UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

SANTA BARBARA

Folk Taxonomy in Anishinaabemowin: A Linguistic Approach

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Master of the Arts
in Linguistics

by

Stephanie Joy Gamble Morse

Committee in charge:
Professor Marianne Mithun, Chair
Professor Carol Genetti
Professor Sandra Thompson

June 2015

The dissertation of Stephanie Joy Gamble Morse is approved.

Carol Genetti

Sandra Thompson

Marianne Mithun, Committee Chair

Folk Taxonomy in Anishinaabemowin: A Linguistic Approach

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank all of the speakers and researchers who have come before me for leaving a record of their language for me to work with. Not only have they made this thesis possible, but the dictionaries and texts both old and new have helped me produce a draft dictionary that has already been helpful for those who are currently teaching the language. I want to especially thank speakers such as Joe Pitawanakwat for being a fellow plant geek and Howard Kimewon, for his dedication to his language students (myself included), his patience with my slowness and his continual help with my projects.

My ever-patient husband deserves thanks for his efforts to keep me healthy and motivated as I progress towards my degree.

I also offer my thanks to my committee members for their comments and expertise. I am so thankful to have the opportunity to be studying under such thoughtful and caring scholars.

Lastly, I would not be nearly so confident with some of the data if it were not for the monetary support of the Jacobs Fund, The American Philosophical Society and The University of California, Santa Barbara Linguistics department.

To everyone, gchi-miigwech!

ABSTRACT

Folk Taxonomy in Anishinaabemowin: A Linguistic Approach

by

Stephanie Joy Gamble Morse

The theories of biological folk taxonomies have been discussed in the anthropological literature since the 1960's with several researchers such as Brent Berlin and Eugene Hunn devoting many articles and even books to the subject. Despite many examinations of the naming systems present in languages all over the Americas, there have been few, if any, works about the linguistic principles behind the two major theories of naming. This paper frames the linguistic bases for the two theories using data drawn from a corpus of Anishinaabemowin plant names and describes the linguistic basis for both Berlin's theory of a morphological (in the biological sense) basis for a hierarchical system of naming and Hunn's theory of use-based names. This paper will demonstrate that the theories of folk taxonomies can be greatly improved if theories of morphological (in the linguistic sense) preference are considered along with theories based in biological morphology or cultural usage.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Contents

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Introduction

Since languages are intertwined with their culture and environment, particularly in the domain of plant names, I think it appropriate to begin with a version of the Anishinaabeg creation story.

“Out of nothing he made rock, water, fire and wind. Into each one he breathed the breath of life. On each he bestowed with his breath a different essence and nature. Each substance had its own power which became its soul-spirit.

From these four substances Kitche Manitou created the physical world of sun, stars, moon and earth.

To the sun Kitche Manitou gave the powers of light and heat. To the earth he gave growth and healing; to waters purity and renewal, to the wind music and the breath of life itself.

On earth Kitche Manitou formed mountains, valleys, plains, islands, lakes, bays and rivers. Everything was in its place; everything was beautiful.

Then Kitche Manitou made the plant beings. These were four kinds; flowers, grasses, trees and vegetables. To each he gave a spirit of life, growth, healing and beauty. Each he places where it would be the most beneficial, and lend to earth the greatest beauty and harmony and order. After plants, Kitche Manitou created animal beings

conferring on each special powers and natures. There were two-leggeds, four-leggeds, wingeds and swimmers.

Last of all he made man. Though last in the order of creation, least in the order of dependence, and weakest in bodily powers, man had the greatest gift-the power to dream.

Kitche Manitou then made The Great Laws of nature for the well being and harmony of all things and all creatures. The Great Laws governed the place and movement of sun, moon, earth and stars; governed the powers of wind, water, fire, and rock; governed the rhythm and continuity of life, birth, growth, and decay. All things lived and worked by these laws. Kitche Manitou had brought into existence his vision."(Johnson B. , 1990)

"After Original Man was placed on the Earth, he was given instructions by the Creator. He was told to walk this Earth and name all the o-way-se-ug' (animals), the plants, the hills and the valleys of the Creator's gi-ti-gan' (garden). Original Man had no name of his own yet. Later, people would refer to him as Anishinabe and, still later, Way-na-boo'-zhoo. But at this early time, he who had no name would name the Creation."(Meeker, Elias, & Heim, 1993)

Folk Taxonomies

The study of folk taxonomies is the study of how people and cultures organize the world around them, particularly the plants and animals the society regularly interacts with. Folk Taxonomies have been a topic of study in anthropology for the past 50 years. Previous studies often rely heavily on evidence based on the names used to identify a species to justify their theories of cognitive organization, yet few if any of these studies draw on linguistic principles in their explanation of the systematicity present in these languages.

Many works such as the recent ethnobotanical studies on Gitksan (Johnson 1999) Penan Benalui (Koizumi et al 2007), and Salishan languages (Turner 1989) have looked at individual languages, seeking patterns in the way plants or animals are named and categorized. One of the great strengths of the human brain is its ability to recognize pattern. Today even the most powerful computers still struggle with visual pattern recognition, but it is something that people are able to do with ease.

It is useful to study these patterns to better understand the constraints on the ways people categorize and describe their environment.

What is taxonomy?

Rooted in the Greek words *τάξις*, *taxis* (meaning 'order', 'arrangement') and *νόμος*, *nomos* ('law' or 'science'), taxonomy si defined as the "classification, esp. in relation to its general laws or principles; *esp.* the systematic classification of living

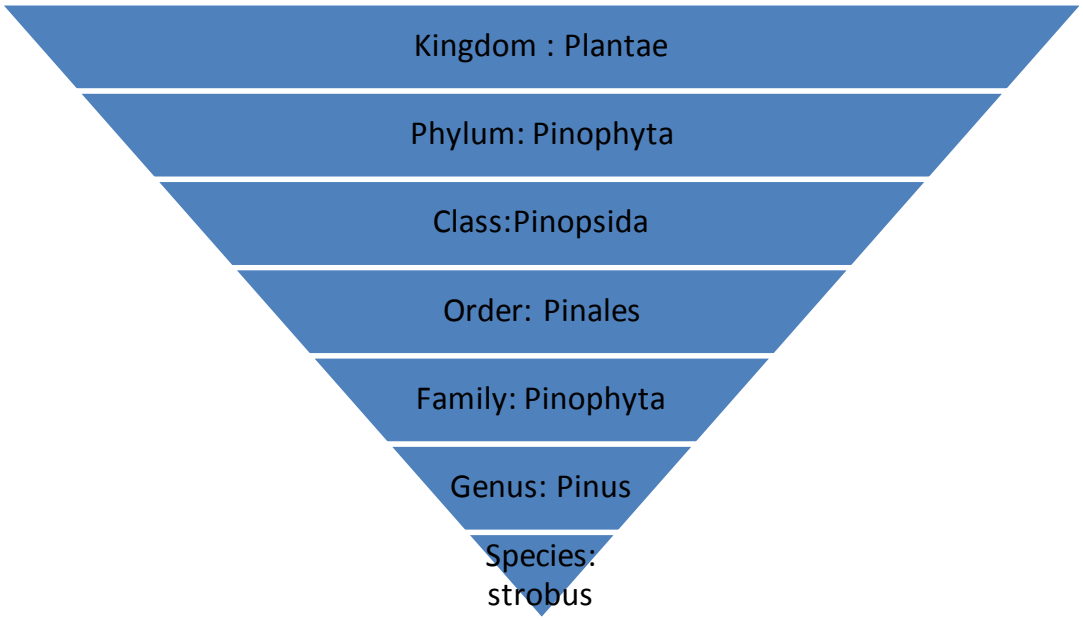
organisms."(Oxford University Press 2010)(OED 2010:*Taxonomy*) The taxonomic system that is used by science today has grown out of the herbals of classical times which described the healing properties of plants(Geniusz 2009). The scientific taxonomic system mentioned here is the Linnean binomial system, which is actually one of two models used by science.[1] It is named after the Swedish naturalist Carl Linnaeus, who developed a two-part system of names to create distinct terms for organisms. Common names (as opposed to scientific names, or Latin names as they are often inaccurately called[2]) are imprecise and linguistically unstable, so creating a stable, scientifically recognized name for an organism aids communication among naturalists. For instance, the species of bird that the common name *robin* refers to varies depending on the country you live in. If you live in the United States or Canada, then *robin* refers to *Turdus migratorius*, a member of the thrush family. In Great Britain, however, little robin red-breast is an Old World Flycatcher by the name of *Erithacus rubecula* (OED 2010:*Robin*).

Linneaus' taxonomic system has expanded beyond the two-name schema to encompass seven levels of a hierarchy that divides living things into successively less inclusive varieties until the characteristics of that level refer to only one type of organism. For instance the Eastern White Pine, *Pinus strobus*L., currently has the

[1] An alternative view to the Linnean taxonomic system is cladistics. Where taxonomy is based on the outward morphology of an organism, cladistics is more heavily focused on shared evolution. The two often produce the same categorization, but do sometimes differ.

[2] The scientific name for an organism in the Linnean system is sometimes referred to as the 'Latin name'. This is a misnomer. Although many of the pieces in the scientific name are derived from Latin, often the names are a mixture of Latin, Greek or even personal names. A favorite is *Quercusmuhlenbergii*where the genus name *quercus*means 'oak tree' in Latin, and *muehlenbergii*refers to an amateur botanist for whom the tree is now named.

following classification under the Linnean system. The highest level, Kingdom, is the most inclusive, and the lowest level, species[3], is the most restricted.



Following the traditions established in the Enlightenment, the identification and classification of plants has become an intellectual pursuit in its own right. Where most societies tend to name only plants and animals that were culturally significant or salient in the landscape (Raven et al. 1971), Western scientists seek to identify and classify new species for the sake of having a more complete inventory[4]. The naming and categorizing of a species hitherto unknown to Western science (though typically known by local peoples) is cause for celebration within the scientific community. Linguists may recognize a similar impulse in our discipline's desire to define and categorize the languages of the world.

[3] There is one level below this, the subspecies, that is not necessarily used for each species.
[4] Though, as in all disciplines, there are wider implications for the discovery of a new species, including insights into evolutionary pathways, ways to prevent diseases, or greater reasons to conserve a particular ecosystem.

This is not to say that traditional societies do not concern themselves with detailed identification and classification. Quite the opposite, in fact. As the academic as well as popular literature attests, people are very good at making fine distinctions when they perceive a need to do so. For instance, the Tofa reindeer herders' detailed classification system described in K. David Harrison's book When Languages Die separates reindeer into categories based on age, sex, reproductive status and suitability for riding (Harrison 2007).

Tasks involved in folk taxonomic work

An often forgotten, but vitally important, concept in the examination of folk biological systems is the separation of different tasks that are involved. There are three tasks that are involved: the identification of the organism, the naming (nomenclature) of the organism and the classification of the organism in relationship to other organisms.(Berlin 1973;Ghiselin 1999)

In the Linnaean system, nomenclature and taxonomic classification are conflated. By naming (or re-naming) a taxon you are assigning it a place in the hierarchy. As new research is done, an organism may even change its scientific name. For instance, poison ivy (*Toxicodendron radicans* L.) and poison sumac (*Toxicodendron vernix* L.) were originally classified as members of the genus *Rhus* along with other sumacs, but have now been reclassified as members of the genus *Toxicodendron*[5] (Barnes 1981). But names are slow to be updated in the public record. I, myself have a book purchased within the last 10 years that still labels poison ivy as *Rhus radicans* L .

[5] Toxicodendron aptly means 'poison leaf' in Greek.

(Petrides 1972). Though in this system, both poison ivy and poison sumac now belong to one genus, the common English names would lead one to think otherwise. Poison ivy *is* highly toxic but it is not a type of ivy. The name change from *Rhus radicans* to *Toxicodendron radicans* changed not only the name, but the perceived relationship between it and other plants in the *Rhus* and *Toxicodendron* genera in the scientific system. The common names, however, have remained constant.

Theories from Anthropology

There have been two major theories proposed to account for the regularities in folk taxonomies, the hierarchical system developed by Brent Berlin and his associates such as Dennis Breedlove and Peter Raven, and the use-based theories of Eugene Hunn. Berlin posits a hierarchically organized semantic system. "The fundamental organizing principle of folk biological classification--the result partially, perhaps, of the large numbers of classes of organisms involved--is taxonomic, whereby recognized groupings (hereafter called taxa) of greater and lesser inclusiveness are arranged hierarchically" (Berlin 1973) He posited six increasingly specific levels of organization that are universal to human cognition.

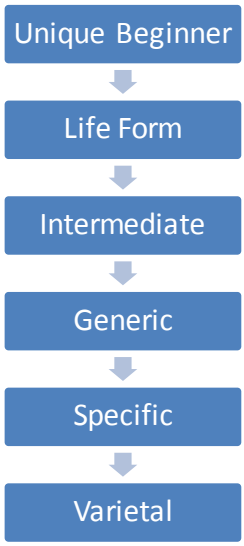


Figure 1. Folk Taxonomic Hierarchy according to Brent Berlin (1973)

The Unique Beginner is highest on Berlin's hierarchy. This category contains one and only one member at this top level. This 'life form' category contains everything that is placed below it in the hierarchy(Berlin 1973; Berlin 1992).Each other level will be comprised of multiple sub-categories which will, in turn, also have sub-categories that will eventually specify one, unique type of organism. Compare 'white pine' as cast in Berlin's hierarchy (below) to the scientific organization mentioned above.

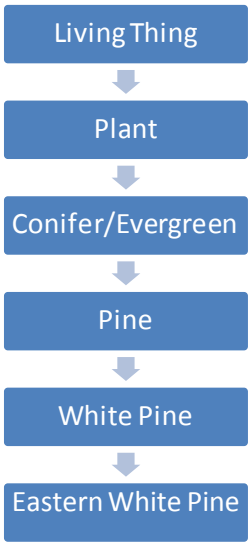


Figure 2 Folk taxonomic organization for 'white pine'

Eugene Hunn, on the other hand, argues for the importance of use in the naming of plants and animals. The *natural core model* that he proposes is a semantic model that is based on the supposition that "human perception is programmed to recognize patterns of covariance among the variable dimensions by which perception of a set of objects is organized" (Hunn 1982). His conceptualization of a species is a category of organism that is "good to act upon" (Hunn 1982). While this notion of a species or type is useful in that it does allow plants to belong to multiple categories, it does not explain all of the organizational systematicity that does appear in many of the world's languages.

The category that Berlin calls 'generic' Hunn calls 'residual'(Hunn 1982). The two categories are similar in that they encompass what appears to be the basic unit of species identification. While Berlin identifies it as the central cognitive unit, Hunn sees it as a less theoretically important category. For Hunn, the 'residual' category is

a catch-all term that a speaker uses when he or she recognizes that an organism belongs to a specific type (such as 'duck') but does not have a more specific term (e.g. 'mallard'). In English, this is often expressed as 'just an X' (Hunn 1982). When asked about a particular species of tree that is either unnamed in the language, or the name is unknown to the speaker, the speaker is likely to reply something along the lines of "I don't know. It's just an oak."

Blend of two theories

The study and theorizing of folk taxonomies has been largely a domain of anthropology. Though some researchers appeal to the language as evidence of the cognitive categories they posit, few, if any, have approached the problem from a linguistic perspective. This is particularly relevant in today's academic environment where the weak version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (languages can influence the way people perceive the world around them) has been gaining popularity.

What I propose is that the two major theories can be framed in a linguistic context. Much as Berlin relies on morphology (in the biological sense of outward appearance), I propose that linguistic morphology (the ways in which words are built in the language) can be an equally useful framework for the description and systematic examination of plant names, particularly in polysynthetic languages like Anishinaabemowin.

As mentioned above, the more recent literature reveals that the theories of folk taxonomy often blur the distinction between naming, classifying and identifying the species (Davidson-Hunt, et al. 2005). The idea that the names are reflective of their

cognitive classification assumes that there is only one proper place in the hierarchy for a plant and a plant will only have one name. This assumption conflates the classification with the naming. Though these two processes are related, this paper shows that while the names do often reflect membership in categories, these categories can be changeable.

By taking the idea for Berlin's 'generic' level as a feature common to languages as several authors have (Davidson-Hunt, et al. 2005), we can posit that at the linguistic core of his theory is endocentric compounding. Hunn's use-based conceptual schema can be reflected in the language as exocentric compounding. By looking at the morphological structure of the words, we can gain an equally nuanced picture of the conceptualization of plants.

An endocentric compound noun is a word[6] comprised of at least two parts, one of which can be identified as the 'head'. The head specifies a type. In English the compound noun 'sunflower' is comprised of two nouns: 'sun' and 'flower'. Since compounds in English are right-headed, that is, the right-hand noun defines the type, we interpret the plant with this name as a type of flower, rather than a type of sun.

Phonology is assumed to be a better indicator of compound status than orthography (spelling). In English, for example, compound nouns are typically stressed on the initial, non-head constituent. 'White pine' is written as two words, but would be considered a compound noun on the basis of its stress pattern, with primary stress on

[6] For this paper, the concept of the word is defined phonologically.

'white'. If it were two phonological words, rather than a compound, the stress would fall on 'pine'. 'White pine' is an endocentric compound because it is indeed a type of pine.

Exocentric compounds, on the other hand, do not contain an internal head. 'Coltsfoot' *Tussilago farfara* can be broken apart into 'colt's' and 'foot', but as a plant it does not refer to any type of foot.

Anishinaabemowin

Anishinaabemowin is a Central Algonquian language. It is polysynthetic, with particularly complex verbal morphology. Nominal morphology is less complex, but still exhibits areas of great interest. The language is spoken from the Great Lakes region of the United States and Canada into Manitoba and Saskatechewan.

Figure 3 Anishinaabemowin dialect map (Valentine, 1980)

The landscape of this area covers two major ecosystems. The southern area is primarily the Northern Hardwoods forest type dominated by maples, oaks and pines, while further north in the range, the forest transitions to sub-boreal and boreal forests which have more conifers like spruces and fir (Barnes 1981). Though in the northern hemisphere ecological diversity decreases with increasing latitude, the USDA PLANTS database still lists over 10,000 species, sub-species and varietals that live in this region.

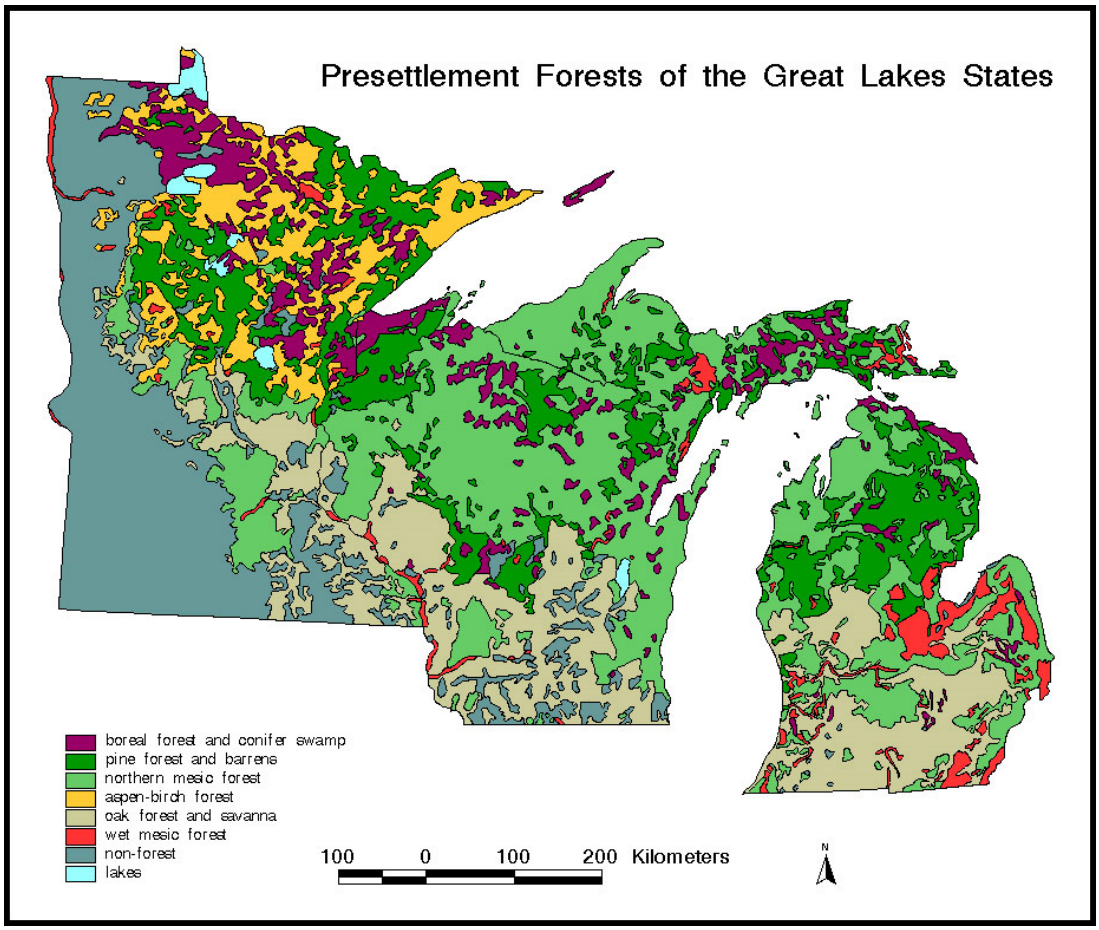


Figure 4 Historical forest types of the Great Lakes Region[7]

[7] http://nrs.fs.fed.us/fmg/nfmg/fm101/eco/p1_historical.html

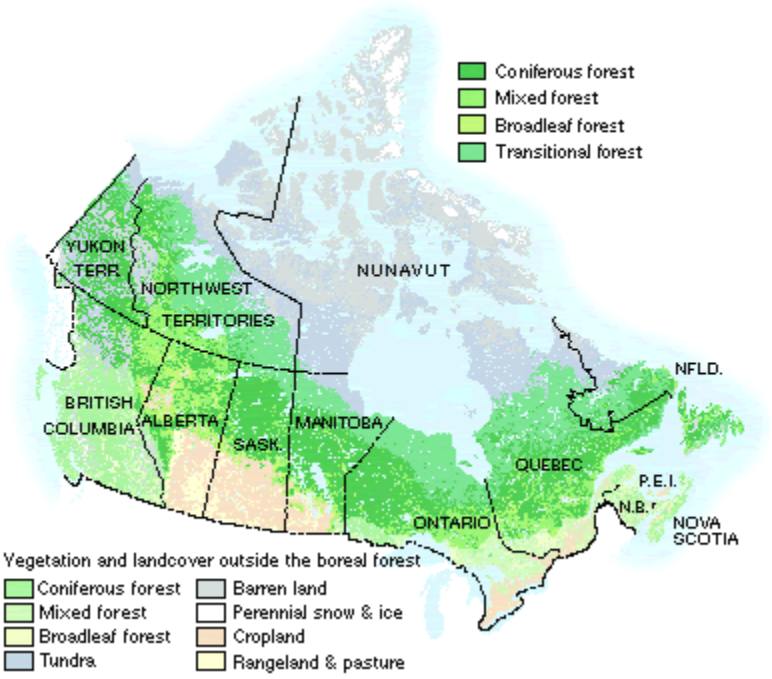


Figure 5 Forest types of Canada[8]

Data Sources

This paper draws on a database of nearly 7,000 plant names assembled from nearly 30 written sources including dictionaries, ethnobotanical descriptions, teaching materials, elicitation, and recorded narratives from across the dialect spectrum. Many terms are repeated between the sources, so this does not reflect the total number of named plants within the languages. For instance the word for 'apple' *mishiimin*, is

[8] http://atlas.nrcan.gc.ca/site/english/learningresources/theme_modules/borealforest/vegetationcover.jpg

repeated over 20 times in the database, but 'beach pea' *miinikan* (*Lathyrus japonicas)* is attested only in one online dictionary (Weshki-ayaad, et al. 2009).

Previous studies on Anishinaabemowin

In general, a community will have between 500 and 800 named plants in their language's lexicon (Berlin 1973). Part of this variety can be attributed to the relative biological richness of the areas they inhabit. A group of people in the rainforest will have far more species to interact with than a group that lives in the Arctic tundra. Languages will tend to only have names for plants that are somehow salient to the community. This salience can take the form of edible plants, harmful plants, plants that are useful for a certain purpose, or are perhaps just visually salient in the landscape. In at least one language, ǁGana, plants and animals are put into one of three categories: 'eat-thing' *kx'ooxo*, 'bite-thing' *paaxo*, and 'useless thing' *goōwahaxo* for edible, harmful and useless things respectively (Harrison 2007).

In the corpus of Anishinaabemowin plant names, there are about 600-700 different plants[9] for which there are recorded names. This puts the language in the middle of Berlin's estimation range. Though this number may sound high, it represents only a small fraction of the 10,000+ species and subspecies with scientific names in this area (USDA 2010).

[9] At the time of writing, I am still working on determining this exact number. The use of common names that can refer to many different plants in the older sources makes determining an exact count a time-consumming task.

To date, there have been two papers examining folk taxonomies in Anishinaabemowin, one from the Lac Seul reserve in Ontario and the other from Iskatewizaagegan First Nation in Manitoba. The two papers report that the systematicity that they discovered in the language has aspects of both types of systems. Kenny and Parker found several morphological (biological) categories: *gaamig* 'mosses'[10], *aasaagakiik*'herbaceous plants', *-aatig*which the authors define as 'shrub', and two covert categories (recognized, but not named) 'angiosperm (flowering) trees' and 'conifers'. They also reported several use-based categories such as *ojiibik*'medicinal herbs', *miin*'small, edible berries'. At least in part, Kenny and Parker's work supports the hierarchical conceptualization of plants.

Like Kenny and Parker, Davidson-Hunt et al reported the presence of the category 'mosses' *aasaakamig*. Additionally, they also record terms for categories like 'trees' *mitigoog*, 'curcurbits (cucumbers, squash and melons)' *agwisinaanag*, and *ozhashkwedow*'fungi'. Unlike Kenny and Parker , they mention several morphemes that occur at the beginning of types of plant names that give information on the semantic groupings. These morphemes include *manidoo-* 'spirit' for potentially dangerous plants and *mashkiigo-* 'muskeeg' for plants that grow in the swamp. Their study lists only a few of these types of words, but in the database there are well over 50 different descriptors that give information about the strength, use, or location of a plant. For a complete list, see the Appendix.

[10]Related to the word 'ground'.

Also unlike Kenny and Parker, these authors find Berlin's hierarchical theory to be insufficient to explain their findings, as they uncovered little evidence of a hierarchical category higher than the generic.

Morphology of Anishinaabemowin Plant Names

There are three types of plant names in the language, each with subtypes. There are **endocentric compounds** that can be based either on a part of a plant or a category of plant; **exocentric compounds** that can be cultural references, ecological observations or descriptions; and **non-compounds** which are words that may or may not be a part of compounds in other names or familial designations.

In Anishinaabemowin, plant names are generally bi-morphemic, right-headed compounds. For example, the word for 'strawberry' *ode'imin*[11] is comprised of the morphemes *ode'i-* 'heart' and *–min* 'berry, fruit'. In Algonquianist terms, morphemes such as *–min* are called 'noun finals'.

Though there are a number of names that are monomorphemic (consisting of just one meaningful part), there is typically a variant form of the name that is bi-morphemic (consisting of two parts). *Wiigwaas* 'paper birch' is just one morpheme[12], but it can equally appropriately be referred to as *wiigwaas-aatig* 'birch-tree'.

Berlin's theory is based on the assumption that not only are plants categorized by their outward appearance, but that also the default naming strategy relies on

[11] Dialects have varying pronunciations *ode'imin* (Minnesota Ojibwe), *odemin* (historical Eastern Ojibwa), *odehimin* (Severen Ojibwa), *and demin* (Odawa from Northern Lower Michigan).
[12] *Wiigwaas* is likely related to the adjective 'tattered' (Johnston B. H., 2007)

endocentric compounding. In English, 'pine' is the generic label, which is monomorphemic. To further differentiate the specific types of pine, bimorphemic names are created, such as 'white pine', 'red pine' and 'jack pine'. The head of the compound refers, in Berlin's terms, to the generic level of the folk taxonomy.

In Anishinaabemowin, the noun-finals/compound heads are variable. Since the heads typically indicate the category the plant belongs to, their variability strongly suggests that the categories themselves are variable.

The head of the endocentric compound typically designates the salient part of the plant. There are a number of these noun-finals that form the heads of compound nouns, such as *–bag* 'leaf', *-aatig*'tree/wood', *-ojiibik*'root', *nagek*'bark', *-min*'berry'. There are additionally a number of complex noun finals, such as *–minagaawanzh*'berry plant' and *–minaatig*, which Davidson and Hunt (2007) translate as 'berry stick'. When a plant has many uses, there will often be several variants of the name containing different noun finals. 'Paper birch' is referred to as *wiigwaas-aatig*(birch-tree), *wiigwaasi-miizh,* as well as simply *wiigwaas*.

Types of compounds in Anishinaabemowin Plant names

Endocentric compounds

This type of compound is the type that best fits with Berlin's hierarchical theory. As mentioned above, these compounds are of two main types. Most commonly, these are based on a plant part term, such as *–bag* 'leaf', *-ojiibik* 'root', *-okaadak*'taproot', or *–min* 'berry, fruit'.

Anishinaabemowin	Literal Translation	Common English Name
Omakakii-bag	Frog-leaf	Poison ivy
Doodooshaaboo-jiibik	Milk-root	Dandelion
Wiinisii-bag	Dirty-leaf	Wintergreen
Mako-pin	Bear-root	Large toothwort[13]
Aagim-ak	Ash/snowshoe-wood	Ash (tree)
Niibaay-aandag	Night(?)-needle	Ground Hemlock/Canada Yew

Table 1 Endocentric Compounds

There are also several noun finals that represent types of plants rather than specific parts. These finals can be comprised of several morphemes like *–minaatig* 'berry stick' (which itself is comprised of *min* 'berry' and *aatig* 'wood, tree') or *–miinagaawaanzh* 'berry-bearing plant'[14].

Anishinaabemowin	Literal Translation	Common English Name
Makwi-minaatig	Bear-berry.stick	Mountain ash
Apakwew-ashk	Roofing-grass	Cattail
Namew-ashk	Sturgeon-grass	Spearmint
Wiimb-ashk	Hollow-grass	Spotted touch-me-not, reed
Bine'o-minanaatig	Patridge's-berry.stick	Snowberry
Gichi-ogin	Large-rose(hip)	Tomato
Adoop-aatig	Alder-tree	Alder

Table 2 Noun finals representing plant types

Exocentric Compounding

Exocentric compounds are more varied than the endocentric compounds. Many of the names reflect the uses, environment or appearance of a plant. Fluent speakers speak of their language as highly poetic and descriptive, and this is reflected in the ways that plants are named.

[13] 'Wort', while once a productive morpheme meaning 'plant', only survives as a bound morpheme in a few plant and medicine names like 'toothwort' and 'liverwort'.

[14] Words in this paragraph are glossed following the found in Davidson-Hunt et al (2005).

Cultural figure references

There is a small subset of plants whose names refer to legendary/mythological figures. Often, these figurative names appear alongside a more widely-attested, descriptive name. There are several names dealing with the cultural hero/trickster Nanabozho.[15]Sweetgrass (*Hierochloe odorata)* is usually referred to as *wiin(g)ash(k)*, but it also can also be called *winabozhonokomiswiinizisan* 'Nanabozho's grandmother's hair'[16]. Likewise, Canada Lily (*Lilium canadense)* is called *nanabozhobikok* 'Nanabozho's arrow'.

Descriptions of growth form

There is a small category of names that describe the growth form (the way in which the plant grows). *Nebne-godek* 'hangs-one.sided' for False Solomon's seal, *wezaawaa-iskoonek* 'yellow/orange-glow' for large-leaf avens and *ozagadigaans* 'slightly emerging' for agrimony are all examples of this type.

Use-based names

Though the majority of the recorded plant names indicate the biological morphology of the plant, there is a set of morphemes that instead indicate how it is used. Many of these names, such as the names for 'fireweed' and 'fringed polygala' indicate the medicinal use of the plant while others like the name for 'Golden corydalis' suggest a material use.

[15]Often anglicized as 'Nanabush'.
[16] This name is also attested for Indian Paintbrush. It is not uncommon for different plants to share the same common name.

Anishinaabemowin	Literal Translation	Common English Name
Tipo-daaya-gaawaasoon	'mending a hole in the pants'	Golden corydalis
Zhooshki-jiibik	'chewable root'	Fireweed
Tikiz-ijiibik-oonhs	'little cooling root'	Fringed polygala

Table 3 Use-based plant names

Name Sharing: A database model

When considering plant names, particularly those that are either use-based, or descriptions of growth form, it is important to recognize that the same name may apply to several different plants. As mentioned above, the process of naming the plant and the identification of the plant are separate tasks. So there can be instances where different plants will share the same name, but still be distinguished by speakers. For instance, the common name 'white pine' in American English encompasses two to three species, *Pinus strobus* (Eastern White Pine) and *Pinus monticola* (Western White Pine) and even *Pinus flexilis* (Limber Pine). Though these trees are all members of the *Strobus* subgenus, they are still easily differentiated if there is a need.

This difference between naming and identification can be conceptualized handily by borrowing terms from computational databases. In databases, an item can be related to another item in several ways: one to one, many to one, and one to many. In a one to one relationship for plant names, one plant type would have exactly one name that is used exclusively for that type of plant. This is the goal of the binomial nomenclature system used by biologists. In folk taxonomies, you will find this type of relationship, but you will also uncover more variability in the mapping of names. There are terms,

particularly use-based, that will have a one-to-many relationship. One name will be applied to several distinct plants that are useful for that purpose. For instance, in Anishinaabemowin the name *nookwezigan* 'medicine for burning/smudge' applies to several varieties of fleabane, mugwort, pearly everlasting, yarrow, wormwood, white pine and jack pine. Likewise, one plant may have many names depending on the user and what part or use is being focused on. Expert users who have training in the care and use of plants will often have additional names that exist in their lexicon alongside the more common name present in the community. Due to a variety of circumstances, I have at least six lexical options to choose from when I see the plant pictured below.

Figure 6 Equisetum by Jim Pisawicz[17]

[17] http://www.nps.gov

As children, my siblings and I called it 'snake grass' because it reminded us of the garter snakes that frequented our yard. My best friend and I called it 'bead grass' because we could pop apart the joints, paint the segments and string them for necklaces and bracelets. When I was in college I learned the more common names 'horsetail' and 'scouring rush', the latter name being a reference to its ability to be used to clean pans due to a high silica content. During that time I also learned the genus' scientific name '*Equisetum*' and the specific name for this plant *Equisetum laevigatum*. Depending on the use and audience, I will use all of these options except 'bead grass'. The non-use of this term has corresponded to the loss of the activity[18].

Use and Category Membership

Berlin's theory relies on the assumption that a plant will belong to one and only one place in the conceptual hierarchy. If one of the major clues to category membership is in the name, then Anishinaabemowin strongly suggests that his theory is insufficient to explain the categories. When taking Hunn's notion of use-based categories into account, it appears natural that plants would have different names (or name variants) when they are used for different purposes. "As the elders noted, a blueberry

(Vaccinium spp.) is categorized as culinary when eaten, technological when used as a

[18] I have since found other, less crumbly, methods of adornment creation and will probably not make another bead grass necklace any time soon.

dye, medicinal when treating an ailment, and ceremonial when eaten as part of a feast. The taxon is signified by the lexical term 'blueberry' and as a taxon has many potential uses, but each individual blueberry plant is placed by the Creator on this earth to sustain the Anishinaabeg in a way that can only be known at the time of use." (Davidson-Hunt, et al. 2005)

There are plant names that are interpreted as both a descriptor of the plant and also as a reminder of its use. I had initially assumed that 'strawberry' *ode'imin* was 'heart-berry' because it looks like an anatomical heart. While that is the interpretation for some, one speaker told me that it was called 'heart-berry' because the leaves and roots are good for treating heart ailments. This sort of dual interpretation hearkens back to the medieval "Doctrine of Signatures" which stated that plants were created by God with clues as to how people should use them(Bennett 2007). Hepatica, for instance, was so named because the leaves were shaped like a liver, and the assumption was that, because of the leaf shape, it was good for illnesses relating to the liver (OED 2010: *Hepatica*).

Non-compounds

These names are surprisingly rare in the database. Often these names refer to a specific plant, but are then used to indicate a type of plant. These are often highly salient or culturally important plants. *Miinan* 'blueberries' were a staple of the Anishinaabeg diet (Keewaydinoquay 1978). The reduced form of *miin, -min* is used as a bound morpheme to mean 'berry, fruit'. Similarly, the word for 'potato' is

(o)pin(y), but when it occurs as a bound morpheme it indicates that the representative part of the plant is a tuber[19].

There is at least one name that does not form compounds, even in its reduced form. A common cold remedy is Sweet Flag *Acorus calamus* which is called *wiikenh* in Anishinaabemowin.

Familial designations

Though there are only two plants in this category—cedar and birch-- they are both very important to the culture. The word for 'grandmother' *nokomis*[20] can refer to Northern white-cedar *Thuja occidentalis*. Typically cedar is called *giizhik*, and this name (or a close variant) is attested in nearly every source. *Nokomis* is only attested in two sources, both by Anishinaabeg women who had been specially trained.

The second grandparent is Grandfather Birch or *nmishoomis*. This term is much rarer than *nokomis* and only attested in one source (Geniusz 2009). While I was able to confirm with native speakers that *nokomis* is a familiar term for cedar, *nmishoomis* was not a typical way of describing the birch trees.

Conclusions

Both of the major theories of folk taxonomies account for parts of the systems of plant nomenclature within languages. But to separate the cultural aspects of naming

[19] A subterranean storage organ derived from a particular type of root. This is in contrast to taproots, which are *jiis* in Anishinaabemowin.

[20] Technically this is 'my grandmother'. *Ni-* or *n-* is the marker of 1st person possession here.

from the linguistic aspect leaves us with an incomplete picture. By combining the anthropological theories of taxonomy and the linguistic basis for the naming patterns, we are able to get a more accurate and more nuanced picture of the system. In looking at other languages previously studied, it may be useful to look at the relative preference for compounds (prefer/disprefer/exocentric/endocentric) and use that as a clue as to why plants acquire the names they do.

Bibliography

A Concise Dictionary of the Ojibway Indian Language (Vols. 1 English-Ojibway). (1903). Rochester, NY: International Colportage Mission.

Aubin, G. F. (1975). *A Proto-Algonquian Dictionary* (Vol. Mercury Series Paper (Canadian Ethnology Service) no. 29). Ottawa: National Museums of Canada.

Bailenson, J. N., Shumb, M. S., Atran, S., Medin, D. L., & Coley, J. D. (2002). A Bird's Eye View: Biological Categorization and Reasoning within and across Cultures. *Cognition, 84*, 1-53.

Baraga, F. (1992). *A Dictionary of the Ojibway Language*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press.

Barnes, B. V. (1981). *Michigan Trees*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Bennett, B. C. (2007). Doctrine of Signatures: An Explanation of Medicinal Plant Discovery or Dissemination of Knowledge? *Economic Botany, 61* (3), 246–255 .

Berlin, B. (1992). *Ethnobiological Classification: Principles of Categorization of Plants and Animals in Traditional Societies*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Berlin, B. (1973). Folk Systematics in Relation to Biological Classification and Nomenclature. *Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics, 4*, 259-271.

Blackbird, A. (1887). *History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan: A Grammar of their Language, and Personal and Family History of the Author*. Ypsilanti: Ypsilantian Job Printing House.

Brown, C. H., Anderson, E. N., Blumer, R., Drechsel, P., Ellen, R. F., Hays, T. E., et al. (1985). Mode of Subsistence and Folk Biological Taxonomy. *Current Anthropology, 26* (1), 43-64.

Davidson-Hunt, I. J., Phyllis, J., Mandamin, E., & Wapioke, B. (2005). Iskatewizaagegan (Shoal Lake) Plant Knoweldge: An Anishnaabe (Ojibway) Ethnobotany of Northwestern Ontario. *Journal of Ethnobiology, 25* (2), 189–227.

de Queiroz, K., & Gauthier, J. (1994). Toward a Phylogenetic System of Bioiogical Nomenclature. *TREE, 9* (1), 27-31.

Densmore, F. (2005). *Strength of the Earth: The classic guide to Ojibwe uses of native plants* (Reprint of section from 44th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington DC GPO ed.). St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press.

Dictionary, O. E. (2011, June 6). *Robin*. Retrieved June 6, 2011, from OED Online: http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/166614

Dobson, P. J. (Ed.). (1978). *The Tree that Never Dies: Oral history of the Michigan Indians*. Grand Rapids, Michigan, United States of America: Grand Rapids Public Library.

Geniusz, W. M. (2009). *Our Knowledge is not Primitive: Decolonizing Botanical Anishinaabe Teachings*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

Ghiselin, M. (1999). Natural kinds and supraorganismal individuals. In D. Medin, & S. Atran (Eds.), *Folkbiology* (pp. 447-460). Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Gilmore, M. R. (1933). Some Chippewa Uses of Plants. *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters, XVII*, 119-143.

Grant, V. (2003). Incongruence between Cladistic and Taxonomic System. *American Journal of Botany, 90* (9), 1263-1270.

Great Lakes Fish and Wildlife Commission. *Non-Medicinal Plants Used by the Great Lakes Ojibwe*. n.d.

Harrison, K. D. (2007). *When Languages Die*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hunn, E. (1982). The Utilitarian Factor in Folk Biological Classification. *American Anthropologist N.S., 84* (4), 830-847.

Johnson, B. (1990). *Ojibwe Heritage* (Reprint of 1976 edition published by McClelland and Stewart ed.). Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press.

Johnson, L. M. (1999). Gitksan Plant Classification and Nomenclature. *Journal of Ethnobiology, 19* (2), 179-218.

Johnston, B. H. (2007). *Anishinaubae Thesaurus*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.

Johnston, B. (2003). *Honour Earth Mother*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Jones, W. (1917). *Ojibwa Texts* (Vol. VII pt I). (T. Michelson, Ed.) Leyden: E. J. Brill.

Keewaydinoquay. (1978). *Min Anishinaabag Ogimaawi-minan -: Blueberry first fruit of the Anishinnibeg*. Garden Island, MI: Miniss-kitigan Drum.

Keewaydinoquay. (1978). *Puhpohwee: For the People- A narrative account of some uses of Fungi among the Anishinaubeg*. Cambridge: Botanical Museum of Harvard University.

Kenny, M. B., & Parker, W. H. (2004). Ojibway Plant Taxonomy at Lac Seul First Nation, Ontario Canada. *Journal of Ethnobiology, 24* (1), 75-91.

Kiogima, R. (2010). *The Complete Odawa Language*. Harbor Springs, MI: Self-Published.

Koizumi, M., & Kuniyasu, M. (2007). Penan Benalui Wild-Plant Use, Classification, and Nomenclature. *Current Anthropology, 48* (3), 454-459.

Medin, D. L. (2006). *Culture and resource conflict: Why meanings matter* . New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Meeker, J. E., Elias, J. E., & Heim, J. A. (1993). *Plants Used by the Great Lakes Ojibwa*. Odanah, WI: Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commision.

Nichols, J. D., & Nyholm, E. (1995). *A Concise Dictionary of Minnesota Ojibwe*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Oxford University Press. (2011, March). *Hepatica*. Retrieved June 6, 2011, from OED Online: http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/85991

Oxford University Press. (2011, March). *OED Online*. (Oxford University Press) Retrieved May 17, 2011, from hepatica: http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/85991

Oxford University Press. (2011, March). *OED Online*. Retrieved 6 2011, June, from plant: http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/145153

Oxford University Press. (2010, November). *taxonomy*. (Oxford University Press) Retrieved 3 16, 2011, from OED Online: http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/198305

Petrides, G. A. (1972). *A Field Guide to Trees and Shrubs* (2nd Edition ed., Vols. Northeastern and north-central United States and southeastern and south-central Canada). Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Pokagon, S. (1899). *O-gi-maw-kwe mit-i-gwa-ki (Queen of the woods)*. Hartford, Michigan: C. H. Engle.

Rama, C. O. (2005). *Rama First Nation Ojibwe Language Dictionary*. Canada: Rama First Nation.

Raven, P. H., Berlin, B., & Breedlove, D. E. (1971). The Origins of Taxonomy. *Science , 174 N.S.* (4015), 1210-1213.

Reagan, A. B. (1921). Plants Used by the Bois Fort Chippewa (Ojibwa) Indians of Minnesota. *Wisconsin Archeologist, 23 N.S.* (2), 230-247.

Rhodes, R. (1985). *Eastern Ojibwa-Chippewa-Ottawa Dictionary*.Berlin: Walter de Gruyter& Co.

Stowe, G. C. (1940). Plants Used by the Chippewa. *The Wisconsin Archeologist, 21* (1), 8-13.

Turner, N. J. (1989). "All Berries have Relations" Mid-Range Plant Groupings in Thompson and Lillooet Interior Salish. *Journal of Ethnobiology, 9* (1), 69-110.

Valentine, J. R. (2001). *Nishnaabemwin Reference Grammar*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Vennum Jr., T. (1988). *Wild Rice and the Ojibway People*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press.

Weshki-ayaad, Lippert, C., & Gambill, G. T. (2009, June 11). Freelang Ojibwe-English Dictionary.

Appendix

Note: Source codes are used to indicate which source(s) a particular word was found. A list of codes is found in Table 4 below.

For the form of the words in Anishinaabemowin, some of the orthographies make the form difficult to translate into the Fiero Double Vowel system. In those cases, I have left it in the original orthography.

Baraga	*A Dictionary of the Ojibway Language*	**HK**	*Field work with Howard Kimewon*
CDMO	*Concise Dictionary of Minnesota Ojibwe*	**Johnson**	*Anishinaubae Thesaurus*
COD	*A Concise Dictionary of the Ojibway Indian Language*	**Kenny/ Parker**	*Ojibway Plant Taxonomy at Lac Seul First Nation*
Densmore	*Strength of the Earth*	**Pokagon**	*Queen of the Woods*
Freelang	*Freelang Dictionary*	**PUGLO**	*Plants Used by the Great Lakes Ojibwa*
Gilmore	*Some Chippewa Uses of Plants*	**Rhodes**	*Eastern Ojibwa-Chippewa-Ottawa Dictionary*
GLIFWC	*Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission publication*		

Nominal Modifiers	Morpheme	Anishinaabe-mowin	Literal Translation	Common English Name	Sources
Bell	ototaagan	tootaugauhnse, -un	Little bell	Harebell, bead lily	Johnston
Milk	doodoosh	doodooshaaboo	Breast liquid	Tall blue lettuce	PUGLO, Freelang
Corpse	jiibay	jiibay-bashkwegin, -oon	Corpse flour?	Lichen	Freelang
Dawn (be.dawn)	waaban	waubuno-idjeebik, -oon	Dawn root	One flowered cancer root	Johnston
Fire	ishkode	ishkodijiibik	Fire root	Shepherd's purse, meadow horsetail	PUGLO, Freelang
Flute (play.flute)	bibigwe	pipigwewanashk	Flute grass	Flute-reed, elder shrub, cow parsnip	Baraga, PUGLO, Densmore, Freelang, Johnston
Foot	ozid	pne-uzidi	Partridge foot	Hepatica	PUGLO, Gilmore
Man	ininiiw-	ininiijiibik	Man root	Mayapple, American Mandrake	PUGLO, Johnston
Manidoo					
Mide	mide	midewijiibik	Mide Society root	Canada anemone	PUGLO, Freelang, Johnston

Moccasin	makizin	niimidimakizin	Northern lights moccasin	Yellow Lady Slipper	PUGLO, Freelang
Money	zhooniyaa	zhooniyaawijiibik	Money root	Ginseng	PUGLO
Nanabozhoo	Nanabozhoo	nenabozhoonookomiswiinzisan	The hair of Nanabozhoo's grandmother	Indian paintbrush	PUGLO, Johnston, Gilmore, Densmore
Snowshoe	aagim	aagimaatig, -oog	Snowshoe tree	Burr oak	Freelang
Winter	biboon	biboon-miin, -an	Winter berry	Black alder, Michigan holly	Freelang
Wound	makizin	maakibag, -oon	Wound leaf	Sumac, smooth sumac	Freelang, Densmore, PUGLO
Young woman (be.young.woman)	oshkinii-	oshkiniigikwe-aniibiish	Young woman's leaf	Tansy	PUGLO, Johnston, Densmore

Adjectival Modifier	**Morpheme**	**Anishinaabe-mowin**	**Literal Translation**	**Common English Name**	**Sources**
Bad	maji-	maji-mashkosiw, -an	Bad plant	Noxious herb	Freelang
Bitter	wiisag-	wiisagi-mitigomizh, -iig	Bitter oak	Red Oak	Freelang,

Brittle	gaap-	kapak-minzh	Brittle bush	Spice bush	Gilmore
Chewable	Zhaashaag	zhaashaagomiin-aatig	Chewable berry-stick	Bluebeard lily	KP
Cools	daki-	Tikizidgeebik-ohnse	The little root that cools	fringed polygala	Johnston, PUGLO
Dirty	wiini-	wiinisiibag, -oon	Dirty leaf	Wintergreen	Freelang, PUGLO, Johnston, Gilmore, Densmore
Dried	baate-	baate-mishiimin, -ag	Dried apple	Dried apple	Baraga, Freelang
Fine	biis-	pis-nakniskuns	Fine rush	Soft rush	Gilmore
Flat	nabag-	nabagashk, -oon	Flat grass	Sweet flag, coarse swamp grass	PUGLO, Johnston
Everlasting	gaagige-	gaagigebag, -oon	Everlasting leaf/petal	Prince's pine, pussytoes, downy yellow violet, evergreen	Johnston, Rhodes, Gilmore, Densmore, PUGLO
Good taste	minopugo-	minopugodjeebik	Good tasting root	Indian cucumber	PUGLO, Johnston
Good/Pleasing	mina-	maniwegoons	Pleasing?	Bristly buttercup	PUGLO, Johnston, Freelang
Heavy	gozigw-	gozigwaakomin	Heavy berry	Juneberry	CDMO, Johnston, Freelang,
Itch	gizhiib-	gizhiibaanashk	Itch grass	Scouring rush	Johnston, Freelang
Long	ginoo-	ginooziwibag	Long leaf	Bluebeard lily	PUGLO, Freelang

Numb		wabesgung	Numb taste	Anemone	Gilmore
Ordinary	inin-	Ininaatig	ordinary tree	Maple	
Prickly	gaaw-	agawak-minzh	Prickly bush	Prickly ash	Gilmore
Pound/packed	baapaag-	baapaagaatig	beaten wood	white or black ash	HK
Ripe	Adite	aditemin	Ripe berry	Nannyberry, any ripe berry	Freelang, Johnston
Rough	gaaw-	gaawaandag	Rough branch	Spruce	Freelang, PUGLO, Rhodes
Rustle		gezibinashk	Rustle grass	Horsetail	Freelang, Gilmore, PUGLO, Densmore
Sour	zhiiwi-	zhiiwibag	Sour leaf	Rhubarb	COD, CDMO, PUGLO, Gilmore, Rhodes, Freelang, Baraga
Spill	ziig-	zheeg-meeshimaewish	Spill plant	Blue cohosh	Johnston
Spot	gidag-	gidagijiibik	Spot root	Virginia grape fern	Freelang
Sweet	wiishko-	wiishkobi-jiis	Sweet taproot	Sugar beet	CDMO
Swim	Bagizo	bagizowin	The swim	Mugwort	PUGLO, Johnston
Tender (be.tender)	Nookaa	nookwezigan	Tenderizer	Flea bane, pine incense, mugwort,	Freelang, PUGLO, Densmore, Johnston
Ugly (be.ugly)	maa- ?	maanazaadi	Ugly	Cottonwood	Freelang

Unripe	Gagashki	gagashkini-manoomin	Unripe rice	Unripe rice	Freelang
Wild	bagwaji-	bagwaji-bagesaan	Wild fruit	Wild plum	Freelang

Landscape Modifier	Morpheme	Anishinaabemowin	Literal Translation	Common English Name	Sources
Island	Minis	minisiinowashk	The island's plant	Wild pea	Freelang, PUGLO, Densmore, Johnston
Swamp/ Muskeeg	Mashkig	mashkigimin	Swamp berry	Cranberry	Baraga, Rhodes, PUGLO, Freelang
Prairie	mashkode	mshkode-miizhmizh	Prairie oak	Northern Red Oak	Rhodes

Color Terms	Morpheme	Anishinaabemowin	Literal Translation	Common English Name	Sources
Red	miskw-	msko-jiis	Red root	Beet	Rhodes
Yellow/Orange/Brown	ozaaw-	o'zawa'bigwûn	Yellow flower	Wormseed mustard, generic term for yellow flowers	Densmore
Yellow (Sun)	Giizis	giizisobagoons	Little sun leaf/petal	Ox-eye daisy	PUGLO, Johnston, Freelang, Densmore
Green/Blue	ozhaawashko-	zhawaseshkoohnse	Blue/green grass	Blue vervain	PUGLO

White	waabi-	waabi-mnoomin	White good-berry	White rice	Rhodes
Black	makade-	makade-miskomin	Black red berry	Black raspberry	PUGLO, Freelang

Animal Terms	Morpheme	Anishinaabemowin	Literal Translation	Common English Name	Sources
Bear	**mako-, makw-**	makojiibik	Bear root	Carrion flower, bear root	Densmore, Freelang, PUGLO
Beaver	mik,amik	mik-min	Beaver berry	Wild black currant	Gilmore
Butterfly	Memengwe	memengwe-onaagaans	Butterfly dish	Wood lily	Freelang
Cat	gashaag, gaashagens	Gashaagensibag	Cat leaf	Catnip	Densmore, Freelang, Johnson, PUGLO
Cattle	Bizhikiw	bizhikiwashk	Cattle grass	Seneca snakeroot	Freelang, PUGLO
Chipmunk	agoongosenh	gunkiseeminuk	Chipmunk berries	Canada Mayflower, Lilly of the Valley	Johnson, PUGLO
Crow/Raven	aandegw-, aandego-, aandeg	aandegopin	Crow tuber	Crowberry	Densmore, Freelang, Johnson, PUGLO
Crane	ajiijaak, ajiijaakw-	ajijaakopin	Crow tuber	Crane potato	Freelang

Dog	Animo	animozid	Dog foot	Round-leaved Hepatica	Densmore, Freelang, Johnson, PUGLO
Rattlesnake	Zhiishiig	zhiishiigwebik	Rattlesnake root	Lion's foot	Freelang, PUGLO
Eagle	Migizi	migiziibag	Eagle leaf	Large-leaved aster, False Gromwell	Freelang, Johnson, PUGLO
Elk	omashkooz	o'muckozowano	Elk's tail	Blazing star	Johnson
Fisher	Ojiig	ojig'imĭn	Fisher berry	Fisher berry	Densmore
Fox	Waagosh	waagoshiminaatig	Fox berry-stick	Bristly sarsaparilla	Freelang
Frog	omakakii	o'mûkiki'bûg	Frog leaf	Jewelweed	Densmore, Freelang, PUGLO
Ground Squirrel	agwingos	agwingosibag	Ground squirrel leaf	Twisted stalk	Densmore, Freelang
Horse	bebezhigooganzhii	bebezhigooganzhii-manoomin	Horse rice	Oats	Freelang
Moose	Mooz	moozoomizh	Moose bush	Dogwood, striped maple,	Freelang, Johnson,

					PUGLO
Owl	gookook'oo	gookooko'oo-makizin	Owl moccasin	Lady slipper, pitcher plant	Freelang, Johnson
Partridge	Bine	pne-uzidi	Partridge foot	Hepatica	Gilmore, PUGLO
Pig	gookoosh	kookoosh-minikwe-miin	Pig beverage berry	Long-bractedorchis, Rein orchis	Johnson
Pike	Ginoozhe	ginoozhewashk	Pike grass	Curled dock, yellow dock	PUGLO
Rabbit	Waabooz	waaboozojiibik	Rabbit root	Skunk current, wild sarsaparilla	Freelang, PUGLO
Raccoon	Esiban	esibanimizh	Racoon plant	Black nightshade	Freelang
Skunk	Zhigaag	zhgaagwanzh	Skunk plant	Onion	CDMO, Freelang, GLIFWC, Johnson, PUGLO, Rhodes
Snake	Ginebig	ginebigojiibik	Snake root	Black snakeroot,	Densmore, Freelang, Johnson, Kenny/Parker, PUGLO

Squirrel	ajidamoo	ajidamowaawano	Squirrel tail	Yarrow, goldenrod, foxtail barley, mustard, sweet flag	Densmore, Freelang, Johnson, Kenny/Parker, PUGLO
Sturgeon	Name	namepin	Sturgeon tuber	Mint, wild ginger, coltsfoot	Densmore, Freelang, GLIFWC, Johnson, PUGLO, Rhodes
Swan	Waabizi	waabiziipin	Swan tuber	Wild potato, Moose ear	Baraga, Freelang, GLIFWC, Johnson, PUGLO
Thunderbird	Animikii	animikibag	Thunderbird leaf	Poison ivy, flea-herb	Baraga, Freelang, Johnson, PUGLO, Rhodes
Wolf	ma'iingan	maingamunatig	Wolf tree	Snowberry	Densmore, Freelang, Johnson, PUGLO
Worm	Moose	moose-ojiibik	Worm root	Sagewort, wormwood	Freelang, Johnson, PUGLO

Plant Terminology	Morpheme	Anishinaabemowin	Literal Translation	Common English Name	Sources
Alder	adoop	adoopaatig	alder tree	Alder spp	Baraga, Densmore, Freelang, Johnson, CDMO, PUGLO
Bark, generally outer bark	waanagek	miskwanagek	red bark	Cinnamon	Baraga, Freelang
Be.plentiful, be.many	-kaa	azaadikaa	many poplars	Poplar	Freelang
Berry, fruit	-min	mishiimin	large berry	Apple	CDMO, Freelang, GLIFWC,
Bough, particularly an evergreen bough	-aandag	giizhikaandag	cedar bough	Northern white-cedar	
Edible nut or bulb	-minzh	bagaaniminzh	nut edible nut	Hazelnut	CDMO, Freelang, GLIFWC, PUGLO
Flower	waabigwan				
Flower	Waaskwan-ens				
Fruit of stony fruits or those of the Amalanchier genus	bagesaan	bagesaanaatig	fruit tree	Chuckley pear, juneberry, Canada plum	CDMO, PUGLO, Freelang
Grass	-ashk	bibigwewanashk	flute grass	cow parsnip	Densmore,

					Freelang, PUGLO
Green plant, herbaceous plant	-wanzh	zhaaboominagaawanzh	gooseberry plant	gooseberry	CDMO, Freelang, PUGLO, Rhodes
Large, great	gichi-	gichi-ogin	large rose.hip	tomato	CDMO, Rhodes
Leaf	-bag	binebag	partridge leaf	sweet gale (among others)	Baraga, PUGLO, Freelang
Nut	bagaan	ginoozhii-bagaanak	pike nut wood	butternut	Freelang
Pit of a stony fruit (lit. 'berry bone')	okandamin				
Place where X is plentiful	-aki	zhingwaakoki	pinery	pine	
Plant	-mewish	gibwaamewish		hazelnut tree	Johnson only
Plant	-mizh	miizhimizh	give? Plant	oak	Freelang, PUGLO, Rhodes
Referring to ferns (lit. star--morphology of plant looks like a star from above)	anang-	anaganashk	star grass	lady fern	Baraga, PUGLO, Pokagon
Ripe	adite-	adite-manoomin	ripe rice	wild rice	Freelang
Root, radish	jiis	wiisagijiisens	little bitter root	radish	GLIFWC, Freelang

(spruce) root	wadab				Freelang, PUGLO
Seed	minkaan				Freelang, GLIFWC, Rhodes
Small roots that were used for string and other things	waadabiins				
Tree	-by	wiigobimiizh	basswood plant	basswood	Baraga, CDMO, Freelang, Rhodes, PUGLO
Tree, wood	-aatig	agimaatig	snowshoe wood	black ash (among others)	
Wood	-ak	baapaagimak	pounded wood	ash tree	Baraga