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THE TREE NOMENCLATURE OF THE
SAINT FRANCIS INDIANS

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BY GORDON M. DAY*

In the latter half of the seventeenth century, an Indian village sprang up on the east bank of the Saint Francis River a few miles above its junction with the Saint Lawrence. The subsequent history of this village, although known only imperfectly, shows complex population changes, characterized by immigration of many increments from tribes in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Massachusetts, attrition by war and disease, and emigration and reimmigration.¹ The inhabitants of this village are known in history as the Saint Francis Indians. Also known in English as Abenakis and in French as Abénaquis, they call themselves *wôbânâkiâk*, a matter of some interest when one considers the mixed origins of the band.

In the years immediately following World War I, the population of the village was reduced by emigration to Canadian and American cities to about one-third. The remaining population has intermarried to some extent with Whites and with the Hurons of Lorette. At present the band numbers over 500 persons, of which about 130 reside in the home village, known to the Indians, and since 1916 to the "Bureau de Poste," as Odanak. Descendants of Indians who left the village during the past 150 years and do not maintain any formal connection with the band probably number several hundred.

As might be expected of so small a group surrounded by White neighbours and influences, the Saint Francis Indians are strongly acculturated. The native language is an Algonkian dialect whose nearest living relative is Penobscot. A five-year search has discovered only about eighty persons who can be called speakers of this dialect and only forty who are fluent and speak it by preference.

Inasmuch as this band represents the last source of new data about its homeland in northwestern New England—a virtual *terra incognita* ethnologically—and about a moribund culture, Dartmouth College in 1957 initiated a study of the band, supported by grants from the Spaulding-Potter trusts of Manchester, New Hampshire. Building on this research, the writer in August and September, 1960, undertook a study of Saint

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¹J. A. Maurault, *Histoire des Abénakis, depuis 1605 jusqu'à Nos Jours* (Sorel, 1866); Thomas M. Charland, *Histoire de Saint-François-du-Lac* (Ottawa, 1942); Honorius Provost, *Les Abénaquis sur la Chaudière*, Publications de la Société historique de la Chaudière, N^o. 1 (St-Joseph-de-Beauce, 1948); Henry Vassal, Papers, in Archives of Nicolet Seminary, Nicolet, P.Q.

Francis plant nomenclature with the assistance of the National Museum of Canada. A part of the data obtained by the study, that part pertaining to trees, is presented here.

There is very little published information concerning the ethnobotany of the Northeastern tribes. For the Saint Francis Indians, the names of a few plants may be extracted from the works of three native authors: P. P. Wzokhilain, Joseph Laurent, and H. L. Masta.¹ Rousseau² has given us a sketch of the subject which contains a rather full treatment of splint basketry, though limited in other directions by the amount of time he was able to spend in the field. It was a source of satisfaction to the writer to find that practically complete nomenclatural data could be obtained for the tree species and that a very considerable corpus can still be collected for the rest of the Plant Kingdom. The few lacunae remaining in the tree data presented here do not represent a lack of information on the part of the informants but rather a lack of opportunity on the part of the writer to check all species in the field.

Field work was conducted on the reservation in Quebec and at several localities in Vermont and New Hampshire. Five informants were consulted: Messrs. Théophile Panadis, Siegfroid Robert Obomsawin, Louis Portneuf, Edward Hannis, and Ambrose Obomsawin. These are probably the best informed persons in the band on forest lore. The first four are retired woodsmen and guides, and the fifth is the son of a renowned herbalist.

The data are presented according to one of the conventional phylogenetic arrangements. Family and genus sequence follows Dalla Torre and Harms,³ and, within genera, species are arranged alphabetically by their Latin names. English nomenclature follows Little,⁴ and French nomenclature is largely that of Marie-Victorin⁵ supplemented by Dominion Forest Service Bulletin No. 61.⁶ All native names from the literature are listed chronologically after the author, abbreviated thus: (W) Wzokhilain, (L) Laurent, (M) Masta, (R) Rousseau. Names obtained from informants are given in allophonic notation in unpossessed singular and plural forms.⁷

¹ P. P. Wzokhilain, *Wqbanaki Kimzowi Awighigan* (Boston, 1830); Joseph Laurent, *New Familiar Abenakis and English Dialogues* (Quebec, 1884); Henry L. Masta, *Abenaki Indian Legends, Grammar, and Place Names* (Victoriaville, P.Q., 1932).

² Jacques Rousseau, *Ethnobotanique Abénakise*, Archives de Folklore (Montréal, 1947), 2: 145-182.

³ C. G. de Dalla Torre and H. Harms, *Genera Siphonogamarum ad Systema Englerianum Conscripita* (Lipsiae, 1900-07).

⁴ Elbert L. Little, Jr., *Check List of Native and Naturalized Trees of the United States (Including Alaska)*, Agricultural Handbook No. 41 (Washington, D.C., 1953).

⁵ Frère Marie-Victorin, *Flore Laurentienne* (Montreal, 1938).

⁶ Canada, Dominion Forest Service, *Native Trees of Canada*, Bulletin 61 (Ottawa, 1949).

⁷ Space does not permit a complete description here of the phonemes of the Saint Francis dialect. Their publication is planned for the near future. The sounds of the modal allophones, however, are given with approximate imitation labels in order to give some idea of the pronunciation. [p] unaspirated as in *spin*; [b] as in *bow*; [t] unaspirated as in *steet*; [d] as in *ado*; [k] unaspirated as in *skin*; [g] as in *ago*; [s] as in *sister*; [z] as in *zoo*; [h] similar to *h* in *high*, strong aspiration except in intervocalic position; [l] clear *l* as in French *pâte*; [m] as in *mama*, but voiceless

Those names which have meaning for present-day speakers are translated, and morphemes are identified when possible.

A certain few morphemes which occur repeatedly in this list are (1) *-bakw*, leaf; (2) *-ozi*, *-mozi*, *-mezi*, *-mizi*, woody plant, tree or shrub; (3) *-ask*, medicinal root¹; (4) *-akw*, woody stem; (5) *-akws*, little woody stem; and (6) *-akwam*, woody plant, stick; *-akwam* is found only as a suffix to the name of a fruit, e.g., species Nos. 20, 21, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 49, 50, and 64.

SAINT FRANCIS TREE NOMENCLATURE

1. ***Pinus banksiana*** Lamb., jack pine, pin de Banks, pin gris, cyprès
pîdwi pâsâakw, *pîdwi pâsâakók*. From *pîlowi*-, strange, different, and *pâsâakw*, the name of *Pinus resinosa*. This species is uncommon in New England and unknown on the Saint Francis Reservation. It was encountered by the Indians in their hunting and guiding north of the Saint Lawrence river² and reminded them of the other hard pine of their acquaintance, *Pinus resinosa*.

2. ***Pinus resinosa*** Ait., red pine, pin résineux, pin rouge

(W) *pasaakw* red pine; (L) *pasaakw* red pine
pâsâakw, *pâsâakók*

3. ***Pinus strobus*** L., eastern white pine, pin strobus, pin blanc

(W) *kowa*, pine tree; (L) *koa*, pine tree; (M) *koa*, pine; (R) *kohah'-sis*, *Pinus strobus*

kôá, *kôâák*. *kôá* is used also for "log," because white pine furnished most of the logs for the lumber industry on the Saint Francis River and for the log drives on the Ottawa and Saint Lawrence rivers in which the Indians participated. Rousseau's form is the diminutive *kôâsis*.

Initially before a voiceless consonant; [i] articulated between the *i* of *machine* and the *i* of *sit*; [e] somewhat like the *e* in *label*; [a] as in *psalm*; [o] as in *so*, but after very weak [i] more like the vowel in *you*; [ɛ] nasal vowel as French *on*; [w] voiceless finally after [k] and between [k] and another voiceless consonant; otherwise voiced as *u* in *guano*; [ʔ] strong accent; [ˆ] medium accent; [˘] weak accent; [ɛ̣] very weak accent, no diacritic; [ː] consonant or vowel length in excess of that conditioned by accent. Accent is composed of stress and pitch proportionally combined. Syllable length is determined by the accent, which is written over the vowel or other syllabic. Syllable lengthening is realized on the last segment of the syllable. Syllable boundaries for the forms given may be determined by three rules: (1) a consonant after a very weak vowel is ambisyllabic; (2) the first consonant of a two-consonant intervocalic cluster ends a syllable, and the second consonant commences a syllable; (3) a weak, medium, or strong vowel ends a syllable except before a consonant cluster. An aurally detectable pause is indicated by a space between segments. Utterance-final vowels are shorter, and utterance-final consonants are longer than elsewhere. The forms in this paper are given in a normal citational intonation, which is chiefly characterized by a rapidly falling pitch over the last part of the last voiced segment in the utterance and a relaxation of force over the last part of the last segment, whether voiced or voiceless. This analysis is based on the speech of a single informant, inasmuch as each idiolect remaining in the band is being considered separately in a dialect study.

¹ This identification is mine, not the informants'.

² The family hunting grounds of the Saint Francis Indians were in the watersheds of the St-Maurice, Mattawin, and Vermilion rivers, a territory which the tradition states they obtained by treaty from the Algonkians.

4. *Larix laricina* (DuRoi) K. Koch, tamarack, mélèze laricin, épinette rouge. (L) *pôbnôdageso*, tamarac; (R) *oblânda'gasouk*, *Larix laricina*.

pôbenôdagezó, *pôbenôdagezôák*. From *pen-*, falling, reduplicated; *pôben-* continually or strongly falling; *-ôdag-*, possibly a reshaping of *-ôtkw-* branch; and *-ezo*, unidentified morpheme which resembles the third singular passive verb suffix. This name is puzzling, because the name seems to refer to the relatively minor feature of drooping branchlets, whereas the most conspicuous feature of the species, unique among conifers in the region, is the deciduous leaves. One informant translated the name "leaves fall every year," and the others agreed on "branches droop." Rousseau's informant seems to have been especially obscure in this instance.

5. *Picea glauca* var. *glauca*, white spruce (typical), épicéa glauque, épinette blanche. (W) *msazesso*, white spruce; (L) *msazesso*, white spruce; (M) *mzazesso*, white spruce; (R) *skaské*, *Picea glauca*

mesázessó, *mesázessóák*. All the better informants agreed on this name. Rousseau's form may be explained by the fact that those present-day Indians who are not well versed in woods lore retain the name for red and black spruce (see Nos. 6 and 7) as a kind of generic name for the spruces.

6. *Picea mariana* (Mill.) B.S.P., black spruce, épicéa marial, épinette noire

7. *Picea rubens* Sarg., red spruce, épinette rouge: (W) *mskask*, spruce; (L) *mskak*, black spruce; (M) *mskask*, spruce

mskák, *mskákák*. These two species, which are dubiously distinguished by taxonomists, have the same Saint Francis name. The Indians, however, do recognize the difference between *Picea rubens* on the reservation and *Picea mariana* north of the Saint Lawrence River where it is characterized by bog habitat, drooping branches, and a coating of caribou moss. Laurent's form is probably a misprint.

8. *Tsuga canadensis* (L.) Carr., eastern hemlock, *Tsuga* du Canada, pruche. (W) *setti*, hemlock; (L) *alnisedi*, hemlock; (M) *sedí*, hemlock; (R) *al'nézité*, *Tsuga canadensis*

álnizedí, *álnizedíák*. From *alni-*, common, ordinary; and *sedí*, branch of an evergreen or conifer.

9. *Abies balsamea* var. *balsamea*, balsam fir (typical), sapin baumier, sapin. (W) *kokokhgakw*, fir; (L) *kokokhóakw*, fir-tree; (M) *kokokhóakw*, fir tree; (R) *kokô'wank*, *Abies balsamea*

kôkôkhâgakw, *kôkôkhâôkôk*. Wzôkhillain's *o*, Laurent's *ô*, and Masta's *ô* represent the nasal mid-low back vowel and permit identification of the morpheme *-akw*, woody stem, which vowel metathesis has since concealed.

10. **Thuja occidentalis** L., northern white-cedar, thuja occidental, cèdre, balai. (W) *mōlgadakw*, cedar; (L) *mōlōdagw*, cedar; (M) *mšlšdakw*, cedar; (R) *mālan'dak*, *Thuja occidentalis*

mōlgādākw, *mōlgōdākōk*. *mōlgōd-* is meaningless now, although it resembles *mōlgōd-*, deep; *-akw* is woody stem. The wood of white-cedar is *kōkšk*, brittle wood, and this name is commonly transferred to the tree. It is also called *sēdi*, evergreen branch or *sēdiāk* (plural), because it often furnishes the branches which are used for the celebration of Palm Sunday.

11. **Juniperus virginiana** L., eastern red cedar, genévrier de Virginie, cèdre rouge

mkwīšāgezō, *mkwīšāgezōāk*. From *mkwī-*, red; *-šakw-*, inside; and *-ezō*, unidentified morpheme (see No. 4). This species does not occur either on the reservation or in the northern hunting grounds, but it was known to one informant whose family formerly lived on Lake Champlain.

12. **Populus balsamifera** var. **balsamifera**, balsam poplar (typical), peuplier tacamahaca, peuplier baumier, peuplier, tremble noir

mkāzāwī ōssāgākw, *mkāzāwī ōssāgākōk*. From *mkāzāwī*, black, and *ōssāgākw*, poplar. The Indians call all native poplars *ōssāgākw*. They recognize species, however, and note for this one the gummy buds and exudations and brown-streaked wood which leaves an ash, when burned, resembling that of hardwoods more than that of other poplars. They will, when pressed, produce the name above, which may be in analogy to Fr. peuplier noir.

13. **Populus deltoides** Bartr., eastern cottonwood, peuplier à feuilles deltoïdes, peuplier du Canada

14. **Populus grandidentata** Michx., bigtooth aspen, peuplier à grandes dents

15. **Populus tremuloides** Michx., quaking aspen, peuplier faux-tremble, tremble. (W) *wessagakw*, poplar; (R) *os'sagakwé*, *Populus tremuloides*

ōssāgākw, *ōssāgākōk*. From *ossag-*, bitter, and *-akw*, woody stem, referring to the taste of a medicine made from the bark.

16. **Populus nigra** var. **italica**, Lombardy poplar, peuplier noir, peuplier d'Italie, peuplier de Lombardie. (L) *wawābībakw*, poplar

wāwābībākōk. From *wawābī-*, up high, and *-bakw*, leaf, referring to the conspicuous height of this slender species. Laurent's term belongs here, although he was not specific, and this caused Rousseau to assume that it referred to "le peuplier, sans distinction d'espèces."

17. *Salix* L., willow, saule, chat. (L) *kanozas*, willow; (R) *kano'zass*, *Salix* . . . "les espèces arbustives"

kànòzás, *kànòzásák*. This is the name for all willows, both shrubby and arborescent. When it is desired to specify a shrubby willow, the diminutive is used, *kànòzáasis*, *kànòzásizák*.

18. *Juglans cinerea* L.; butternut, noyer cendré, arbre à noix longues. (W) *pagonozi*, "butnut tree"; (L) *pagónozi*, walnut-tree; (M) *pag8nozi*, butternut tree

pàgǫ̀nòzi pàgǫ̀noziák. From *pàgǫ̀n*, nut, and *-ozi*, woody plant, tree, or shrub. Butternut, which is the only walnut native to northern New England, appears to be the original object of the name. *pàgǫ̀nòzi* is now used both for butternut and as a general term for nut-bearing trees, including even the oaks.

19. *Juglans nigra* L., black walnut, noyer noir. (W) *pagimizi*, walnut; (M) *pagimizi*, walnut tree

pàgimìzi, pàgimìziák. From *pagi-*, hit with an instrument, and *-mizi*, woody plant. The morpheme *pagi-*, which occurs in the names of all walnuts and hickories, refers to the nuts which require hitting with an instrument to open them. While the Indians today are acquainted with *Juglans nigra* as an introduced ornamental, the early date of Wzokhilain's writing suggests the possibility that late-arriving increments of Hudson Valley emigrants may have brought knowledge of this species into the band.¹

20. *Carya cordiformis* (Wangenh.) K. Koch, bitternut hickory, caryer cordiforme, noyer amer

21. *Carya ovata* (Mill.) K. Koch, shagbark hickory, caryer ovale, arbre à noix piquées, noyer tendre

pàgiménàkwám, pàgiménàkwámák. From *pagi-*, hit with an instrument; *-men*, fruit; *-akwam*, woody plant. This name was verified in the field as correct for *Carya ovata*, and it appears likely, from conversations with informants, that it is used for all species of hickory known to them.

22. *Betula alleghaniensis* Britton, yellow birch, bouleau jaune, merisier

23. *Betula lenta* var. *lenta*, sweet birch (typical), bouleau flexible, merisier rouge. (W) *wins*, black birch; (L) *wins*, black birch

wins, winsák

24. *Betula papyrifera* var. *papyrifera*, paper birch (typical), bouleau à papier, bouleau blanc, bouleau à canot

25. *Betula populifolia* Marsh., gray birch, bouleau à feuilles de peuplier, bouleau rouge, bouleau gris. (W) *maskwamozi*, white birch; (L) *maskwamozi*, birch; (R) *maskwa'mosé, Betula papyrifera*

¹The Saint Francis band is said to have received the entire population of the village of Scaticook on the Hudson between 1702 and 1754 (F. W. Hodge, Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, 1907-10, Washington, D.C., 2:486).

màskwámòzi, *màskwámòziák*. From *màskwá*, thin, peelable bark, and *-mozi*, woody plant. *Betula papyrifera* and *Betula populifolia* are grouped under one name, although their differences are clearly recognized. When my informants wished to be specific, they said *wòbìgít màskwámòzi* and *wìbegwìgít màskwámòzi*, white and grey *màskwámòzi* respectively, perhaps in analogy to English usage. Three types of bark from *Betula papyrifera* are named: *pítòskwá*, a thin smooth bark suitable for writing and drawing material; *màzòzìgwá*, a thick leathery bark used for canoes; and *òskànàskwá*, a hard brittle bark of little utility. These names are transferred to the trees which produce the particular types of bark.

26. **Alnus** B. Ehrh., alder, aulne, aune, aunage, verge, verne. (W) *wdopi*, alder; (L) *wdopi*, alder tree; (M) *wdopi*, alder; (R) *otópé*, *Alnus rugosa* var. *americana*

odòpì odòpiák

27. **Fagus grandifolia** Ehrh., American beech, hêtre à grandes feuilles. (W) *wajwimizi*, beech; (L) *wajwimizi*, beech; (M) *wajwimizi*, beech tree

wádzòimìzi, *wádzòimìziák*. From *wádzó*, mountain; *-i* possessive *-mizi*, woody plant. This name is not meant to indicate a high mountain species. Rather it is recognition by the Indian that, in the spruce-fir-northern hardwoods region, beech grows above the spruce flat cover type. This usage must have developed in northern New England rather than in the Saint Lawrence Valley.

28. **Quercus alba** L., white oak, chêne blanc. (W) *wachìlmezi*, white oak; (M) *wachìlmezi*, white oak, *wàtsìlmezi*, *wàtsìlmeziák*. From *wàtsìl*, an edible acorn of the white oak group, and *-mezi*, woody plant.

29. **Quercus rubra** L., northern red oak, chêne boréal, chêne rouge

30. **Quercus velutina** Lam., black oak, chêne de teinturiers. (L) *anas-kemezi*, oak

ànàskemèzi, *ànàskemèziák*. From *anaski-*, unidentified morpheme (s), and *-mezi*, woody plant. The name of the red oak acorn is *ànàskimén*; *-men* is fruit, and *anaski-* may possibly be from *wanask-* and may refer to the fact that two seasons are required to mature this acorn.

31. **Ulmus americana** var. *americana*, American elm (typical), orme d'Amérique, orme blanc (W) *anìbì*, elm; (L) *anìbì*, elm; (M) *anìbì*, elm

ànìbì, ànìbìák

32. **Ulmus rubra** Mühl., slippery elm, orme roux, orme rouge, orme gras *pèzàkhòlìgán*, *pèzàkhòlìgánák*. Properly, *pèzàkhòlìgán* is the soft inner bark of any tree, but the name is often transferred to *Ulmus rubra* as a

species name because its mucilaginous inner bark is conspicuous among northeastern trees. Otherwise, this species is named with *Ulmus americana*.

33. *Sassafras albidum* (Nutt.) Nees, sassafras

sàzǫ̀gebàmákŵ, sàzǫ̀gebàmàgók. This species, which is not native in Quebec, is remembered by a single family from Lake Champlain.

34. *Platanus occidentalis* L., American sycamore, platane d'Occident
pàbàlákŵ, pàbàlákók. From *pabal-*, smooth, and *-akw*, woody stem.

35. *Malus* Mill., apple, crab apple, pommier, pomettier. (W) *aplesakwám*, apple tree; (L) *aplesakuam*, apple-tree

áplesàkwám, áplesàkwámák. From *áples*, apple, and *-akwám*, woody plant. *áples* is a loan word from English. English words were frequently borrowed in the plural form. A crab apple is given the diminutive form *áplesiá, áplesiázák*, and the crab apple tree is *áplesiázàkwám, áplesiázàkwámák*.

36. *Sorbus americana* Marsh., American mountain-ash, sorbier d'Amérique, cormier, maska, maskouabina. (W) *mòzmezi*, moose stick
mòzmezi, mòzmezìák. From *móz*, moose, and *-mezi*, woody plant. In Northern Vermont this Indian name has been anglicized to moose-missey.

37. *Amelanchier laevis* Wieg., Allegheny serviceberry, amélanchier glabre, petites poires. (R) *mohéménak'wám, Amelanchier* sp.

ǫ̀mwàimènakwám, ǫ̀mwàimènakwámák. From *ǫ̀mwa-*, wax; *-i-*, possessive; *-men*, fruit, and *-akwám*, woody plant; a reference to the texture of the epidermis of the ripe fruit.

39. *Crataegus* L., hawthorn, aubépine, cenellier. (W) *Chignaz*, thorn plum; (L) *chignazakuam*, thorn tree; (R) *t'ginasák, Crataegus* sp.

tsigenázàkwám, tsigenázàkwámák. From *tsigenáz*, the haw fruit or thorn apple, and *-akwám*, woody plant.

40. *Prunus avium* (L.) L., mazzard

41. *Prunus cerasus* L., sour cherry

ktsí àdebìmenàkwám, ktsí àdebìmenàkwámák. From *ktsí-*, large; *àdebìmén*, cherry; and *-akwám*, woody plant. The name for these introduced species is adapted from that of the native species (see Nos. 45 and 46).

42. *Prunus nigra* Ait., Canada plum, prunier noir, prunier sauvage. (L) *azawanimenakuam*, plum tree

àzàwànimènakwám, àzàwànimènakwámák. From *azawan-*, choking, catching the breath; *-i-*, possessive; *-men*, fruit; and *-akwám*, woody plant.

43. *Prunus pensylvanica* L.f., pin cherry, cerisier de Pennsylvanie, petit merisier, arbre à petite merises. (L) *maskwazimenakuam*, wild-cherry tree

màskwàzimènakwám, màskwàzimènakwámák. From *màskwá*, thin peelable bark (see Nos. 24 and 25); *-z-*, diminutive; perhaps pejorative

here indicating that this bark is not useful like the *màskwá* of *Betula papyrifera*; *-i-*, possessive; *-men*, fruit; and *-akwam*, woody plant. Rousseau's suggestion that this name may belong to *Prunus virginiana* is incorrect.

44. *Prunus persica* Batsch, peach, pêche. (L) *piches*, peach

pítsésàkwám, *pítsésàkwámák*. From *pítses*, a peach, and *-akwam*, woody plant. *pítses* is a loan word from English.

45. *Prunus serotina* var. *serotina*, black cherry (typical), cerisier tardif, cerisier d'automne

46. *Prunus virginiana* L., common chokecherry, cerisier de Virginie, cerisier à grappes. (L) *adbimènakwam*, cherry-tree

àdebimènakwám, *àdebimènakwámák*. From *adeb-*, dry mouth; *-i-*, possessive; *-men*, fruit; and *-akwam*, woody plant.

47. *Pyrus communis* L., pear, poire

kwàgwògnagwèzít àplés, *kwàgwògnagwèzíták àplesák*. From *kwVn-*, long, reduplicated, *kwagwògn-*, *-agwezít*, singular animate third singular passive suffix "it is made. . . ." The compound means "elongated apple."

48. *Zanthoxylum americanum* Mill., common prickly-ash; clavalier d'Amérique, frêne épineux. (W) *kagqwakw*, prickly ash; (M) *kagšwakw*, prickly ash

kàgšwákúw, *kàgšwákók*. From *kagšwi-*, angry, and *-akw*, woody stem, a reference to the impression made by this plant on the Indians who collected its bark for medicine.

49. *Rhus typhina* L., staghorn sumac, sumac vinaigrier, vinaigrier. (W) *salón*, sumach

sàlònakwám, *sàlònakwámák*. From *sàlòn*, the sumac fruit, and *-akwam*, woody plant. *sàlòn* refers to the acidulous taste of the fruit. No smaller form could be clearly identified, but it may be that *sal-* is acidulous, and *-gn* is a seed or nutlet.

50. *Ilex verticillata* (L.) A. Gray, common winterberry, houx verticillé

tsìgwálimènakwám, *tsìgwálimènakwámák*. From *tsìgwál*, frog; *-i-*, possessive; *-men*, fruit; and *-akwam*. The significance of this name could not be obtained. It may be either a reference to the wet habitat of the species or an opinion on the fruit as a comestible.

51. *Acer negundo* L., boxelder, érable négondo, érable à Giguère, plaine Giguère, plaine du lac

pìlkìmìzì, *pìlkìmìzìák*. From *pìl-*, new; *ki*, land; and *-mìzì*, woody plant; probably a reference to its common establishment on alluvial and cleared sites.

52. *Acer nigrum* Michx. f., black maple, érable noir

53. **Acer saccharum** Marsh, sugar maple, érable à sucre, érable franc, érable franche. (W) *senomozì*, maple; (L) *senomozì*, maple *senòmòzì*, *senòmòzìák*. From *sén*, stone; -*o-*, unidentified morpheme; and -*mozi*, woody plant. Wzokhilain's name shows that -*c-* was formerly -*g-*. This appears to be confirmed by Rasles' word *ssenaii8*.
54. **Acer pensylvanicum** L., striped maple, érable de Pennsylvanie, bois d'original, bois barré. (R) *onsé'gak^{nk}*, *Acer pensylvanicum* *òsàgàkw*, *òsàgàkók*. From *psag-*, unidentified morpheme; possibly *pshagi*, queer, and -*akw*, woody stem. Rousseau's form is the plural.
55. **Acer rubrum** var. **rubrum**, red maple (typical), érable rouge, plaine rouge
56. **Acer saccharinum** L., silver maple, érable argenté, plaine blanche, plaine de France, érable du Canada. (R) *skôba'gish*, *Acer rubrum* *meskwèbâges*, *meskwèbâgezák*.
57. **Acer spicatum** Lam., mountain maple, érable à épis, plaine bâtarde *wòbâkwsek*, *wòbâkwsegíl*. From *wgb-*, white; -*akw*, woody stem; -*s*, diminutive; -*ek*, singular animate verbal suffix translatable by "that which is . . ." freely, "little white stems."
58. **Tilia americana** L., American basswood, tilleul glabre, bois blanc. (W) *wigbimizi*, basswood; (L) *wigbimizi*, bass-wood; (M) *wigbimizi*, basswood *wigèbimîzì*, *wigèbimîzìák*. From *wigèbì*, fibrous bark, and -*mizi*, woody plant. In the last century, *wigèbì* has acquired the added meaning of basket splint. A few speakers have even forgotten the older meaning and translate *wigèbimîzì* as splint tree and identify it with ash.
59. **Cornus stolonifera** Michx., red osier dogwood, cornouiller stolonifère, hart rouge. (R) *mamkawa'kousek*, *Cornus stolonifera* *màmkwâkwsek*, *màmkwâkwsegíl*. From *mkwi-*, red; reduplicated *mamkwi-*, very red; -*akw*, woody stem; -*s-*, diminutive; -*ek*, verbal suffix (see No. 57), freely, "bright red little stems."
60. **Fraxinus americana** L., white ash, frêne d'Amérique, frêne blanc, franc-frêne. (W) *qgmakw*, black ash; (M) *sgmakw*, white ash *ògemák^w*, *ògemàkók*. From *ògém*, snowshoe, and -*akw*, woody stem. Considering the complete agreement of modern informants and of Masta that *ògemák^w* is white ash, as well as the technical properties of the wood and its actual uses, we may assume that Wzokhilain was mistaken, perhaps not in his identification but in his understanding of the English name and its application.
61. **Fraxinus nigra** Marsh., black ash, frêne noir, frêne gras

62. *Fraxinus pennsylvanica* Marsh., green ash, frêne de Pennsylvanie, frêne rouge. (W) *mahlakws*, ash; (L) *mahlakws*, ash; (M) *mahlakws*, black ash

mâhâlákws, *mâhâlákwsák*. This is a kind of generic term embracing all varieties of these two species, including those formerly described under the name *Fraxinus pennsylvanica lanceolata*. Four other names for ecologic and taxonomic varieties were obtained but not verified in the field. They are here assigned tentatively on the basis of the informants' descriptions: (1) *mkázâwî mâhâlákws* or *mkázâwígít mâhâlákws*, "black *mâhâlákws*," so named from the darker bark. This appears to be the swamp-grown variety of *Fraxinus nigra* which is characterized by slower growth and hence by thinner and more brittle basket splints. (2) *wizówî mâhâlákws*, "yellow *mâhâlákws*," a variety growing by streams and on moist but fairly well-drained soil, with yellowish inner bark, thicker and stronger splints. This seems to be an ecological grouping from both species. (3) *wâdzòimâ-hâlákws*, "mountain *mâhâlákws*." This name was obtained from only one informant. It does not suit the characteristic habitat of either species and may be an alternate name for *Fraxinus americana* (see No. 60). (4) *pskwâsârwnî mâhâlákws*, "flower *mâhâlákws*." Rousseau's information indicates that this is *Fraxinus nigra*, the 'frêne à bouquet' of his informant. Inasmuch as my informant stated that this is the best variety for baskets, it is probably not the swamp form but the *wizówî mâhâlákws*. The name probably derives from the clusters of staminate and polygamous flowers which, appearing before the leaves, are more conspicuous than those of other ashes.

63. *Sambucus canadensis* L., American elder, sureau du Canada, sureau blanc. (L) *saskib*, elder

sâskíp, *sâskibál*

64. *Viburnum cassinoides* L., witherod viburnum, wild raisin, viorne cassinioïde, alisier, bourdaine, bleuets sains. (L) *adotomenal*, beam-tree berries; (R) *ada'tominan*, *Viburnum cassinoides*

âdâtômênâkwâm, *âdâtômênâkwâmák*. Also *âdâtômenizi*, *âdâtôméniziák*. From *adato-*, an unidentifiable morpheme, *-men*, fruit; and *-akwam*, woody plant, or *-izi*, woody plant.

CONCLUSIONS

Only one tree species, which was adequately examined, seems to be unknown, namely, *Pinus rigida* Mill., pitch pine, pin dur. This species was seen by two informants in the vicinity of Concord, N.H., but not recognized. It is possible that this species was the original *pîlòwî pásâákws* and that the name was transferred to *Pinus banksiana* when the Indians removed from New England to the Saint Lawrence Valley.

There was no opportunity to check several species in the field, namely, *Carpinus caroliniana* Walt., American hornbeam; *Ostrya virginiana* (Mill.) K. Koch, eastern hophornbeam; *Castanea dentata* (Marsh.) Borkh., American chestnut; *Hamamelis virginiana* L., witch-hazel; *Rhamnus cathartica* L., European buckthorn; *Cornus alternifolia* L.f., alternate-leaf dogwood; *Nyssa sylvatica* var. *sylvatica*, black tupelo (typical). It is probable that some, perhaps all, of these species will be named as soon as they and good informants can be brought together in the field, as several Indian names were obtained for trees which were not seen in the field.

The present data, however, furnish us another example of the variety of man's approaches to classifying and naming natural phenomena. There can be little doubt that, until they ceased in the last generation to live largely in and from the forest, the Saint Francis Indians knew the flora of their habitat intimately. They are still perfectly familiar with most of it. They named those kinds which were important in their way of life as well as a few of the unimportant ones which were especially striking in some way. Grouping of kinds into something comparable to the botanist's genera is apparent in the application of some names, e.g., *kànòzás* is equivalent to *Salix*, *òssàgákw* is nearly equivalent to *Populus*, but as might be expected, the Indian's "genus" does not always coincide with the botanist's. While the latter bases his classification on the similarities of reproductive structures, which are ephemeral and often inconspicuous, the Indian, in general, bases his classification on morphological features that are striking or significant in his economy and usually quite stable. Under these principles, an entire genus, though well known, may remain unnamed or receive one name for all its species, while in another genus even ecological varieties and forms (ecotypes and ecophenes) may receive separate names. Historically, the procedure may have been to name important and well-known species and to later include superficially similar species under the same name, with a qualifying adjective when desired, e.g., *wibegwígít màskwâmòzi*, grey *maskwa*-tree. This procedure was utilitarian, locally oriented, and resembled the White man's plant lore on the folk level rather than his scientific taxonomy. I was unable to discover whether phylogenetic concepts are held or not.

It appears from the data obtained on trees and other plants that those men who in their youth lived the old hunting and fishing life and maintained life-long contact with the woods as guides have preserved a very full corpus of plant lore in spite of the acculturated condition of the band. Whatever additional knowledge of medicinal and other plants which may be the possession of the elder women of the band has not been investigated.