES LAXIFLORUM USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

FLAVOURING

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ROSA NUTKANA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
GREENS' OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS
MEDICINAL USE:
GENERAL TONIC

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ROSA (GARDEN ROSE)\*

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ROSA NUTKANA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
\*GREENS\* OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS
MEDICINAL USE:
GENERAL TONIC

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ROSA (GARDEN ROSE)\*

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LEDUM PALUSTRE SSP. GROENLANDICUM USE AS FOOD:
BEVERAGE
MEDICINAL USE:

COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: URTICA DIDICA

USE AS FOOD:

UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

GREENS' OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

MEDICINAL USE:

RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS

CONTRACEPTIVE, ABORTIVE

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

USED FOR BEATING OR WASHING IN PURIFICATION RITUAL

NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: LAA\*TS'II 21 ("BETTER NAME" - GY)
PART OF PLANT: FRUIT, FLOWER, CONE, SEED, OR FLOATS OF ALGAE
LANGUAGE OF ORIGIN: TSIMSHIAN
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SAMBUCUS RACEMOSA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
CEMENT, BINDING SUBSTANCE
MEDICINAL USE:
LAXATIVE
CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CEREMONIAL PURIFIER-FOR OBTAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: L'AANAA-LHGUN 22-1 'VILLAGE SKUNK CABBAGE'
PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PLANTAGO MAJOR MEDICINAL USE: POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PLANTAGO MAJOR MEDICINAL USE: POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VIBURNUM EDULE
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
MEDICINAL USE:
SORE EYES
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VIBURNUM EDULE

USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
MEDICINAL USE:
SORE EYES
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM OVALIFOLIUM USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM ALASKAENSE USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM OVALIFOLIUM USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM ALASKAENSE USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

NAME REFERS TO TWO OR MORE DISTINCTLY DIFFERENT,

UNRELATED PLANT SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PICEA SITCHENSIS
USE AS FOOD:
CAMBIUM
CHEWING OR SMOKING
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD

FUEL OR TINDER
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS) CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
LOVE CHARM

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: "SAUCER BERRIES"
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LYSICHITUM AMERICANUM USE AS FOOD:
CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS
USED IN STEAM-BATH OR SWEAT-HOUSE
MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LYSICHITUM AMERICANUM USE AS FOOD:

CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS
USED IN STEAM-BATH OR SWEAT-HOUSE
MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: UNIDENTIFIED WOODLAND HERB (BP)

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TAXUS BREVIFOLIA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD

MEDICINAL USE:

RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS CONTRACEPTIVE, ABORTIVE

IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LHKY'IN-NETTLE-ROOTS
USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LOBARIA PULMONARIA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PELTIGERA CANINA MEDICINAL USE:
MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

SEVERAL MORE SPECIES ARE INVOLVED(4 TO 10)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: DENANTHE SARMENTOSA USE AS FOOD:

UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

GREENS! OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS

\*\*<del>\*</del>\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: LHK IIT
PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: HERACLEUM LANATUM USE AS FOOD:

'GREENS' OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

BLADDER & URINARY AILMENTS

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION

OTHER USES GAMES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CONIOSELINUM PACIFICUM MEDICINAL USE:
LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: HERACLEUM LANATUM USE AS FOOD:

\*GREENS\* OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

BLADDER & URINARY AILMENTS

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION

OTHER USES GAMES

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
TWO OR MORE RECOGNIZABLY DIFFERENT,

BUT OBVIOUSLY SIMILAR SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CONIOSELINUM PACIFICUM MEDICINAL USE:
LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: GLEHNIA LITTORALIS SSP. LEIOCARPA USE AS FOOD: UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: HERACLEUM LANATUM
USE AS FOOD:

\*GREENS\* OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS
CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS
MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
BLADDER & URINARY AILMENTS
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION
OTHER USES
GAMES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SAGINA MAXIMA (?)
USE AS FOOD:
GREENS' OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: NEREOCYSTIS LUETKEANA
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
OTHER USES
GAMES

UNRELATED PLANT SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ELYMUS MOLLIS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

A SINGLE OTHER SPECIES IS INCLUDED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: HERACLEUM LANATUM USE AS FOOD:

\*GREENS\* OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS

CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS
MEDICINAL USE:
 POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
 BLADDER & URINARY AILMENTS
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
 INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION
OTHER USES
GAMES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: GYMNOCARPIUM DRYOPTERIS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ERIOPHORUM SPP.
USE AS FOOD:
FOOD OF A PARTICULAR ANIMAL (ACTUAL OR BELIEF)
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTOOING

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CONIOSELINUM PACIFICUM MEDICINAL USE:
LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TRIFOLIUM WORMSKJOLDII
USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
FOOD OF A PARTICULAR ANIMAL (ACTUAL OR BELIEF)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TRIFOLIUM WORMSKJOLDII
USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
FOOD OF A PARTICULAR ANIMAL (ACTUAL OR BELIEF)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MACROCYSTIS INTEGRIFOLIA
USE AS FOOD:
COLLECTION OF HERRING SPAWN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ALARIA MARGINATA USE AS FOOD:
COLLECTION OF HERRING SPAWN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MACROCYSTIS INTEGRIFOLIA
USE AS FOOD:
COLLECTION OF HERRING SPAWN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

SEVERAL MORE SPECIES ARE INVOLVED(4 TO 10)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MACROCYSTIS INTEGRIFOLIA USE AS FOOD:
COLLECTION OF HERRING SPAWN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

LANGUAGE OF ORIGIN: CHINOOK

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SOLANUM TUBEROSUM\*
USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: UNKNOWN LICHEN 2 USE AS FOOD: \*GREENS\* OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MIMULUS GUTTATUS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MIMULUS GUTTATUS

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CHAMAECYPARIS NOOTKATENSIS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
FUEL OR TINDER
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: HERB GROWING UNDER SALMONBERRY (FD)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: EQUISETUM ARVENSE USE AS FOOD:

UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: EQUISETUM TELMATEIA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM PARVIFOLIUM

USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FUEL OR TINDER

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM PARVIFOLIUM USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FUEL OR TINDER

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ENTEROMORPHA INTESTINALIS

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

PART OF PLANT: FRUIT, FLOWER, CONE, SEED, OR FLOATS OF ALGAE ORIGINALLY A NATIVE PLANT - EXPANDED TO IMPORTED OR CULTIVATED COUNTERPART

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ROSA NUTKANA USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN • GREENS• OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS MEDICINAL USE: GENERAL TONIC

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ROSA (GARDEN ROSE)\*

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ACER GLABRUM
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
OTHER USES
GAMES
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MAIANTHEMUM DILATATUM USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

SORE EYES

LAXATIVE

GENERAL TONIC

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MAIANTHEMUM DILATATUM USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

SORE EYES

GENERAL TONIC

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: DRYOPTERIS FILIX-MAS USE AS FOOD: UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN USE IN TECHNOLOGY: DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTODING

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ACHILLEA MILLEFOLIUM USE AS FOOD:
FLAVOURING
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS
MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

ONE-TO-DNE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM VITIS-IDAEA USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM VITIS-IDAEA USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: UNIDENTIFIED WOODLAND PLANT (BP)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MAIANTHEMUM DILATATUM
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

SORE EYES
LAXATIVE
GENERAL TONIC
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: SK\*IT
PART OF PLANT: LEAVES
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: GAULTHERIA SHALLON USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTOOING

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: GAULTHERIA SHALLON USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTOOING

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: GAULTHERIA SHALLON USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTODING

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CALYPSO BULBOSA
USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
MEDICINAL USE:
GENERAL TONIC
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
LOVE CHARM

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS SPECTABILIS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
'GREENS' OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING
UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS
MEDICINAL USE:
CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL
ROLE IN MYTHS AS A "HUMANIZED" FIGURE
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL
OTHER USES
HAIR TONIC

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS SPECTABILIS USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN "GREENS" OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS USE IN TECHNOLOGY: BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS MEDICINAL USE: CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL ROLE IN MYTHS AS A "HUMANIZED" FIGURE NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL OTHER USES HAIR TONIC

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM ULIGINOSUM USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: DRYOPTERIS AUSTRIACA
USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
ROLE IN MYTHS AS A \*HUMANIZED\* FIGURE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: POLYSTICHUM MUNITUM
USE AS FOOD:

UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
ROLE IN MYTHS AS A "HUMANIZED" FIGURE

A SINGLE OTHER SPECIES IS INCLUDED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PTERIDIUM AQUILINUM USE AS FOOD: UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SAMBUCUS RACEMOSA
USE AS FOOD:
 FRUITS EATEN
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
 CEMENT, BINDING SUBSTANCE
MEDICINAL USE:
 LAXATIVE
 CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
 CEREMONIAL PURIFIER-FOR OBTAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SAMBUCUS RACEMOSAUSE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

CEMENT, BINDING SUBSTANCE
MEDICINAL USE:
LAXATIVE
CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CEREMONIAL PURIFIER-FOR OBTAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: STREPTOPUS AMPLEXIFOLIUS MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: STREPTOPUS ROSEUS SSP. CURVIPES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: STREPTOPUS AMPLEXIFOLIUS
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: STREPTOPUS ROSEUS SSP. CURVIPES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: APARGIDIUM BOREALE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CARDAMINE ANGULATA ? (MENYANTHES?)
MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS) COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS HEART TROUBLES EMETIC

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

CEREMONIAL PURIFIER-FOR OBTAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PTERIDIUM AQUILINUM USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LUPINUS LITTORALIS
USE AS FOOD:
 UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
 PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
 NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

A SINGLE OTHER SPECIES IS INCLUDED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LUPINUS LITTORALIS

USE AS FOOD:

UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LUPINUS NOOTKATENSIS
USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: GAULTHERIA SHALLON USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTOOING

SEVERAL MORE SPECIES ARE INVOLVED(4 TO 10)

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: AMMOPHILA ARENARIA\*

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ERIOPHORUM SPP.
USE AS FOOD:
FOOD OF A PARTICULAR ANIMAL (ACTUAL OR BELIEF)
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTODING

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ZOSTERA MARINA
USE AS FOOD:
COLLECTION OF HERRING SPAWN
MEDICINAL USE:
ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES
CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PHYLLOSPADIX SCOULFRI

A SINGLE OTHER SPECIES IS INCLUDED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: HALOSACCION GLANDULIFORME OTHER USES CHILDREN'S GAMES OR TOYS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LEATHESIA DIFFORMIS OTHER USES CHILDREN'S GAMES OR TOYS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: POTENTILLA VILLOSA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: NEREOCYSTIS LUETKEANA USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

OTHER USES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ARCTOSTAPHYLOS UVA-URSI USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN CHEWING OR SMOKING MEDICINAL USE: BLADDER & URINARY AILMENTS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ARCTOSTAPHYLOS UVA-URSI USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN CHEWING OR SMOKING MEDICINAL USE: BLADDER & URINARY AILMENTS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS PEDATUS USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM VITIS-IDAEA

USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

A SINGLE OTHER SPECIES IS INCLUDED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS PEDATUS USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM VITIS-IDAEA USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

A SINGLE OTHER SPECIES IS INCLUDED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS PEDATUS USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM VITIS-IDAEA USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

\*GROUND/EARTH SALMONBERRIES\*
PART OF PLANT: FRUIT, FLOWER, CONE, SEED, OR FLOATS OF ALGAE
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS URSINUS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
TWO OR MORE RECOGNIZABLY DIFFERENT,
BUT OBVIOUSLY SIMILAR SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LINNAEA BOREALIS

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: POPULUS TRICHOCARPA

A SINGLE OTHER SPECIES IS INCLUDED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: EPILOBIUM ANGUSTIFOLIUM USE AS FOOD:

UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

GREENS' OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

MEDICINAL USE:

LAXATIVE

GENERAL TONIC

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PINUS CONTORTA
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS
LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)
HEART TROUBLES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PINUS CONTORTA
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS
LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)
HEART TROUBLES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: DRYOPTERIS AUSTRIACA USE AS FOOD:

UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

ROLE IN MYTHS AS A "HUMANIZED" FIGURE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: POLYSTICHUM MUNITUM

USE AS FOOD:

UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

ROLE IN MYTHS AS A 'HUMANIZED' FIGURE

SEVERAL MORE SPECIES ARE INVOLVED(4 TO 10)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: GALIUM APARINE ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: GALIUM TRIFLORUM

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SALIX SPP.
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTOOING
MEDICINAL USE:
USED IN STEAM-BATH OR SWEAT-HOUSE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CORNUS UNALASCHKENSIS/CANADENSIS USE AS FOOD:

FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: OPLOPANAX HORRIDUM USE AS FOOD:

CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS
MEDICINAL USE:

COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)
LAXATIVE

RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

CEREMONIAL PURIFIER-FOR OBTAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

OTHER USES HAIR TONIC

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: OPLOPANAX HORRIDUM USE AS FOOD:
CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS
MEDICINAL USE:

COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)
LAXATIVE

RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

CEREMONIAL PURIFIER-FOR OBTAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER

INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL OTHER USES HAIR TONIC

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: DAUCUS CAROTA\*
USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS SPECTABILIS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
'GREENS' OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING
UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS
MEDICINAL USE:
CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL
ROLE IN MYTHS AS A 'HUMANIZED' FIGURE
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL
OTHER USES

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: TS'II7AA\*L 12

HAIR TONIC

PART OF PLANT: ROOT, BULB, OR OTHER UNDERGROUND PART ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: POTENTILLA PACIFICA
USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
FOOD OF A PARTICULAR ANIMAL (ACTUAL OR BELIEF)
MEDICINAL USE:
LAXATIVE
MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: POTENTILLA PACIFICA
USE AS FOOD:
 UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
 FOOD OF A PARTICULAR ANIMAL (ACTUAL OR BELIEF)
MEDICINAL USE:
 LAXATIVE
 MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
 NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: THUJA PLICATA
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
FUEL OR TINDER
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTOOING
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION
BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING
MEDICINAL USE:
CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS

CAUTERIZING ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL ROLE IN MYTHS AS A "HUMANIZED" FIGURE SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: TS UU-GII + TG/II 2-21 CEDAR-BABY PART OF PLANT: YOUNG INDIVIDUAL TWO OR MORE RECOGNIZABLY DIFFERENT. BUT OBVIOUSLY SIMILAR SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CHAMAECYPARIS NOOTKATENSIS USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

WOOD

FUEL OR TINDER

FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: THUJA PLICATA USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

DOOM

FUEL OR TINDER

DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTODING

FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION

BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING

MEDICINAL USE:

CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS

CAUTERIZING

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL ROLE IN MYTHS AS A "HUMANIZED" FIGURE SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: TS UU-LEE YSG/AA 1-21 CEDAR-LACE PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)

LANGUAGE OF ORIGIN: ENGLISH
TWO OR MORE CLOSELY RELATED SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CETRARIA GLAUCA
MEDICINAL USE:
CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS
UNSPECIFIED INTERNAL COMPLAINTS (E.G. CANCER)

SEVERAL MORE SPECIES ARE INVOLVED(4 TO 10)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CETRARIA GLAUCA
MEDICINAL USE:
CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS
UNSPECIFIED INTERNAL COMPLAINTS (E.G. CANCER)

SEVERAL MORE SPECIES ARE INVOLVED(4 TO 10)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: THUJA PLICATA
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
FUEL OR TINDER
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTOOING
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION
BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING
MEDICINAL USE:
CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS
CAUTERIZING
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL

ROLE IN MYTHS AS A 'HUMANIZED' FIGURE

SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ?SAXIFRAGA SP. MEDICINAL USE: MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

TWO OR MORE RECOGNIZABLY DIFFERENT.

BUT OBVIOUSLY SIMILAR SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PICEA SITCHENSIS

USE AS FOOD:

CAMBIUM

CHEWING OR SMOKING

PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

WOOD

FUEL OR TINDER

FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

LOVE CHARM

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TSUGA HETEROPHYLLA

USE AS FOOD:

CAMBIUM

COLLECTION OF HERRING SPAWN

PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

MOOD

BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

A SINGLE OTHER SPECIES IS INCLUDED

\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: XIL-GAA\*YDLELGING 1-211 (XIILA-12-) \*FLOATING

MEDICINE/LEAVES\*

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: NUPHAR LUTEUM SSP. POLYSEPALUM MEDICINAL USE:

COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS) HEART TROUBLES

ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES

UNSPECIFIED INTERNAL COMPLAINTS (E.G. CANCER)

RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM

INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION

CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: XIL-K/WII\*7AAWAA 2-211 'CUMULUS CLOUD MEDICINE/LEAVES'

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
TWO OR MORE RECOGNIZABLY DIFFERENT,
BUT OBVIOUSLY SIMILAR SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PELTIGERA CANINA MEDICINAL USE:
MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PELTIGERA APHTHOSA

SEVERAL MORE SPECIES ARE INVOLVED(4 TO 10)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ASPLENIUM TRICHOMANES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TANACETUM HURONENSE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ACHILLEA MILLEFOLIUM
USE AS FOOD:
FLAVOURING
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RANUNCULUS OCCIDENTALIS
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
BLISTERING AGENT

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RANUNCULUS ACRIS\*

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ACHILLEA MILLEFOLIUM
USE AS FOOD:
FLAVOURING
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: GALIUM APARINE ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: GALIUM TRIFLORUM

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ARNICA CORDIFOLIA

生元十二个本文学是4000年

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: HEUCHERA CHLORANTHA MEDICINAL USE:

COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU. & FEVERS UNSPECIFIED INTERNAL COMPLAINTS (E.G. CANCER) RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS USED IN STEAM-BATH OR SWEAT-HOUSE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: "GRAVE-POST PLANT"
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CEREMONIAL PURIFIER-FOR OBTAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER
LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LIKE GRAVE-POST PLANT ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: CEREMONIAL PURIFIER-FOR OBTAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
NAME REFERS TO TWO OR MORE DISTINCTLY DIFFERENT,
UNRELATED PLANT SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CAREX SPP.
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: GRASS, GENERAL

MANY OTHER PLANT SPECIES ARE INVOLVED (OVER10)

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: X/AAYDAA-GU\*LG/AA 1121 \*HAIDA TOBACCO\*

PART OF PLANT: DRIED OR PREPARED MATERIAL
NAME REFERS TO TWO OR MORE DISTINCTLY DIFFERENT,
UNRELATED PLANT SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: NICOTIANA QUADRIVALVIS
USE AS FOOD:
CHEWING OR SMOKING
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MACROCYSTIS INTEGRIFOLIA
USE AS FOOD:
COLLECTION OF HERRING SPAWN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

TEA®

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)

LANGUAGE OF ORIGIN: ENGLISH

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LEDUM PALUSTRE SSP. GROENLANDICUM USE AS FOOD:
BEVERAGE
MEDICINAL USE:
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MONESES UNIFLORA
MEDICINAL USE:
BLISTERING AGENT
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS

UNSPECIFIED INTERNAL COMPLAINTS (E.G. CANCER)
RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS
GENERAL TONIC

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

CEREMONIAL PURIFIER-FOR OBTAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER
LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MONESES UNIFLORA
MEDICINAL USE:
BLISTERING AGENT
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS
UNSPECIFIED INTERNAL COMPLAINTS (E.G. CANCER)
RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS
GENERAL TONIC

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

CEREMONIAL PURIFIER-FOR OBTAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER

LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM

NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PRUNELLA VULGARIS

A SINGLE OTHER SPECIES IS INCLUDED

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PSEUDOTSUGA MENZIESII IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CONOCEPHALUM CONICUM
MEDICINAL USE:
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS
LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LONICERA INVOLUCRATA
MEDICINAL USE:
 POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
 TOOTHACHES
 SORE EYES
 HEART TROUBLES
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
 SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
OTHER USES
HAIR TONIC

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LONICERA INVOLUCRATA
MEDICINAL USE:
 POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
 TOOTHACHES
 SORE EYES
 HEART TROUBLES
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
 SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
OTHER USES
 HAIR TONIC

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SCIRPUS MICROCARPUS ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: AHNFELTIA PLICATA (?)
USE AS FOOD:
COLLECTION OF HERRING SPAWN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

ORIGINALLY A NATIVE PLANT - EXPANDED TO IMPORTED
OR CULTIVATED COUNTERPART

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VICIA GIGANTEA ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LATHYRUS JAPONICUS ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LUPINUS NOOTKATENSIS USE AS FOOD: UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LUPINUS LITTORALIS
USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: EQUISETUM ARVENSE USE AS FOOD:

UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ACHILLEA MILLEFOLIUM'
USE AS FOOD:
FLAVOURING
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS

MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS (CULTIVATED RASPBERRY)\*
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: BRASSICA CAMPESTRIS\*
USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LYCOPODIUM CLAVATUM

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES LAXIFLORUM USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN FLAVOURING

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LYCOPODIUM CLAVATUM

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES LAXIFLORUM USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN FLAVOURING

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TOFIELDIA GLUTINOSA "ROUGH"

UNRELATED PLANT SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: EQUISETUM ARVENSE USE AS FOOD:

UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: EMPETRUM NIGRUM

USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
MEDICINAL USE:
LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)
HEART TROUBLES
MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ACHILLEA MILLEFOLIUM
USE AS FOOD:
FLAVOURING
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SHEPHERDIA CANADENSIS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: FRITILLARIA CAMSCHATCENSIS USE AS FOOD: UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ORYZA SATIVA\*

USE AS FOOD:
SEEDS OR NUTS
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: FANCY NGAAL

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT (OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)

LANGUAGE OF ORIGIN: ENGLISH

TWO OR MORE CLOSELY RELATED SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: COSTARIA COSTATA (?)

APPENDIX 6. AN ALPHABETICAL LISTING OF FOLK SEGREGATES FOR PLANTS IN MASSET HAIDA.

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: FUCUS-LIKE ALGAE
SEVERAL MORE SPECIES ARE INVOLVED(4 TO 10)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CORALLINA SP.

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CORALLINA SP.

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SALIX SPP. USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

WOOD

DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTOOING
MEDICINAL USE:
USED IN STEAM-BATH OR SWEAT-HOUSE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: POPULUS TRICHOCARPA

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TANACETUM HURONENSE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ACHILLEA MILLEFOLIUM
USE AS FOOD:
 FLAVOURING
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
 UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS
MEDICINAL USE:
 POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
 MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TANACETUM HURONENSE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM DXYCOCCUS USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM OXYCOCCUS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: EQUISETUM ARVENSE USE AS FOOD:

UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: EQUISETUM HYEMALE MEDICINAL USE:

UNSPECIFIED INTERNAL COMPLAINTS (E.G. CANCER)

MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

A SINGLE OTHER SPECIES IS INCLUDED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CAMPANULA ROTUNDIFOLIA ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: AQUILEGIA FORMOSA ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION

SEVERAL MORE SPECIES ARE INVOLVED(4 TO 10)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: EQUISETUM HYEMALE
MEDICINAL USE:
UNSPECIFIED INTERNAL COMPLAINTS (E.G. CANCER)
MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: EQUISETUM ARVENSE
USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS

A SINGLE OTHER SPECIES IS INCLUDED

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CAMPANULA ROTUNDIFOLIA ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ARCTOSTAPHYLOS UVA-URSI USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN CHEWING OR SMOKING MEDICINAL USE: BLADDER & URINARY AILMENTS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ARCTOSTAPHYLOS UVA-URSI USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN CHEWING OR SMOKING MEDICINAL USE: BLADDER & URINARY AILMENTS

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: DUNLHA-XILA ? (NE) \*-LEAVES\* PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT) ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CARDAMINE OLIGOSPERMA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SALIX SPP.
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTODING
MEDICINAL USE:
USED IN STEAM-BATH OR SWEAT-HOUSE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: POLYPODIUM GLYCYRRHIZA
USE AS FOOD:
 FLAVOURING
MEDICINAL USE:
 POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
 COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS
 CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: GEUM MACROPHYLLUM MEDICINAL USE:

RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS USED IN STEAM-BATH OR SWEAT-HOUSE

2222-111

\*DO-NOT-FORGET-ME-LEAVES\*
PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
LANGUAGE OF ORIGIN: ENGLISH
NAME REFERS TO TWO OR MORE DISTINCTLY DIFFERENT,
UNRELATED PLANT SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MYDSOTIS LAXA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PINGUICULA VULGARIS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PELTIGERA APHTHOSA
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES LACUSTRE USE AS FOOD:
CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CITRUS AURANTICUM\*
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ANGELICA LUCIDA USE AS FOOD: UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: KRUMMHOLTZ TREES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SPIROGYRA SP.

SEVERAL MORE SPECIES ARE INVOLVED(4 TO 10)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MALAXIS PALUDOSA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: FAURIA CRISTA-GALLI
USE AS FOOD:
FOOD OF A PARTICULAR ANIMAL (ACTUAL OR BELIEF)
MEDICINAL USE:

UNSPECIFIED INTERNAL COMPLAINTS (E.G. CANCER) GENERAL TONIC

A SINGLE OTHER SPECIES IS INCLUDED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES BRACTEOSUM
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
SORE EYES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES (BLACK GARDEN CURRANTS)\*

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES BRACTEOSUM
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
SORE EYES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES (BLACK GARDEN CURRANTS)\*

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: EMPETRUM NIGRUM
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
MEDICINAL USE:
LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)
HEART TROUBLES
MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: AMELANCHIER ALNIFOLIA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

UNRELATED PLANT SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM ULIGINOSUM USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: AMELANCHIER ALNIFOLIA USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

## PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM ULIGINOSUM USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LEDUM PALUSTRE SSP. GROENLANDICUM USE AS FOOD:
BEVERAGE
MEDICINAL USE:
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: URTICA DIDICA
USE AS FOOD:
 UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
 \*GREENS\* OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
 FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
MEDICINAL USE:
 RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS
 CONTRACEPTIVE, ABORTIVE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
 USED FOR BEATING OR WASHING IN PURIFICATION RITUAL
 NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
 CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VERATRUM ESCHSCHOLTZII
USE AS FOOD:
CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
SORE EYES
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS
ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES
EMETIC
BLADDER & URINARY AILMENTS
VENEREAL DISEASES
UNSPECIFIED INTERNAL COMPLAINTS (E.G. CANCER)
RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS
MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

PART OF PLANT: LEAVES

ORIGINALLY A NATIVE PLANT - EXPANDED TO IMPORTED

OR CULTIVATED COUNTERPART

LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: NICOTIANA QUADRIVALVIS
USE AS FOOD:
CHEWING OR SMOKING
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: NICOTIANA TABACUM\*
USE AS FOOD:
CHEWING OR SMOKING
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: NICOTIANA TABACUM\*
USE AS FOOD:
CHEWING OR SMOKING

IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: NICOTIANA QUADRIVALVIS
USE AS FOOD:
CHEWING OR SMOKING
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: NICOTIANA QUADRIVALVIS USE AS FOOD:
CHEWING OR SMOKING
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: NICOTIANA TABACUM\*
USE, AS FOOD:
CHEWING OR SMOKING
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: JUNIPERUS COMMUNIS
MEDICINAL USE:
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS

ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES
BLADDER & URINARY AILMENTS
UNSPECIFIED INTERNAL COMPLAINTS (E.G. CANCER)
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CEREMONIAL PURIFIER-FOR OBTAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER
INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: JUNIPERUS COMMUNIS
MEDICINAL USE:
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS
ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES
BLADDER & URINARY AILMENTS
UNSPECIFIED INTERNAL COMPLAINTS (E.G. CANCER)
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CEREMONIAL PURIFIER-FOR OBTAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER
INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: FRAGARIA CHILOENSIS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
MEDICINAL USE:
CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: FRAGARIA (GARDEN STRAWBERRY)\*
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ORIGINALLY A NATIVE PLANT - EXPANDED TO IMPORTED
OR CULTIVATED COUNTERPART

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: FRAGARIA CHILOENSIS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
MEDICINAL USE:
CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: FRAGARIA (GARDEN STRAWBERRY)\*
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: FRAGARIA CHILDENSIS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
MEDICINAL USE:
CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: FRAGARIA (GARDEN STRAWBERRY)\*
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SORBUS SITCHENSIS USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LEDUM PALUSTRE SSP. GROENLANDICUM USE AS FOOD:

BEVERAGE
MEDICINAL USE:

COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: FRAGARIA CHILDENSIS USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN MEDICINAL USE: CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PYRUS FUSCA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
MEDICINAL USE:
CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS
CONTRACEPTIVE, ABORTIVE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL
ROLE IN MYTHS AS A \*HUMANIZED\* FIGURE

PART OF PLANT: FRUIT, FLOWER, CONE, SEED, OR FLOATS OF ALGAE FRACTION OF A SCIENTIFIC SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS SPECTABILIS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
GREENS' OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
BEDDING: STUFFING: BANDAGING: TOWELD

BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS

MEDICINAL USE:

CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL
ROLE IN MYTHS AS A "HUMANIZED" FIGURE
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

OTHER USES HAIR TONIC

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: EMPETRUM NIGRUM USE AS FOOD:

FRUITS EATEN
MEDICINAL USE:
LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)
HEART TROUBLES
MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: EMPETRUM NIGRUM
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
MEDICINAL USE:
LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)
HEART TROUBLES
MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SHEPHERDIA CANADENSIS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SHEPHERDIA CANADENSIS

USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MONESES UNIFLORA MEDICINAL USE:

BLISTERING AGENT
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS
UNSPECIFIED INTERNAL COMPLAINTS (E.G. CANCER)
RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS
GENERAL TONIC

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CEREMONIAL PURIFIER-FOR OBTAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER
LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: STACHYS COOLEYAE USE AS FOOD:

\*GREENS\* OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ATHYRIUM FILIX-FEMINA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SAMBUCUS RACEMOSA
USE AS FOOD:
 FRUITS EATEN
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
 CEMENT, BINDING SUBSTANCE
MEDICINAL USE:
 LAXATIVE
 CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
 CEREMONIAL PURIFIER-FOR OBTAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
 CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: KIND OF VEGETABLE USE AS FOOD:

\*GREENS\* OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: FOMES PINICOLA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: GANDDERMA SP.
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
ROLE IN MYTHS AS A "HUMANIZED" FIGURE

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: JUNIPERUS COMMUNIS
MEDICINAL USE:
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS
ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES
BLADDER & URINARY AILMENTS
UNSPECIFIED INTERNAL COMPLAINTS (E.G. CANCER)
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CEREMONIAL PURIFIER-FOR OBTAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER
INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: JUNIPERUS COMMUNIS

MEDICINAL USE:

COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS

ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES

BLADDER & URINARY AILMENTS

UNSPECIFIED INTERNAL COMPLAINTS (E.G. CANCER)

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

CEREMONIAL PURIFIER-FOR OBTAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER

INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PYRUS FUSCA

USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD

MEDICINAL USE:
CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS
CONTRACEPTIVE: ABORTIVE

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL
ROLE IN MYTHS AS A 'HUMANIZED' FIGURE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PYRUS MALUS\*
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PYRUS FUSCA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
MEDICINAL USE:
CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS
CONTRACEPTIVE, ABORTIVE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PYRUS MALUS\*
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

ROLE IN MYTHS AS A 'HUMANIZED' FIGURE

PART OF PLANT: BRANCH

DRIGINALLY A NATIVE PLANT - EXPANDED TO IMPORTED

## OR CULTIVATED COUNTERPART

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PYRUS FUSCA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
MEDICINAL USE:
CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS
CONTRACEPTIVE, ABORTIVE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PYRUS MALUS\*
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

ROLE IN MYTHS AS A "HUMANIZED" FIGURE

USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
MEDICINAL USE:
CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS
CONTRACEPTIVE, ABORTIVE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL
ROLE IN MYTHS AS A \*HUMANIZED\* FIGURE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PYRUS FUSCA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PYRUS MALUS\*
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PYRUS FUSCA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
MEDICINAL USE:
CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS
CONTRACEPTIVE, ABORTIVE

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL
ROLE IN MYTHS AS A 'HUMANIZED' FIGURE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PYRUS MALUS\*
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PYRUS FUSCA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
MEDICINAL USE:

CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS
CONTRACEPTIVE, ABORTIVE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL
ROLE IN MYTHS AS A 'HUMANIZED' FIGURE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PYRUS MALUS\*
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
IMPORTED; OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ALECTORIA SARMENTOSA COMPLEX MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: USNEA LONGISSIMA

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LYCOPODIUM CLAVATUM

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LYCOPODIUM ANNOTINUM & (L. SELAGO)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MACROCYSTIS INTEGRIFOLIA USE AS FOOD:
COLLECTION OF HERRING SPAWN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MACROCYSTIS INTEGRIFOLIA
USE AS FOOD:
COLLECTION OF HERRING SPAWN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MOSS, GENERAL USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION
BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

MANY OTHER PLANT SPECIES ARE INVOLVED (OVER10)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SPHAGNUM SPP.

SEVERAL MORE SPECIES ARE INVOLVED(4 TO 10)

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)

TWO OR MORE CLOSELY RELATED SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: POLYTRICHUM JUNIPERINUM

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TANACETUM HURONENSE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RHYTIDEADELPHIS TRIQUETRUS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RANUNCULUS ACRIS\*

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RANUNCULUS OCCIDENTALIS
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
BLISTERING AGENT

SEVERAL MORE SPECIES ARE INVOLVED(4 TO 10)

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
TWO OR MORE CLOSELY RELATED SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ALNUS RUBRA USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

MOOD

FUEL OR TINDER

DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTOOING

MEDICINAL USE:

SORE EYES

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION
ROLE IN MYTHS AS A \*HUMANIZED\* FIGURE
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ALNUS CRISPA SSP. SINUATA, A. SINUATA USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: K/AL-XIL 2-1
PART OF PLANT: LEAVES
TWO OR MORE CLOSELY RELATED SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ALNUS RUBRA USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

WOOD

FUEL OR TINDER

DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTODING

MEDICINAL USE:

SORE EYES

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION
ROLE IN MYTHS AS A "HUMANIZED" FIGURE
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ALNUS CRISPA SSP. SINUATA, A. SINUATA USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

WOOD

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: DESMARESTIA SP.

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: EURHYNCHIUM OREGANUM

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PICEA SITCHENSIS USE AS FOOD: CAMBIUM CHEWING OR SMOKING PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE USE IN TECHNOLOGY: MOOD FUEL OR TINDER FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED MEDICINAL USE: POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS) CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY LOVE CHARM

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: POLYPORUS VERSICOLOR

BISCUIT!

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
NAME REFERS TO TWO OR MORE DISTINCTLY DIFFERENT,
UNRELATED PLANT SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LOBARIA PULMONARIA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: FOMES PINICOLA

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PICEA SITCHENSIS USE AS FOOD: CAMBIUM CHEWING OR SMOKING PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE USE IN TECHNOLOGY: MOOD FUEL OR TINDER FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED MEDICINAL USE: POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS) CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY LOVE CHARM

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: K/IIYT-SKUUSAA\*NGUU 2-121
PART OF PLANT: ROOT, BULB, OR OTHER UNDERGROUND PART
NAME REFERS TO TWO OR MORE DISTINCTLY DIFFERENT,
UNRELATED PLANT SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PICEA SITCHENSIS

USE AS FOOD:

CAMBIUM

CHEWING OR SMOKING

PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

WOOD

FUEL OR TINDER

FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

LOVE CHARM

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: K/IIYT-TLAAS 21

PART OF PLANT: BRANCH

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PICEA SITCHENSIS

USE AS FOOD:

CAMBIUM

CHEWING OR SMOKING

PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

WOOD

FUEL OR TINDER

FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

LOVE' CHARM

\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: K/\*A\*LLAA-K\*INNAANEE\*Y 22-112

\*MUSKEG MOSS\*

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
NAME REFERS TO TWO OR MORE DISTINCTLY DIFFERENT,
UNRELATED PLANT SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SPHAGNUM SPP.

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LYCOPODIUM CLAVATUM

A SINGLE OTHER SPECIES IS INCLUDED

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: K/ ALLAA-K/ ANNAAY 22-12 MUSKEG GRASS\*

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
NAME REFERS TO TWO OR MORE DISTINCTLY DIFFERENT,
UNRELATED PLANT SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ELEOCHARIS MACROSTACHYA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TOFIELDIA GLUTINOSA

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: K/'ALLAA-LHK/'AA\*YII 22-21 'MUSKEG BRANCHES'

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
NAME REFERS TO TWO OR MORE DISTINCTLY DIFFERENT,
UNRELATED PLANT SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: JUNCUS EFFUSUS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ELEOCHARIS MACROSTACHYA

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: K/ ALLAA-SK/UUSAA\*NGWEE\*Y 11-122

\*MUSKEG (SPECIAL) ROOTS\*
PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
TWO OR MORE CLOSELY RELATED SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CLADONIA PACIFICA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: GRASS, GENERAL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CAREX SPP.
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

MANY OTHER PLANT SPECIES ARE INVOLVED (OVER10)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LUZULA MULTIFLORA

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TRIGLOCHIN MARITIMUM USE AS FOOD:

'GREENS' OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS

PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
NAME REFERS TO TWO OR MORE DISTINCTLY DIFFERENT,
UNRELATED PLANT SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ELYMUS MOLLIS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
TWO OR MORE RECOGNIZABLY DIFFERENT,
BUT OBVIOUSLY SIMILAR SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: GRASS. GENERAL

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
DNE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ELYMUS MOLLIS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MENZIESIA FERRUGINEA
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTOOING
MEDICINAL USE:
ANTISEPTIC OR DEODORANT
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL
INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MENZIESIA FERRUGINEA
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTODING
MEDICINAL USE:
ANTISEPTIC OR DEODORANT
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL
INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MENZIESIA FERRUGINEA
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
 DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTOOING
MEDICINAL USE:
 ANTISEPTIC OR DEODORANT
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
 INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL
 INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
TWO OR MORE CLOSELY RELATED SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TSUGA HETEROPHYLLA

USE AS FOOD:

CAMBIUM

COLLECTION OF HERRING SPAWN

PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

WOOD

BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM

SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TSUGA MERTENSIANA

USE AS FOOD:

CAMBIUM

PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: K/ AANG-LHK/ A\*MELEEY 2-111

PART OF PLANT: BRANCH

TWO OR MORE CLOSELY RELATED SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TSUGA HETEROPHYLLA

USE AS FOOD:

CAMBIUM

COLLECTION OF HERRING SPAWN

PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

WOOD

BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM

SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

CREST. TOTEM. OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TSUGA HETEROPHYLLA USE AS FOOD: CAMBIUM COLLECTION OF HERRING SPAWN PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE USE IN TECHNOLOGY: MOOD BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING MEDICINAL USE: POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS) CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS CHAMAEMORUS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS CHAMAEMORUS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES LAXIFLORUM USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN FLAVOURING

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES LAXIFLORUM USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN FLAVOURING

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES LAXIFLORUM USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN FLAVOURING

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: K/'U\*NLHE 21
PART OF PLANT: FRUIT, FLOWER, CONE, SEED, OR FLOATS OF ALGAE
ORIGINALLY A NATIVE PLANT - EXPANDED TO IMPORTED
OR CULTIVATED COUNTERPART

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ROSA NUTKANA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
• GREENS• OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS
MEDICINAL USE:
GENERAL TONIC

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ROSA (GARDEN ROSE)\*

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ROSA NUTKANA USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
GREENS' OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS
MEDICINAL USE:
GENERAL TONIC

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ROSA (GARDEN ROSE)\*

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ROSA NUTKANA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
GREENS OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS
MEDICINAL USE:
GENERAL TONIC

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ROSA (GARDEN ROSE)\*

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: URTICA DIDICA
USE AS FOOD:
 UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
 'GREENS' OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
 FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
MEDICINAL USE:
 RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS
 CONTRACEPTIVE, ABORTIVE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
 USED FOR BEATING OR WASHING IN PURIFICATION RITUAL
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PLANTAGO MAJOR MEDICINAL USE: POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VIBURNUM EDULE USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
MEDICINAL USE:
SORE EYES

CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VIBURNUM EDULE
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
MEDICINAL USE:
SORE EYES
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM OVALIFOLIUM USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM ALASKAENSE USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM OVALIFOLIUM USE AS FOOD:

## FRUITS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM PARVIFOLIUM USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FUEL OR TINDER

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SYMPHORICARPOS ALBUS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MENZIESIA FERRUGINEA
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

DYE, DECORATION, COSMÈTIC, TATTODING
MEDICINAL USE:

ANTISEPTIC OR DEODORANT
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL
INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM OVALIFOLIUM USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM ALASKAENSE USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: "SAUCER BERRIES"
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TRIGLOCHIN MARITIMUM USE AS FOOD:

\*GREENS\* OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS

PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TAXUS BREVIFOLIA
USE AS FOOD:
 FRUITS EATEN
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
 WOOD
MEDICINAL USE:
 RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS
 CONTRACEPTIVE, ABORTIVE
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TAXUS BREVIFOLIA

USE AS FOOD:

FRUITS EATEN

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

WOOD

MEDICINAL USE:

RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS

CONTRACEPTIVE, ABORTIVE

IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: LHG=EEYT-LHK/'AAY 2-1

PART OF PLANT: BRANCH

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TAXUS BREVIFOLIA

USE AS FOOD:

FRUITS EATEN

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

MOOD

MEDICINAL USE:

RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS

CONTRACEPTIVE, ABORTIVE

IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: LHG=EEYT-TLAAS 2-2

PART OF PLANT: BRANCH

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TAXUS BREVIFOLIA

USE AS FOOD:

FRUITS EATEN

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

MOOD

MEDICINAL USE:

RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS

CONTRACEPTIVE, ABORTIVE

IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: LHGWUN
PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LYSICHITUM AMERICANUM USE AS FOOD:
CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION
UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS
USED IN STEAM-BATH OR SWEAT-HOUSE
MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LYSICHITUM AMERICANUM USE AS FOOD:

CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION

UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS
USED IN STEAM-BATH OR SWEAT-HOUSE
MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: HYLOCOMIUM SPLENDENS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PICEA SITCHENSIS USE AS FOOD: CAMBIUM CHEWING OR SMOKING PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE USE IN TECHNOLOGY: DOOM FUEL OR TINDER FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED MEDICINAL USE: POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS) CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY LOVE CHARM

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MONTIA SIBIRICA USE AS FOOD: •GREENS• OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: EMPETRUM NIGRUM
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
MEDICINAL USE:
LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)
HEART TROUBLES
MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CONIOSELINUM PACIFICUM MEDICINAL USE:
LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: DENANTHE SARMENTOSA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ERIOPHORUM SPP.
USE AS FOOD:
FOOD OF A PARTICULAR ANIMAL (ACTUAL OR BELIEF)
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTODING

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: HERACLEUM LANATUM USE AS FOOD:

GREENS' OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS
CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
BLADDER & URINARY AILMENTS
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION
OTHER USES
GAMES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: DENANTHE SARMENTOSA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: GLEHNIA LITTORALIS SSP. LEIOCARPA

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS) BLADDER & URINARY AILMENTS

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION
OTHER USES
GAMES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: AVENA (ROLLED DATS)\*

PART OF PLANT: FRUIT, FLOWER, CONE, SEED, OR FLOATS OF ALGAE ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: HERACLEUM LANATUM USE AS FOOD:

\*GREENS\* OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS) BLADDER & URINARY AILMENTS

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION OTHER USES

GAMES

RELP\*

PART OF PLANT: STEM, STIPE, OR SPROUTS

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: HERACLEUM LANATUM USE AS FOOD:
•GREENS• OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS

CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
BLADDER & URINARY AILMENTS

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION
OTHER USES
GAMES

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: NEREOCYSTIS LUETKEANA USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY OTHER USES GAMES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: NEREOCYSTIS LUETKEANA
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
OTHER USES
GAMES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MACROCYSTIS INTEGRIFOLIA
USE AS FOOD:
COLLECTION OF HERRING SPAWN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: NEREOCYSTIS LUETKEANA USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL

SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

OTHER USES

GAMES

LOVE CHARM

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ALECTORIA JUBATA GROUP

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PICEA SITCHENSIS
USE AS FOOD:
CAMBIUM
CHEWING OR SMOKING
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
FUEL OR TINDER
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: JUNIPERUS COMMUNIS
MEDICINAL USE:
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS

ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES
BLADDER & URINARY AILMENTS
UNSPECIFIED INTERNAL COMPLAINTS (E.G. CANCER)
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CEREMONIAL PURIFIER-FOR OBTAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER
INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
TWO OR MORE CLOSELY RELATED SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ERIOPHORUM SPP.
USE AS FOOD:
FOOD OF A PARTICULAR ANIMAL (ACTUAL OR BELIEF)
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTODING

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ACTAEA RUBRA SSP. ARGUTA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS PARVIFLORUS USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: MA\*TDELLAA\*W-LHK/\*AA\*Y 112-1 PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT) ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS PARVIFLORUS USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN

PART OF PLANT: LEAVES

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS PARVIFLORUS

USE AS FOOD:

FRUITS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MACROCYSTIS INTEGRIFOLIA USE AS FOOD:
COLLECTION OF HERRING SPAWN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ALARIA MARGINATA USE AS FOOD:

COLLECTION OF HERRING SPAWN PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MACROCYSTIS INTEGRIFOLIA
USE AS FOOD:
COLLECTION OF HERRING SPAWN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

SEVERAL MORE SPECIES ARE INVOLVED(4 TO 10)

PART OF PLANT: FRUIT, FLOWER, CONE, SEED, OR FLOATS OF ALGAE ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MACROCYSTIS INTEGRIFOLIA USE AS FOOD:
COLLECTION OF HERRING SPAWN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RANUNCULUS OCCIDENTALIS
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
BLISTERING AGENT

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MAIANTHEMUM DILATATUM

USE AS FOOD:

FRUITS EATEN

PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

SORE EYES

LAXATIVE

GENERAL TONIC

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: SAA|AA\*N-CHAA\*LAA 22-21 \*-SOFT\*

PART OF PLANT: DRIED OR PREPARED MATERIAL

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MAIANTHEMUM DILATATUM

USE AS FOOD:

FRUITS EATEN

PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

SORE EYES

LAXATIVE

GENERAL TONIC

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: SAA|AA\*N-LHK/'AAYII\* 12-12
PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MAIANTHEMUM DILATATUM

USE AS FOOD:

FRUITS EATEN

PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

SORE EYES

LAXATIVE

GENERAL TONIC

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MAIANTHEMUM DILATATUM
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
SORE EYES
LAXATIVE
GENERAL TONIC
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PTERIDIUM AQUILINUM USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ATHYRIUM FILIX-FEMINA

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PTERIDIUM AQUILINUM USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ATHYRIUM FILIX-FEMINA

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PTERIDIUM AQUILINUM USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ATHYRIUM FILIX-FEMINA

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: POSTELSIA PALMAEFORMIS (?)
MEDICINAL USE:
RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS
USED IN STEAM-BATH OR SWEAT-HOUSE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: IRIDAEA SP. (?)
USE AS FOOD:
•GREENS• OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CORNUS STOLONIFERA
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SOLANUM TUBEROSUM\*
USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CHAMAECYPARIS NOOTKATENSIS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
FUEL OR TINDER
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CHAMAECYPARIS NOOTKATENSIS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
FUEL OR TINDER
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CHAMAECYPARIS NOOTKATENSIS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
FUEL OR TINDER
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT (OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: HERB GROWING UNDER SALMONBERRY (FD)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM PARVIFOLIUM USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FUEL OR TINDER

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM PARVIFOLIUM USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FUEL OR TINDER

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ULVA LACTUCA
USE AS FOOD:
GREENS! OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ENTEROMORPHA INTESTINALIS

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CAREX MERTENSII

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ACER GLABRUM

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
OTHER USES
GAMES
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: DRYOPTERIS FILIX-MAS USE AS FOOD: UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN USE IN TECHNOLOGY: DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTODING

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ACHILLEA MILLEFOLIUM
USE AS FOOD:
FLAVOURING
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ACHILLEA MILLEFOLIUM
USE AS FOOD:
FLAVOURING
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: DRYOPTERIS FILIX-MAS
USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTODING

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: HALOSACCION GLANDULIFORME OTHER USES CHILDREN'S GAMES OR TOYS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM VITIS-IDAEA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM VITIS-IDAEA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM VITIS-IDAEA USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VIOLA LANGSDORFII

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: GAULTHERIA SHALLON USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTOOING

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: GAULTHERIA SHALLON USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTODING

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: GAULTHERIA SHALLON USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTOOING

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: GAULTHERIA SHALLON USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTOOING

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MAIANTHEMUM DILATATUM
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
SORE EYES

LAXATIVE
GENERAL TONIC
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CALYPSO BULBOSA
USE AS FOOD:
 UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
MEDICINAL USE:
 GENERAL TONIC
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
LOVE CHARM

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CORNUS STOLONIFERA
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: THUJA PLICATA
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
FUEL OR TINDER
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTODING
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION
BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING
MEDICINAL USE:
CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS
CAUTERIZING

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL
ROLE IN MYTHS AS A 'HUMANIZED' FIGURE
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS SPECTABILIS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
'GREENS' OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING
UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS
MEDICINAL USE:
CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS

CASIS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL
ROLE IN MYTHS AS A 'HUMANIZED' FIGURE
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL
OTHER USES
HAIR TONIC

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS SPECTABILIS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
'GREENS' OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING
UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS
MEDICINAL USE:
CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL
ROLE IN MYTHS AS A 'HUMANIZED' FIGURE
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

OTHER USES HAIR TONIC

HAIR TONIC

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: AQUILEGIA FORMOSA ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS SPECTABILIS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
'GREENS' OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING
UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS
MEDICINAL USE:
CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL
ROLE IN MYTHS AS A 'HUMANIZED' FIGURE
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL
OTHER USES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS SPECTABILIS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
'GREENS' OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING
UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS
MEDICINAL USE:
CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL ROLE IN MYTHS AS A 'HUMANIZED' FIGURE NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL OTHER USES HAIR TONIC

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS SPECTABILIS USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN \*GREENS\* OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS USE IN TECHNOLOGY: BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS MEDICINAL USE: CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL ROLE IN MYTHS AS A "HUMANIZED" FIGURE NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL OTHER USES HAIR TONIC

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS (CULTIVATED RASPBERRY)\*
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: SK/ AA\*WWAAN-GII\*T7II-LHK/ AA\*Y -1 PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS (CULTIVATED RASPBERRY)\*
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LEATHESIA DIFFORMIS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SANGUISORBA CANADENSIS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: POLYSTICHUM MUNITUM
USE AS FOOD:
 UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
MEDICINAL USE:
 POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
 ROLE IN MYTHS AS A 'HUMANIZED' FIGURE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: BLECHNUM SPICANT USE AS FOOD:
CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: STIIT
PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SAMBUCUS RACEMOSA USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN USE IN TECHNOLOGY: CEMENT, BINDING SUBSTANCE

MEDICINAL USE:

LAXATIVE

CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

CEREMONIAL PURIFIER-FOR OBTAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

STEMS)
PART OF PLANT: BRANCH
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SAMBUCUS RACEMOSA USE AS FOOD:

FRUITS EATEN

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

CEMENT, BINDING SUBSTANCE

MEDICINAL USE:

LAXATIVE

CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

CEREMONIAL PURIFIER-FOR OBTAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: STIIT-SK/UUSAA\*NGWEE\*Y
PART OF PLANT: ROOT, BULB, OR OTHER UNDERGROUND PART

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SAMBUCUS RACEMOSA USE AS FOOD:

FRUITS EATEN

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

CEMENT, BINDING SUBSTANCE

MEDICINAL USE:

LAXATIVE

CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

CEREMONIAL PURIFIER-FOR OBTAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: STIIT-XIL 2-1

PART OF PLANT: LEAVES

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SAMBUCUS RACEMOSA

USE AS FOOD:

FRUITS EATEN

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

CEMENT, BINDING SUBSTANCE

MEDICINAL USE:

LAXATIVE

CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

CEREMONIAL PURIFIER-FOR OBTAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: STLE-K/'I\*ST'AA 1-21 (?STLUU-)
"ROUND THING DUG OUT WITH
FINGER!

PART OF PLANT: ROOT, BULB, OR OTHER UNDERGROUND PART ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: FRITILLARIA CAMSCHATCENSIS USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

## ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: APARGIDIUM BOREALE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: HALOSACCION GLANDULIFORME OTHER USES CHILDREN'S GAMES OR TOYS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS PARVIFLORUS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS PARVIFLORUS USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS PARVIFLORUS USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: DROSERA ROTUNDIFOLIA ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: STREPTOPUS AMPLEXIFOLIUS
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VICIA GIGANTEA ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY A SINGLE OTHER SPECIES IS INCLUDED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: STREPTOPUS AMPLEXIFOLIUS
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VICIA GIGANTEA ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

A SINGLE OTHER SPECIES IS INCLUDED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PTERIDIUM AQUILINUM USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LUPINUS LITTORALIS
USE AS FOOD:
 UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
 PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
 NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

A SINGLE OTHER SPECIES IS INCLUDED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LUPINUS LITTORALIS
USE AS FOOD:
 UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
 PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
 NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LUPINUS NOOTKATENSIS
USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LUPINUS LITTORALIS
USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LUPINUS NOOTKATENSIS USE AS FOOD: UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

PART OF PLANT: LEAVES
NAME REFERS TO TWO OR MORE DISTINCTLY DIFFERENT,
UNRELATED PLANT SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PTERIDIUM AQUILINUM USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LUPINUS LITTORALIS USE AS FOOD:

UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

A SINGLE OTHER SPECIES IS INCLUDED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LUPINUS LITTORALIS
USE AS FOOD:
 UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
 PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
 NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY\_

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LUPINUS NOOTKATENSIS USE AS FOOD: UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LATHYRUS JAPONICUS ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: FUCUS SPP. USE AS FOOD:

• GREENS• OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS
MEDICINAL USE:
SORE EYES
CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS

SEVERAL MORE SPECIES ARE INVOLVED(4 TO 10)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ZOSTERA MARINA
USE AS FOOD:
COLLECTION OF HERRING SPAWN
MEDICINAL USE:
ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES
CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PHYLLOSPADIX SCOULERI

A SINGLE OTHER SPECIES IS INCLUDED

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: AQUILEGIA FORMOSA ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PELTIGERA CANINA
BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: POTENTILLA VILLOSA

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: NEREOCYSTIS LUETKEANA
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
OTHER USES
GAMES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUMEX OCCIDENTALIS
USE AS FOOD:
GREENS! OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS

MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

A SINGLE OTHER SPECIES IS INCLUDED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RHEUM (GARDEN RHUBARB)\*
USE AS FOOD:

"GREENS" OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: THUJA PLICATA
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
FUEL OR TINDER
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTODING
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION
BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING
MEDICINAL USE:
CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS

CAUTERIZING
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL ROLE IN MYTHS AS A \*HUMANIZED\* FIGURE SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: THUJA PLICATA
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD

FUEL OR TINDER
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTOOING
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION
BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING

MEDICINAL USE:

CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS CAUTERIZING

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL
ROLE IN MYTHS AS A 'HUMANIZED' FIGURE
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS PEDATUS USE AS FOOD: FRUITS FATEN

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS PEDATUS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LINNAEA BOREALIS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS PEDATUS USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: EPILOBIUM ANGUSTIFOLIUM
USE AS FOOD:
 UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
 'GREENS' OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
 FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
MEDICINAL USE:
 LAXATIVE
 GENERAL TONIC

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: EPILOBIUM ANGUSTIFOLIUM USE AS FOOD:

UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

'GREENS' OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

MEDICINAL USE:

LAXATIVE
GENERAL TONIC

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: EPILOBIUM ANGUSTIFOLIUM USE AS FOOD:

UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

'GREENS' OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

MEDICINAL USE:

LAXATIVE
GENERAL TONIC

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: EPILOBIUM ANGUSTIFOLIUM USE AS FOOD:

UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

GREENS OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

MEDICINAL USE:

LAXATIVE
GENERAL TONIC

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SAGINA MAXIMA (?)
USE AS FOOD:
"GREENS" OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: GERANIUM RICHARDSONII

A SINGLE OTHER SPECIES IS INCLUDED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LIGUSTICUM SCOTICUM (?)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ACHILLEA MILLEFOLIUM
USE AS FOOD:
FLAVOURING
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: POLYSTICHUM MUNITUM
USE AS FOOD:

UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

ROLE IN MYTHS AS A 'HUMANIZED' FIGURE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: POLYSTICHUM MUNITUM
USE AS FOOD:

UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
ROLE IN MYTHS AS A \*HUMANIZED\* FIGURE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: POTENTILLA PACIFICA
USE AS FOOD:
 UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
 FOOD OF A PARTICULAR ANIMAL (ACTUAL OR BELIEF)
MEDICINAL USE:
 LAXATIVE
 MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
 NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: POTENTILLA PACIFICA USE AS FOOD: UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN FOOD OF A PARTICULAR ANIMAL (ACTUAL OR BELIEF) MEDICINAL USE: LAXATIVE MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: TS'ELH-T'A\*W-SGIIT 122 'IT STICKS TO YOU' PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT (OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT) TWO OR MORE CLOSELY RELATED SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: GALIUM APARINE ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: GALIUM TRIFLORUM

\*\*<del>\*</del>\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: TS'ELHE 11 PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT) LANGUAGE OF ORIGIN: TLINGIT(ALASKA) ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PINUS CONTORTA MEDICINAL USF: POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS) CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS) HEART TROUBLES

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: TS'ELHE-TLAAS 11-2

PART OF PLANT: BRANCH

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PINUS CONTORTA
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS
LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)
HEART TROUBLES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PINUS CONTORTA
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS
LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)
HEART TROUBLES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: EMPETRUM NIGRUM
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
MEDICINAL USE:
LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)
HEART TROUBLES
MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: DAUCUS CAROTA\*

USE AS FOOD:

UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ACHILLEA MILLEFOLIUM
USE AS FOOD:
 FLAVOURING
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
 UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS
MEDICINAL USE:
 POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ANGELICA LUCIDA USE AS FOOD: UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CORNUS UNALASCHKENSIS/CANADENSIS USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CORNUS UNALASCHKENSIS/CANADENSIS USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: OPLOPANAX HORRIDUM USE AS FOOD:

CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS
MEDICINAL USE:

COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)

RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

CEREMONIAL PURIFIER-FOR OBTAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

OTHER USES HAIR TONIC

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: OPLOPANAX HORRIDUM USE AS FOOD:
CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS

MEDICINAL USE:

COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)

LAXATIVE

RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

CEREMONIAL PURIFIER-FOR OBTAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL

LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM

SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

OTHER USES

HAIR TONIC

\*\*<del>\*</del>\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: TS'II\*LHENJAAW-XIL 222-2

PART OF PLANT: LEAVES

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: OPLOPANAX HORRIDUM

USE AS FOOD:

CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS

MEDICINAL USE:

COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)

LAXATIVE

RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

CEREMONIAL PURIFIER-FOR OBTAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL

LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM

SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

OTHER USES

HAIR TONIC

\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: TS UU

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: THUJA PLICATA USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

WOOD

FUEL OR TINDER

DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTODING

FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION

BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING

MEDICINAL USE:

CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS

CAUTERIZING

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL
ROLE IN MYTHS AS A 'HUMANIZED' FIGURE
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

\*\*<del>\*</del>\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: TS'UU-LHK/'A\*MELEEY 2-221

PART OF PLANT: BRANCH

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: THUJA PLICATA

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

WOOD

FUEL OR TINDER

DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTODING

FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION

BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING

MEDICINAL USE:

CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS

CAUTERIZING

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL

ROLE IN MYTHS AS A 'HUMANIZED' FIGURE

SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: TS'UU-TLAAS 21

PART OF PLANT: BRANCH

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: THUJA PLICATA USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

WOOD

FUEL OR TINDER

DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTODING

FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION

BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING

MEDICINAL USE:

CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS

CAUTERIZING

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL
ROLE IN MYTHS AS A 'HUMANIZED' FIGURE

SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: XI PART OF PLANT: CAMBIUM

TWO OR MORE RECOGNIZABLY DIFFERENT,

BUT OBVIOUSLY SIMILAR SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PICEA SITCHENSIS

USE AS FOOD:

CAMBIUM

CHEWING OR SMOKING

PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

MOOD

FUEL OR TINDER

FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

LOVE CHARM

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TSUGA HETEROPHYLLA

USE AS FOOD:

CAMBIUM

COLLECTION OF HERRING SPAWN

PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

MOOD

BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

A SINGLE OTHER SPECIES IS INCLUDED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: NUPHAR LUTEUM SSP. POLYSEPALUM MEDICINAL USE:

COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)

HEART TROUBLES

ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES

UNSPECIFIED INTERNAL COMPLAINTS (E.G. CANCER)

RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM

INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION

CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RANUNCULUS ACRIS\*

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RANUNCULUS OCCIDENTALIS
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
BLISTERING AGENT

SEVERAL MORE SPECIES ARE INVOLVEDIA TO 10)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RANUNCULUS ACRIS\*

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RANUNCULUS OCCIDENTALIS
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
BLISTERING AGENT

SEVERAL MORE SPECIES ARE INVOLVED(4 TO 10)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LEDUM PALUSTRE SSP. GROENLANDICUM USE AS FOOD:

BEVERAGE
MEDICINAL USE:

COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: KALMIA POLIFOLIA
MEDICINAL USE:
LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)
HEART TROUBLES
UNSPECIFIED INTERNAL COMPLAINTS (E.G. CANCER)
MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
TWO OR MORE RECOGNIZABLY DIFFERENT,
BUT OBVIOUSLY SIMILAR SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PELTIGERA CANINA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PELTIGERA APHTHOSA MEDICINAL USE: POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

SEVERAL MORE SPECIES ARE INVOLVED(4 TO 10)

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: XIL-SG=I\*NAAWAA ? GREEN LEAVES PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT (OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT) ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: POTENTILLA VILLOSA

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: XIL-SKY UUWA (NE) ? TAIL LEAVES PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT) ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ACHILLEA MILLEFOLIUM USE AS FOOD: FLAVOURING USE IN TECHNOLOGY: UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS MEDICINAL USE: POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS) MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: XIL-7ANDA\*N-TIDAA\*LS 1-22-12

> (-DELDAALS -12) \*CLIMBING LEAVES\*

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT (OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT) NAME REFERS TO TWO OR MORE DISTINCTLY DIFFERENT. UNRELATED PLANT SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MIMULUS GUTTATUS

SEVERAL MORE SPECIES ARE INVOLVED(4 TO 10)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TRIFOLIUM WORMSKJOLDII
USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
FOOD OF A PARTICULAR ANIMAL (ACTUAL OR BELIEF)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CLADONIA BELLIFLORA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ARNICA CORDIFOLIA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CALTHA BIFLORA

PART OF PLANT: CAMBIUM

TWO OR MORE RECOGNIZABLY DIFFERENT. BUT OBVIOUSLY SIMILAR SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PICEA SITCHENSIS

USE AS FOOD:

CAMBIUM

CHEWING OR SMOKING

PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

WOOD

FUEL OR TINDER

FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

LOVE CHARM

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TSUGA HETEROPHYLLA

USE AS FOOD:

CAMBIUM

COLLECTION OF HERRING SPAWN

PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

WOOD

BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM

SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

A SINGLE OTHER SPECIES IS INCLUDED

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: X/AA\*LHK'ETS'E-LHK/'AA\*Y 211-2

\*PORCUPINE BRANCHES\*

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT) ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CAREX MACROCEPHALA

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: X/AA\*YAAWAA 222
PART OF PLANT: THORNS, SLIVERS, OR SPINES
LANGUAGE OF ORIGIN: TLINGIT(ALASKA)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES LACUSTRE USE AS FOOD:
CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES LACUSTRE USE AS FOOD:

CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CONOCEPHALUM CONICUM
MEDICINAL USE:
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS
LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ARENARIA PEPLOIDES

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: Y'AALH-G=AA\*NNA 2-11 'RAVEN'S BERRY\*

PART OF PLANT: FRUIT, FLOWER, CONE, SEED, OR FLOATS OF ALGAE ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LONICERA INVOLUCRATA MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

TOOTHACHES

SORE EYES

HEART TROUBLES

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

OTHER USES

HAIR TONIC

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: Y'AALH-G=AA\*NNA-LHK/'AAY 2-11-1

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT) ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LONICERA INVOLUCRATA

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

TOOTHACHES

SORE EYES

HEART TROUBLES

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

OTHER USES

HAIR TONIC

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: Y'AA\*LH-SK/A\*WG/AAY (SW) \*RAVEN\*S

KNIFE\*

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT (OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT) ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SCIRPUS MICROCARPUS ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: Y'AA\*LH-TLUUWAA'2-12 'RAVEN'S CANOE'

PART OF PLANT: FRUIT, FLOWER, CONE, SEED, OR FLOATS OF ALGAE ORIGINALLY A NATIVE PLANT - EXPANDED TO IMPORTED OR CULTIVATED COUNTERPART

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VICIA GIGANTEA ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PHASEOLUS VULGARIS\*
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VICIA GIGANTEA ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PHASEOLUS VULGARIS\*
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CARDAMINE ANGULATA ? (MENYANTHES?)
MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS
HEART TROUBLES
EMETIC

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

CEREMONIAL PURIFIER-FOR OBTAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ALLIUM CEPA
USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: BRASSICA CAMPESTRIS\*
USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

APPENDIX 7. AN ALPHABETICAL LISTING OF FOLK SEGREGATES FOR PLANTS IN BELLA COOLA.

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CRATAEGUS DOUGLASII
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
MEDICINAL USE:
VENEREAL DISEASES
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CEREMONIAL PURIFIER-FOR OBTAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER
INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: POPULUS TRICHOCARPA USE AS FOOD: CAMBIUM USE IN TECHNOLOGY: DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTODING MEDICINAL USE: POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS) COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS) UNSPECIFIED INTERNAL COMPLAINTS (E.G. CANCER) RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS USED IN STEAM-BATH OR SWEAT-HOUSE ROLE IN RELIGION. MYTHOLOGY. TRADITION: INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL OTHER USES

HAIR TONIC

\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: ALHAAK/'LIKW 'ALL INTERTWINED'
PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: JUNIPERUS COMMUNIS
MEDICINAL USE:
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS
LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)
ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: JUNIPERUS COMMUNIS
MEDICINAL USE:
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS
LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)
ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SAMBUCUS RACEMOSA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
MEDICINAL USE:
ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES
EMETIC
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES DIVARICATUM USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
GREENS' OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS
MEDICINAL USE:
SORE EYES
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS
MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

SEVERAL MORE SPECIES ARE INVOLVED(4 TO 10)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CITRUS AURANTICUM\*
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM CAESPITOSUM USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES DIVARICATUM USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

'GREENS' OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS

MEDICINAL USE:

SORE EYES

COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS

MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES (CULTIVATED GOOSEBERRY)\*

\*\*<del>\*</del>\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: ATL'TL'ANU-LHP
PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ORIGINALLY A NATIVE PLANT - EXPANDED TO IMPORTED
OR CULTIVATED COUNTERPART

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES DIVARICATUM

USE AS FOOD:

FRUITS EATEN

\*GREENS\* OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS

MEDICINAL USE:

SORE EYES

COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES (CULTIVATED GOOSEBERRY)\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: AXTL\*AK/W\*-LHP
PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PSEUDOTSUGA MENZIESII

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

FUEL OR TINDER

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS) COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS

ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES
LAXATIVE
DIARRHOEA
BLADDER & URINARY AILMENTS
VENEREAL DISEASES
RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: EGREGIA MENZIESII
USE AS FOOD:
COLLECTION OF HERRING SPAWN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: FRITILLARIA CAMSCHATCENSIS
USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SPIRAEA DOUGLASII USE IN TECHNOLOGY: WOOD

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SAMBUCUS RACEMOSA
USE AS FOOD:
 FRUITS EATEN
 PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
MEDICINAL USE:
 ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES
 EMETIC
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
 SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES BRACTEOSUM USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS
MEDICINAL USE:
VENEREAL DISEASES
MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SELAGINELLA WALLACEI

MANY OTHER PLANT SPECIES ARE INVOLVED (OVER10)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ALECTORIA SARMENTOSA COMPLEX USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTODING

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ISOTHECIUM STOLONIFERUM
SEVERAL MORE SPECIES ARE INVOLVED(4 TO 10)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ACHILLEA MILLEFOLIUM
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PYRUS FUSCA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
MEDICINAL USE:
SORE EYES
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

## CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CHAMAECYPARIS NOOTKATENSIS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS
GENERAL TONIC
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LYCOPODIUM CLAVATUM BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LINNAEA BOREALIS

A SINGLE OTHER SPECIES IS INCLUDED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ALNUS RUBRA
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
FUEL OR TINDER
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTODING
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

LAXATIVE EMETIC

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CHAMAECYPARIS NOOTKATENSIS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS
GENERAL TONIC
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: POLYPORUS OFFICINALIS MEDICINAL USE:

VENEREAL DISEASES
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

SEVERAL MORE SPECIES ARE INVOLVED(4 TO 10)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CONIOSELINUM PACIFICUM USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CONIOSELINUM PACIFICUM USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PICEA SITCHENSIS

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TÜBERCULOSIS)

ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES

LAXATIVE

BLADDER & URINARY AILMENTS

VENEREAL DISEASES

UNSPECIFIED INTERNAL COMPLAINTS (E.G. CANCER)

RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS

USED IN STEAM-BATH OR SWEAT-HOUSE

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
USED FOR BEATING OR WASHING IN PURIFICATION RITUAL
INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: NEREOCYSTIS LUETKEANA
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: K'AMKW'UK'S
PART OF PLANT: NUMEROUS INDIVIDUALS, PLURAL FORM
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: NEREOCYSTIS LUETKEANA
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SAMBUCUS RACEMOSA
USE AS FOOD:
 FRUITS EATEN
 PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
MEDICINAL USE:
 ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES
 EMETIC
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
 SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
 CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: POLYPODIUM GLYCYRRHIZA
USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
MEDICINAL USE:
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS
ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PHYSOCARPUS CAPITATUS
USE AS FOOD:
 CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS
MEDICINAL USE:
 POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
 ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES
 EMETIC
 VENEREAL DISEASES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS IDAEUS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS (CULTIVATED RASPBERRY)\*
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PTERIDIUM AQUILINUM USE AS FOOD:

UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL
OTHER USES

FERTILIZER

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ATHYRIUM FILIX-FEMINA MEDICINAL USE:
SORE EYES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS SPECTABILIS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
\*GREENS\* OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS SPECTABILIS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
'GREENS' OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CICUTA DOUGLASII USE AS FOOD: UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS MEDICINAL USE:
ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES
LAXATIVE
EMETIC

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ABIES AMABILIS
MEDICINAL USE:
SORE EYES
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS
LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)
ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
OTHER USES
PERFUME

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ABIES LASIOCARPA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LUPINUS NOOTKATENSIS USE AS FOOD: UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LUPINUS NOOTKATENSIS

USE AS FOOD: UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CRATAEGUS DOUGLASII
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
MEDICINAL USE:
VENEREAL DISEASES
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CEREMONIAL PURIFIER-FOR OBTAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER
INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES BRACTEOSUM USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS
MEDICINAL USE:
VENEREAL DISEASES
MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: POPULUS TRICHOCARPA USE AS FOOD: CAMBIUM

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTOOING

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS
LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)
UNSPECIFIED INTERNAL COMPLAINTS (E.G. CANCER)
RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS
USED IN STEAM-BATH OR SWEAT-HOUSE

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

OTHER USES HAIR TONIC

PLANT\*

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: JUNIPERUS COMMUNIS
MEDICINAL USE:
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS
LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)
ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MAIANTHEMUM DILATATUM USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SMILACINA RACEMOSA

A SINGLE OTHER SPECIES IS INCLUDED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MAIANTHEMUM DILATATUM USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SMILACINA RACEMOSA

A SINGLE OTHER SPECIES IS INCLUDED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: FRAGARIA VESCA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: FRAGARIA (GARDEN STRAWBERRY)\*
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

A SINGLE OTHER SPECIES IS INCLUDED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: FRAGARIA VESCA USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: FRAGARIA (GARDEN STRAWBERRY)\*
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

A SINGLE OTHER SPECIES IS INCLUDED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CIRSIUM VULGARE\*

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CIRSIUM BREVISTYLUM\*

A SINGLE OTHER SPECIES IS INCLUDED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SOLANUM TUBEROSUM\*
USE AS FOOD:
 UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
 CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: "WILD POTATO" (BELLA COOLA)
USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

TWO OR MORE RECOGNIZABLY DIFFERENT, BUT OBVIOUSLY SIMILAR SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CIRSIUM VULGARE\*

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CIRSIUM BREVISTYLUM\*

A SINGLE OTHER SPECIES IS INCLUDED

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: K/WALS

PART OF PLANT: BRANCH

TWO OR MORE RECOGNIZABLY DIFFERENT, BUT OBVIOUSLY SIMILAR SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TSUGA HETEROPHYLLA USE AS FOOD:

CAMBIUM

COLLECTION OF HERRING SPAWN

PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTOOING

BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS

CAUTERIZING

ANTISEPTIC OR DEODORANT

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

CEREMONIAL PURIFIER-FOR OBTAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER

INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PSEUDOTSUGA MENZIESII

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

FUEL OR TINDER

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS

ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES

LAXATIVE

DIARRHOEA

BLADDER & URINARY AILMENTS

VENEREAL DISEASES

RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

SEVERAL MORE SPECIES ARE INVOLVED(4 TO 10)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SORBUS SITCHENSIS
MEDICINAL USE:
SORE EYES
ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES
LAXATIVE
RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TAXUS BREVIFOLIA
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
MEDICINAL USE:
LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PASTINACA SATIVA\*
USE AS FOOD:
 UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
IMPORTED; OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ANGELICA LUCIDA USE AS FOOD: UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS PARVIFLORUS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
'GREENS' OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: BETULA PAPYRIFERA USE IN TECHNOLOGY: FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: BETULA PAPYRIFERA USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MACROCYSTIS INTEGRIFOLIA USE AS FOOD:

COLLECTION OF HERRING SPAWN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MYRICA GALE MEDICINAL USE:
BLADDER & URINARY AILMENTS
VENEREAL DISEASES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SPIRAEA DOUGLASII USE IN TECHNOLOGY: WOOD

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS PARVIFLORUS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
'GREENS' OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PORPHYRA SPP. USE AS FOOD:

\*GREENS\* OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
MEDICINAL USE:
GOITRES, MINERAL DEFICIENCIES
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PINUS CONTORTA
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)
HEART TROUBLES
LAXATIVE
EMETIC
RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: THUJA PLICATA USE IN TECHNOLOGY: WOOD

DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTOOING FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS
HEART TROUBLES
ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES

RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CHAMAECYPARIS NOOTKATENSIS USE IN TECHNOLOGY: FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS
GENERAL TONIC
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PICEA SITCHENSIS
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)
ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES
LAXATIVE
BLADDER & URINARY AILMENTS
VENEREAL DISEASES
UNSPECIFIED INTERNAL COMPLAINTS (E.G. CANCER)
RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS
USED IN STEAM-BATH OR SWEAT-HOUSE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

USED FOR BEATING OR WASHING IN PURIFICATION RITUAL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CICUTA DOUGLASII
USE AS FOOD:
 UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
 CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS
MEDICINAL USE:
 ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES
 LAXATIVE
 EMETIC

INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: GAULTHERIA SHALLON
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ARCTOSTAPHYLOS UVA-URSI
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
CHEWING OR SMOKING
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ARCTOSTAPHYLOS UVA-URSI
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
CHEWING OR SMOKING
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PACHYSTIMA MYRSINITES MEDICINAL USE:
MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: GAULTHERIA SHALLON
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES LACUSTRE USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS
MEDICINAL USE:
LAXATIVE
ANTIDOTE FOR POISONING
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM
OTHER USES

HAIR TONIC

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES LACUSTRE
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS
MEDICINAL USE:
LAXATIVE
ANTIDOTE FOR POISONING
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM
OTHER USES
HAIR TONIC

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: HOLODISCUS DISCOLOR

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ARCTIUM MINUS\*

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ARUNCUS SYLVESTER
MEDICINAL USE:
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS
ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES
VENEREAL DISEASES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: GEUM MACROPHYLLUM MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: POPULUS TREMULOIDES MEDICINAL USE:

BLADDER & URINARY AILMENTS

VENEREAL DISEASES

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION

CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PLANTAGO MAJOR

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MATRICARIA MATRICARIOIDES\*

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: AQUILEGIA FORMOSA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: AQUILEGIA (GARDEN COLUMBINE)\*

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LYCOPODIUM CLAVATUM

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: BROMUS ERECTUS\*
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ANTENNARIA NEGLECTA
MEDICINAL USE:
UNSPECIFIED INTERNAL COMPLAINTS (E.G. CANCER)

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: STELLARIA MEDIA\*

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SHEPHERDIA CANADENSIS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
MEDICINAL USE:
ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES
LAXATIVE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SHEPHERDIA CANADENSIS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
MEDICINAL USE:
ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES
LAXATIVE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PLANTAGO MAJOR

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PRUNUS EMARGINATA
USE AS FOOD:
 CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
 DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTOOING
 LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION
MEDICINAL USE:
 LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)
HEART TROUBLES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PRUNUS EMARGINATA
USE AS FOOD:
 CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
 DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTOOING
 LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION
MEDICINAL USE:
 LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)
HEART TROUBLES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PRUNUS EMARGINATA
USE AS FOOD:
CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTODING
LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION

MEDICINAL USE:

'LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)

HEART TROUBLES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VERATRUM ESCHSCHOLTZII
USE AS FOOD:
CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUMBURN, MOUNDS, INC.

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS) COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES LAXATIVE VENEREAL DISEASES

PAIN-KILLER, ANAESTHETIC
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CEREMONIAL PURIFIER-FOR OBTAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER
LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VERATRUM ESCHSCHOLTZII USE AS FOOD: CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS MEDICINAL USE: POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS
ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES
LAXATIVE
VENEREAL DISEASES
PAIN-KILLER, ANAESTHETIC
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CEREMONIAL PURIFIER-FOR OBTAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER
LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VERATRUM ESCHSCHOLTZII USE AS FOOD:

CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS) COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES

LAXATIVE

VENEREAL DISEASES

PAIN-KILLER, ANAESTHETIC

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

CEREMONIAL PURIFIER-FOR OBTAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER
LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LEDUM PALUSTRE SSP. GROENLANDICUM USE AS FOOD:
BEVERAGE
MEDICINAL USE:
ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES

IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: KALMIA POLIFOLIA

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: P'ANI-LHP
PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
TWO OR MORE CLOSELY RELATED SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ALNUS INCANA
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
UNSPECIFIED INTERNAL COMPLAINTS (E.G. CANCER)
MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ALNUS CRISPA SSP. SINUATA, A. SINUATA MEDICINAL USE: MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PYRUS FUSCA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
MEDICINAL USE:
SORE EYES
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CORNUS UNALASCHKENSIS/CANADENSIS USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PTERIDIUM AQUILINUM USE AS FOOD:

UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

OTHER USES

FERTILIZER

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LONICERA INVOLUCRATA
USE AS FOOD:
 CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS
MEDICINAL USE:
 POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
 COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS
 VENEREAL DISEASES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TSUGA HETEROPHYLLA USE AS FOOD: CAMBIUM COLLECTION OF HERRING SPAWN

PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTOOING BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS
CAUTERIZING

ANTISEPTIC OR DEODORANT

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

CEREMONIAL PURIFIER-FOR OBTAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER
INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TSUGA MERTENSIANA
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

PART OF PLANT: NUMEROUS INDIVIDUALS, PLURAL FORM LANGUAGE OF ORIGIN: KWAKIUTL ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

UNE-TU-UNE CURRESPUNDENCE WITH A BUTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PTERIDIUM AQUILINUM USE AS FOOD:

UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

OTHER USES

FERTILIZER

PART OF PLANT: ROOT, BULB, OR OTHER UNDERGROUND PART LANGUAGE OF ORIGIN: KWAKIUTL

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PTERIDIUM AQUILINUM USE AS FOOD:

UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

OTHER USES FERTILIZER

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CITRUS AURANTICUM\*
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: THUJA PLICATA USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

WOOD

DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTOOING

FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS

COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS HEART TROUBLES

ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES

RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CHAMAECYPARIS NOOTKATENSIS USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS) CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS

GENERAL TONIC

IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MNIUM SPP.
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: DAUCUS CAROTA\*
USE AS FOOD:
 UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
 CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ACER GLABRUM USE IN TECHNOLOGY: WOOD FUEL OR TINDER FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: OPLOPANAX HORRIDUM

USE AS FOOD:

FOOD OF A PARTICULAR ANIMAL (ACTUAL OR BELIEF)

CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS

MEDICINAL USE:

ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES

LAXATIVE

EMETIC

RHEUMATISM. ARTHRITIS. MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS

USED IN STEAM-BATH OR SWEAT-HOUSE

GOITRES. MINERAL DEFICIENCIES

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM

LOVE CHARM

OTHER USES

HAIR TONIC

\*\*<del>\*</del>\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: SK'AWLHT

PART OF PLANT: OLD, OR DEAD INDIVIDUAL

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ALNUS RUBRA

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

MOOD

FUEL OR TINDER

DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTOOING

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

LAXATIVE

EMETIC

<u>\*</u>

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: SK/ALA

PART OF PLANT: FRUIT, FLOWER, CONE, SEED, OR FLOATS OF ALGAE ORIGINALLY A NATIVE PLANT - EXPANDED TO IMPORTED

OR CULTIVATED COUNTERPART

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM PARVIFOLIUM

USE AS FOOD:

FRUITS EATEN

PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES (RED GARDEN CURRANTS)\*

\* FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: SK/ALUTS 'BERRY, GENERIC' PART OF PLANT: FRUIT, FLOWER, CONE, SEED, OR FLOATS OF ALGAE ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM MEMBRANACEUM USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE ROLE IN RELIGION. MYTHOLOGY. TRADITION: CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: SK/ALUTS-TI-NAN \*GRIZZLY\*S BERRIES\* PART OF PLANT: FRUIT, FLOWER, CONE, SEED, OR FLOATS OF ALGAE ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: OPLOPANAX HORRIDUM USE AS FOOD: FOOD OF A PARTICULAR ANIMAL (ACTUAL OR BELIEF) CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS MEDICINAL USE: ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES

LAXATIVE

EMETIC

RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS USED IN STEAM-BATH OR SWEAT-HOUSE

GOITRES. MINERAL DEFICIENCIES

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM

LOVE CHARM

OTHER USES

HAIR TONIC

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: SK/ALUTS-TI-NUTSAKWAAX/ !WOLF !S BERRIES.

PART OF PLANT: FRUIT, FLOWER, CONE, SEED, OR FLOATS OF ALGAE ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CLINTONIA UNIFLORA USE AS FOOD:

FOOD OF A PARTICULAR ANIMAL (ACTUAL OR BELIEF)
MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CEREMONIAL PURIFIER-FOR OBTAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER

\*\*<del>\*</del>\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: SK/ALUTS-TI-T'IXLHALA 'ROBIN'S
BERRIES'

PART OF PLANT: FRUIT, FLOWER, CONE, SEED, OR FLOATS OF ALGAE ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LONICERA INVOLUCRATA USE AS FOOD:

CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS) COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS VENEREAL DISEASES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM PARVIFOLIUM USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES (RED GARDEN CURRANTS)\*

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT (OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM MEMBRANACEUM USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: AMELANCHIER ALNIFOLIA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
MEDICINAL USE:
VENEREAL DISEASES
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: AMELANCHIER ALNIFOLIA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
MEDICINAL USE:
VENEREAL DISEASES
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ACER GLABRUM
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
FUEL OR TINDER
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ROSA NUTKANA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
MEDICINAL USE:
SORE EYES
LAXATIVE
USED IN STEAM-BATH OR SWEAT-HOUSE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ROSA GYMNOCARPA

A SINGLE OTHER SPECIES IS INCLUDED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ROSA NUTKANA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
MEDICINAL USE:
SORE EYES
LAXATIVE
USED IN STEAM-BATH OR SWEAT-HOUSE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ROSA GYMNOCARPA

A SINGLE OTHER SPECIES IS INCLUDED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LONICERA INVOLUCRATA
USE AS FOOD:
 CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS
MEDICINAL USE:
 POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
 COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS
 VENEREAL DISEASES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: DRYOPTERIS FILIX-MAS
USE AS FOOD:
 UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
MEDICINAL USE:
 GENERAL TONIC
 ANTIDOTE FOR POISONING
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
 CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: DRYOPTERIS FILIX-MAS USE AS FOOD: UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN MEDICINAL USE: GENERAL TONIC ANTIDOTE FOR POISONING
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: DRYOPTERIS FILIX-MAS
USE AS FOOD:
 UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
MEDICINAL USE:
 GENERAL TONIC
 ANTIDOTE FOR POISONING
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
 CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MATRICARIA MATRICARIOIDES\*

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: GRASS, GENERAL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CAREX SPP.

MANY OTHER PLANT SPECIES ARE INVOLVED(OVER10)

\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: SLT'LS-LHP
PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
LANGUAGE OF ORIGIN: KWAKIUTL
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VIBURNUM EDULE
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
MEDICINAL USE:
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS
LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SAMBUCUS RACEMOSA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
MEDICINAL USE:
ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES
EMETIC
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: FRAGARIA VESCA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: FRAGARIA (GARDEN STRAWBERRY)\*
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

A SINGLE OTHER SPECIES IS INCLUDED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CORNUS UNALASCHKENSIS/CANADENSIS USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MUSHROOM, GENERAL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM ALASKAENSE
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM ALASKAENSE USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RHAMNUS PURSHIANA
MEDICINAL USE:
LAXATIVE
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUMEX OCCIDENTALIS

USE AS FOOD:

"GREENS" OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS

USED IN STEAM-BATH OR SWEAT-HOUSE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUMEX CRISPUS\*

TWO OR MORE CLOSELY RELATED SPECIES

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS
USED IN STEAM-BATH OR SWEAT-HOUSE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUMEX CRISPUS\*

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RHAMNUS PURSHIANA
MEDICINAL USE:
LAXATIVE
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS PARVIFLORUS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
\*GREENS\* OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: EGREGIA MENZIESII
USE AS FOOD:
COLLECTION OF HERRING SPAWN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PSEUDOTSUGA MENZIESII
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FUEL OR TINDER
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS
ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES
LAXATIVE
DIARRHOEA
BLADDER & URINARY AILMENTS
VENEREAL DISEASES
RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM OVALIFOLIUM USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
ROLE IN MYTHS AS A 'HUMANIZED' FIGURE
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM OVALIFOLIUM USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
ROLE IN MYTHS AS A "HUMANIZED" FIGURE
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUMEX CRISPUS\*

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: POPULUS TRICHOCARPA
USE AS FOOD:
CAMBIUM
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTODING
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS
LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)
UNSPECIFIED INTERNAL COMPLAINTS (E.G. CANCER)
RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS

USED IN STEAM-BATH OR SWEAT-HOUSE ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION: INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL OTHER USES HAIR TONIC

TWO OR MORE CLOSELY RELATED SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TSUGA HETEROPHYLLA USE AS FOOD: CAMBIUM

COLLECTION OF HERRING SPAWN PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTOOING BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS) CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS

CAUTERIZING

ANTISEPTIC OR DEODORANT

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

CEREMONIAL PURIFIER-FOR OBTAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER
INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TSUGA MERTENSIANA
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VIBURNUM EDULE USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

MEDICINAL USE:
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS
LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: ST'LS-TI-NAN 'GRIZZLY'S HIGHBUSH CRANBERRIES'

PART OF PLANT: FRUIT, FLOWER, CONE, SEED, OR FLOATS OF ALGAE ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: OPLOPANAX HORRIDUM USE AS FOOD:

FOOD OF A PARTICULAR ANIMAL (ACTUAL OR BELIEF)
CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS

MEDICINAL USE:

ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES

LAXATIVE

**EMETIC** 

RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS USED IN STEAM-BATH OR SWEAT-HOUSE

GOITRES, MINERAL DEFICIENCIES

ROLE IN RELIGION. MYTHOLOGY. TRADITION:

LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM

LOVE CHARM

OTHER USES

HAIR TONIC

PART OF PLANT: DRIED OR PREPARED MATERIAL ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PYRUS FUSCA

USE AS FOOD:

FRUITS EATEN

PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

MOOD

MEDICINAL USE:

SORE EYES

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

## CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PSEUDOTSUGA MENZIESII

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

FUEL OR TINDER

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS) COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS

ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES

LAXATIVE

DIARRHOEA

BLADDER & URINARY AILMENTS

VENEREAL DISEASES

RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: STSK\*
PART OF PLANT: THORNS, SLIVERS, OR SPINES
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PSEUDOTSUGA MENZIESII

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

FUEL OR TINDER

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS) COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS

ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES

LAXATIVE

DIARRHOEA

BLADDER & URINARY AILMENTS

VENEREAL DISEASES

RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

\*\*<del>\*</del>\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: STS'I-TS'X/WA-T'WALA-LHP 'WHITE PLANT'

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
NAME REFERS TO TWO OR MORE DISTINCTLY DIFFERENT,
UNRELATED PLANT SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SYMPHORICARPOS ALBUS
USE AS FOOD:
 CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
 DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTOOING
MEDICINAL USE:
 VENEREAL DISEASES
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
 SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CORNUS STOLONIFERA
USE AS FOOD:
CHEWING OR SMOKING
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
SORE EYES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CHENOPODIUM ALBUM\*

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ARUNCUS SYLVESTER
MEDICINAL USE:
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS
ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES
VENEREAL DISEASES

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT (OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)

TWO OR MORE RECOGNIZABLY DIFFERENT,
BUT OBVIOUSLY SIMILAR SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: EQUISETUM ARVENSE USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: EQUISETUM HYEMALE USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LOBARIA PULMONARIA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LOBARIA OREGANA

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS LEUCODERMIS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS PROCERUS\*
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: SUPUS-LHP PART OF PLANT: YOUNG INDIVIDUAL TWO OR MORE CLOSELY RELATED SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SALIX SITCHENSIS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SALIX SPP.
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
DIARRHOEA
MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

\***\*\*\***\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: SUTS WAKT
PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
TWO OR MORE CLOSELY RELATED SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ALECTORIA SARMENTOSA COMPLEX USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTOOING

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: USNEA LONGISSIMA

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: GREEN ROCK ALGAE (?RHIZOCLONIUM) MEDICINAL USE:

LAXATIVE
UNSPECIFIED INTERNAL COMPLAINTS (E.G. CANCER)
RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS
USED IN STEAM-BATH OR SWEAT-HOUSE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: FONTINALIS SP.

MANY OTHER PLANT SPECIES ARE INVOLVED (OVER10)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SALIX LASIANDRA
MEDICINAL USE:
 POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
 DIARRHOEA
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
 ROLE IN MYTHS AS A 'HUMANIZED' FIGURE
 CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SALIX SPP.

MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
DIARRHOEA
MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SOLIDAGO SPATHULATA VAR. NEOMEXICANA
BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VIOLA LANGSDORFII
MANY OTHER PLANT SPECIES ARE INVOLVED(OVER10)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS PARVIFLORUS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
GREENS' OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS SPECTABILIS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
\*GREENS\* OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ANGELICA GENUFLEXA USE AS FOOD:

UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: APOCYNUM ANDROSAEMIFOLIUM USE IN TECHNOLOGY: FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ARALIA NUDICAULIS
USE AS FOOD:
BEVERAGE
MEDICINAL USE:
ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES

TWO OR MORE CLOSELY RELATED SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: BRASSICA CAMPESTRIS\*

USE AS FOOD:

UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: T'AT'KANA-LHP
PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: NUPHAR LUTEUM SSP. POLYSEPALUM MEDICINAL USE:

LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)
HEART TROUBLES
VENEREAL DISEASES

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

CEREMONIAL PURIFIER-FOR OBTAINING SUPERNATURAL POWER
INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL
LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM
INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: T'KWUSKWSTA-LHP 'BLEEDING-FACE PLANT'

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: APOCYNUM ANDROSAEMIFOLIUM USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS

\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: T'X/WSUS

PART OF PLANT: ROOT, BULB, OR OTHER UNDERGROUND PART

LANGUAGE OF ORIGIN: KWAKIUTL

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TRIFOLIUM WORMSKJOLDII

USE AS FOOD:

UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

FOOD OF A PARTICULAR ANIMAL (ACTUAL OR BELIEF)

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TRIFOLIUM REPENS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TRIFOLIUM PRATENSE\*
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS

A SINGLE OTHER SPECIES IS INCLUDED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: AGROPYRON REPENS\*

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TRIFOLIUM WORMSKJOLDII
USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
FOOD OF A PARTICULAR ANIMAL (ACTUAL OR BELIEF)
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: TL'AK/W'T
PART OF PLANT: BARK

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PSEUDOTSUGA MENZIESII

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

FUEL OR TINDER

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS

ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES

LAXATIVE

DIARRHOEA

BLADDER & URINARY AILMENTS

VENEREAL DISEASES

RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

**\*\*\*\*\***\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: TL AWK/W\*

PART OF PLANT: LEAVES

LANGUAGE OF ORIGIN: KWAKIUTL

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: NICOTIANA TABACUM\*

USE AS FOOD:

CHEWING OR SMOKING

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: TL'AXTL'AK/W'-LHP
PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PSEUDOTSUGA MENZIESII

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

FUEL OR TINDER

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS

ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES

LAXATIVE
DIARRHOEA
BLADDER & URINARY AILMENTS
VENEREAL DISEASES
RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM CAESPITOSUM USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM CAESPITOSUM USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ALLIUM CERNUUM USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ALLIUM CEPA USE AS FOOD: UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN 'GREENS' OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS

A SINGLE OTHER SPECIES IS INCLUDED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ALLIUM CERNUUM USE AS FOOD: UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ALLIUM CEPA USE AS FOOD: UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN \*GREENS\* OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS

A SINGLE OTHER SPECIES IS INCLUDED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: THUJA PLICATA
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTOOING
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS
HEART TROUBLES
ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES
RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CHAMAECYPARIS NOOTKATENSIS

INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS

GENERAL TONIC

IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: TSATSTAW-LHP
PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: THUJA PLICATA USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

MOOD

DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTODING

FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS

COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS

HEART TROUBLES

ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES

RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL

PART OF PLANT: BRANCH
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: THUJA PLICATA USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

WOOD

DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTODING

FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS

COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS

HEART TROUBLES

ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES

RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL

\*\*\*<del>\*</del>\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: TSATYAMUUS (TSAYAMUUS)
PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
TWO OR MORE RECOGNIZABLY DIFFERENT,
BUT OBVIOUSLY SIMILAR SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CASTILLEJA UNALASCHENSIS X MINIATA OTHER USES CHILDREN'S GAMES OR TOYS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CASTILLEJA MINIATA

A SINGLE OTHER SPECIES IS INCLUDED

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: TSK\*ALHKW
PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: OPLOPANAX HORRIDUM USE AS FOOD:

FOOD OF A PARTICULAR ANIMAL (ACTUAL OR BELIEF) CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS

MEDICINAL USE:

ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES

LAXATIVE

EMETIC

RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS USED IN STEAM-BATH OR SWEAT-HOUSE

GOITRES, MINERAL DEFICIENCIES

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM

LOVE CHARM

OTHER USES

HAIR TONIC

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: TSNA

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: URTICA DIDICA
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

MEDICINAL USE:

CAUTERIZING

ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES

RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS
USED IN STEAM-BATH OR SWEAT-HOUSE
GENERAL TONIC

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

USED FOR BEATING OR WASHING IN PURIFICATION RITUAL
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

OTHER USES
CHILDREN'S GAMES OR TOYS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: EQUISETUM ARVENSE USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: EQUISETUM TELMATEIA
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: FUCUS SPP.
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION
MEDICINAL USE:
USED IN STEAM-BATH OR SWEAT-HOUSE

\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: TS'AP'AX/
PART OF PLANT: LEAVES
TWO OR MORE RECOGNIZABLY DIFFERENT,
BUT OBVIOUSLY SIMILAR SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: THUJA PLICATA USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

WOOD

DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTOOING

FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS

COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS

HEART TROUBLES

ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES

RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

INVOLVED IN SOME RELIGIOUS RITUAL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CHAMAECYPARIS NOOTKATENSIS USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

CASTS, SPLINTS, POUTICE COVERINGS

GENERAL TONIC

IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: TS'ATS'K/ALUSUULH 'LIKE WHITE

SPRING-SALMON\*

PART OF PLANT: ABNORMAL GROWTH OF SOME KIND NAME REFERS TO TWO OR MORE DISTINCTLY DIFFERENT, UNRELATED PLANT SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SHEPHERDIA CANADENSIS

USE AS FOOD:

FRUITS EATEN

PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

MEDICINAL USE:

ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES

LAXATIVE

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS SPECTABILIS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
\*GREENS\* OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: EPILOBIUM LATIFOLIUM

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: EPILOBIUM LATIFOLIUM

TWO OR MORE RECOGNIZABLY DIFFERENT,
BUT OBVIOUSLY SIMILAR SPECIES

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: EPILOBIUM LATIFOLIUM

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: TS'INTS'IPSXILI-LHP
PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ORIGINALLY A NATIVE PLANT - EXPANDED TO IMPORTED
OR CULTIVATED COUNTERPART

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES LAXIFLORUM
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
MEDICINAL USE:
SORE EYES
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES (BLACK GARDEN CURRANTS)\*

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: EQUISETUM HYEMALE USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS

OR CULTIVATED COUNTERPART

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES LAXIFLORUM USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
MEDICINAL USE:
SORE EYES
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES (BLACK GARDEN CURRANTS)\*

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES LAXIFLORUM USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
MEDICINAL USE:
SORE EYES
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

OR CULTIVATED COUNTERPART

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES (BLACK GARDEN CURRANTS)\*

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CORNUS STOLONIFERA
USE AS FOOD:
CHEWING OR SMOKING
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS) SORE EYES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CORNUS STOLONIFERA
USE AS FOOD:
 CHEWING OR SMOKING
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
 WOOD
MEDICINAL USE:
 POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
SORE EYES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: POTENTILLA PACIFICA
USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
ROLE IN MYTHS AS A \*HUMANIZED\* FIGURE
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: POTENTILLA PACIFICA
USE AS FOOD:
 UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
 ROLE IN MYTHS AS A \*HUMANIZED\* FIGURE
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: POTENTILLA PACIFICA
USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
ROLE IN MYTHS AS A 'HUMANIZED' FIGURE
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LYSICHITUM AMERICANUM
USE AS FOOD:
FOOD OF A PARTICULAR ANIMAL (ACTUAL OR BELIEF)
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION
UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS
MEDICINAL USE:
ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL OTHER USES HAIR TONIC

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LYSICHITUM AMERICANUM

USE AS FOOD:
FOOD OF A PARTICULAR ANIMAL (ACTUAL OR BELIEF)
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION
UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS
MEDICINAL USE:
ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL
OTHER USES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS LEUCODERMIS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

HAIR TONIC

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS PROCERUS\*
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS LEUCODERMIS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS PROCERUS\*
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ATHYRIUM FILIX-FEMINA MEDICINAL USE: SORE EYES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SOLIDAGO SPATHULATA VAR. NEOMEXICANA
BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VIOLA LANGSDORFII
MANY OTHER PLANT SPECIES ARE INVOLVED(OVER10)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SEDUM DIVERGENS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: BRASSICA CAMPESTRIS\*

USE AS FOOD:

UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

CREST, TOTEM, OR DANCE SYMBOL

IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

APPENDIX 8. AN ALPHABETICAL LISTING OF FOLK SEGREGATES FOR PLANTS IN FRASER RIVER LILLOOET.

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS IDAEUS USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS (CULTIVATED RASPBERRY)\*
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ALNUS CRISPA SSP. SINUATA, A. SINUATA BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ALNUS INCANA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ARTEMISIA TRIDENTATA
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FUEL OR TINDER
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
MEDICINAL USE:

ANTISEPTIC OR DEODORANT

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ARTEMISIA TRIDENTATA
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FUEL OR TINDER
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
MEDICINAL USE:
ANTISEPTIC OR DEODORANT

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ARCTOSTAPHYLOS UVA-URSI USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN CHEWING OR SMOKING FOOD OF A PARTICULAR ANIMAL (ACTUAL OR BELIEF)

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ARCTOSTAPHYLOS UVA-URSI USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN CHEWING OR SMOKING FOOD OF A PARTICULAR ANIMAL (ACTUAL OR BELIEF)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ARTEMISIA TRIDENTATA
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FUEL OR TINDER
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
MEDICINAL USE:
ANTISEPTIC OR DEDDORANT

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: OPLOPANAX HORRIDUM
MEDICINAL USE:
RHEUMATISM, ARTHRITIS, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, PARALYSIS
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BUT OBVIOUSLY SIMILAR SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ROSA ACICULARIS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ROSA GYMNOCARPA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ROSA ACICULARIS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
LUCK OR PROTECTIVE CHARM
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ROSA GYMNOCARPA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RHODODENDRON ALBIFLORUM MEDICINAL USE:

GENERAL TONIC

CONTRACEPTIVE, ABORTIVE

MEDICINE OF A PARTICULAR ANIMAL

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TYPHA LATIFOLIA
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TYPHA LATIFOLIA
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CRATAEGUS DOUGLASII
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CRATAEGUS DOUGLASII USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CORYLUS CORNUTA
USE AS FOOD:
SEEDS OR NUTS
FOOD OF A PARTICULAR ANIMAL (ACTUAL OR BELIEF)
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CORYLUS CORNUTA
USE AS FOOD:
SEEDS OR NUTS
FOOD OF A PARTICULAR ANIMAL (ACTUAL OR BELIEF)
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RHAMNUS PURSHIANA
MEDICINAL USE:
LAXATIVE
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ACER MACROPHYLLUM USE IN TECHNOLOGY: WOOD IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CLEMATIS LIGUSTICIFOLIA MEDICINAL USE:
MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ACHILLEA MILLEFOLIUM MEDICINAL USE:
HEART TROUBLES
CHILDBIRTH & FEMALE DISORDERS
GENERAL TONIC

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ALNUS RUBRA
USE AS FOOD:
CAMBIUM
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTOOING
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
ROLE IN MYTHS AS A \*HUMANIZED\* FIGURE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LETHARIA VULPINA USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTODING

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TYPHA LATIFOLIA
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PSEUDOTSUGA MENZIESII
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FUEL OR TINDER
LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION
BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING
CEMENT, BINDING SUBSTANCE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

PART OF PLANT: NUMEROUS INDIVIDUALS, PLURAL FORM ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ALECTORIA FREMONTII
USE AS FOOD:
 'GREENS' OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS
 PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
 FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
 NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PINUS CONTORTA
USE AS FOOD:
CAMBIUM
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ALLIUM CERNUUM USE AS FOOD: UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PSEUDOTSUGA MENZIESII USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FUEL OR TINDER
LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION

BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING CEMENT, BINDING SUBSTANCE ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PINUS CONTORTA
USE AS FOOD:
CAMBIUM
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: BETULA PAPYRIFERA USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: BETULA PAPYRIFERA USE IN TECHNOLOGY: FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

UNMODIFIED IMPLEMENTS OR CONTAINERS
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

LANGUAGE OF ORIGIN: BORROWED, BUT SOURCE UNKNOWN ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VERATRUM ESCHSCHOLTZII
USE AS FOOD:
 CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
 FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
MEDICINAL USE:
 SORE EYES
 COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS LAXATIVE
 EMETIC
 UNSPECIFIED INTERNAL COMPLAINTS (E.G. CANCER)
 GENERAL TONIC

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CEANOTHUS VELUTINUS
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
UNSPECIFIED INTERNAL COMPLAINTS (E.G. CANCER)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ACTAEA RUBRA SSP. ARGUTA USE AS FOOD:

CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS MEDICINAL USE:
GENERAL TONIC
MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PYRUS FUSCA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PYRUS FUSCA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LOMATIUM MACROCARPUM USE AS FOOD:

UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
MEDICINAL USE:

HEART TROUBLES
GENERAL TONIC
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

## ROLE IN MYTHS AS A 'HUMANIZED' FIGURE

<del>\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*</del>\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: K/W'EX/WK/W'I\*K/W'X/W-US 'BLACK FACE \*

PART OF PLANT: FRUIT, FLOWER, CONE, SEED, OR FLOATS OF ALGAE ORIGINALLY A NATIVE PLANT - EXPANDED TO IMPORTED OR CULTIVATED COUNTERPART

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS URSINUS USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS PROCERUS\*

\* FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: K/W'EYK/'I\*X/XA\*N PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT) ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: UNIDENTIFIED YELLOW COMPOSITE MEDICINAL USE: SORE EYES

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: LAG/E\*S-7AZ\* PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT) LANGUAGE OF ORIGIN: THOMPSON ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES CEREUM USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

PART OF PLANT: FRUIT, FLOWER, CONE, SEED, OR FLOATS OF ALGAE LANGUAGE OF ORIGIN: THOMPSON ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES CEREUM USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RHUS RADICANS
USE AS FOOD:
CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LEWISIA REDIVIVA
USE AS FOOD:

UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: HYGROPHORUS EBURNEUS? USE AS FOOD: "GREENS" OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

\* FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: MAK/A\*7 PART OF PLANT: ROOT, BULB, OR OTHER UNDERGROUND PART ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ZYGADENUS VENENOSUS USE AS FOOD: CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: MA\*WAS-AZ \* \*DEER PLANT \* PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT) LANGUAGE OF ORIGIN: CHINOOK ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: KALMIA POLIFOLIA MEDICINAL USE: HEART TROUBLES

\* FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: MEK/W7U\*7SA7 \*HOLD IN THE MOUTH\* PART OF PLANT: ROOT, BULB, OR OTHER UNDERGROUND PART LANGUAGE OF ORIGIN: THOMPSON ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CALOCHORTUS MACROCARPUS USE AS FOOD: UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: MELA\*N-LHP

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)

LANGUAGE OF ORIGIN: SHUSWAP
TWO OR MORE CLOSELY RELATED SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ABIES AMABILIS
MEDICINAL USE:
SORE EYES
UNSPECIFIED INTERNAL COMPLAINTS (E.G. CANCER)
GENERAL TONIC

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ABIES LASIOCARPA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: EQUISETUM HYEMALE MEDICINAL USE:
SORE EYES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: EQUISETUM LAEVIGATUM

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: GOODYERA OBLONGIFOLIA
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
ULCERS & STOMACH TROUBLES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: AMELANCHIER ALNIFOLIA

USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: POPULUS TRICHOCARPA
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING
CEMENT, BINDING SUBSTANCE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
ROLE IN MYTHS AS A 'HUMANIZED' FIGURE
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RHUS GLABRA MEDICINAL USE: REMOVING WARTS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SALIX EXIGUA
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: NKXMA\*MLEK/W 'WALKING ALONG A STICK'

PART OF PLANT: FRUIT, FLOWER, CONE, SEED, OR FLOATS OF ALGAE ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES BRACTEOSUM USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES BRACTEOSUM USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CHRYSOTHAMNUS NAUSEOSUS MEDICINAL USE:
BLADDER & URINARY AILMENTS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: HOLODISCUS DISCOLOR USE IN TECHNOLOGY: WOOD

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CHAMAECYPARIS NOOTKATENSIS USE AS FOOD:
CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD

IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: MOSS, GENERAL USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SELAGINELLA WALLACEI

MANY OTHER PLANT SPECIES ARE INVOLVED (OVER10)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: AMELANCHIER ALNIFOLIA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ELYMUS CINEREUS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PRUNUS EMARGINATA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTOOING
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SOLANUM TUBEROSUM\*

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: JUNIPERUS SCOPULORUM USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
MEDICINAL USE:
ANTISEPTIC OR DEODORANT

TWO OR MORE CLOSELY RELATED SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ANEMONE MULTIFIDA
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
BLISTERING AGENT

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ANEMONE CYLINDRICA
USE AS FOOD:
 CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS
MEDICINAL USE:
 POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)
BLISTERING AGENT

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ARTEMISIA FRIGIDA
MEDICINAL USE:
LUNG AILMENTS (PNEUMONIA, TUBERCULOSIS)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM OVALIFOLIUM USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM OVALIFOLIUM USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ELYMUS SP.
USE AS FOOD:
FOOD OF A PARTICULAR ANIMAL (ACTUAL OR BELIEF)
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTOOING
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TSUGA HETEROPHYLLA USE AS FOOD: FRUITS FATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TSUGA MERTENSIANA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TSUGA HETEROPHYLLA USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TSUGA MERTENSIANA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PTERIDIUM AQUILINUM USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PSEUDOTSUGA MENZIESII
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FUEL OR TINDER
LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION
BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING
CEMENT, BINDING SUBSTANCE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: FRITILLARIA PUDICA USE AS FOOD: CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS

L'ANGUAGE OF ORIGIN: THOMPSON

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ACER CIRCINATUM

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LILIUM COLUMBIANUM USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ERYTHRONIUM GRANDIFLORUM USE AS FOOD:

UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM PARVIFOLIUM USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM PARVIFOLIUM USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: POLYPORUS OFFICINALIS MEDICINAL USE:
GENERAL TONIC
MEDICINE, BUT UNSPECIFIED

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: SKWENKWI\*N
PART OF PLANT: ROOT, BULB, OR OTHER UNDERGROUND PART
LANGUAGE OF ORIGIN: INTERIOR SALISH, GENERAL
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CLAYTONIA LANCEOLATA
USE AS FOOD:

UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
FOOD OF A PARTICULAR ANIMAL (ACTUAL OR BELIEF)
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
INVOLVED IN A TABOO OR SUPERSTITION
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: FRAGARIA VESCA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: FRAGARIA (GARDEN STRAWBERRY)\*
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN

PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: FRAGARIA VESCA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: FRAGARIA (GARDEN STRAWBERRY)\*
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: AGROPYRON SPICATUM
USE AS FOOD:
FOOD OF A PARTICULAR ANIMAL (ACTUAL OR BELIEF)
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: THUJA PLICATA

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
FUEL OR TINDER
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
ROLE IN MYTHS AS A 'HUMANIZED' FIGURE
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CHAMAECYPARIS NOOTKATENSIS
USE AS FOOD:
CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: NICOTIANA TABACUM\*
USE AS FOOD:
CHEWING OR SMOKING

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: NICOTIANA ATTENUATA USE AS FOOD: CHEWING OR SMOKING

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: BALSAMORHIZA SAGITTATA
USE AS FOOD:
 UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
 \*GREENS\* OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS
 PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
 NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: AMELANCHIER ALNIFOLIA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION

PART OF PLANT: GUM, PITCH

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PINUS PONDEROSA USE AS FOOD:

FOOD OF A PARTICULAR ANIMAL (ACTUAL OR BELIEF)
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

WOOD

CEMENT, BINDING SUBSTANCE

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
ROLE IN MYTHS AS A 'HUMANIZED' FIGURE

\*\*<del>\*</del>\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: (S)PSOS

PART OF PLANT: FRUIT, FLOWER, CONE, SEED, OR FLOATS OF ALGAE

LANGUAGE OF ORIGIN: THOMPSON

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PRUNUS EMARGINATA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTODING
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: APOCYNUM ANDROSAEMIFOLIUM USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: APOCYNUM CANNIBINUM USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
SUPERNATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: AMELANCHIER ALNIFOLIA USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS PARVIFLORUS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
MEDICINAL USE:
DIARRHOEA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: AMELANCHIER ALNIFOLIA
USE AS FOOD:
 FRUITS EATEN
 PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
 WOOD
 LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: AMELANCHIER ALNIFOLIA USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: AMELANCHIER ALNIFOLIA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS LEUCODERMIS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: AMELANCHIER ALNIFOLIA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD

## LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PINUS ALBICAULIS
USE AS FOOD:
SEEDS OR NUTS
FOOD OF A PARTICULAR ANIMAL (ACTUAL OR BELIEF)

PART OF PLANT: FRUIT, FLOWER, CONE, SEED, OR FLOATS OF ALGAE ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PINUS ALBICAULIS
USE AS FOOD:
SEEDS OR NUTS
FOOD OF A PARTICULAR ANIMAL (ACTUAL OR BELIEF)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PHRAGMITES COMMUNIS (?)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: GRASS, GENERAL USE AS FOOD:
FOOD OF A PARTICULAR ANIMAL (ACTUAL OR BELIEF)
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CAREX SPP.

MANY OTHER PLANT SPECIES ARE INVOLVED (OVER10)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LEDUM PALUSTRE SSP. GROENLANDICUM USE AS FOOD:
BEVERAGE
MEDICINAL USE:
DIARRHOEA
GENERAL TONIC

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: BALSAMORHIZA SAGITTATA
USE AS FOOD:
UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN
GREENS' OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

FRACTION OF A SCIENTIFIC SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: AMELANCHIER ALNIFOLIA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PRUNUS EMARGINATA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTODING
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES LACUSTRE USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES LACUSTRE

USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: SXI\*LXEL PART OF PLANT: ROOT, BULB, OR OTHER UNDERGROUND PART LANGUAGE OF ORIGIN: INTERIOR SALISH, GENERAL ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: POTENTILLA ANSERINA USE AS FOOD: UNDERGROUND PARTS EATEN PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

\***\*** FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: SXNI\*Z7-AZ\* PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT (OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT) ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES DIVARICATUM USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: SXNIZ! PART OF PLANT: FRUIT, FLOWER, CONE, SEED, OR FLOATS OF ALGAE ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES DIVARICATUM USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: SX/AK'T

PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: EPILOBIUM ANGUSTIFOLIUM USE AS FOOD:

\*GREENS\* OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SHEPHERDIA CANADENSIS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
BEVERAGE
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
MEDICINAL USE:
GENERAL TONIC
GOITRES, MINERAL DEFICIENCIES

BUT OBVIOUSLY SIMILAR SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CRATAEGUS DOUGLASII USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: AMELANCHIER ALNIFOLIA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PINUS PONDEROSA

USE AS FOOD:

FOOD OF A PARTICULAR ANIMAL (ACTUAL OR BELIEF)

USE IN TECHNOLOGY:

WOOD

CEMENT, BINDING SUBSTANCE

MEDICINAL USE:

POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

ROLE IN MYTHS AS A "HUMANIZED" FIGURE

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: S7AY\*TSK/W (S7A\*YTSEK/W)
PART OF PLANT: FRUIT, FLOWER, CONE, SEED, OR FLOATS OF ALGAE
LANGUAGE OF ORIGIN: SHUSWAP
ORIGINALLY A NATIVE PLANT - EXPANDED TO IMPORTED
OR CULTIVATED COUNTERPART

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS IDAEUS USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS (CULTIVATED RASPBERRY)\*
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: GAULTHERIA SHALLON
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: GAULTHERIA SHALLON
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TAXUS BREVIFOLIA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TAXUS BREVIFOLIA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SALIX SITCHENSIS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LOMATIUM NUDICAULE USE AS FOOD:
•GREENS• OR ABOVE-GROUND PARTS

FLAVOURING
CHEWING OR SMOKING
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS PARVIFLORUS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
MEDICINAL USE:
DIARRHOEA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ABIES AMABILIS
MEDICINAL USE:
SORE EYES
UNSPECIFIED INTERNAL COMPLAINTS (E.G. CANCER)
GENERAL TONIC

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ABIES LASIOCARPA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: TAXUS BREVIFOLIA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD

IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CIRSIUM UNDULATUM MEDICINAL USE: TOOTHACHES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CIRSIUM BREVISTYLUM\*

A FEW MORE (UP TO 3) IN ADDITION TO THOSE LISTED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ARCTIUM MINUS\*
BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: HACKELIA SP. ?

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: THUJA PLICATA
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
FUEL OR TINDER
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
ROLE IN MYTHS AS A 'HUMANIZED' FIGURE
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS LEUCODERMIS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RUBUS PROCERUS\*

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PICEA ENGELMANNII
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PICEA GLAUCA USE IN TECHNOLOGY: FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: JUNIPERUS COMMUNIS
MEDICINAL USE:
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS
HEART TROUBLES
UNSPECIFIED INTERNAL COMPLAINTS (E.G. CANCER)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ACER GLABRUM USE IN TECHNOLOGY: WOOD FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PSEUDOTSUGA MENZIESII
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FUEL OR TINDER
LININGS, COVERINGS, STEAM GENERATION
BEDDING, STUFFING, BANDAGING, TOWELLING
CEMENT, BINDING SUBSTANCE
ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:
NATURAL ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CORNUS STOLONIFERA USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: CORNUS STOLONIFERA USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SAMBUCUS RACEMOSA
USE AS FOOD:
CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SAMBUCUS CERULEA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

LANGUAGE OF ORIGIN: COAST SALISH, GENERAL TWO OR MORE RECOGNIZABLY DIFFERENT,
BUT OBVIOUSLY SIMILAR SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SAMBUCUS RACEMOSA
USE AS FOOD:
CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SAMBUCUS CERULEA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PINUS ALBICAULIS
USE AS FOOD:
SEEDS OR NUTS
FOOD OF A PARTICULAR ANIMAL (ACTUAL OR BELIEF)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: BERBERIS AQUIFOLIUM USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTOOING MEDICINAL USE:
GENERAL TONIC

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: BERBERIS NERVOSA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: BERBERIS AQUIFOLIUM USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
DYE, DECORATION, COSMETIC, TATTOOING MEDICINAL USE:
GENERAL TONIC

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: BERBERIS NERVOSA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ACER GLABRUM USE IN TECHNOLOGY: WOOD FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM MEMBRANACEUM USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

PART OF PLANT: FRUIT, FLOWER, CONE, SEED, OR FLOATS OF ALGAE ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM MEMBRANACEUM USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
IMPORTED, OR NOT USED LOCALLY OR ABORIGINALLY

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: POPULUS TREMULOIDES MEDICINAL USE:

ANTISEPTIC OR DEODORANT

MEDICINE OF A PARTICULAR ANIMAL

ROLE IN RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY, TRADITION:

ROLE IN MYTHS AS A "HUMANIZED" FIGURE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PHILADELPHUS LEWISII
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
WOOD
OTHER USES
SOAP

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: FRITILLARIA PUDICA USE AS FOOD: CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SOLIDAGO SPATHULATA VAR. NEOMEXICANA MEDICINAL USE: POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SOLIDAGO SPATHULATA VAR. NEOMEXICANA MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LONICERA INVOLUCRATA MEDICINAL USE: CONTRACEPTIVE, ABORTIVE

ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: LONICERA INVOLUCRATA MEDICINAL USE: CONTRACEPTIVE, ABORTIVE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SALIX AMYGDALOIDES USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FUEL OR TINDER

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ARTEMISIA CAMPESTRIS
MEDICINAL USE:
COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS
USED IN STEAM-BATH OR SWEAT-HOUSE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ARTEMISIA DRACUNULUS MEDICINAL USE: COLDS, SORE THROATS, WHOOPING COUGH, FLU, & FEVERS

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: "MOUNTAIN SHEEP GRASS"

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES HUDSONIANUM USE AS FOOD: FRUITS EATEN

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: RIBES (BLACK GARDEN CURRANTS)\*

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SHEPHERDIA CANADENSIS
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
BEVERAGE
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
MEDICINAL USE:
GENERAL TONIC
GOITRES, MINERAL DEFICIENCIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ALNUS CRISPA SSP. SINUATA, A. SINUATA BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: ALNUS INCANA

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

FOLK PLANT SEGREGATE: ZAXALMI\*XW-AZ\* 'TALL TREE\*
'PART OF PLANT: WHOLE PLANT(OR VISIBLE PART OF PLANT)
ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE WITH A BOTANICAL SPECIES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PINUS MONTICOLA
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PENSTEMON FRUTICOSUS
BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PENSTEMON DAVIDSONII

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SYMPHORICARPOS ALBUS USE AS FOOD:

CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS

MEDICINAL USE:

SORE EYES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: SYMPHORICARPOS ALBUS USE AS FOOD:
CONSIDERED INEDIBLE OR POISONOUS

MEDICINAL USE: SORE EYES

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PRUNUS VIRGINIANA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
MEDICINAL USE:
DIARRHOEA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PRUNUS VIRGINIANA
USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE
MEDICINAL USE:
DIARRHOEA

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: PINUS MONTICOLA
USE IN TECHNOLOGY:
FIBER OR FIBROUS TISSUE USED
MEDICINAL USE:
POULTICE (FOR BURNS, SUNBURN, WOUNDS, INFECTIONS)

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM CAESPITOSUM USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

BOTANICAL TAXON NAME: VACCINIUM CAESPITOSUM USE AS FOOD:
FRUITS EATEN
PRESERVED FOR WINTER USE

Appendix 9. General Botanical Terminology in the Skidegate Dialect of Haida.

The terms are listed in alphabetical order of their English equivalents.

Bark - k'aal 'skin'

Berry - gaan

Branch - 1hk'aayii

Cones (of conifer or alder) - sk'aándaa-sk'yuú71

Flower - flawers-gaa ( English)

Forest - 1hky'in

Leaf - xil (also 'medicine')

Limb - tlaas (or 'bough')

Log, rotten - k'aáxwuu

Needle (of a conifer) - t'aáw7aa

Pitch - k'aas

Root - 1hingaa

Tree (approximately) - kaayt

Wood (firewood) - ts'aánuu (also 'fire')

Appendix 10. General Botanical Terminology in the Masset Dialect of Haida.

The terms are listed in alphabetical order of their English equivalents.

Bark - k'al 'skin'; kiiyt-k'al 'tree-skin'

Berry - gaan

Branch (or bush) - 1hk'aay

Cone (of conifer or alder) - stl'aáskamaal 221; (kijyt-) stl'aáskamaaleéy (2-) 2212

Flower - hélleéy 12; xil-kwiiyaás 'precious-leaves'; flawers-gaa ((English)

Forest - 1hky an-1hegaay 2-12

Leaf - xil (also 'medicine')

Limbs, small - lhk'amaal-lhk'aay 22-1

Limbs, large (boughs) - tlaas

Needle (of a conifer) - sk'aa

Pitch - k'aas

Root, large or special kind - skuusaánguu 121

Root, small (especially spruce root) - lhiiying 21

Tree (approximately) - kiiyt

Trees, krummholtz (at edge of muskeg) - gyáhgetdaáng 112

Wood (firewood) - ts'aanuu 22 (also 'fire'), or kuukgaa 21

Wood, rotten - kuugaa-gaalaang-gaa 11-122; ts'aanuu-gwen-ga 22-12

Appendix 11. General Botanical Terminology in the Bella Coola Language.

The terms are presented in alphabetical order of their English equivalents.

Bark - st'winlits' (<st'win 'animal hide')

Berry - skaluts

Berries, dried - slhp'klh

Berry sauce - alhk

Branch - slhip'nakt

Branch, with berries on it - askaluts-aak

Burl, on a tree trunk - spulh; or sukw'alakt (also 'lymph glands')

Cone (of a conifer or alder) - slalimtskak

Flower - sxiximuuts; (or when blooming - ximuts)

Gum, from a tree - snanik (also 'chewing gum')

Leaf - s-pus (<pus 'to grow')

Leaf, dead - kamats (applied specifically to dead fern fronds)

Log - asp'uyaax

Needle (of a conifer) -  $\underline{k}$ wals

Pitch, in wood - psayxt

Root - skitilhp

Seed - skwt1'1hp

Seed, from berries - snut'xtitk

Snag - stu<u>k</u>'

Stump, cut by humans - sts'kyaaxaksta

Stump, from natural falling - t'imiixw

Timber - stntnaax ((stn 'tree')

Tree, log, or pole - stn

Underbrush - asikaax (also 'forest')

Underbrush, impenetrable - tak'aax

Wood (firewood) - kwmlh

Wood, kindling - sisxwmtnamak

Wood, rotten - ut'p

Appendix 12. General Botanical Terminology in the Fraser River Dialect of Lillooet.

The terms are listed in alphabetical order of their English equivalents.

Bark - síkil

Berry - skw'el (kw'el 'ripe, cooked'); or 7úsa7

Bloom, to p'ak'em

Branch - kexmákst

Bud - kwemkinam

Burl, on tree - s-k'ip

Bush, bearing fruit - kw'el-az

Cone (of conifer or alder) - sts'ek'kin

Driftwood - zánuts

Flower - sp'ák'em

Leaf - petsk1h

Leaf, on ground - lhúkwel

Log - szik

Needle (of a conifer) - k'ama7

Pitch (clear) - kwelilh

Pitch, in wood - kw'i7xw

Root - tl'ekw'amlawxw

Seed - selep'xál (lit. 'the one that is buried'); or nk'mank

Seed, conifer - sts'ek'

Stick - mulex (plural - mlmulex 'bushes, woods')

Stump - nk'wus

Tree - segáp

Trunk - s7a7tsek

Vegetation, dead - kw'al

Weeds - swa7pulmexw 'hair (of the) ground'

Wood (firewood) - sp'ams (also 'fire')

Appendix 13. Index of Common Names of Plant Species Included in the Study.

Abies amabilis - amabilis fir

Abies grandis - grand fir

Abies lasiocarpa - subalpine fir

Acer circinatum - vine maple

Acer glabrum - Rocky Mountain maple, Douglas maple

Acer macrophyllum - broad-leaved maple

Achillea millefolium - yarrow

Aconitum delphinifolium - monk's hood

Actaea rubra ssp. arguta - baneberry

Adiantum pedatum - maidenhair fern

Agaricus sp. - field mushroom

Agropyron repens - quack grass

Agropyron spicatum - bunch-grass

Ahnfeltia plicata - marine alga (no common name)

Alaria marginata - marine alga (one of the kelps)

Alectoria fremontii - black tree lichen

Alectoria jubata - black tree lichen

Alectoria sarmentosa - "old man's beard" lichen

Allium cepa - cultivated onion

Allium cernuum - nodding onion

Alnus crispa ssp. sinuata - Sitka alder

Alnus incana - mountain alder

Alnus rubra - red alder

Amelanchier alnifolia - Saskatoon berry, service berry, Junebush, shad-bush

Ammophila arenaria - a type of dune-grass

Anaphilis margaritacea - pearly everlasting

Anemone cylindrica - anemone

Anemone multifida - anemone

Angelica genuflexa - an umbelliferous plant (no common name)

Antennaria neglecta - pussy-toes

Apargidium boreale - no common name

Apocynum androsaemifolium - spreading dogbane

Apocynum cannibinum - Indian hemp

Aquilegia - columbine

Aquilegia formosa - red columbine

Aralia nudicaulis - sarsaparilla

Arbutus menziesii - arbutus, Pacific madrone

Arceuthobium campylopodum - dwarf mistletoe

Arctium minus - burdock

Arctostaphylos uva-ursi - kinnikinnick, bearberry

Arenaria peploides - sand chickweed

Arnica cordifolia - arnica

Artemisia campestris - a type of sage

Artemisia dracunulus - a type of sage

Artemisia frigida - a type of sage

Artemisia tridentata - big sagebrush

Aruncus sylvester - goatsbeard

Asarum caudatum - wild ginger, ginger-root

Asplenium trichomanes - a fern (no common name)

Aster conspicuus - aster

Athyrium filis-femina - lady fern

Avena - oats

Balsamorrhiza sagittata - balsam-root, spring sunflower

Berberis aquifolium - Oregon grape, tall mahonia

Berberis nervosa - Oregon grape

Betula occidentalis - western birch

Betula papyrifera – paper birch

Blechnum spicant - deer fern

Bovista pila - puffball

Brassica campestris - garden turnip

Bromus erectus - brome grass

Callitriche heterophylla - no common name

Calochortus macrocarpus - mariposa lily, desert lily

Caltha biflora - marsh marigold

Calypso bulbosa - calypso, false ladyslipper

Campanula rotundifolia - blue harebell

Cardamine angulata - cress

Cardamine oligosperma - bitter-cress

Carex lyngbye1 - Lyngby's sedge

Carex macrocephala - a beach sedge

Carex mertensii - Mertens' sedge

Carex - sedge

Castilleja hispida - Indian paint-brush

Castilleja miniata - Indian paint-brush

Castilleja unalaschensis x miniata - Indian paint-brush

Ceanothus velutinus - buck-brush, snow-brush

Cetraria glauca - a lichen

Chamaecyparis nootkatensis - yellow cedar

Chenopodium album - pigweed, lamb's quarters

Chrysothamnus nauseosus - rabbit-brush

Cicuta douglasii - water hemlock

Cirsium brevistylum - wild thistle

Cirsium undulatum - wild thistle

Cirsium vulgare - bull thistle

Citrus auranticum - orange

Cladonia belliflora - "British soldiers" lichen

Cladonia pacifica - a reindeer lichen

Clavaria - "dryad's broom" mushroom

Claytonia lanceolata - spring beauty, "Indian potato"

Clematis ligusticifolia - white clematis

Clintonia uniflora - queen's cup

Comandra umbellata - bastard toadflax

Conioselinum pacificum - an umbelliferous plant (no common name)

Conocephalum conicum - a thallose liverwort

Constantinea subulifera - a marine alga

Coptis asplenifolia - fairy's lamp-post

Corallina - coral alga

Cornus nuttallii - Pacific flowering dogwood

Cornus stolonifera - red-osier dogwood, western dogwood

Cornus unalaschkensis (C. canadensis) - dwarf dogwood, bunchberry

Corylus cornuta - hazelnut

Costaria costata - a marine alga (one of the kelps)

Crataegus douglasii - black hawthorn, thornberry

Daucus carota - garden carrot

Desmarestia - a marine alga

Digitalis purpurea - foxglove

Dodecatheon jeffreyi - shooting-star, peacock

Drosera rotundifolia - sundew

Dryopteris austriaca - spiney wood-fern

Dryopteris filix-mas - male fern

Echinodontium tinctorium - Indian paint fungus

Egregia menziesii - boa kelp

Elaeagnus commutata - silver buffalo-berry

Eleocharis macrostachya - a water rush

Elymus cinereus - wheat-grass

Elymus mollis - American dune-grass

Elymus - wheat-grass

Empetrum nigrum - crow-berry

Enteromorpha intestinalis - a green alga (no common name)

Epilobium angustifolium - fireweed

Epilobium glandulosum - willow-herb

Epilogium latifolium - willow-herb

Equisetum arvense - scouring rush, mare's tail

Equisetum hyemale - horse-tail

Equisetum laevigatum - horse-tail

Equisetum telmateia - scouring rush, giant horsé-tail

Eriophorum - cotton-grass

Erythronium grandiflorum - yellow dogtooth violet, avalanche lily, "Indian sweet-potato"

Eurhynchium oreganum - Oregon feather-moss

Fauria crista-galli - deer cabbage

Fomes pinicola - bracket fungus, shelf fungus, pine-rot

Fomes - bracket fungus, shelf fungus

Fontinalis - an aquatic moss

Fragaria - strawberry

Fragaria chiloensis - beach wild strawberry

Fragaria vesca - tall wild strawberry

Fragaria virginiana - wild strawberry

Franseria chamissonis - wormwood

Fritillaria camschatcensis - mission bells, rice-root

Fritillaria lanceolata - chocolate lily, rice-root

Fritillaria pudica - yellow-bells

Fucus - sea wrack

Galium aparine - bedstraw

Galium triflorum - sweet-scented bedstraw

Ganoderma - bracket fungus, shelf fungus

Gaultheria shallon - salal

Geranium richardsonii - wild geranium

Geum macrophyllum - large-leaved avens

Glehnia littoralis ssp. leiocarpa - an umbelliferous plant (no common name)

Goodyera oblongifolia - rattlesnake plantain

Gymnocarpium dryopteris - oak-fern

Hackelia - bur-weed

Halosaccion glandiforme - a marine alga

Heracleum lanatum - cow parsnip, "Indian rhubarb", "Indian celery"

Heuchera chlorantha - alum-root

Heuchera cylindrica - alum-root

Holodiscus discolor - ocean-spray, "iron-wood"

Hygrophorus eburneus - a mushroom

Hylocomium splendens - step-moss

Ipomoea batatas - sweet potato

Iridaea - iridescent seaweed

Isothecium stoloniferum - stolon moss

Juncus effusus - rush

Juncus - rush

Jungermanniales - leafy liverworts

Juniperus communis - creeping juniper

Juniperus scopulorum - Rocky Mountain juniper

Kalmia polifolia - swamp laurel

Lactuca biennis - wild lettuce

Laminaria - a marine algae (a kind of kelp)

Larix laricina - tamarack, larch

Larix lyallii - Lyall's larch

Larix occidentalis - western larch

Lathyrus japonicus - sea pea

Leathesia difformis - a marine alga

Ledum palustre ssp. groenlandicum - Labrador tea, Hudson's Bay tea

Letharia vulpina - wolf moss

Lewisia rediviva - bitter-root

Ligusticum scoticum - lovage

Lilium columbianum - tiger lily

Linnaea borealis - twinflower

Lobaria oregana - lung lichen

Lobaria pulmonaria - lung lichen

Lomatium macrocarpum - an umbelliferous plant (no common name)

Lomatium nudicaule - Indian consumption plant, "Indian celery"

Lonicera involucrata - black twinberry, twinflower honeysuckle

Lupinus littoralis - beach lupine

Lupinus nootkatensis - blue lupine

Luzula multiflora - wood-rush

Luzula parviflora - wood-rush

Lycoperdon - puffball

Lycopodium annotinum - club-moss

Lycopodium clavatum - running club-moss

Lycopodium selago - club-moss

Lysichitum americanum - skunk cabbage

Macrocystis integrifolia - giant kelp

Maianthemum dilatatum - wild lily-of-the-valley

Malaxis paludosa - an orchid (no common name)

Matricaria matricarioides - pineapple weed

Mentha arvensis - wild mint

Menziesia ferruginea - false azalea

Mimulus guttatus - yellow monkeyflower

Mnium - a moss

Moneses uniflora - single delight, "snowflower"

Montia sibirica - Siberian miners' lettuce

Musci - mosses

Myosotis laxa - wild forget-me-not

Myrica gale - sweet gale

Nereocystis luetkeana - bull kelp

Nicotiana attenuata - wild tobacco

Nicotiana quadrivalvis - Haida tobacco

Nicotiana tabacum - commerical tobacco

Nuphar luteum ssp. polysepalum - yellow pond-lily

Oenanthe sarmentosa - water parsley

Oplopanax horridum - devil's club

Opuntia fragilis - prickly-pear cactus

Opuntia polycantha - prickly-pear cactus

Oryza sativa - rice

Osmorhiza chilensis - sweet cicely

Pachystima myrsinites - false box, boxwood

Parmelia - a lichen

Pastinaca sativa - garden parsnip

Peltigera aphthosa - rock tripe lichen

Peltigera canina - dogtooth lichen

Peltigera polydactylon - dogtooth lichen

Penstemon davidsonii - penstemon

Penstemon fruticosus - penstemon

Phacelia hastata - phacelia

Phaseolus vulgaris - garden green bean

Philadelphus lewisii - mock-orange, syringa

Phragmites communis - reed-grass

Phyllospadix scoulerii - sea-grass

Physocarpus capitatus - ninebark

Picea engelmannii - Engelmann spruce

Picea glauca - white spruce

Picea sitchensis - Sitka spruce

Pinguicula vulgaris - butterwort

Pinus albicaulis - white-bark pine

Pinus contorta - lodgepole pine, "jackpine"

Pinus monticola - white pine

Pinus ponderosa - ponderosa pine, yellow pine

Pisum sativum - garden pea

Plagiomnium insigne - a moss

Plantago macrocarpa - large-fruited plantain

Plantago major - broad-leaved plantain

Plantago maritima - seaside plantain Pleurotus sapidus - angel-wing mushroom Polypodium glycyrrhiza - licorice fern Polyporus officinalis - bracket fungus, shelf fungus Polyporus versicolor - a small bracket fungus Polystichum munitum - sword fern Polytrichum juniperinum - juniper-leaved hair-moss Populus tremuloides - trembling aspen, "white poplar" Populus trichocarpa - black cotton Porphyra - red laver (marine alga) Postelsia palmaeformis - palm-tree seaweed Potamogeton epihydrus - pond-weed Potentilla anserina - silverweed, cinquefoil Potentilla pacifica - silverweed, cinquefoil Potentilla palustris - marsh cinquefoil Potentilla villosa - woolly cinquefoil Prenanthes alata - a composite (no common name) Prunella vulgaris - self-heal, heal-all Prunus - peaches, plums, cherries Prunus emarginata - wild bitter cherry Prunus virginiana - choke-cherry Pseudotsuga menziesii - Douglas fir Pteridium aquilinum - bracken fern Pyrus fusca - wild crabapple Pyrus malus - orchard apple Quercus garryana - garry oak Ranunculus acris - buttercup Ranunculus flammula - creeping buttercup Ranunculus occidentalis - western buttercup Rhamnus purshiana - cascara Rheum - rhubarb Rhododendron albiflorum - white rhododendron Rhus glabra - smooth sumac Rhus radicans - poison ivy

Rhytideadelphus triquetrus - a moss

Ribes - gooseberries and currants

Ribes bracteosum - stink current

Ribes cereum - squaw currant

Ribes divaricatum - wild gooseberry

Ribes hudsonianum - northern black currant

Ribes lacustre - swamp gooseberry

Ribes laxiflorum - wild blue currant

Ribes sanguineum - red-flowering currant

Rosa - rose

Rosa acicularis - wild rose

Rosa gymnocarpa - dwarf wild rose

Rosa nutkana - wild rose

Rubus - raspberries, blackberries, and others

Rubus chamaemorus - cloudberry

Rubus idaeus - wild raspberry

Rubus leucodermis - blackcap, black raspberry

Rubus parviflorus - thimbleberry

Rubus pedatus - trailing wild raspberry

Rubus procerus - Himalayan blackberry

Rubus spectabilis - salmonberry

Rubus ursinus - trailing wild blackberry

Rumex acetosella - sourgrass, sheep sorrel

Rumex crispus - dock

Rumex occidentalis - western dock, yellow dock

Sagina maxima - pearlwort

Salix amygdaloides - "match" willow

Salix exigua - interior willow, "rope" willow

Salix lasiandra - Pacific willow

Salix scouleriana - Scouler's willow

Salix sitchensis - Sitka willow

Salix - willow

Sambucus cerulea - blue elderberry

Sambucus racemosa - red elderberry

Sanguisorba canadensis - no common name

Saxifraga ferruginea - saxifrage

Scirpus americanus - American bulrush, tule

Scirpus microcarpus - "cut-grass", bulrush

Scirpus validus - bulrush, tule

Sedum divergens - no common name

Sedum spathulifolium - stonecrop

Selaginella wallacei - selaginella

Shepherdia canadensis - soapberry, "soopalallie", russet buffalo-berry

Smilacina racemosa - false Solomon's seal

Smilacina stellata - star-flowered Solomon's seal

Solanum tuberosum - Irish potato

Solidago spathulata var. neomexicana - goldenrod

Sorbus sitchensis - mountain ash

Sparrassis radicata - puffball

Sphagnum - peat-moss

Spiraea douglasii - hardhack

Spirogyra - green water alga

Stachys cooleyae - hedge nettle

Stellaria media - chickweed

Sticta anthrapsis - a foliose lichen

Streptopus amplexifolius - twisted stalk

Streptopus roseus ssp. curvipes - rose-flowered twisted stalk

Streptopus streptopoides - a small twisted stalk

Symphoricarpos albus - waxberry, snowberry

Tanacetum huronense - beach tansy

Taraxacum officinale - common dandilion

Taxus brevifolia - western yew

Thuja plicata - western red cedar

Tofieldia glutinosa - false asphodel

Trautvetteria caroliniensis - false bugbane

Trifolium pratense - red clover

Trifolium repens - white clover, alsike clover

Trifolium wormskjoldii - wild clover

Triglochin maritimum - saltgrass, "goose-tongue"

Tsuga heterophylla - western hemlock Tsuga mertensiana - mountain hemlock Typha latifolia - cat-tail, "bulrush" Ulva lactuca - sea lettuce Urtica dioica - stinging nettle Usnea longissima - "old man's beard" lichen Vaccinium alaskaense - Alaska blueberry Vaccinium caespitosum - low blueberry Vaccinium membranaceum - black mountain blueberry Vaccinium ovalifolium - oval-leaved blueberry Vaccinium oxycoccus - bog cranberry Vaccinium parvifolium - red huckleberry Vaccinium uliginosum - bog blueberry Vaccinium vitis-idaea - low-bush cranberry Veratrum eschscholtzii - Indian hellebore, false hellebore Viburnum edule - high-bush cranberry Vicia gigantea - giant vetch Viola langsdorfii - wild blue violet Zostera marina - eelgrass

Zygadenus venenosus - white camas, death camas

## Biographical Information

NAME: Nancy Jean Turner

PLACE AND DATE OF BIRTH: Berkeley, California November 7, 1947

#### EDUCATION:

University of Victoria 1965-69 Honours BSc. Degree

#### POSITIONS HELD:

- Research technician, Department of Plant Science, University of British Columbia, Spring 1970
- Teaching assistant, Department of Botany, University of British Columbia, Fall 1970 to Spring 1973

#### PUBLICATIONS:

- Eaton, G.W., C. Meehan & N. Turner (1970). "Some Physical Effects of Post-harvest Gamma Radiation on the fruit of Sweet Cherry, Blueberry, and Cranberry". Canadian Institute of Food Technology Journal, 3: 152 156.
- Eaton, G.W., O.A. Bradt & N. Turner (1970). "Embryo Sac Development in Relation to Poor Fruit Set in Agawam Grape". Horticultural Research Institute of Ontario, Report for 1969. pp. 56 59.
- Eaton, G.W. & N. Turner (1971). "Embryo Sac Development in Relation to Virus Infection of Four Red Raspberry Cultivars". <u>Journal</u> of the American Society of Horticultural Science, 96: 159 161.
- Taylor, Roy L., Stephen Sziklai & Nancy J. Turner (1970). An Automated Information Filing System for Plants Desired for Botanical Garden Components. Botanical Garden of the University of British Columbia Technical Bulletin No. 1 (October 1970), 37 pp.
- Turner, Nancy Chapman & Marcus A.M. Bell (1971). "The Ethnobotany of the Coast Salish Indians of Vancouver Island". Economic Botany, 25 (1): 65 105.
- Turner, Nancy J. (1971). "Native Economic Plants of Totem Park".

  Davidsonia, 2 (2): 22 28.
- Turner, Nancy J. & Roy L. Taylor (1972). "A Review of the Northwest Coast Tobacco Mystery". Syesis, 5: 249 257.

# PUBLICATIONS, continued:

- Turner, Nancy J. (1973). "The Ethnobotany of the Bella Coola Indians of British Columbia". Syesis, 6 (in press).
- Turner, Nancy Chapman & Marcus A.M. Bell (1973). "The Ethnobotany of the Southern Kwakiutl Indians of British Columbia". Economic Botany, 27 (in press).

### AWARDS:

- 1965 66 Home Oil Scholarship (for University of Victoria)
- 1966 67 President's Undergraduate Scholarship (UVIC)
- 1967 68 B.C. Hydro & Power Authority Scholarship (UVIC)
- 1967 68 Freeman King Biology Scholarship (UVIC)
- 1968 69 University of Victoria Special Biology Scholarship
- 1968 69 President's Undergraduate Scholarship (UVIC)
- 1965 69 Government of British Columbia first class scholarships
- 1969 Birk's Gold Watch Award
- July 1970 October 1973 National Research Council of Canada Postgraduate Scholarships