

PLANT MEDICINAL USE AND LEXICAL VARIATION WITHIN THE FOLK
CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM OF THE HIGHLAND MAYA OF CHIAPAS, MEXICO

by

ILYSSA FAITH BERG

(Under the Direction of Brent Berlin)

ABSTRACT

In any local ethnobotanical system of classification, a considerable amount of variation exists in the names given for a plant species, even for a sample of knowledgeable informants. The variation is not applied consistently across the sample of plants and therefore can be productively analyzed in order to understand the patterns within the variation. This thesis examines the extent of variation in lexical and medicinal use responses both within and between two closely related Mayan languages, Tzeltal and Tzotzil. The relationship between medicinal plant use and naming diversity is described and tested for three data groups – Tzeltal, Tzotzil, and the pooled data. The results suggest a weak trend that the more agreement there is regarding a plant species' medicinal use, the less the diversity of naming, both within and between closely related language groups.

INDEX WORDS: Ethnobiology, Ethnobotany, Medicinal plant nomenclature, Lexical variation, Tzeltal Indians, Tzotzil Indians

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Variation in naming in folk biological systems is so common, it almost goes without saying (Balée and Moore 1991; Berlin 1992: Chapter 5). However, the degree of variation is not applied consistently to each named plant or animal within the local flora and fauna. For example, the dataset upon which this paper is based shows that a plant species may be named by anywhere from one to twelve lexical variants within a single language group. So, why would some plants species contain less variation in naming, while others do not?

This thesis attempts to answer this question, in part, by examining the relationship between variation in plant medicinal use reports and lexical variation for a large set of ethnobotanical and ethnomedical data collected in the central highlands of Chiapas, Mexico by Elois Ann Berlin and Brent Berlin (1996). The analysis presents a means to categorize and quantify the extent of lexical variation and range of use reports both within and between two closely related Mayan languages, Tzeltal and Tzotzil. The relationship between medicinal plant use diversity and naming diversity is tested for three population groups – Tzeltal, Tzotzil, and the pooled data. The results detect a trend that for a selected set of 200 medicinal plant species, the more variation there is regarding a plant's medicinal use, the more the diversity of naming, both within and between closely related language groups.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND

Nomenclature as a Guide to Classification

Names are the basic units of folk biological information. They are the labels used to identify and talk about plants and animals. Familiar examples of folk plant names in English today include red oak, sugar maple, dandelion, rose, and tomato plant. In addition to serving the basic purpose as labels, plant and animal names are part of a localized categorical system of information about the natural world and represent a large domain of shared cultural knowledge. The first step for description and analysis of any ethnobiological classification system is to elicit these names.

Analysis of plant and animal nomenclature largely pertains to regularities in the vocabulary and structure of names.¹ Of great interest to development of theory in ethnobiology is how these naming conventions apply to categorical or conceptual organization of the plants and animals they refer to. Through controlled study of the perceived relationships and groupings of organisms, ethnobiologists have been able to formulate a set of general empirical observations regarding the naming and classification of plants and animals by traditional societies. Berlin (1992:13-35) presents a concise historical overview and summary of this general set of principles.

Foremost in these observations is that certain consistencies exist in the names given to plants and animals which convey information about the perceived taxonomic relationships between species. This is seen in patterns such as life form (ex. bird, mammal, tree) and generic

taxa (ex. oak, bass) being labeled by primary names and subgeneric taxa being labeled with secondary names (ex. red oak, large-mouth bass) (Berlin 1992). Nomenclature has often been referred to as a “guide to folk taxonomic structure” (Berlin, et al. 1973b:216) and even provides other clues as to the cultural importance of species and historical development of systems of classification (ex. through differentiation) (Berlin 1972).

However, while nomenclature and classification are intricately linked, names alone are not sufficient for understanding the perceived relationships, categorical or otherwise, among plants and animals. For example, some primary names can at first appear to be complex secondary names (ex. sunflower, groundhog, tulip tree) and in some instances subgeneric taxa (folk species or varietals) can be labeled by primary names. The existence of *unnamed* conceptual groupings (ex. “covert taxa”) as well as named, but *uncategorized* taxa (ex. “ambiguous affiliations” and “residual categories”) are two of the extreme examples of how these two underlying structures – nomenclature and classification – diverge.

Response Variation in Ethnobiological Systems of Classification

Studies of ethnobotanical systems of classification certainly recognize the presence of considerable variation in the names assigned to plant species within the same society. In fact, the existence of so much variation has generated uncertainty from some, debate and criticism from others regarding methodological practices in the fields of ethnobiology and anthropology. Response variability in ethnobiological data is usually summarized or cut back in some way either at the time of collection or analysis (Medin and Atran 1999). The reasons for this are practical and methodological. Berlin, et al. (1974), in discussing the problem of informant variability and presentation of their data note:

It became clear very early in our research that it was impossible to speak literally of the “Tenejapa Tzeltal classification of plants.” In actuality, there are many such classifications, some idiosyncratic, others best described as microdialectal or ecological variants....Insofar as possible, we have attempted to stress those aspects of ethnobotanical knowledge that our data suggest are widely shared for the majority of speakers of Tenejapa Tzeltal. On the other hand, we also have made efforts to present in detail those aspects of plant knowledge that differ among informants and to provide...explanations as to why such differences exist. [58-9]

Similarly, Hays (1979), in his research on the ethnobotanical classification of the Ndumba peoples of the highlands of Papua New Guinea, compiled a list of 1,247 plant names, of which, only 970 were recognized by all his 10 adult informants. He states,

Many of these plant names are synonyms, some of which are alternative plant names that have diffused from neighboring speech communities with which there is frequent interaction, including intermarriage. Some synonymy is attributable to an extensive person name taboo system.... Also, sometimes individuals bestow ‘private names’ upon already-named plants for personal reasons, with some of these becoming more widely adopted. [256]

After careful attention to the “considerable” degree of variation in plant classification, Hays opts to deal only with information which is *shared* by his ten informants. His reason for this approach is to make the analysis “more useful for comparative studies, since published ethnobiological works overwhelmingly attend primarily to shared or composite models.”

Formulating models, however, does not preclude the inclusion of significant response diversity in ethnobotanical nomenclature. Yet, few standardized methods for collecting and analyzing variation in ethnobotanical nomenclature have been undertaken. Recently, however, there has been increasing interest in the field of ethnobiology on the importance of comprehensive, multi-site, and multi-language studies of variation in ethnobotanical knowledge (Balée and Moore 1991; Hunn 1999; Hunn 2001; López, et al. 1997; Medin and Atran 1999). Several earlier studies aimed at quantifying the “cultural consensus” or interinformant agreement are influential to the study of intracultural variation in ethnobotany, including the works of

Romney (1986; 1987), Boster (1986), and Garro (1986) with regard to culture theory and knowledge acquisition and transfer, and Stross (1973; 1975), Boster (1986), and Hays (1974) with regard to nomenclatural variation. Of direct relevance to the current analysis are the papers by Berlin, et al. (first published in 1969; 1973a) and Balée and Moore (1991), which explore plant name variation across historically related languages, and Berlin (1999) and Collins and Liukkonen (2002), which make within-language observations. Several recent papers have emphasized the oversight of comprehensive studies on intracultural, intergenerational knowledge variation, especially its loss over time, and demonstrated useful ways to incorporate its collection and analysis as a primary research concern (Ross 2002; Zent 2001).

There are many underlying reasons for informant response variability in naming that are specific and real linguistic and sociological factors and, in the domain of ethnobotany, characteristics of the plants themselves. Berlin (1992) summarizes the main types of response variation encountered in ethnobiology as either lexical or cognitive differences, although they are not mutually exclusive. Cognitive variation refers to the distribution of ethnobiological knowledge within a society due to differences in age, gender, education, occupation, intelligence, and other individual and group characteristics. Lexical variation, of particular concern here, are those differences that are observed in the names themselves.

With respect to the underlying causes for lexical variation in plant nomenclature, research seems to indicate that the more morphologically distinctive a plant species is (both size and “phylogenetic loneliness”), the more likely the plant will be named and the greater the likelihood that the name assigned to that plant will be unique (Hunn 1999; Berlin, et al. 1974). The same observation appears to be true for culturally important plant species – people tend to have greater consensus on the names for plants that are cultivated or intensively managed (Balée and Moore

1991; Berlin 1992; Berlin, et al. 1973a; Berlin, et al. 1974; Boster 1986). Although not yet fully explored, some ecological factors can also potentially influence the perceptual salience of a plant, and consequently, lexical variation, notably species abundance and geographical distribution (Berlin 1992; Berlin, et al. 1974; Boster 1986). Historical linguistic factors such as borrowing and linguistic properties of the words themselves may also influence name retention and change (Balée and Moore 1991; Berlin 1972; Berlin, et al. 1973a; Berlin, et al. 1974; Campbell 1998; Stross 1975).

Change and Loss of Ethnobotanical Knowledge

In linguistics, biology, and, by association, ethnobiology, individual variation is the origin of change, which includes loss of information as well (Boster 1986; Garro 1986; Pelto and Pelto 1975; Zent 1999). The current analysis takes advantage of the existing wealth of ethnobotanical data from Berlin and Berlin's (1996) research to demonstrate one method for analyzing individual lexical variation at a single point in time but may also permit insight into the historical changes in ethnobotanical knowledge over time – why a plant's name may persist or change over hundreds of years. Historical linguistics demonstrates that through careful use of the comparative method, it is possible to understand the diachronic processes of language change through the comparison of words (cognates) in related languages (Campbell 1998). By careful comparison of plant lexemes across languages, Berlin, et al. (1973a) and Balée and Moore (1991) are able to infer that the inter-language patterns in their ethnobotanical data indicate historical retention since the time of proto-Tzeltalan and proto-Tupi-Guarani, respectively. The current analysis similarly discusses some of the historical inferences that may be made from the data.

This study also addresses the current need for further comprehensive research into traditional knowledge of the environment due to the accelerated socioeconomic, cultural, and environmental changes in traditional and small-scale agricultural societies. The study of language and knowledge loss is as equally urgent an issue as our attention on biodiversity issues (Maffi 2001b). The interconnectedness of these issues is perhaps best articulated in the area of ethnobiological knowledge: The loss of knowledge about living things is a consequence of species and habitat loss and, conversely, loss of knowledge may contribute to species endangerment and language loss itself. In relation to Chiapas, for example, Maffi (2001a) remarks anecdotally on the rapid degradation of traditional medical knowledge in the adult generation in 1996:

It could not be that they had not *yet* acquired the traditional medical knowledge. Could it be that they had not acquired it *at all*? ...[The two men] were trying to dredge up and piece together scattered fragments of latent ethnomedical knowledge-knowledge perhaps only imperfectly learned, never concretely used, and now almost forgotten. I heard them question each other: “What’s its name, the grasshopper thing?” The “grasshopper thing”: *yakan k’ulub wamal* ‘grasshopper leg herb’ (*Verbena litoralis*), one of the commonest diarrhea remedies in the Highlands. They could hardly remember its name, let alone master its use. [2-3]

The loss of language has direct implications for loss of knowledge about and management of the natural environment, but likely too has deeper cultural consequences. As Hill (2001) reports in her study of the biosystematic lexicon of the Tohono O’odham language in Southern Arizona- the loss of biological vocabulary may compromise more than just the lexicon. For a subsample of mostly elderly informants, Hill found that informants who could remember the names for plants and animals often made additional comments about the natural history of the organism, personal experiences related to it, or reacted emotionally (with disgust or affection) while being shown pictures of local plants and animals. Hill notes, “when names are

lost, people lose not only encyclopedic nature knowledge; they even experience weakening of access to their own feelings and life histories.”

This emphasis linking cultural and environmental research promises to be an important and productive aspect of ecological and applied anthropology and conservation in the future. In addition, the study of lexical variation in ethnobotanical nomenclature can help to improve our data collection methods in ethnobiology, our understanding of the distribution of plant knowledge within a society, and our ability to continue to build theory regarding ethnobiological classification.

CHAPTER 3

CHIAPAS HIGHLANDS: SETTING AND LANGUAGE

Chiapas is the southernmost state in the Mexican peninsula, bordered by Guatemala to the east and the Pacific Ocean to the southwest (Figure 1). The central highland region of Chiapas has an estimated population of almost 600,000 (INEGI 2000). The sector of the central highland region included in this study covers an area approximately 3,300 km² (1,200 mi²) divided into 14 Tzeltal and Tzotzil municipalities (Figure 2)^{2,3}. Figure 3 shows the population of each of the municipalities relative to each other. Approximately 295,000 people reside in these 14 central highland municipalities.

According to the 2000 Mexican National Census, 7.2% of the country's population speaks an indigenous language, 24.7% of whom reside in the state of Chiapas. Ninety-eight percent (98%) of the population within the study area speak an indigenous language, 84.7% of whom (over the age of 5) speak either Tzeltal or Tzotzil (INEGI 2000). Nationally, there are 297,561 speakers of Tzotzil and 284,826 Tzeltal speakers, 40.6% and 41.4% of whom, respectively, are monolingual. For both Tzotzil and Tzeltal, a greater proportion of women are monolingual – approximately 50% of women and 30% of men.

Tzeltal and Tzotzil are sister languages in the Mayan language family, descended from proto-Tzeltalan (Berlin, et al. 1974; Campbell 1998; Kaufman 1971). Figure 4 displays the relationship of Tzeltal and Tzotzil to the other closely related modern-day Mayan languages and language families. It is estimated that Tzeltal and Tzotzil began to divide about 1,200 years ago. Historically, Tzeltal is spoken in six of the central highland municipalities. Kaufman (1971)

groups these municipalities into three separate dialects: Aguacatenango and Amatenango as “Southern Tzeltal”, Tenejapa and Cancuc as “West Central Tzeltal”, and Chanal and Oxchuc as “East Central Tzeltal”. Tzotzil is spoken in eight of the 14 municipalities, divided into the following dialects: Chalchihuitán in “Northern Tzotzil”, Larráinzar classified in “Western Tzotzil”, Chenalhó, Mitontic, Chamula, and Zinacantán as “Central Tzotzil”, Huixtán within “Southern Tzotzil”, and Pantelhó is unclassified (Hopkins 1970, cited in Berlin, et al. 1974). For reasons discussed in the Methods section, the current study includes data from only nine of the fourteen municipalities: the five Tzotzil-speaking municipalities of Chamula, Larráinzar, Chenalhó, Mitontic, and Huixtán and the four Tzeltal-speaking municipalities of Aguacatenango, Cancuc, Oxchuc, and Tenejapa. These municipalities represent approximately 78% of the 14 central highland municipalities in terms of population and 58% in terms of area.

Although cultural identities are strongly linked to municipal boundaries, evidenced by distinct clothing styles and language differences, the region as a whole has a considerable amount of cultural exchange and similarities. There is relatively close contact between Tzeltal- and Tzotzil-speakers and frequent contact with the Spanish-speaking Ladino population living in the area. Intermunicipality migration, marriage, and exchange are not now uncommon in the region. Berlin, et al. (1974:7-9) and Berlin and Berlin (1996:28) note that a significant minority of the population in many areas is bilingual Tzeltal-Tzotzil, although figures are difficult to estimate. According to the most recent census figures, in the historically Tzotzil-speaking municipalities of Pantelhó and Huixtán, 50% and 33% of their respective populations are now Tzeltal-speaking. State education and literacy programs in Spanish have also increased throughout the highlands in recent years (Berlin and Berlin 1996:6). According to the 2000

Mexican Census, 41.3% of the area's population over the age of 5 who speak Tzeltal or Tzotzil also speaks Spanish.

These and other sociolinguistic factors together with ecological features of the region are likely to affect patterns of knowledge transmission, language change, demographic change, and economic development, which, in turn, impact ethnobotanical knowledge. This large area contains a diverse composition of microclimates and vegetation types due to its mountainous terrain and altitudinal range from 500 to 2500 m. Because of this, there are local and regional differences in vegetation as well as agricultural zones and livelihoods, often within the same municipality⁴ (Berlin, et al. 1974; Berlin and Berlin 1996; Breedlove and Laughlin 2000; Maffi 1999). Population density, access to infrastructure, natural boundaries of the region, and plant composition may all affect access to and communication about plant medicines, but also access to Western medicines and clinics.

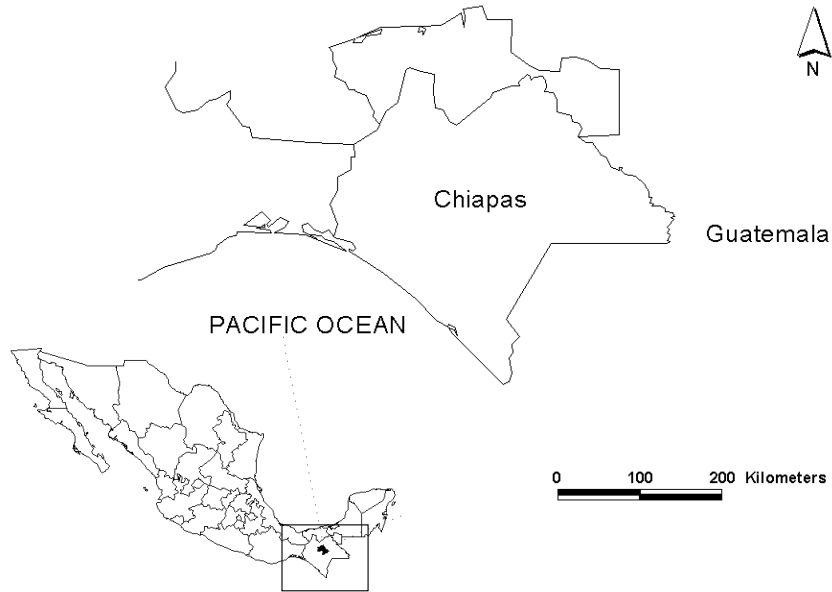


Figure 1: Location of the state of Chiapas within Mexico

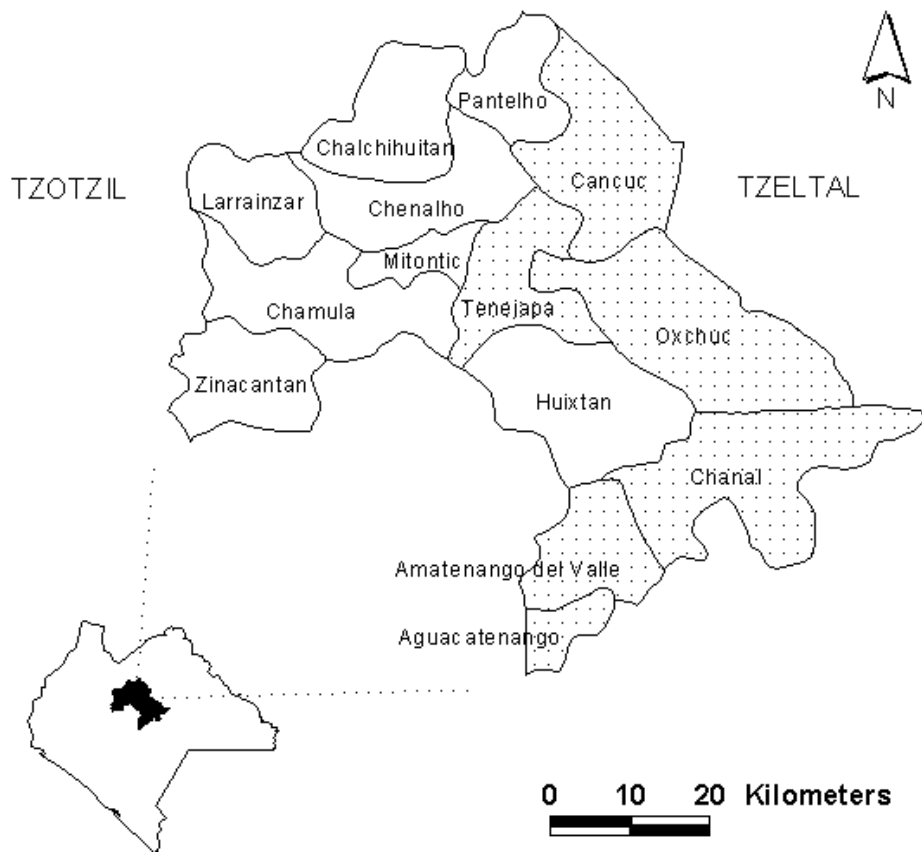


Figure 2: Central highland municipalities relative to the state of Chiapas and distribution of major Mayan languages, Tzeltal and Tzotzil⁵

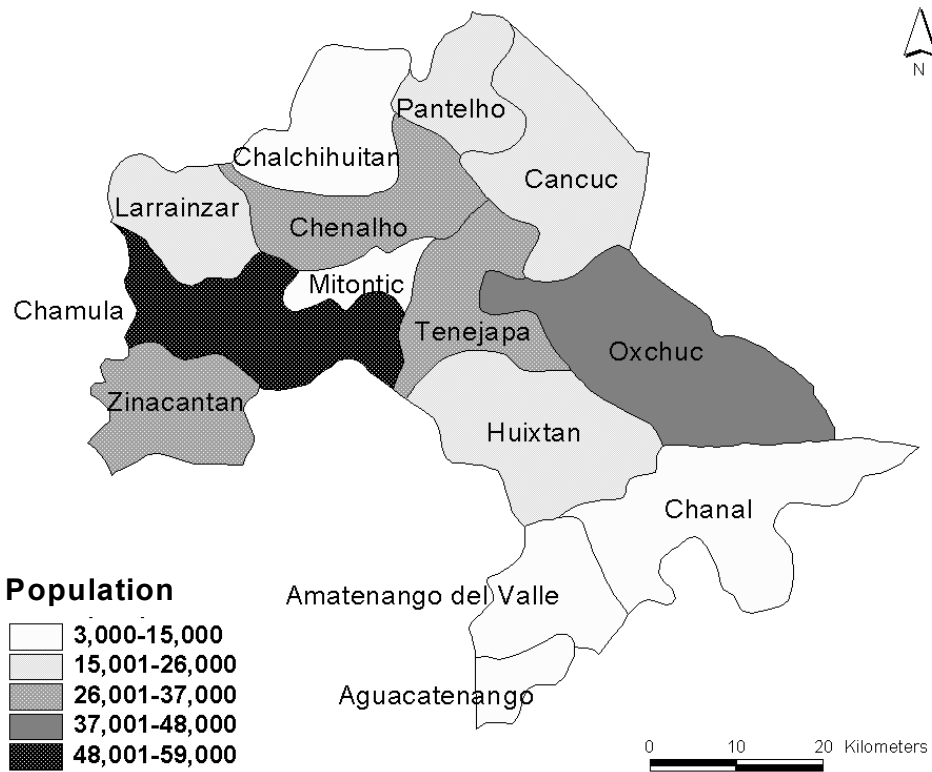


Figure 3: Population of central highland municipalities of Chiapas⁴

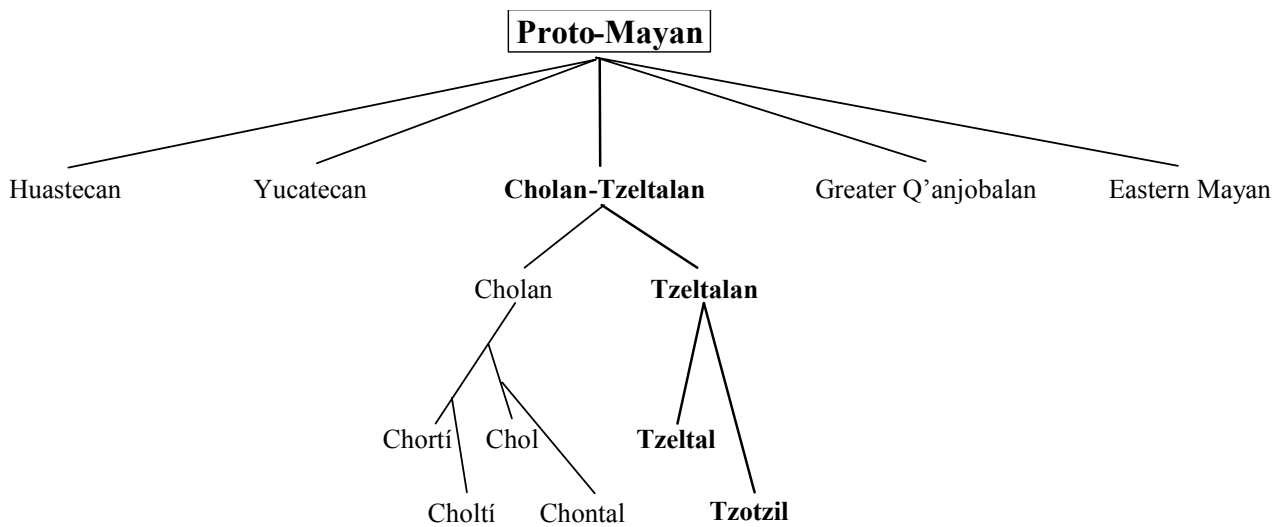


Figure 4: Tzeltal and Tzotzil languages in relation to major Mayan subgroupings. Modified from Campbell (1998:171).

CHAPTER 4

METHODS

Dataset

The dataset drawn upon for this analysis comes from an existing dataset created by Brent Berlin and Elois Ann Berlin during their field research for *Medical Ethnobiology of the Highland Maya of Chiapas, Mexico: the Gastrointestinal Diseases* (1996). The complete dataset contains a total of over 24,400 plant name responses for 200 botanical species (two of which have only been determined to genus). These 200 species comprise the most frequently collected, and by implication the most common, medicinal plants of the approximately 1650 species collected and catalogued by Berlin and Berlin during their fieldwork from 1987-1990. Each species was collected on six or more occasions in several municipalities. An experimental herbarium was employed for the standardized collection of lexical and medicinal information about each species. The herbarium consisted of pressed botanical specimens secured within clear plastic sheets and placed in a 3-ring binder. Informants were shown the same set of 200 specimens and asked to provide the name and information regarding medicinal use for each specimen (Berlin and Berlin 1996). This ensured that all informants identified the same individual specimen. Interviewers recorded one name and up to four medicinal uses for each plant specimen. For details about the dataset and methods used in collection, refer to Berlin and Berlin (1996).

For this paper, I selected a subset of 12,072 records from nine of the fourteen municipalities, which contained the cleanest and most reliable data available at the time of analysis. This data includes responses from 7-10 knowledgeable informants from each of the municipalities. The average number of responses per plant species is 27 from the Tzotzil

localities and 33 from the Tzeltal municipalities. Respondents are 60% male for Tzotzil and 54% male for Tzeltal, on average. Where possible, response data from more of the fourteen central highland municipalities was incorporated into the analysis. This resulted in a few extra responses for four species, including 33 additional responses from all five additional municipalities for one species; one response from Chalchihuixtán for a second species, one from Chanal for a third, and one from Zinacantán for a fourth. Approximately 12,000 name responses and 15,000 medicinal use responses are included in the current dataset.

Medicinal Use Data

The use responses are coded into classes of illnesses and these categories are used to calculate medicinal use agreement. This variable, developed by Berlin and Berlin (1996), groups related health conditions into what they refer to as “condition classes.” The top-10 ranked condition classes for both languages, in order of frequency from most reported to least, include gastrointestinal illnesses, respiratory illnesses, dermatological problems, accidents, fevers, musculoskeletal pains, eye problems, headache, mouth/dental problems, and conditions characterized with non-natural etiology. The main benefit of using illness classes rather than specific illnesses is that the more inclusive variable is likely to capture the highest level of general consensus regarding a plant’s sphere of medicinal application, such as for gastrointestinal problems generally rather than specifically for diarrhea, stomach pain, or worms. This is important if, for example, one informant reports all three of the above uses but another only reports stomach pain. Where an informant reported two or three different illness uses belonging to the same illness class, as in the above example for gastrointestinal diseases, the use report is only counted one time per informant, not as 3 responses.

Plant Name Data

Trained Mayan collaborators, all native speakers of Tzeltal and Tzotzil, collected plant name data. Although this led to a fairly high accuracy of transcription, errors are common in the data. Errors in transcription include missing or misplaced glottal stops, abbreviations of words, contraction of terms, upper-case “I” being recorded as lower-case “L”, “a” being recorded as “o”, interchanging the Spanish “b” with “v”, “j” and glottal stops being interchanged, or “s” with “x”, among others.

To correct these errors and, more importantly, to control for differences in dialect and language, the names are standardized. These standardized names are derived through term-by-term comparisons of sound correspondences between words, drawing heavily upon published dictionaries and previous work in Tzeltal and Tzotzil plant nomenclature (Berlin, et al. 1973a; Berlin, et al. 1974; Berlin and Berlin 1996; Laughlin 1975; Laughlin and Haviland 1988) and in keeping with observations of the response patterns in the data.

Lexical variation, as Berlin (1992) points out, differs significantly in quality. Most lexical variation is simple phonological variation – minor differences in sound. For the purpose of this analysis – to identify similarities and dissimilarities in nomenclature – only true lexical variation is considered. True lexical variants are distinctive terms, which are not derived from the same term. When a single biological species is recognized by two or more distinct folk names, these names are considered synonyms – two words having a similar meaning. Under a few circumstances described below, these synonyms are coded as *similar* names for the purpose of this analysis based on clear semantic similarities. An example of true lexical variation is

illustrated by the following list of names given for one of the botanical species in the dataset,

Lantana camara:

Tzotzil: *ch'il te' vet* 'fox rib tree', *nekeb vet* 'fox shoulder', *bik'tal ch'ilvet* 'small fox rib', and *tzajal nich vomol* 'red flower herb' and

Tzeltal: *ch'il ch'il wajch* 'ch'il ch'il twig', *tzajal ch'ili wet* 'red fox rib', *yaxal nich wamal* 'yellow flower herb', *bak te' pox* 'bone tree medicine', and *ch'aj bakal wamal* 'bitter bone herb'.

Simple phonological variation, or changes in sound, account for the greater majority of variation in the name data and are not considered significant lexical differences for this analysis.

An example of this type of variation can be seen in the Tzeltal and Tzotzil names also given for

Lantana camara:

Tzotzil: *ch'ili vet jomol* 'fox rib herb', *ch'il vet vomol* 'fox rib herb', *ch'il te' vet* 'fox rib tree', and *ch'il vet* 'fox rib' and

Tzeltal: *ch'il wet wamal* 'fox rib herb', *ch'ili wet wamal* 'fox rib herb', *ch'ili wet* 'fox rib', and *ch'il wet* 'fox rib',
in addition to the phonological variants, *ch'il ch'il wajch* 'ch'il ch'il twig' and *ch'il ch'il wach* 'ch'il ch'il twig'.

Other examples of phonological variation in the data include contraction of terms, such as *pojowil* and *pojow* or *muitaj* and *muil itaj*, vowel or consonant shifts such as *moen* and *moem*, or *moy* and *may*, and deletions such as those mentioned above. Oftentimes, such terms are cognates inherited from a common word in the proto-language.

Names judged as similar are transformed into a single notational form for the purpose of quantifying significant name variation. Notational forms are summaries of the language and dialectical differences that occur for plant name variants in the data. These notational forms are written into a single code name and serve as the raw data for frequency counts of names. The notational forms of these standardized names and sets of similar names for each species by

language are included in Appendix A. They are useful for the present analysis of similarity, but not for linguistic accuracy.

In the notational forms, synonymous terms for ‘herb’ are written with a tilde (~). Vowels, consonants, or terms occurring interchangeably in name responses for a particular plant are separated by a backslash (/). A term that is present in some names but absent in others is included within parentheses (()). Below are several examples of how response variants are standardized and cited for three botanical referents:

Lippia chiapensis:

pech jo nich te’, pech jol nich te’, pexol nich te’, pexko nich te’, pixko nich te’, pixo nich te’, pixol nich te’ ‘hat-flower tree’ and ***pixko nich, pech’ jo nich, pexol nich, pixol nich*** ‘hat-flower’ are coded by the notational form “***pixko/p{e/i}xol/pechjo(l) nich (te’)***”

Senna foetidissima:

chenek’ mut ‘bird’s bean’, ***chenek’ mut te’*** ‘bird’s bean tree’, and ***chenek’ mut wamal, chenek mut wamal, chenek’ atinel mut wamal*** ‘bird’s bean herb’ are coded as “***chenek’ mut (te’/~)***”;

Zanthosylum foliolosum:

elmonex ch’ix, elmunex chix, elmunex ch’ix, eremux ch’ix, ermunix ch’ix, eremunex ch’ix, eremunix ch’ix ‘spiny lemon’, ***elemonex ch’ixte’*** ‘spiny lemon tree’, and ***elmonex ch’ix wamal*** ‘spiny lemon herb’ are coded as “***el(e)monex/er(e)monix ch’ix (te’/~)***”.

Other name differences that are not considered theoretically meaningful for this analysis are common plant name elements such as life forms (tree, herb, grass) and other attributives such as plant parts (leaf, flower) when used interchangeably or sporadically in reference to the *same* species. The frequent use of plant parts such as leaf, flower, or stem in the name data may be a result of the stimuli – pressed plant specimens of stems with leaves and flowers – in some cases. Collins and Liukkomen (2002:622) similarly observe in their analysis of lexical variation for the Q’eqchi’ Maya of Guatemala that, with the exception of the term for ‘tree’, free variation of plant part and life form terms for “leaf, thorn, herb-weed, grass, vine, fern, sedge, and tall grass” recurs with frequency in compound lexemes. Therefore, complex names (containing two or more

terms, not including life form) that would be identical if not for differences in life form attributes or the use of ‘flower’ are grouped together under a single index name.

Additionally, where present, modifying adjective morphemes in the name, commonly, color or size attributes, are separated out from the compound names to create a basic, or core, plant term. Plant names are considered similar regardless of differences in color or size attributives. Color and size attributes are the most commonly used modifiers in the data, (occurring in 16% of name responses). The following is a real example showing some phonological variation as well as different color and size attributives standardized for the species,

Lantana hispida:

bik'tal ch'ili vet ‘small fox rib’, *ch'il vet vomol* ‘fox rib herb’, *ch'ilivet* ‘fox rib’, *ikal ch'ilwet wamal* ‘black fox rib herb’ *ijkal ch'ilivet*, *ijkal ch'il wet* ‘black fox rib’, *mukil ch'il te' vet* ‘big fox rib’, *sakil ch'il vet* ‘white fox rib’, *tzajal ch'il vet*, *tzajal ch'il wet*, *tzajal chiliwet* ‘red fox rib’, *tzajal ch'il wet wamal* ‘red fox rib herb’ are all noted by the core name “*ch'il(i)(te') v/wet ~*”.

Simple plant names, on the other hand, including only a color term + ‘flower’, with or without life form labels, retain the use of both color and ‘flower’ morphemes. In this case, without further data, it is assumed that color + ‘flower’ represents a legitimate name, not just a descriptive phrase. For example, *k'anal nich ak* ‘yellow flower grass’ and *k'anal ak wamal* ‘yellow grass herb’ are coded as a similar name, “*k'anal (nich) ak ~*”, in reference to the species *Pinaropappus spathulatus*. This data cleaning and matching of plant names resulted in the reduction of responses from over 3,400 unique name responses to 1,459 standardized plant name sets.

Finally, the standardized cognate and noncognate names are compared by species for overall similarities in vocabulary and meaning using rules similar to Balée and Moore’s method for analyzing plant lexical variation between languages (1991). If the principal morphemes in the

plant name, whether descriptive (“metaphorical”) or semantically opaque (“literal”), are cognates or otherwise similar in sound and meaning, the names are considered similar regardless of the other morphemes occurring in the name. The other morphemes most commonly include different life form terms and plant part terms (such as flower, leaf, root, stem), words for animals (occurring in about 13% of name responses), ‘wild/devil’s’ *pukuj*, ‘foreign/Spanish’ *kaxlan*, ‘elder sister’ *vixil*, ‘ground/earth’ *lumil*, ‘ancestor’s/ancient’ *antivo*, and ‘medicine’ *pox/poxil* (all together occurring in about 3% of name responses). For example, for the species *Baccharis serraefolia*,

mero varaxik ‘true winged *vara*’, *var(a)/vala(k) xik* ~ ‘winged *vara*’, and *vixil valak xik* ‘elder sister winged *valkak*’ are noted by the similar index name “-*var(a)/vala(k) xik*’-”.

It is interesting to note that these attributive terms are common constituents of unproductive plant names formed by analogy and there is some evidence that their use indicates the species is not of primary cultural importance (Balée 1989; Berlin, et al. 1974:38-39), is useful only as a medicine (Berlin, et al. 1974:38), or is not a traditional cultigen (Balée 1989:14). All of these characteristics have been affiliated with high degrees of lexical variation in these prior studies.

The only other non-cognate terms for which lexical differences are ignored are synonyms for ‘diarrhea’ (*ja' ch'ut/tza'nel*) given for *Lepechinia schiedeana*, the free variation of ‘food of the caterpillar sp.’ with ‘caterpillar sp. herb’, terms for ‘leg’ (*akan, ok*) and ‘claw’ (*yich'ak*) in the name ‘chicken leg (tree/herb)’ given for *Oreopanax xalapensis* and bird terms for ‘chicken’ (*mut*) and ‘turkey’ (*tuluk*) in the complex name ‘chicken/turkey feces tree’ given for *Conostegia xalapensis*. This treatment of the data provided a thorough assessment of concrete differences and similarities in naming and further reduced the overall response list from 1,459 to 1,124 Tzeltal and Tzotzil index names, or an average of 5.6 names per plant.

Borrowed terms were not excluded from the analysis. Spanish is the most evident and common source of borrowings. One thousand sixty-eight (1,068; 8.8% of the total) responses given for 85 plant species are confirmed plant name borrowings from Spanish or contain a Spanish loan as a major constituent in the name. Some of these have their origins in old colonial Spanish. Three standardized names, representing 113 individual responses, are also suspected of being Spanish loans, for a total of 1,181 responses (9.8%) of likely Spanish origin. An additional 115 responses contain only a Spanish-borrowed attributive: *antivo* ‘old, ancestor’s’, *kaxlan* ‘Spanish’, or *simaron* ‘wild’.

Analytical Method

The unit of analysis for this study is the botanical species, which serves as a reference by which to compare multiple identifications. In order to test the hypothesis regarding the relationship between plant naming and medicinal use, two index measures are calculated for each botanical referent indicating the degree of consensus on name and use. Thus, each of the 200 species is represented by one name value and one use value. Name and use consensus are then described and correlated across the 200 plants using their respective index scores.

To measure plant name and use consensus within and between each language group, the Shannon-Weiner diversity index is used (Siegel 1956; Weiner 1948)⁶. The Shannon-Weiner index is widely used as a measure of biological diversity in the field of ecology, but is a useful and simple tool for measuring the diversity of any set of categories for a given domain. In this case, the categories are plant names or medicinal uses and the unit of analysis is the plant itself. The formula for calculating the Shannon Index (H_1) is

$$H_1 = -\sum p_i \log_2 p_i,$$

where p_i is the proportion of responses for a given name or use for each plant. The Shannon Index takes into account both the magnitude of response frequencies and the number of response categories, in other words, the *response diversity* for each plant. This method differs from those employed previously by Berlin et al. (1973a) and Balée and Moore (1991), which made paired comparisons of only single terms from each language and is very similar to that used independently by Collins and Liukkonen (2002) in measuring name variation. Rather than discounting anomalous responses in the data, this method preserves all the detail and integrity of the original data and thus, gives a truer indication of the diversity of opinions occurring in the sample population. Values can range from zero, for plants with only one unanimous category reported by all informants ($1 * \log_2(1) = 0$), to ever-increasing values for plants with multiple response categories, each given by only one or two informants.

The Shannon indices for each plant are calculated for each language separately and the pooled language data. The variables are then described statistically and compared using paired t-tests and correlation analysis. Since missing data is an empty category, including them in the calculations would treat “missing” as legitimate name category. Therefore, missing responses are not included in either the frequency counts or the sample N.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

The medicinal uses for plants in the sample herbarium reported by Tzeltal and Tzotzil municipalities are listed in Table 1. Reports of medicinal plant uses are very similar for both groups. The list reflects a concentration of naturalistic conditions and ailments common to people living in rural areas under similar socio-economic conditions (Berlin and Berlin 1996). For example, the top three ranked illness classes in terms of response frequency are gastrointestinal, respiratory, and dermatological conditions, accounting for 48.7% of responses from Tzeltal and 49.0% for Tzotzil. Ankli, et al. (1999), utilizing Berlin and Berlin's (ibid.) illness categorizations for their study of medicinal plant use for Yucatec Mayan communities, note these same top three condition classes for their study sample. Interestingly, although the correspondence of plant use *categories* is high between the Tzeltal and Tzotzil data groups, the rank correlation between the use diversity indices for all 200 species is weak ($\rho = .178$, $p < 0.05$). In other words, the two language groups rank the plants quite differently according to the use diversity index.

Table 2 and Table 3 display some descriptive statistics for the index values of use and naming diversity. In general, the use diversity values are considerably positively skewed, indicating that there is a greater frequency of plants with high use diversity reports. A t-test of the difference between the mean values for medicinal use diversity for Tzeltal and Tzotzil shows there is a significant difference in the average amount of response diversity between the two language groups (Table 4). Tzotzil has significantly more diversity of uses reported, on average,

than Tzeltal. However, there is not a significant difference in the means for naming diversity between the two languages ($p=0.353$) and the name variable is more evenly distributed with respect to the mean. In addition, there is somewhat greater correlation between the ranking of plants for name diversity than for use diversity for the two languages ($\rho=0.365$, $p<0.01$). A test of the differences in the sample means between use diversity and name diversity reveals that use diversity is significantly higher for all three data analysis groups (Table 5).

The data also indicate that there is a higher level of variation in use reports for the pooled data. The minimum value of use diversity for the pooled data is much higher than those of the individual languages ($H1=1.20$ compared to 0.00 for Tzeltal and 0.69 for Tzotzil). In addition, the differences in the mean values for use diversity for the pooled and unpooled language groups are significant (Tzeltal $p<0.01$, Tzotzil $p<0.02$; 2-tailed t-test, equal variances assumed). In other words, both the degree of medicinal use diversity and naming diversity are *higher* for the pooled Tzeltal-Tzotzil data. This result corroborates the expectation that the within-group consensus is greater than the between-group consensus.

In order to test the association between use and name diversity for the sample herbarium, both a Spearman's rank correlation and Pearson correlation are calculated. The results can be viewed in Table 6. For all three groups of data, the correlation is positive and significant ($p<0.01$), but weak. Stated in terms of consensus: as consensus on a single medicinal use increases, consensus on what the plant is called also tends to increase. Medicinal use agreement alone, based on the R^2 for the correlations, explains only between 4-6% of the variation in naming for the sample.

Figure 5, Figure 6, and Figure 7 show the graphs for medicinal use diversity by diversity of plant name and display the least-squares regression lines for Tzeltal, Tzotzil, and the pooled

data sets. Observing the distribution of plant species in the graphs, the results for all three analysis groups show a large clustering of species with high use diversity and name diversity, while only a few species have both low use and low name diversity.

Table 1: Frequencies of illness responses grouped into condition classes

Illness Class	Tzeltal	Percent Tzeltal	Tzotzil	Percent Tzotzil	Row Total	Percent Total
Gastrointestinal	1750	24.9	1899	23.8	3649	24.3
Respiratory system	1035	14.7	847	10.6	1882	12.5
Dermatological	639	9.1	1164	14.6	1803	12.0
Accidents, breaks, sprains	401	5.7	697	8.7	1098	7.3
Fevers	503	7.1	414	5.2	917	6.1
Eye	344	4.9	308	3.9	652	4.3
Arthralgias & myalgias	345	4.9	307	3.8	652	4.3
Headache	229	3.3	400	5.0	629	4.2
Mouth-dental	249	3.5	346	4.3	595	4.0
Personalistic	211	3.0	240	3.0	451	3.0
Miscellaneous	288	4.1	146	1.8	434	2.9
'Air'	80	1.1	333	4.2	413	2.8
Mental	194	2.8	136	1.7	330	2.2
Edemas	157	2.2	168	2.1	325	2.2
Women's conditions	195	2.8	46	0.6	241	1.6
Peds - baby bath	53	0.8	150	1.9	203	1.4
Burns	102	1.4	93	1.2	195	1.3
Urinary	60	0.9	91	1.1	151	1.0
Personalistic & myalgia	0	0.0	124	1.6	124	0.8
Weakness & wasting	108	1.5	5	0.1	113	0.8
Hair	20	0.3	64	0.8	84	0.6
Personalistic & sprain	35	0.5	0	0.0	35	0.2
Ear	21	0.3	0	0.0	21	0.1
Male problems	19	0.3	0	0.0	19	0.1
Total	7,038	100.0	7,978	100.0	15,016	100.0

12,043 valid cases; 2 missing

Percents based on number of responses

Table 2: Descriptive statistics for medicinal use diversity index

Language	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Skewness	Std. Error Mean
Pooled data	1.1954	3.8826	2.9007	0.4860	-0.8396	0.0341
Tzeltal	0.000	3.5169	2.1971	0.6372	-0.7898	0.0451
Tzotzil	0.6907	3.8035	2.7783	0.5105	-0.0272	0.0361

N = 200

Table 3: Descriptive statistics for name diversity index

Language	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Skewness	Std. Error Mean
Pooled data	0.000	3.901	2.137	0.9316	-0.365	0.0659
Tzeltal	0.000	3.365	1.450	0.8662	-0.027	0.0613
Tzotzil	0.000	3.594	1.518	0.9459	-0.122	0.0669

N = 200

Table 4: Paired samples t-test for differences between Tzeltal and Tzotzil measures of use and name diversity

	Paired differences					t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference				
				Lower	Upper			
Tze:Tzo Use Index	-0.5812	0.7180	0.0508	-0.6813	-0.4811	-11.448	199	0.000
Tze:Tzo Name Index	-0.0679	1.0310	0.0729	-0.2117	0.0759	-0.931	199	0.353

Table 5: Paired samples t-test for differences between use diversity index and name diversity index for pooled, Tzeltal, and Tzotzil data analysis groups

Language	Paired differences					t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference				
				Lower	Upper			
Pooled data	0.7636	0.9345	0.0661	0.6333	0.8939	11.557	199	0.000
Tzeltal	0.7472	0.9465	0.6693	0.6152	0.8791	11.164	199	0.000
Tzotzil	1.2605	0.9688	0.6850	11.254	1.3955	18.400	199	0.000

Table 6: Correlation coefficients for association between name and use diversity

Language	Spearman's rho	Sig. (2-tailed)	Pearson correlation	Sig. (2-tailed)
Pooled data	0.206	0.003	0.255	0.000
Tzeltal	0.204	0.004	0.236	0.001
Tzotzil	0.221	0.002	0.224	0.001

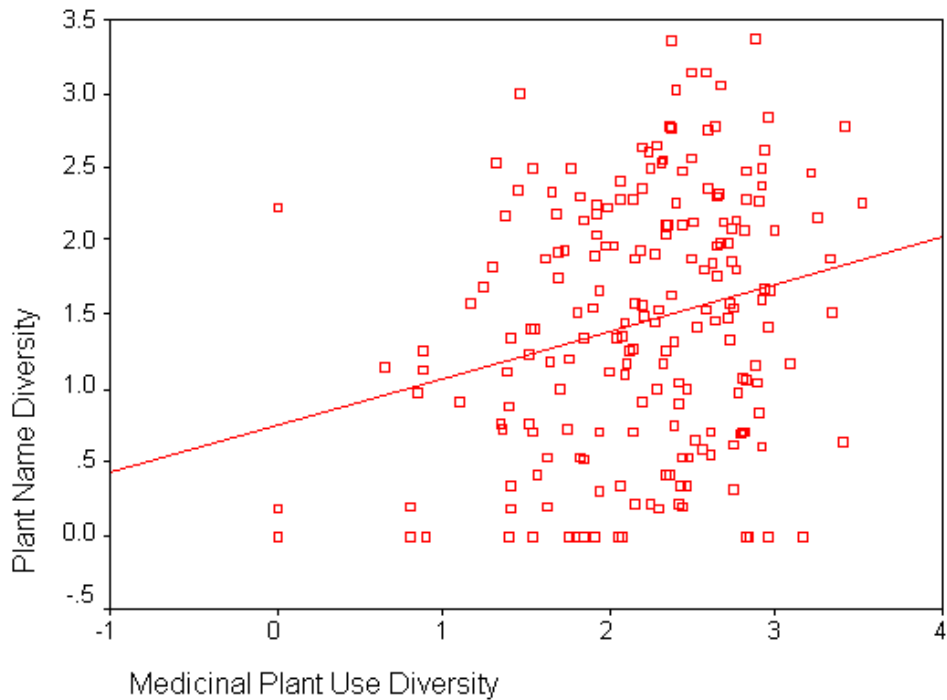


Figure 5: Graph of medicinal use diversity by plant name diversity for Tzeltal-speaking municipalities. (N=200, $r = 0.236$, $p < 0.001$; $R^2 = 0.056$)

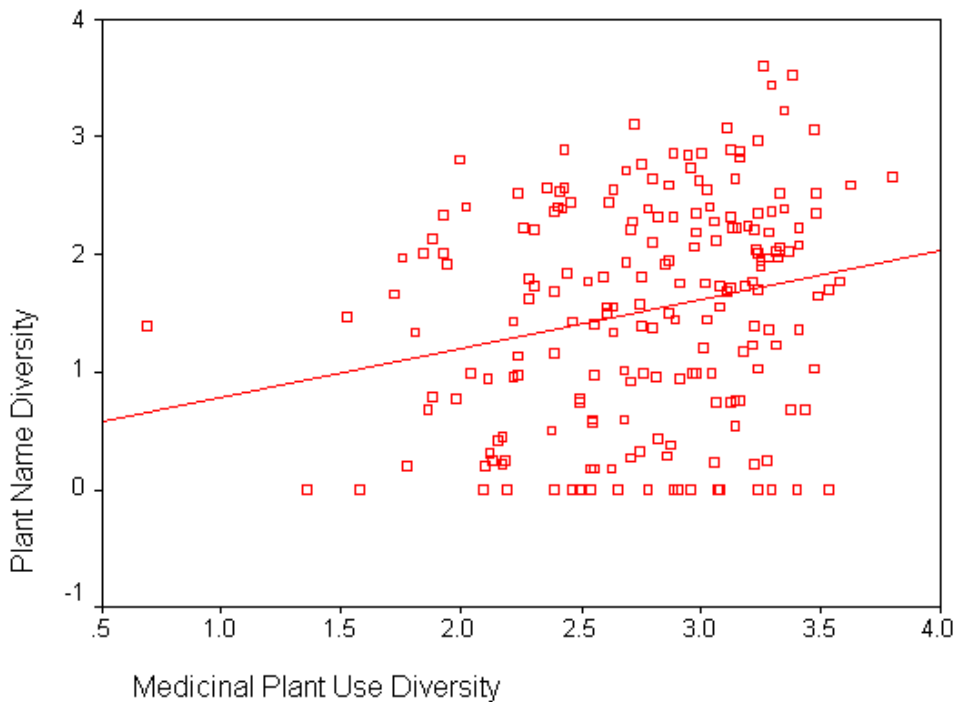


Figure 6: Graph of medicinal use diversity by plant name diversity for Tzotzil-speaking municipalities. (N=200, $r = 0.224$, $p < 0.001$; $R^2 = 0.050$)

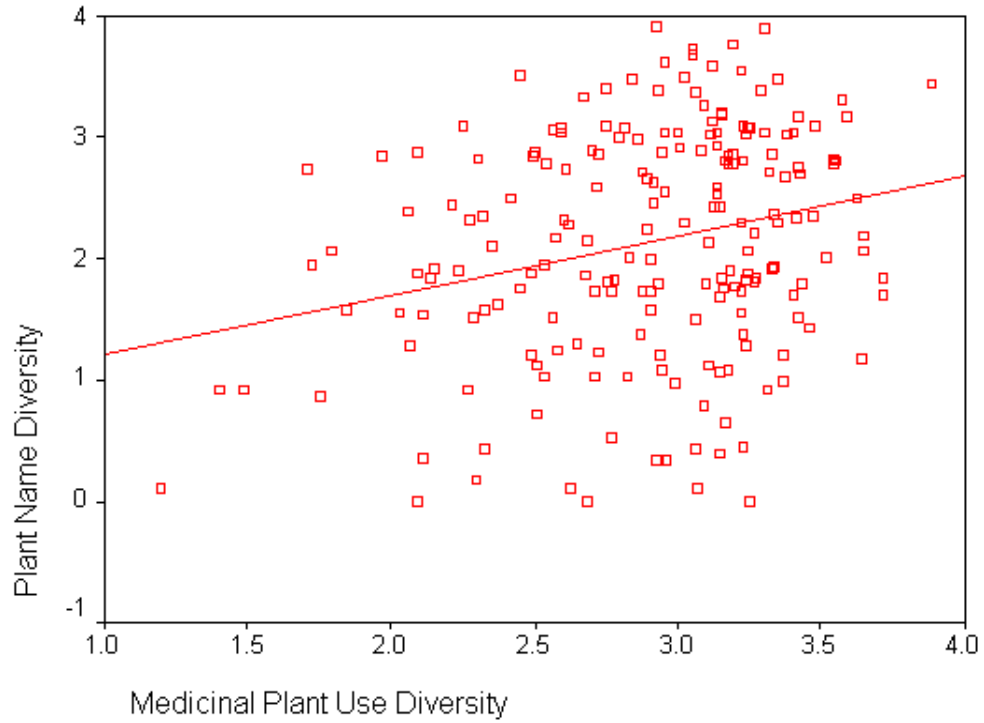


Figure 7: Graph of medicinal use diversity by plant name diversity for pooled Tzeltal-Tzotzil data. (N=200, $r = .252$, $p < 0.000$, $R^2 = .064$)

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

That use diversity is significantly greater, on average, than name diversity may in part be an artifact of the data collection methods. About twenty percent of the total number of use responses are reports of more than one use, which could have produced a slightly greater number of use categories for some plants. Keeping this in mind, the higher rank correlation of name diversity between the two languages appears to indicate that informants have greater consensus on the names for the plants than they do on a single, particular use for each plant. The result fits well with the expectation that agreement on the name of a plant can exist *independent of* knowledge about its medicinal use. High name consensus may be a consequence of another salient characteristic of the plants other than medicinal importance, as stated earlier. The higher degree of use diversity also corresponds with the expectation that for concrete domains, such as plant species, more variation will exist in describing its attributes than in its identification (Boster 1986:434).

The overall distribution of the data shows that there are a very limited number of species with low use and name diversity and a much greater number with high use and name diversity. Therefore, it appears to be these species that are driving the observed correlations. It would be interesting to look more closely at these particular species to see why this may be the case. Appendix B lists the overall ranks for each plant species as a weighted average of their name and use ranks and provides their Shannon index values.

For a relatively large sample of plants and informants, the results suggest that there is an overall positive relationship between medicinal use diversity and plant name variation, both within Tzeltal and Tzotzil and between these two closely related languages. Therefore, similar to the comparative ethnobotanical research of Berlin, et al. (1973a) and Balée and Moore (1991) on degree of plant management, the present linguistic evidence suggests that medicinal use agreement may also affect agreement on name by encouraging the retention of a name in related languages or through name borrowing. The results statistically confirm a speculative look at the data by Berlin (1999), which examined counts of the number of names and number of uses for a select few species within each language group separately. The findings are interesting in light of Zent's (2001) study of ethnobotanical knowledge among the Piaroa in Venezuela. Zent found that plant-naming competence was significantly positively correlated with use-value competence for forest tree species for medicinal as well as a variety of other uses.

While the results presented are suggestive of a pattern regarding the affect of use consensus on plant naming, they also indicate that medicinal use contributes relatively little to the overall lexical variation in the ethnobotanical system of classification. The low R-squared value of the correlation indicates that only a small amount of variation in naming is attributable to the degree of medicinal use variation. This result reemphasizes the observation that there are many variables other than medicinal use affecting the name consensus. Further research is required to accurately predict what those variables are. Past research has presented convincing evidence demonstrating that the degree of plant management – from cultivated to non-cultivated – is strongly correlated with the nomenclatural characteristics of the plant names and lexical retention (esp. Berlin et al. 1973 and Balée and Moore 1991); however, these categories of plant

importance are not clearly distinguished from the ecological factors inherent in their definitions. In addition, the overall response variation was not taken into account in these studies.

Some of the factors specifically related to the plants themselves that are missing from the current analysis and likely to be contributing to true lexical diversity include cultural salience other than medicinal, plant distribution, morphological distinctiveness, access to plants as influenced by local geography and infrastructure of the region, the native origin of the plant, and the linguistic qualities of the plant terms. In order to better understand the multiple contributing factors to variation in naming, a broad, unbiased plant sample, with data on some or all of these attributes is needed. Perceptual salience should theoretically be more important than cultural factors in determining which plants are named and, as a corollary, lexical variation (cf. Berlin 1992; Hunn 1976; 1999); however, mounting evidence points to the strong influence of cultural factors on classification systems (cf. Medin and Atran 1999; Medin, et al. 1997). Although this analysis does not examine the distribution of informant knowledge, the analysis would be greatly enriched by and lends itself to further study of the socio-demographic factors at work. An analysis of interinformant agreement would indicate whether there are clusters of informants who tend to agree more with each other.

The theory of cultural consensus is appropriate for interpreting shared knowledge of medicinal plants across a broad geographical and linguistic area such as highland Chiapas. Since the plant species included in the survey are a subset of common medicinal plants in the region, they are plants that would be seen by most of the population and probably on a frequent basis. They may also be the plants more likely to be used or tested as remedies. On the other hand, the relatively high number of plants with high use *and* high naming diversity seems to indicate, as does Boster's observation regarding Aguaruna names for manioc, "...that there is more to culture

than consensus, that in some situations the deviations from the cultural consensus may constitute a significant portion of the pattern of agreement between individuals.”

Inasmuch as medicinal *importance* might be inferred from low response variation, the data seems to indicate that the more important a plant is as a medicine, the more widespread the knowledge about the specific medicinal use, and the more agreement there is regarding its name. Taking the argument a step further, Berlin (1999) speculates that agreement on name is likely to be driven by the pharmacological *effectiveness* of the plant as a medicine, a speculation currently being tested through his current work on the medical ethnobiology of Chiapas (Berlin and Berlin 1996). However, in order to directly test the relationship between *perceived* importance of the plants as medicines, further data would need to be collected to rank plants for use value. There is a general need for comprehensive data collection incorporating better methods for quantifying the relative importance of plants and to determine how effective consensus is as a measure of importance.

Although similarities in borrowed terms do not indicate retention of terms from the proto-language, their presence does not diminish the value of conclusions regarding overall naming agreement and, given the small proportion of borrowed terms in the data, probably do not significantly impact conclusions regarding language retention. As stated earlier in the paper, approximately 10% of name responses are likely Spanish borrowings. Compare this figure to the 90 (19%) nonnative terms out of 471 generic names in the Tenejapa Tzeltal plant inventory by Berlin, Breedlove, and Raven (1974). The Tenejapa Tzeltal inventory is believed to be representative of the generic taxa recognized locally, not including all alternative lexical expressions (ibid:153). The lower proportion of borrowed terms in the current lexical data may be due to a smaller number of cultivated plants in the experimental herbarium. In addition, Hunn

(2001:128), comparing modern Zapotec ethnobotanical terms with historical records from the year 1578, reports an interesting preliminary finding suggesting that Spanish borrowings show long-term stability in the ethnobotanical lexicon and do not affect ethnobotanical knowledge or linguistic context. Nevertheless, interpretations of the present results' relation to lexical inheritance should be taken as merely suggestive. In order to distinguish between borrowed and inherited plant names, all loan words would need to be removed from the data or their influence otherwise accounted for in the analysis. It would be interesting to analyze the difference between the Old Spanish loans, recent borrowings, and native terms.

Finally, there may be issues with the data collection and aspects of the analytical methods chosen which are obscuring the relationship. The use of pressed herbarium specimens, while enabling standardization of data collection, may have been inadequate stimuli for some informants – resulting in vague responses or no response, or making identification of only certain plants difficult for all informants. Also, the plant data used in this study is derived from a collection targeted at medicinal plants, so it is unclear how representative it is of plants in the region. In addition, as only half of the original dataset was used in the current analysis, the addition of the rest of the dataset would strengthen the validity of the analysis and results.

Another possible issue affecting the findings is the treatment of the plant terminology. Some of the names included in the data may turn out to be descriptive phrases and not valid plant names. There is some general indication that this may be the case, as the most frequent plant name responses indicate: *yax(al) ~/yaxal nich* ~ 'green herb/green flower herb' (approximately 4% of all name responses), *k'an(al) nich(im)/k'anal te'/~* 'yellow flower/yellow tree/herb' (approximately 4% of name responses), and *tz'ajal nich(im)* 'red flower' (approximately 2% of name responses). In addition, in the current treatment of the data, 47 plant names ignored the use

of different life-form constituents in the name, such as ‘tree’ and ‘herb’. In many of these cases, the variant life-form attributive occurred at such a low relative frequency as to be anomalous. However, in the remaining cases, further data could prove these similar names to be distinct synonyms.

The use diversity index may also be somewhat problematic as a measure since, as stated earlier, it does not take multiple response overlap into consideration. Use diversity, while implying one type of consensus – consensus around a single category of use – it does not capture and give weight to instances of plants with more than one legitimate use. Moreover, the Shannon index increases as the number of categories (uses) increases, even though informant’s opinions may overlap partially or completely on several categories. For example, the index value for a plant with a single use category would show greater agreement (i.e. no diversity) than a plant with two use categories, complete consensus on one category, and partial consensus on the second.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

A considerable amount of variation exists in the names given for a plant species, even with a sample of knowledgeable informants. However, this variation is not applied consistently across the sample of plants and can be measured effectively in order to better understand the patterns within the variation. This analysis presented one means to begin to measure and analyze response variation in ethnobotanical knowledge and use it to test hypotheses regarding the patterns of knowledge about plants and knowledge change. Through comprehensive, multi-site data collection and close examination of the lexical variation in ethnobotanical knowledge we are able to gain insights into “how the system works” (Pelto and Pelto 1975) and under what conditions it does not. Furthermore, analysis of true lexical variation within and amongst closely related languages may better reveal how ethnobotanical systems of classification change and may be impacted by changing socioeconomic patterns, acculturation, and changes in the environment – all factors which significantly affect local opportunities to talk about, experiment with, and observe the plants around them.

¹ For detailed descriptions of the folk botanical nomenclature and classification for Tzeltal- and Tzotzil-speaking peoples, refer to the work of Brent Berlin and his colleagues (1973; 1974) and Brian Stross (1973) for Tzeltal and the work of Dennis Breedlove and Robert Laughlin (1993; 2000) for Tzotzil.

² Based on area analysis of the scaled maps.

³ Aguacatenango is actually a Tzeltal township located within the Tzotzil municipality of Venustiano Carranza (Berlin and Berlin 1996:35-36). Population estimates for Aguacatenango township were derived from the Mexican 2000 census figures for the Tzeltal-speaking population of Venustiano Carranza.

⁴ For an interesting discussion of “hot” and “cold” zones and the origin of this terminology, see Luisa Maffi (1999).

⁵ Maps of study area created by author in ArcView GIS 3.1. Digitized from 1:50,000 scaled topographic maps published by the Dirección General de Geografía, Mexico, D.F., 1965.

⁶ Originally developed in the field of communications theory. I am grateful to my professor, Theodore Gragson, for first suggesting it to me.

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APPENDIX A

STANDARDIZED PLANT NAMES BY SPECIES BY LANGUAGE GROUP

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language	
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil
Acacia angustissima	ch'ich ni' (te')	ch'ich ni' te'/~		X
		ch'ich ni' te'/~, sakil	X	
	me ja' (te'/~)	me ja' (te'/~)	X	
		me ja' (te'/~), yisim	X	
	-vax te'-	vax te' ~		X
vax te' ka'			X	
xaxib (te'/~)	xaxib (te'/~)	X	X	
	xaxib (te'/~), sakil	X		
	xaxib pukuj		X	
Acalypha botteriana	bak nich ~	bak* nich ~	X	
	chikin ch'o ~	chikin ch'o ~	X	
	jam akan momol	jam akan momol		X
	kaxlan s-tz'ul	kaxlan s-tz'ul	X	
	la' wamal	la' wamal	X	
	simaron yerba buena ~	simaron yerba bura/buena ~	X	
	takin ch'iel	takin ch'iel	X	
	takin ch'il (ch'il) wamal	takin ch'il (ch'il) wamal	X	
	tzajal (nich) ~	tzajal ~		X
		tzajal nich(im) ~		X
	tzotz(il) (nich) ~	tzotz(il) ~		X
		tzotz(il) nich wamal, yaxal		X
	-tz'urin-	ch'aj tz'urin		X
		tz'urik/n antivo		X
		tz'urin moy vomol		X
tz'urin, antzil			X	
vixil kuj tz'ujul	vixil kuj tz'ujul		X	
wamal	wamal	X		
yax(al) nich ~	yax(al) nich ~	X		
Acmeilla oppositifolia	bak nich ~	bak* nich ~, k'anal	X	
	ch'a ak' ~	ch'a* ak' ~, sakil	X	
	k'an(al) nich ~	k'an(al) nich ~	X	X
	-matas-	ch'a matas, yaxal		X
		mata(s) ch'o ~		X
		matas antivo, yaxal		X
		matas molkij, yaxal		X
		matas, yaxal		X
	sibak ak'	sibak ak'/te'		X
	simaron tusus ~	simaron tusus ~	X	
tul ~	tul ~, yaxal		X	

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language Tzeltal Tzotzil		
<i>Acemella oppositifolia</i> (cont.)	yaxal ~	yax(al) ~		X	
<i>Adiantum andicola</i>	ak wa'mal	ak wa'mal, ijk'il	X		
	namte' pixkal	namte' pixkal		X	
	ok ~	ok/akan ~, ijk'il	X		
	-tzib-	akan/ok tzib ~, i(j)k'al tzib ~, i(j)k'al	X X X X		
<i>Ageratina ligustrina</i>	-ch'a* te'-	ch'a* te' ~ ch'a* te' ~, bik'tal ch'a* te' ~, sak(il/al) pom ch'a te' pom ch'a te', sakil sikil ch'a te'	X X X X	X X X X X	
	may te'	m{a/o}y te'	X		
	pom ~	pom ~		X	
	sak(il) nich te'/~	sak(al/il) nich ~ sak(il) nich te'	X X		
	xuch'al ~	xuch'al ~		X	
	yaxal nich ~	yax(al) nich ~	X		
	<i>Ageratina pringlei</i>	bak te'	bak te' ~, sakil	X	
		ch'a* te'	ch'a* te' ~ ch'a* te' ~, ik'al ch'a* te' ~, tzajal	 X	X X
k'an(al) nich ~		k'an(al) nich ~	X		
k'anal nich ~		k'an(al) nich ~	X		
kuxben tz'ontz'on te'		kuxben tz'ontz'on te'	X		
majbenal ~		majbenal ~		X	
oxyoket ~		oxyoket ~		X	
pom ch'a te'		pom ch'a te'		X	
pom te'		pom te'	X		
sak ba(j) te'		sak ba(j) te', tzajal		X	
sak(il) nich te'/~		sak(al/il) nich ~ sak(il) nich te'	X X		
ton ch'a* te'		ton ch'a* te' ton ch'a* te', tzajal	X X		
<i>Ageratum houstonianum</i>		chabchab ~	chab(chab) ~, mukil		X
	chakal ~	chakal ~, poxil		X	
	oxyoket ~	oxyoket ~		X	
	pitz'o te'	pitz'o te', yaxal		X	
	pom tz'unun	p/vom tz'unun		X	
	-putzil-	putzil ~ putzil chab momol		X X	
	sakil nich ~	sak(al/il) nich ~	X		
	tesbil wa'mal	tesbil wa'mal	X		
	tumin wamal	tumin wamal	X		
	-tzotz(il)-	tzotz it ~ tzotz(il) ~ tzotz(il) nich wamal, sakil	 X X	X X X	

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language Tzeltal Tzotzil
Ageratum houstonianum (cont.)		tzotz(il) nich wamal, yaxal	X
	uskum (nich) ~	uskum te'/~ uskum te'/~, yaxal	X X
	vol nich ~	b/vol nich ~	X
	yaxal (nich) ~	yax(al) ~ yax(al) nich ~	X X
Alternanthera laguroides	chuej ~	chuej ~, poxil	X
	-may (te'/~)-	m{a/o}y te' m{a/o}y te', sakil may k'uk ~ may k'uk ~, sakil	X X X X
	pat ka' te'	pat ka' te', sak	X
	pat yanal vomol	pat yanal vomol, sak	X
	sak pat ~	sa(j)k-a pat (te'/~)	X
	sak(il) (nich) ~	sak(al/il) ~ sak(al/il) nich ~	X X
	sat pat ~	sat pat ~	X
	tajtam/n	tajtam/n ~, sakil	X
	tan nich ~	tan(an) nich ~, sak(il)	X
	-tan(tan) ~ -	tan abnal wamal, sakil tan tan ~	X X
	tzebal vomol	tzebal vomol	X
	valan nich vomol	valan nich vomol, sak	X
	yanal ~	yanal ~, sak	X
	Ambrosia cumanensis	alta mi {x/s} a ~	alta mi {x/s} a ~
artenes ~		artenes ~	X
astako		astako	X
-ichil ok ~ -		ichil ok ~ kaxlan ichil ok wamal	X X
kulentu ~		kul {a/e} ntu ~	X
sisim ~		sisim ~ sisim ~, sakal	X X
tan saran ~		tan saran te'/~	X
tanan nich ~		tan(an) nich ~, sak(il)	X
valan nich vomol		valan nich vomol, sak	X
we'el wakax vomol		we'el wakax vomol	X
yich wakax		yich v/wakax	X
Anagallis arvensis	~ t'ul	~ t'ul, yaxal	X
	be'el ak' ~	be'el ak' ~	X
	-ch'akiw-	ch'akiw wamal kaxlan ch'akiw	X X
	-itaj-	~al itaj itaj	X X
	k'anal nich ~	k'an(al) nich ~	X
	kuch'/ku(j)tz' tz'ujul ~	kuch'/ku(j)tz' tz'ujul ~	X X
	lumil ~	lumil ~	X
	lumil chij wamal	lumil chij wamal	X

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language		
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil	
Anagallis arvensis (cont.)	-pul yok-	pajch'el pul y-ok	X		
		pul yok butz'anil	X		
	sakil nich ~	sak(al/il) nich ~	X		
	satab ~	satab ~/ak'	X		
	sikil ~	sikil ~		X	
	s-tz'u(j)lem ~	s-tz'u(j)lem ~	X		
	tu vomol	tu vomol		X	
	yax(al) che(i)l ~	yax(al) che(i)l ~ yax(al) che(i)l ~, bik'tal yax(al) che(i)l ~, mukil	X X X		
yaxal ~	yax(al) ~		X		
Anoda cristata	{m/w}alwax/malva ~	marmax/malwax/malva ~/ak'	X	X	
	~ chitom	~ chitom		X	
	b/vol nich ~	b/vol nich ~		X	
	-b/voton ~ -	b/voton ~ b/voton sat vomol	X X		
	kep chij	kep/p chij		X	
	-pak chak-	pa(j) x-ch(i)ak (te'/~) pa(j) x-ch(i)ak yoxik xnich'	X X		
	pan ak	pan ak	X		
	-yax(al) (nich) ~ -	yax(al) ~ yax(al) nich ~	X X		
Apium leptophyllum	k'anal nich ~	k'an(al) nich ~	X		
	-kul {a/e}ntu-	kul {a/e}ntu ~ kul {a/e}ntu ch'o ~ kulentu chitam kulentu jos ~ kulentu mis ~ kulentu tz'i' ~	X X X X X X	X X	
	yax nich ~	yax(al) nich ~	X		
	Arbutus xalapensis	ob te'	ob te'		X
		on (te')	on (te') on (te'), muk*	X X	X X
		on kon te'	on kon te'	X	
		pom te'	pom te'	X	
Archibaccharis androgyna	bak nich ~	bak* nich ~, sak(il/al)	X		
	bak sun te'	bak/r sun te'	X		
	ch'a* (nich) te'/~	ch'a* ~ ch'a* ~, sakil ch'a* te' ~	X X X	X	
	ch'ixal nich ~	ch'ix(j)ol/al nich ~, sakil	X		
	nichim chij	nichim chij ~		X	
	sak(il) nich ~	sak(al/il) nich ~	X		
	-turasn {a/o}/turisno/tulesna-	turasn {a/o}/turisno/tulesna (te'/~) turisno ab'nal	X X		
	-yerba bura-	simaron yerba bura/buena ~ yerba bura	X X		

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language		
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil	
Argemone mexicana	ch'ix ~	ch'ix ~ ch'ix ~, k'anal	X	X	
	-ch'ix ita(j)-	ch'ix ita(j) ch'o ch'ix itaj ~ ch'ix itaj ~, k'anal ch'ix itaj ~, sakil	X X X X	X	
	jol ch'ix	jol ch'ix, sak		X	
	k'anal nich te'/~	k'an(al) nich ~ k'an(al) nich te'		X X	
	kaxlan tzukum ch'ix	kaxlan tzukum ch'ix		X	
	k'ot	k'ot, k'anal nich		X	
	mano de leon	mano de leon	X		
	tomal ch'ix	tomal ch'ix, k'an(al) tomal ch'ix, sakil		X X	
	tz'ul itaj	tz'ul itaj	X		
	Arthrostemum ciliatum	~ puj	~ puj, ik'al		X
		~ vet	~ vet		X
		akan te'	akan te', tzajal	X	
		bak ~	bak* ~		X
ch'a'al ~		ch'a* ~	X		
ik'al ~		ik'al ~		X	
k'anal nich ~		k'an(al) nich ~	X		
ma(j)kal/ul ok/akan ~		ma(j)kal/ul ok/akan ~	X		
majbenal ~		majbenal ~		X	
matas ka' ~		matas ka' ~		X	
momo ka'		momo ka', yaxal		X	
nichim chij ~		nichim chij ~		X	
pa(j) ul(ul) (te'/~)		pa(j) ul(ul) (te'/~)	X		
pa(j) umum ~		pa(j) umum ~	X		
pajal ~		pajal ~	X		
pimil ~		pimil ~	X		
tun pimil ~		tun/l pimil ~	X		
tzajal nich ~		tzajal nich(im) ~	X		
vach' te' ~		vach'(il) te'		X	
yaxal ~	yax(al) ~		X		
Asclepias curassavica	chu' ~	chu' ~, tzajal chu' ch'o ~		X X	
	k'an(al) nich ~	k'an(al) nich ~		X	
	-pame/panayat ~ -	pame/panayat ~ pame/panayat ~, tzajal tzizi/si(m) panyat	X X	X X	
	pojow(il) (nich) ~	pojow(il) (nich) ~ pojow(il) (nich) ~, tzajal	X X		
	prima najk'	prima najk' ~, muk'ul	X		
	rimon	(pi)rimon ~, bik'tal		X	
	tuxnuk' ~	tuxnuk' ~		X	
	tzajal nich ~	tzajal nich(im) ~	X		

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language Tzeltal Tzotzil		
Aster exilis	~ mut	~ mut		X	
	bak (bak) (nich) ~	bak bak ~ bak* ~ bak* nich ~, yaxal	X X X		
	chikinil ch'o ~	chikin ch'o ~		X	
	chi'o ~	chi'ub/chi'o ~		X	
	k'ajk'an ~	k'a(j)ka('a)n/koko('o)n ~	X		
	-ma(j)tas-	ma(j)tas te', sakal majtas wanlel	X X		
	nukul momol	nukul momol		X	
	paj momol ch'o	paj momol ch'o		X	
	paj yanal momol	paj yanal momol		X	
	pich' antivo	pich' antivo		X	
	tuil ~	tuil ~		X	
	vaxajtik ~	va {x/ch'}ajtik ~		X	
	x-uch' ~	x-uch' te'/~		X	
	yak' cho' wamal	yak' cho' wamal	X		
	yak' tz'i' ~	yok'/ak' tz'i' ~	X		
yaxal ~	yax(al) ~		X		
Baccharis glutinosa	akan ch'aj te'	akan ch'aj te', tzajal	X		
	bak te' pox	bak te' pox	X		
	ch'aj te'	ch'a* te' ~	X		
	-chilka(n/t/tik)-	chilka(n/t/tik) (te'/~) chilka(n/t/tik) (te'/~), antzil chilka(n/t/tik) (te'/~), ijk'al chilka(n/t/tik) (te'/~), muk* chilkan ch'o chilkan ka' vixil chilkan/t	X X X X X X X	X X X X X X	
	chi'uk ~	chi'uk ~		X	
	ichil ~	ichil ~		X	
	sakil nich te'	sak(il) nich te'		X	
	tzajal te'	tzajal te'	X		
	yail ~	yail ~		X	
	Baccharis serraefolia	bak (te') wamal	bak te' ~ bak te' ~, sakil/al bak* ~ bak* ~, muk'ul bak* ~, sakil	X X X X X	
		-ch'a te'-	ch'a* te' ~ ch'a* te' ~, ik'al ton ch'a* te', muk'ul		X X X
jich' jich' ~		jich' jich' ~		X	
sak nich wamal		sak(al/il) nich ~		X	
tzajal nich wamal		tzajal nich(im) ~		X	
vach'(il) (te') vomol		vach'(il) ~ vach'(il) te'		X X	

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language Tzeltal Tzotzil
Baccharis serraefolia (cont.)	-var(a)/vala(k) xik'-	mero varaxik'	X
		var(a)/vala(k) xik' ~	X
		var(a)/vala(k) xik' ~, bik'tal	X
		var(a)/vala(k) xik' ~, mukil	X
		vixil vara/vala(k)xik'	X
	wach' wach' ~	wach' wach' ~	X
	-xich' ~ -	ni' xich' ~, sakil	X
	ni' xich' ~, tzajal	X	
	xi(j)ch' ~, tzajal	X	
	yaxal nich ~	yax(al) nich ~, ch'in	X
Baccharis trinervis	akan ~	akan ~ sakil	X
	ch'a* te'	ch'a* te' ~, sak(il/al)	X
	ch'em ja jolil	ch'em ja jolil	X
	ch'iem jolal	ch'iem jolal	X
	ch'ima(l) jolil/ol ~	ch'ima(l) jolil/ol ~	X
	sak(il) nich ~	sak(al/il) nich ~	X
	-var(a)/vala(k) xik' ~ -	var(a)/vala(k) xik' ~	X
		vixil vara/vala(k)xik'	X
	xijch' ~	xi(j)ch' ~	X
	xi(j)ch' ~, sakil	X	
Baccharis vaccinioides	-mes te'-	mes te'	X X
		mes te' ~	X
Bartlettina tuerckheimii	ch'aj te'	ch'a* te' ~	X
	-chilka(t) te'-	chilka(n/t/tik) (te'/~), yax	X
		lumil chil kat te'	X
	sak(il) nich ~	sak(al/il) nich ~	X
	tuil ab'nal	tuil ab'nal	X
	tunin wamal	tunin wamal, sakil	X
	-turasn {a/o}/turisno/tulesna- te'/~	turasn {a/o}/turisno/tulesna (te'/~)	X X
		turasn {a/o}/turisno/tulesna (te'/~), ik'al	X
		turasn {a/o}/turisno/tulesna (te'/~), tzajal	X
		vixil turisno ~	X
	tzajal nich ~	tzajal nich(im) ~	X
	yax(al) nich ~	yax(al) nich ~	X
		yax(al) nich ~, sakil	X
Berula erecta	~(al) vo'	~(al) vo'	X
	ach'elal ~	ach'elal ~	X
	chawuk te'/~	chawuk te'/~	X
	chichi/o pay te'	chichi/o pay te'	X
	chuchu pay te'	chuchu pay te'	X
	k'ojo' wamal	k'ojo' wamal	X
	k'on te'	k'on te', yaxal	X
	-kulentu-	kul {a/e}ntu ~	X
		kul {a/e}ntu ch'o ~	X
		kulentu chitam	X
		kulentu tz'i' ~	X
	likiran k'ajk' wamal	likiran k'ajk' wamal, muk'ul	X

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language		
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil	
Berula erecta (cont.)	nichim chij ~	nichim chij ~		X	
	pay te'	pay te', tzajal	X		
	saju' ~	saju' ~		X	
	saus	saus		X	
	to'pak	to(j)pak (te'), tzajal	X		
	tzibal vo'	tzibal vo'		X	
	woch'ol ok ~	w/voch'ol ok/akan ~	X		
	yok'es tujkul	yok'es tujkul	X		
Bidens aurea	~ k'on xnich	~ k'on xnich, yaxal		X	
	asasena vomol	asasena vomol		X	
	boton nich ~	boton nich ~	X		
	k'anal nich ~	k'an(al) nich ~	X	X	
	k'ux momol	k'ux momol		X	
	lisom vomol	lisom/n vomol		X	
	-matas-	ma(j)tas ~ xelajtik matas/x		X X	
Bidens pilosa	k'anal nich ~	k'an(al) nich ~		X	
	-ma(j)tas-	ma(j)tas ~ ma(j)tas ~, sakil mata(s) ch'o ~	X X	X	
	tzijil ~	tzijil ~		X	
	tzijil matas ~	tzijil matas ~		X	
	~ tuix	~ tuix		X	
Bidens squarrosa	akan ~	akan ~ k'anal	X		
	bak (nich) ~	bak* ~ bak* nich ~ bak* nich ~, k'anal		X X X	
	bay momol	bay momol, yax		X	
	-ch'a* - ~	ch'a* ~ ch'a* ak' ~ ch'ail/ch'ial abnal	X X	X	
	k'anal nich ~	k'an(al) nich ~	X		
	k'ob ~	k'ob ~, yaxal		X	
	sak(il) nich ~	sak(al/il) nich ~	X	X	
	te'el tinta	te'el tinta		X	
	tun/l pimil ~	tun/l pimil ~	X		
	wajch'ul wa'mal	wa(j)ch'(ul) te'/~	X		
	xat momol	xat momol		X	
	yaxal ~	yax(al) ~		X	
	Borreria laevis	[food of] buluk' sit ~	[food of] buluk' sit ~ [food of] buluk' sit ~, sakil	X X	
		b/vok sat ~	b/vok sat ~		X
		b/vol nich ~	b/vol nich ~		X
b/voton ~		b/voton ~		X	
-bak ~ (nich)-		bak ~ t'ul bak* ~		X X	
ni' chitom ~		ni' chitom ~		X	

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language Tzeltal Tzotzil		
Borreria laevis (cont.)	sakil nichim	sak(al/il) nich ~		X	
	tul nichim ~	tul nichim ~		X	
	vol nich ~	b/vol nich ~		X	
Bouvardia leiantha	lumil ~	lumil ~	X		
	majbenal ~	majbenal ~		X	
	nichim chij	nichim chij ~		X	
	nichim vomol	nichim vomol		X	
	paj nich ~	paj nich ~		X	
	patax	patax, tzajal		X	
	putzil ~	putzil ~		X	
	tan (tan) (nich) ~		tan (tan) nich ~, tzajal	X	
			tan ~	X	
			tan tan ~	X	
	-tan (tan) ~ -	tan (tan) nich ~, tzajal		X	
	tzajal nich ~	tzajal nich(im) ~		X	X
	voch' nich momol	voch' nich momol		X	
	vol nich ~	b/vol nich ~		X	
	votz' nich momol	votz' nich momol		X	
	witzil wa'mal	witzil wa'mal		X	
	yaxal nich ~	yax(al) nich ~		X	
-yok ixmil-		lumil yok ixmil	X		
		yok ixim(il) ~	X		
Brickellia paniculata	-bak ~ -	bak' ~ ch'o		X	
		bak ~ tuluk'		X	
		bak* ~		X	
	bak ~ tut	bak ~ tut		X	
	bak ne momol	bak ne momol		X	
	bak* nich ~	bak* nich ~, sak(il/al)		X	
	bak'ox te' momol	bak'ox te' momol		X	
	ch'a* ~		ch'a* ~	X	X
			ch'a* ~, sakil	X	
	-ch'a* te'-		ch'a* te' ~	X	
			ton ch'a* te'	X	
			ton ch'a* te', sakil	X	
	k'an te'	k'an(al) te'		X	
	matas te'	matas te'		X	
nichim chij ~	nichim chij ~		X		
pax ul momol	pax ul momol		X		
sak(il) nich ~	sak(al/il) nich ~		X		
takin wach' wamal	takin wach' wamal		X		
Brugmansia candida	kampana (nich*) te'/~	kampana (nich*) te'/~	X	X	
		kampana (nich*) te'/~, sakil		X	
	moy	m{a/o}y		X	
Bryophyllum pinnatum	chikin j'ik'al	chikin ik'al		X	
	lumil pikin te'	lumil pikin te'	X		
	pim letan vomol	pim letan vomol		X	
	pimil ~	pimil ~	X	X	

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language	
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil
Bryophyllum pinnatum (cont.)	-pimil chikin-	pimil chikin ~ pimil chikin ab'nal		X X
	pimil majben ~	pimil majben ~ pimil majben ~, ch'in	X X	
	pimil satab wamal	pimil satab wamal	X	
	pimil sikil wamal	pimil sikil wamal	X	
	pimil ti' wamal	pimil ti' wamal	X	
	sikil ~	sikil ~	X	X
Buddleia americana	ji(j) te'	ji(j) te', sak	X	
	sa(j)k-a pat (te'/~)	sa(j)k-a pat (te'/~) sa(j)k-a pat (te'/~), sakal	X X	X
	sak ba(j) te'	sak ba(j) te' sak ba(j) te', sakil	X X	
	sitit	sitit (te'), sakil/al		X
	tzel{e/o}pat (te'/~)	tzele/tzelek/tzelopat (te'/~)	X	X
	tzotzil te'	tzotzil te', sakil	X	
Buddleia crotonoides	bak te' pox	bak te' pox	X	
	ch'utul	ch'utul, poxil		X
	munus te'	munus te', sak	X	
	sa(j)k-a pat	sa(j)k-a pat (te'/~) sa(j)k-a pat (te'/~), tzajal sa(j)k-a pat (te'/~), yax	X X X	
	-sak baj te'-	kaxlan sak baj te' sak ba(j) te', muk'ul sak ba(j) te', tzajal	X X X	
	tzantzel ok tzelopat	tzantzel ok tzelopat		X
	-tzantzel- te'/~	tzantzel ok te'/~ tzantzel te'/~		X X
	tzel{e/o}pat ~	tzele/tzelek/tzelopat (te'/~)		X
	yabel bak te'	yabel bak te'	X	
	Bunchosia lanceolata	b/vol sat te'	b/vol sat te'	
ji(j) te'		ji(j) te', sak	X	
kajvel (te') antivo		kajvel (te') antivo		X
naranjiyo		naranjiyo		X
nichim chij		nichim chij ~		X
paj te'		paj te', sak		X
sakil pat ~		sakil pat ~		X
sat te'		sat te', sakil		X
Byrsonima crassifolia	chak pat	ch'ak pat	X	
	ch'ak pat	ch'ak pat	X	
	chi'	chi'	X	
	flor de kastiya	flor de kastiya		X
	-nantz'i'/lantzin-	nantz/lantzin nantz'i' antivo nantzi' ch'o nantzi' ka' nantzi' mut		X X X X X

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language Tzeltal Tzotzil		
Byrsonima crassifolia (cont.)		nantz'i' pukuj		X	
	ne'ek chi'	ne'ek chi'	X		
	pat ilum te'	pat ilum te'		X	
	-pata-	pata (te') yabenal pata	X X		
	tzoyob chuch	tzoyob chuch		X	
Calea urticifolia	-ch'a* te'/~	ch'a* ~ ch'a* te' ~ ch'a* te' ~, sak(il/al) ch'ail pox te'/~ ton ch'a* te'	X X X X	X X X X	
	chawaj ch'aj te'	chawaj ch'a(j) te'	X		
	ch'ix (ch'ix) ~	ch'ix ch'ix ak'/~, sakil ch'ix(j)ol/al nich ~, sakil	X X		
	k'anal nich ~	k'an(al) nich ~	X	X	
	simaron to'bol te'	simaron to'bol te'	X		
	turesna ~	turasn {a/o}/turisno/tulesna (te'/~)	X		
	vach'(il) te'	vach'(il) te'		X	
	-w/voch'ol-	w/voch'ol ok/akan ~ w/voch'ol te'	X X		
	Calliandra grandiflora	-ch'ich' ni'-	ch'ich' ni' ab'nal ch'ich' ni' te'/~ ch'ich' ni' te'/~, tzajal		X X X
		muk ibte'	muk ibte', tzajal	X	
tzajal nich te'/~		tzajal nich te' tzajal nich(im) ~	X X		
-vax (te')-		vax (te') antivo vax te' ~		X X	
-xaxib-		kaxlan xaxib xaxib (te'/~), tzajal xaxib pukuj	X X	X	
Calliandra houstoniana		-ch'ich' ni' te'/~	ch'ich' ni' te'/~ ch'ich' ni' te'/~, tzajal vixil ch'ich' ni' te'	X X	X X
	tzotzin te'	tzotzin te'		X	
	-xaxib-	xaxib (te'/~), tzajal xaxib pukuj	X	X	
	Castilleja arvensis	akuch ~	akux(a) ~	X	
bakal/el (nichin) ~		bak* ~ bak* nich ~	X X		
bo'tem nich wamal		bo'tem nich wamal, tzajal	X		
ch'a* bakal ~		ch'a* bakal ~	X		
ch'a'al ~		ch'a* ~	X		
chik bot' ~		chik bot' ~	X		
jolkotz		jolkotz		X	
paj (nich) ~		paj nich ~ paj nich ~, tzajal		X X	

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language	
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil
Castilleja arvensis (cont.)		paj, tzajal		X
	t'ob vomol	t'ob vomol		X
	tok'om	tok'om		X
	tzajal nich ~	tzajal nich(im) ~ tzajal nich(im) ~, ch'in	X	X
	tz'al(tz'al) nich ~	tz'al(tz'al) (nich) te'/~, tzajal	X	
	tzukum ~	tzu(j)kum (nich) ~		X
	vach'il ~	vach'(il) ~		X
	yax(al) nich ~	yax(al) nich ~ yax(al) nich ~, mukul	X	
	yok ixim ~	yok ixim(il) ~	X	
Castilleja integrifolia	akuxa tz'unun wamal	akuxa tz'unun wamal	X	
	bak nich ~	bak* nich ~		X
	be'el wa'mal	be'el wa'mal, tzajal	X	
	bujt wamal	bujt wamal	X	
	komel vomol	komel vomol		X
	-paj nich-	baj paj nich te'/~ paj nich ~ paj nich ~, ik'aj		X
	romero ~	romero ~ romero ~, tzajal	X	
	tan ~	tan ~	X	
	tuxnuk' ~	tuxnuk' ~, bik'tal		X
	tzajal nich ~	tzajal nich(im) ~	X	
	-tzotz it-	ch'a'al tzotz it wamal tzotz it ~, tzajal	X	
			X	
	Cavendishia crassifolia	kaxlan on te'	kaxlan on te'	X
ko(n)kon		k'a(j)ka('a)n/koko('o)n ~		X
ne'ek k'och te'		ne'ek k'och te'	X	
-on kon te'-		kaxlan on konte' on kon te'	X	
pimento ~		pimento ~	X	
yetz' ak' (te'/~)		yetz' ak' (te'/~)	X	
Ceanothus coeruleus	ch'ixil (te')	ch'ixil (te') ch'ixil (te'), sakil	X	
			X	
	pomos/x (te')	pomos/x (te') pomos/x (te'), sakil pomos/x (te'), tzajal		X
	-siban (te')-	chik sibante' siban (te'), sakil siban (te'), tzajal	X	
		X		
Chenopodium ambrosioides	k'a(j)ka('a)n/koko('o)n ~	k'a(j)ka('a)n/koko('o)n ~ k'a(j)ka('a)n/koko('o)n ~, sakil	X	X
			X	
Chromolaena collina	kakinaj	kakinaj	X	
	(nich) tz'o ante'	(nich) tz'o ante', k'an(al)	X	
	~ vet	~ vet		X
	bak te' ~	bak te' ~, ijk'el	X	

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language	
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil
Chromolaena collina (cont.)	-ch'a* te'/~ -	ch'a* ~	X	X
		ch'a* te' ~	X	X
		ch'a* te' ~, k'anal	X	
		ch'a* te' ~, muk'ul	X	
		ch'a* te' ~, sak(il/al)	X	
		ch'a* te' ~, tzajal	X	
		ton ch'a* te'	X	
		ton ch'a* te', muk'ul	X	
		ton ch'a* te', sakil	X	
	chabchab ~	chab(chab) ~, mukil		X
	ik'al ~	ik'al ~		X
	k'anal nich ~	k'an(al) nich ~	X	
	oxyoket ~	oxyoket ~		X
	patux momol	patux momol		X
	pik'a	pik'a, yaxal		X
puj	puj, antzil		X	
sak ba(j) te' ~	sak ba(j) te'		X	
sikil ~	sikil ~		X	
te' vomol	te' vomol		X	
tzu(y)il wa'mal	tzu(y)il wa'mal	X		
	tzu(y)il wa'mal, tzajal	X		
Cissampelos pareira	be'el ak' ~	be'el ak' ~	X	
	-chin ak'-	chin ak'	X	
		chin ak', sakil	X	
		patax/s chin ak'	X	
	kuru {d/r/l} in(a) ak'/~	kuru {d/r/l} in(a) ak'/~	X	X
	ne ch'o ak'/~	ne ch'o ak'/~		X
	ne kotom ak'	ne kotom ak'		X
	pak chak ~	pa(j) x-ch(i)ak (te'/~)		X
	pak' chu' vomol	pak' chu' vomol		X
	s {a/e} yora ak'	s {a/e} yora ak', sakal	X	
voy chij (ak'/~)	voy chij (ak'/~)		X	
yaxal (nich) ak'/~	yax(al) nich ~		X	
	yaxal ak'		X	
Clematis dioica	-ichil (ok/ak') ~ -	ichil ~	X	
		ichil ok ~		X
		ichil/ul ak'	X	X
	nich be'el ak'	nich be'el ak'	X	
	sal ak'	sal ak'		X
toj p'ol ak' ~	toj p'ol ak' ~	X		
Clethra suaveolens	-k'a(j)k'et te'-	k'a(j)k'et te'	X	X
		ni k'ajket te', tzajal	X	
	k'ok' vomol	k'ok' vomol, poxil		X
	k'oxox te'	k'ol/r(k)ox/k'oxox te'		X
		k'ol/r(k)ox/k'oxox te', bik'tal		X
	satin	satin, antzil		X
te' ch'o	te' ch'o, yaxal		X	

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language		
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil	
Clethra suaveolens (cont.)	tzajal te'	tzajal te'	X		
	wax te'	wax te' ~	X		
	yail te'	yail te'		X	
Cleyera theaeoides	k'oxox te'	k'ol/r(k)ox/k'oxox te'		X	
	-lantzin-	nantz/lantzin pat lantzin		X X	
	ol te'	ol (te'), k'an(al) ol (te'), sakil	X X		
	yaxal nich ~	yax(al) nich ~		X	
Conostegia xalapensis	ja'as te'es	ja'as te'(es)		X	
	k'an(al) (nich) te'/~	k'an(al) ~ k'an(al) nich te' k'an(al) te'		X X X	
	kasimik	kasimik, k'anal		X	
	pem chitom (te')	pem chitom (te') pem chitom (te'), tzajal		X X	
	te' mol	te' mol, k'anal		X	
	tuluk' te'	tuluk' te'/~		X	
	-tza' mut/tuluk' te'-	tza' mut te' tza' mut te', k'anal tza' mut te', tzajal tza' tuluk' te' tza' tuluk' te', k'anal tza' tuluk' te', muk'ul tza' tuluk' te', sakil tza' tuluk' te', tzajal		X X X X X X X X	
	yok' chij te'	yok'ak' chij te'		X	
	Cordia spinescens	ak'	ak'	X	
		buluk' sat ~	buluk' sat ~		X
		ch'ix ch'ix ak'/~	ch'ix ch'ix ak'/~		X
ik'al te'/~		ik'al ~ ik'al te'		X X	
jel ch'ich' ak'		jel ch'ich' ak'		X	
k'anal nich ak'		k'an(al) nich ak' ~		X	
k'oj momol		k'oj momol, ik'al		X	
paj ik'oj		paj ik'oj		X	
paj nich ~		paj nich ~		X	
paj sat ~		paj sat ~		X	
patax ka'		patax ka'		X	
tab te'		tab te', ik'al		X	
xich' ~		xi(j)ch' ~ xi(j)ch' ~, ijk'al xi(j)ch' ~, k'anal xi(j)ch' ~, tzajal xi(j)ch' ~, yaxal		X X X X X	
yaxal nich ~		yax(al) nich ~		X	

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language	
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil
Coreopsis mutica	bajk'al te'	bajk'al te' ~ bajk'al te' ~, k'anal	X	
	-ch'a* te'/~ -	ch'a* ~ ch'a* te' ~ ch'a* te' ~, ik'al ch'a* te' ~, k'anal ch'ail pox te'/~	X	X
	jom akan	jom akan		X
	k'anal nich te'/~	k'an(al) nich ~ k'an(al) nich te'	X	X
	pom te'	pom te', mukil		X
	siban (te')	siban (te') siban (te'), k'anal	X	
	sibil ~	sibil ~		X
	Cornus excelsa	isbon/siban (te')	isbon (te') siban (te')	
			X	
Crataegus pubescens	-ch'ix te'-	ch'ix te' ch'ix te' mut ch'ix te', k'anal ch'ix te', tzajal pat ch'ix te'	X	X
	k'a{t/ch'}ix (te')	k'a{t/ch'}ix (te') k'a{t/ch'}ix (te'), tzajal		X
	mantzana ch'ix (te')	mantzana ch'ix (te')	X	
	nantz	nantz/lantzin	X	
				X
Croton draco	-bat/ot (te')-	bat te', sak ch'ich' bat/ot (te') ch'ich' bat/ot (te'), sakil ch'ich' bat/ot (te'), tzajal	X	X
	e'te	e'te, yax		X
	tan saran te'/~	tan saran te'/~		X
Crusea calocephala	[food of] buluk' sit ~	[food of] buluk' sit ~ [food of] buluk' sit ~, ijk'al [food of] buluk' sit ~, tzajal	X	
	ijk'al nich ~	i(j)k'al nich ~	X	
	kar(a)kol vomol	kar(a)kol vomol		X
	-ni' chitom-	ni' chitom ~ tzotzil ni' chitom		X
	potz'ajtik nichim	potz'ajtik nichim		X
	tzajal nich ~	tzajal nich(im) ~ tzajal nich(im) ~, ijk'al	X	
	tzotzil ~	tzotz(il) ~		X
	-vixil bak (nich) ~ -	vixil bak ~ vixil bak ~ t'ul		X
	vol nich ~	b/vol nich ~		X
	wo(l) tzotz wamal	wo(l) tzotz wamal	X	
	yax(al) (nich) ~	yax(al) ~		X

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language		
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil	
Crusea calcephala (cont.)		yax(al) nich ~	X	X	
Cuphea aequipetala	"perch" vonon ~	jok'leb vonon		X	
		nochleb vonon ~		X	
		tzoy leb vonon		X	
		tzoyob vonon		X	
	ajtres ~	aj(a/is) tres/te' {is/es/il} ~		X	
	bak (bak) (nich) ~	bak bak ~		X	
		bak* nich ~, yaxal		X	
	chi'il ~	chi'il ~, muk'tik		X	
	ijkal nich ~	i(j)k'al nich ~		X	
	n/lajt'il witz ~	lajt'il witz wa'mal		X	
		najt'il witz ~		X	
	tek'ben xojob	tek'ben xojob		X	
	tzajal nich(im) ~	tzajal nich(im) ~		X	X
	tzis nich(im) ~	tzis nich(im) ~		X	
	vach' te' ~	vach'(il) te'			X
xojob(ilix) ~	xojob(ilix) ~			X	
	xojob(ilix) ~, bik'tal			X	
	xojob(ilix) ~, tzajal			X	
xuch'il wamal	xuch'il (nich) wamal		X		
ya'al wamal	ya'al wamal		X		
yax(al) nich ~	yax(al) nich ~		X		
Cuphea hyssopifolia	bak nich ~	bak* nich ~, yaxal		X	
	mes te' ~	mes te' ~		X	
	sal pat te'	sal pat te'		X	
	-tomiyo-	tomiyo antivo			X
		tomiyo ch'o			X
		tomiyo ka'			X
	tzajal nich ~	tzajal nich(im) ~		X	
	tzib ~	tzib ~			X
	tzij chauk te'	tzij cha(w)uk te'		X	
	tzis nich	tzis nich(im) ~		X	
	tz'itz'op	tz'itz'op		X	
	unina(l) vomol	unina(l) vomol			X
	vach' te'	vach'(il) te'			X
	-xaxib ~ -	xaxib (te'/~)		X	
		xaxib (te'/~), yaxal		X	
xojobilix	xojob(ilix) ~, tzajal			X	
yax(al) nich ~	yax(al) nich ~		X	X	
Cuphea pinetorum	bak tux/s ~	bak tux/s ~		X	
	-bak* ~ -	bak natil		X	
		bak te' ~		X	
		bak* ~		X	
		bakix momol		X	
	ch'ulelal (nichim) ~	ch'ulelal (nichim) ~		X	
	mes te' ~	mes te' ~		X	
paj nich ~	paj nich ~			X	

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language	
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil
Cuphea pinetorum (cont.)	tzajal (nich) ~	tzajal ~ tzajal nich(im) ~	X	X
	tza'nel	tza'nel	X	
	tzoy leb vonon	tzoy leb vonon, mukil	X	
	-xojob(ilix)-	tzajal xojob/ub bilix ~, bik'tal xojob(ilix) ~	X	X
	xuch'il (nich) wamal	xuch'il (nich) wamal xuch'il (nich) wamal, tzajal xuch'il (nich) wamal, yaxal	X	X
	yax nich ~	yax(al) nich ~	X	
Dahlia imperialis	-ch'olib/m/p/w/v-	ch'olib/m/p/w/v (te'/~) ch'oliw yalel	X	X
	ne'ek ch'aj te' ~	ne'ek ch'aj te' ~	X	
	sera nichim wa'mal	sera nichim wa'mal	X	
Dalea leporina	k'okom ch'a	k'okom ch'a		X
	kulentu ~	kul {a/e}ntu ~ kul {a/e}ntu ~, yaxal	X	X
	lisom vomol	lisom/n vomol		X
	tzu(j)kum (nich) ~	tzu(j)kum (nich) ~ tzu(j)kum (nich) ~, yaxal	X	X
	xaxib ~	xaxib (te'/~)	X	
	yaxal nich ~	yax(al) nich ~	X	
	zotz' te'	s/tz/zotz' te'		X
Deppea grandiflora	akan te'	akan te', tzajal	X	
	bak tul	bak tul, yaxal		X
	ch'a* te' ~	ch'a* te' ~	X	
	ch'aj te'	ch'a* te' ~	X	
	k'anal nich te'	k'an(al) nich te'	X	
	kuj te'	kuj te', yaxal		X
	pek'ux te'	pek'ux te', yaxal		X
	pomos	pomos/x (te'), sakil		X
	sakil nich te'	sak(il) nich te'		X
	sikil te'	sikil te'		X
	te' mol	te' mol, yaxal		X
	te' pat	te' pat, yaxal		X
	tzajal nich te'	tzajal nich te'	X	
	tzontzon wamal	tzontzon wamal	X	
	tzotzil akan/kab te'	tzotz kab te', k'anal tzotzil akan te'	X	X
	tzotzil te'	tzotzil te'	X	
	yaxal (te') ~	yax(al) ~ yax(al) te' ~		X
	Diastatea micrantha	~ ch'o	~ ch'o, yaxal	
~ t'ul		~ t'ul, yaxal		X
~ uch		~ uch, yaxal		X
-bak- momol		bak ok momol bak* ~, yaxal		X

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language	
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil
Diastatea micrantha (cont.)	ichil ~	ichil ~	X	
	muy taj ~	mui(l) itaj ~		X
	pem k'ulub ~	pem k'ulub ~, bik'tal		X
	takin ch'iel	takin ch'iel	X	
	tan ~	tan ~	X	
	tuj momol	tuj momol, yaxal		X
	xelajtik ~	xelajtik te'/~		X
	ya'al wamal	ya'al wamal	X	
	yakan k'ulub ~	yakan k'ulub ~	X	
	yakan tuluk' ~	yakan tuluk' ~	X	
	yanal ni' tuy	yanal ni' tuy		X
	yax(al) (nich) ~	yax(al) ~ yax(al) nich ~	X X	X
	Dodonaea viscosa	bak/r sun te'	bak/r sun te'	X
ch'aj te'		ch'a* te' ~, tzajal ch'a* te' ~, yaxal	X X	
chikin chij ~		chikin chij ~, yaxal	X	
chik'in wamal		chik'in wamal, yaxal	X	
k'anal nich te'		k'an(al) ~ k'an(al) nich te', yaxal		X X
pepen (nich) te'		pepen (nich) te'		X
yaxal te'/~		yax(al) ~ yax(al) te' ~	X X	X
Drimys granadensis		chuch te'	chuch te'	X
	k'ox pikin te'	k'ox pikin te'	X	
	o'en te'	o'en te'	X	
	-on (te')-	on (te') on (te'), ch'in on (te'), tzajal on kon te'	X X X X	
	popiste	popiste		X
	yail te'	yail te'		X
	yok mut te'	yakan, yich'ak, yok mut (te'/~), tzajal	X	
	Dyssodia papposa	-in(a)jo-	inajo antivo injo ~ k'ox injo wa'mal lumil in(o)jo ~	
ke{l/r}em nichim		ke{l/r}em nichim		X
-kulentu-		kul{a/e}ntu ~ kul{a/e}ntu ch'o ~ kulentu chitam kulentu jos ~	X X X X	
-mantzania/o-		mantzana ~ mantzania ch'o mantzania ka' mantzania vomol		X X X X
tusus wamal		tusus wamal	X	

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language		
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil	
Dyssodia papposa (cont.)	-tzis/tz(tikal)-	tzis/tz(tikal) toj(tik)		X	
		tzitz ka'		X	
		tziz olol		X	
Epidendrum radicans	bak aj antivo	bak aj antivo		X	
	bikta tzajal ech	bikta tzajal ech		X	
	jutz'ep/up ~	jutz'ep/up ~	X		
	k'anal nich ~	k'an(al) nich ~	X	X	
	-lo'bol-	lo'bol ch'o		X	
		lo'bol t'ul		X	
	simaron tz'am te'	simaron tz'am te'	X		
	-tz'em{a/e}ni'-	krus tz'e{b/m}uni' ~ tz'em{a/e}ni' ~ tz'em{a/e}ni' ~, k'anal		X X X	
vale' antivo	vale' antivo		X		
Equisetum myriochaetum	kola kawayu	kola kawayu	X		
	n/we(j)ka' ~	nejka ~	X	X	
	tu(j)t ~	tu(j)t ~	X	X	
Erechtites valerianifolia	chikoria ~	chikoria ~, ch'in	X		
	-chi'ub/chi'o-	chi'ub/chi'o ~ chi'ub/chi'o ~, mukul chi'ub/chi'o ~, tzajal chi'ub/chi'o ~, yaxal kaxlan chiub tzotz it chiub	X X X X X	X 	
	ch'ix itaj ~	ch'ix itaj ~	X		
	putzil ~	putzil ~, tzajal		X	
	tuluk' ~	tuluk' te'/~		X	
	tzepen ch'o	tzepen ch'o		X	
	-tzepen on-	tzepen on ~ tzepen on ka'		X X	
	vaxajtik ~	va{x/ch'}ajtik ~		X	
	xel chikin wamal	xel chikin wamal	X		
	xelajtik ~	xelajtik te'/~		X	
	yaxal ~	yax(al) ~		X	
	Erigeron karwinskianus	(nich) ch'a* ~	ch'a* ~ ch'a* ~, sakil	X X	
		bajton wa'mal	bajton wa'mal	X	
		chin tak'in nich vomol	chin tak'in nich vomol		X
lisum vomol		lisom/n vomol		X	
mal ta vomol		mal ta vomol		X	
-mantzania ~ -		mantzania ch'o mantzania vomol		X X	
otox wamal		otox wamal	X		
rosa{d/r}io momol		rosa{d/r}io momol		X	
sak(il) (nich) ~		sak(al/il) ~ sak(al/il) nich ~ sak(al/il) nich ~, ch'in		X X X	

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language	
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil
Erigeron karwinskianus (cont.)	santa maria vomol	santa maria vomol		X
	ya'al wamal	ya'al wamal	X	
		ya'al wamal, sakil	X	
	yaxal nich ~	yax(al) nich ~	X	
Erodium moschatum	akux(a) ~	akux(a) ~		X
	bulja' ~	bulja' ~	X	
	ch'oliw ~	ch'olib/m/p/w/v (te'/~)	X	
	chuch pa(j) te' ~	chuch pa(j) te' ~	X	
	ichil ok ~	ichil ok ~	X	
	kaxlan makum ~	kaxlan makum ~	X	
	-kul {a/e}ntu-	kul {a/e}ntu ~		X
		kulentu chitam	X	
	lavux ~	lavux ~		X
	likirampa wamal	likirampa wamal, sakil	X	
	pa' te'	pa' te'	X	
	paj ni' vomol	paj ni' vomol		X
	-xulem-	xulem te'/~		X
	y-akuxa xulem		X	
yaxal ~	yax(al) ~		X	
Euphorbia graminea	~ chuch	~ chuch		X
	~ pot	~ pot, yaxal		X
	ch'ail pox	ch'ail pox te'/~		X
	k'am/n/b chu' ~	k'am/n/b chu' ~	X	X
	moj momol	moj momol, yaxal		X
	pojow(il) ~	pojow(il) (nich) ~	X	
	tzuy ~	tzuy (te'/~), sakal	X	
	yaxal ~	yax(al) ~		X
Fleischmannia pycnocephala	~ mut	~ mut, yaxal		X
	~ t'ul	~ t'ul, yaxal		X
	bakal te' ~	bajk'al te' ~	X	
	ch'a* te'/~	ch'a* te' ~		X
		ch'a* te' ~, sak(il/al)	X	
	chab(chab) ~	chab(chab) ~		X
		chab(chab) ~, mukil		X
	chi'il ~	ch(i)'il ~		X
	ik'al nich ~	i(j)k'al nich ~		X
	pij momol	pij momol, yaxal		X
	sak(il) nich ~	sak(al/il) nich ~	X	
	sik' sik' ~	sik' sik' ~, yaxal	X	
	xuch' momol	xuch' momol, mukil		X
	yaxal (nich) ~	yax(al) ~		X
		yax(al) nich ~		X
Fleischmanniopsis leucocephala	arizil nichim/n	arizil nichim/n	X	
	aros ~	ar(r)os (nich-im) ~	X	
	asasena vomol	asasena vomol		X
	-bak*- ~	bak te' ~	X	
	bakil pukuj ~		X	

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language	
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil
Fleischmanniopsis leucocephala (cont.)	ch'a* ~	ch'a* ~ ch'a* ~, sakil	X	X
	ch'a'al bak te' wamal	ch'a'al bak te' wamal	X	
	chi'il ~	chi'il ~, bik'tal		X
	chikin chij ~	chikin chij ~, sakil	X	
	ch'ixol/al nich ~	ch'ix(j)ol/al nich ~, sakil	X	
	k'ak'emal	k'ak'emal		X
	k'an te'	k'an(al) te', yaxal		X
	k'oj te'	k'oj te', yaxal		X
	majbenal ~	majbenal ~		X
	nich ya'al wamal	nich ya'al wamal, sakil	X	
	nichim chij ~	nichim chij ~		X
	pak' momol	pak' momol, yaxal		X
	sak(il) nich ~	sak(al/il) nich ~	X	X
	-tul nichim ka'-	tul nichim ka' vixil tul nichim ka'		X X
	tut ka' momol	tut ka' momol		X
	yaxal ~	yax(al) ~		X
	yutz'in jtotik me'tik	yutz'in jtotik me'tik		X
	Fuchsia microphylla	~ ch'o	~ ch'o ~ ch'o, yaxal	
~ katu		~ katu		X
bak te' ~		bak te' ~		X
ch'ix ~		ch'ix ~, sakal	X	
k'axem ton ~		k'axem ton ~	X	
k'ib		k'ib		X
mentaroxa		mentaroxa		X
nantz'il ~		nantz/lantzin		X
tza' nich wamal		tza' nich wamal	X	
tzajal nich ~		tzajal nich(im) ~ tzajal nich(im) ~, bik'tal	X	X
vixil ch'ulelal		vixil ch'ulelal		X
xojobilix ~		xojob(ilix) ~		X
yaxal ~		yax(al) ~		X
yaxal nich ~		yax(al) nich ~	X	X
Fuchsia paniculata	atinel nich te	atinel nich te, tzajal	X	
	atz'am nichim	atz'am nichim		X
	k'or(k)ox/k'oxox/k'os te'/~	k'ol/r(k)ox/k'oxox te' k'ol/r(k)ox/k'oxox te', tzajal k'os (nichim) ~	X X	X X
	pay te'	pay te' pay te', sakil pay te', tzajal	X X X	
	tzajal nich ~	tzajal nich(im) ~	X	
	yakan ~	yakan ~		X
	Fuchsia splendens	batz' momol	batz' momol	
kampana nich(im) ~		kampana (nich*) te'/~	X	

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language		
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil	
Fuchsia splendens (cont.)		kampana (nich*) te'/~, tzajal	X		
	k'anal nich ~	k'an(al) nich ~	X		
	kenya ~	kenya ~		X	
	-lo'bol-	lobol ~ lo'bol ch'o		X X	
	marabiya ~	marabiya ~ marabiya ~, tzajal	X X		
	max te' ~	max te' ~		X	
	ok/akan ~	ok/akan ~, tzajal	X		
	-paj nich-	paj nich ~ paj nich te'		X X	
	patz' (te') ~	patz' (te') ~		X	
	rimon ~	(pi)rimon ~, bik'tal		X	
	tzajal nich(im) ~	tzajal nich(im) ~	X	X	
	yaxal nich ~	yax(al) nich ~	X		
	Galphimia glauca	k'anal nich te'/~	k'an(al) nich ~ k'an(al) nich te'	X X	X
korkox [sic] nich te'		korkox [sic] nich te', kanal	X		
rosalia ~		rosalia ~, (santa)	X		
Garrya laurifolia	ik'al te'	ik'al te'		X	
	kampor wa'mal	kampor wa'mal	X		
	k'oxok te'	k'oxok te'	X		
	mil mut te'	mil mut te'	X		
	mutut te'	mutut te'	X		
	ok te'	ok te', i(j)k'al	X		
	sera/tz'ara o(j)k'otz' te'	sera/tz'ara o(j)k'otz' te'	X		
	tza' k'orok te'	tza' k'orok te'	X		
	v/winik (te')	v/winik te' v/winik te', ijk'il/al	X X	X X	
Gaudichaudia albida	~ chuch	~ chuch		X	
	bak ~	bak* ~		X	
	k'anal nich te'/ak'/~	k'an(al) nich ~ k'an(al) nich ak' ~ k'an(al) nich te'	X X X	X X	
	kokom (ak')	kokom (ak') kokom (ak'), tzajal	X X		
	kuj	kuj, k'anal nich		X	
	-paj nich-	paj nich ~ paj nich k'ox		X X	
	s/tzop (te')	s/tzop (te') s/tzop (te'), k'anal s/tzop (te'), sakil	X X X		
	tzotz nich wamal	tzotz(il) nich wamal, k'anal	X		
	wach'ul ak'	wa(j)ch'(ul) ak'	X		
	yuch' te' mol	yuch' (te') mol		X	
	Gaultheria odorata	aj(a/is) tres/te' {is/es/il} ~	aj(a/is) tres/te' {is/es/il} ~	X	X
		-chawaj ak'/te'-	chawai te'	X	

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language		
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil	
Gaultheria odorata (cont.)		lumil chawaj ak'	X		
	ja'as te'es	ja'as te'(es)		X	
	tzo' vet ~	tzo' vet ~		X	
Geranium seemanii	akan ~	ok/akan ~, tzajal		X	
	-akux(a) ~ -	akux(a) ~ y-akuxa xulem		X X	
	ichil ok ~	ichil ok ~, sakil	X		
	jol tomol ch'ix	jol tomol ch'ix, sak		X	
	kaxlan makum ~	kaxlan makum ~	X		
	kutz' tz'ujul ~	kuch'/ku(j)tz' tz'ujul ~ kuch'/ku(j)tz' tz'ujul ~, muk'tik		X X	
	me' winik' wamal (poxil)	me' winik' wamal (poxil)	X		
	pox ~	pox ~, tzajal	X		
	s-tz'ulum ~	s-tz'u(j)lem ~, mukul	X		
	tzajal nich(im) ~	tzajal nich(im) ~	X		
	tzukut vomol	tzukut vomol		X	
	uk'um wamal	uk'um wamal, tzajal	X		
	xel chikin wamal	xel chikin wamal	X		
	xe'nenil wa'mal	xe'nenil wa'mal	X		
	xi'el ~	xi'el ~		X	
Hamelia patens	bo(j)t'em at te'/~	bo(j)t'em at te'/~	X		
	ch'a* te' ~	ch'a* te' ~ ch'a* te' ~, tzajal	X X		
	ichi k'ono	ichi k'ono		X	
	ik'al ~	ik'al ~		X	
	ni' k'ax	ni' k'ax, yaxal		X	
	paj nich te'	paj nich te', ik'al		X	
	pat k'o te'	pat k'o te'		X	
	pom te' ka'	pom te' ka', ik'al		X	
	te' mut	te' mut, ik'al		X	
	tzajal nich te'/~	tzajal nich te' tzajal nich(im) ~	X X		
	votz' nich momol	votz' nich momol		X	
	yaxal ~	yax(al) ~		X	
	Helianthemum glomeratum	jamal ~	jamal ~ jamal ~, mukul	X X	
		k'anal nich te'/~	k'an(al) nich ~ k'an(al) nich te'	X X	
		k'u(j)k'ul jamal	k'u(j)k'ul jamal k'u(j)k'ul jamal, yisim	X X	
pata (de) paloma		yakan [pata] paloma ~		X	
pukuj vomol		pukuj vomol		X	
satil ~		satil ~, poxil		X	
takin te'		takin te'	X		
tan bak wamal		tan bak wamal	X		
tan tan ~		tan tan ~		X	
-vach/wa(j)ch'-		lumil wajch' te'	X		

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language	
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil
Helianthemum glomeratum (cont.)		vach' t'ul ~		X
		vach'(il) ~		X
		vach'(il) te'		X
		wa(j)ch'(ul) te'/~, ch'in	X	
		wa(j)ch'(ul) te'/~, k'anal	X	
	wach' wach' ~		X	
Hibiscus uncinellus	ch'ix tzukum te'	ch'ix tzukum te'		X
	ch'ix* ak'/~	ch'ix ~	X	
		ch'ix(j)ol/al ak' ~	X	X
	ch'ox ak'	ch'ox ak'	X	
	ichil ak'	ichil/ul ak'		X
	nichim uch	nichim uch		X
	tan saran (nichim) te'/~	tan saran te'/~		X
	tul pan	tul pan	X	
	ulil/ul chikin wamal	ulil/ul chikin wamal	X	
Holodiscus argenteus	ch'ixil (te')	ch'ixil (te')	X	
		ch'ixil (te'), k'anal	X	
		ch'ixil (te'), tzajal	X	
	pomos (te')	pomos/x (te')		X
		pomos/x (te'), tzajal		X
	sal pat te'	sal pat te'	X	
	takin ch'iel	takin ch'iel	X	
Hyptis mutabilis	bakal nich ~	bak* nich ~	X	
	chan tzel ok ~	chan tzel ok ~	X	
	ik'al ~	ik'al ~		X
	-pom tz'unun-	p/vom tz'unun, ik'al		X
		pom tz'unun ka'		X
	putzil ~	putzil ~		X
	vach'ajtik ~	va {x/ch'} ajtik ~		X
	-w/voch'ol-	w/voch'ol ~, bik'tal		X
		w/voch'ol ~, yaxal	X	
		w/voch'ol ok/akan ~	X	X
		w/voch'ol ok/akan ~, bik'tal		X
	w/voch'ol ok/akan ~, ijkal	X		
	w/voch'ol ok/akan ~, tzajal	X		
	w/voch'ol ok/akan ~, yaxal	X		
	yax(al) nich ~	yax(al) nich ~	X	
Hyptis urticoides	bak ~	bak* ~		X
	bak ~ uk'	bak ~ uk'		X
	chan tzel ok ~	chan tzel ok ~	X	
	ijkal nich ~	i(j)k'al nich ~	X	
	jolal vomol	jolal vomol, poxil		X
	majbenal ~	majbenal ~		X
		majbenal ~, bik'tal		X
	nich antarex	nich antarex		X
	pak chak	pa(j) x-ch(i)ak (te'/~), muk'tik		X
pit momol	pit momol		X	

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language Tzeltal Tzotzil		
Hyptis urticoides (cont.)	tzoy nich momol	tzoy nich momol		X	
	-woch'ol-	w/voch'ol ~ w/voch'ol ok/akan ~ w/voch'ol ok/akan ~, ijk'al w/voch'ol ok/akan ~, tzajal	X X X X		
	yaxal nich ~	yax(al) nich ~	X		
	y-uch' max	y-uch' max		X	
	arroz nich wa'mal	ar(r)os (nich-im) ~	X		
	bak nich ~	bak* nich ~, sak(il/al)	X		
Iresine celosia	chaka y-akan ~	chaka y-akan ~		X	
	ch'oliw ~	ch'olib/m/p/w/v (te'/~)	X		
	k'asel vomol	~al k'asemal k'asel vomol		X X	
	ma(j)kal ok/akan ~	ma(j)kal/ul ok/akan ~	X		
	mak wamal	mak wamal	X		
	-paloma ~-	paloma ~ yakan [pata] paloma ~		X X	
	po(j)tzol/al ok/akan wamal	po(j)tzol/al ok/akan wamal	X		
	sakil (nich) vomol	sak(al/il) ~ sak(al/il) nich ~		X X	
	tzelepat ~	tzele/tzelek/tzelopat (te'/~)		X	
	wa(j) k'ul ik'/t wamal	wa(j) k'ul ik'/t wamal	X		
	Kearnemalvastrum lacteum	~ chitom	~ chitom		X
		~ ch'o	~ ch'o		X
ch'ixal ak'		ch'ix(j)ol/al ak' ~		X	
ch'oj chak'		ch'oj chak'		X	
marmax/malwax/malva ~/ak'		marmax/malwax/malva ~/ak' marmax/malwax/malva ~/ak', sakil	X X		
mol ak'		mol/al (ak'/~) mol/al (ak'/~), sakil	X X		
obal (te')		obal (te'), poxil		X	
pak chak ~		pa(j) x-ch(i)ak (te'/~) pa(j) x-ch(i)ak (te'/~), muk'tik		X X	
-tan saran-		tan saran ch'o momol tan saran kuj tan saran te'/~		X X X	
tas ch'o ~		tas ch'o ~		X	
tumin chij ak'		tumin chij ak'	X		
tzaltzal mes		tzaltzal mes, sakil	X		
Kohleria elegans		chab ~	chab(chab) ~		X
		k'anal nich ~	k'an(al) nich ~		X
		-paj nich-	paj nich ~ paj nich k'an		X X
	pom tz'unun	p/vom tz'unun p/vom tz'unun, bik'tal		X X	
	tzajal nich ~	tzajal nich(im) ~	X	X	
	tz'al nich ~	tz'al(tz'al) (nich) te'/~	X		

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language		
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil	
Kohleria elegans (cont.)	wach'ul te'/~	wa(j)ch'(ul) te'/~	X		
Lagascea helianthifolia	chikin buro	ch'ikin bur(r)o/u te'/~		X	
	jalam te'	jalam te', yax		X	
	k'atun momol	k'atun momol, mukil		X	
	k'ob te'	k'ob te', yaxal		X	
	k'oxox te'/~	k'ol/r(k)ox/k'oxox te'	X		
	papan te' ~	papan te' ~		X	
	pom te' ka'	pom te' ka', yaxal		X	
	puj ~	puj ~, yaxal		X	
	san	san		X	
	sikil ~	sikil ~		X	
	so(j) wamal	so(j) wamal	X		
	sun	sun (te'/~)		X	
	tzelopat	tzelopat, antzil		X	
	vixil on te' t'ul	vixil on te' t'ul		X	
	yaxlan te'	yaxlan te'		X	
	Lamourouxia longiflora	~ tut	~ tut, ik'al		X
akan ~		ok/akan ~, tzajal		X	
i(j)k'al (nich) ~		i(j)k'al nich ~ ik'al ~	X	X	
ij kanal nich wamal		ij kanal nich wamal	X		
k'on te'		k'on te', ik'al		X	
lisom/n vomol		lisom/n vomol		X	
mol ~		mol/al (ak'/~), yaxal		X	
-paj nich-		baj paj nich te'/~ paj nich ~ paj nich ~, tzajal paj nich poy		X X X X	
takin wamal		takin wamal, tzajal	X		
tza' nich wamal		tza' nich wamal	X		
tzajal nich ~		tzajal nich(im) ~	X		
vach' ~		vach'(il) ~		X	
xuch'il nich wamal		xuch'il (nich) wamal, tzajal	X		
Lantana camara		bak te' pox	bak te' pox	X	
		ch'a* ~	ch'a* ~	X	
		ch'a* bakal ~	ch'a* bakal ~	X	
	ch'il ch'il wa(j)ch'	ch'il ch'il wa(j)ch'	X		
	ch'il(i) (te') v/wet ~	ch'il(i) (te') v/wet ~ ch'il(i) (te') v/wet ~, bik'tal ch'il(i) (te') v/wet ~, tzajal	X X X	X	
	nekeb vet	nekeb vet		X	
	tzajal nich ~	tzajal nich(im) ~		X	
	yaxal nich ~	yax(al) nich ~	X		
Lantana hispida	-ch'il ch'il wa(j)ch'-	ch'il ch'il wa(j)ch', sakal keremal ch'ilch'il wajch' simaron ch'ich'il wajch'	X X X		
	ch'il(i) (te') v/wet ~	ch'il(i) (te') v/wet ~		X	

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language Tzeltal Tzotzil
Lantana hispida (cont.)		ch'il(i) (te') v/wet ~, bik'tal	X
		ch'il(i) (te') v/wet ~, ijk'al	X
		ch'il(i) (te') v/wet ~, mukil	X
		ch'il(i) (te') v/wet ~, sakil	X
		ch'il(i) (te') v/wet ~, tzajal	X X
		ch'ilvet tzoj	X
	ijk'al nich ~	i(j)k'al nich ~	X
	sit ~	sit te'/~, i(j)k'al	X
	tzajal nich ~	tzajal nich(im) ~	X
	xaxib te'	xaxib (te'/~)	X
Lepechinia schiedeana	"diarrhea"	[diarrhea], poxil	X
	ch'a'al ~	ch'a* ~	X
	chaba' tzemen wamal	chaba' tzemen wamal	X
	ch'ixal nich ~	ch'ix(j)ol/al nich ~	X
	-chuch paj te'-	chuch pa(j) te' ~ lumil chuch paj te'	X X
	k'orchoch wamal	k'orchoch wamal	X
	machit te'	machit te'	X
	mantzana ~	mantzana ~	X
	nabilix ~	nabilix ~	X
	saba(l) tz'unun	saba(l) tz'unun, muk'ul	X
	satab ~	satab ~/ak'	X
	tan ~	tan ~, mukul	X
	tzok tzok wamal	tzok tzok wamal	X
	tzotzil ~	tzotz(il) ~	X
	yaxal (nich) ~	yax(al) ~ yax(al) nich ~	X X
Lepidium virginicum	anix (te') ~	anix (te') ~	X
	bak nich ~	bak* nich ~ bak* nich ~, sak(il/al)	X X
	jamal ~	jamal ~, sak	X
	k'ajk'an ~	k'a(j)ka(a)n/koko(o)n ~	X
	k'anal nich ~	k'an(al) nich ~	X
	kulentu ~	kul {a/e}ntu ~	X
	-pich'-	pich' ~ pich' tuluk' ~	X X
	pitz' vomol	pitz' vomol	X
	sak(il) nich ~	sak(al/il) nich ~	X
	Lippia chiapasensis	jotz'(otz') (te')	jotz'(otz') (te'/ak'/~)
pis(is)/pixko/p {e/i} xol/pechjo(l) nich (te')		pis(is) (nich) te'/~ pixko/p {e/i} xol/pechjo(l) nich (te')	X X
Lippia substrigosa	bak te' ~	bak te' ~, sak(al)	X
	chuch paj te'	chuch pa(j) te' ~	X
	-jotz'(otz')-	jotz' te' ch'o jotz'(otz') (te'/ak'/~)	X X
	pis(is)/pixko/p {e/i} xol/pechjo(l) nich (te')	pis(is) (nich) te'/~ pixko/p {e/i} xol/pechjo(l) nich (te')	X X
			X

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language Tzeltal Tzotzil
Lippia substrigosa (cont.)	ta'bol te'	ta'to'bol (te'), sakal/il	X
	vol nich te'	vol nich te'	X
Liquidambar styraciflua	lupup te'	lupup te'	X
	so'/{s/tz/z}otz' te'	s/tz/zotz' te' so' te' so'/{s/tz/z}otz' te'	X X X
	tzo(n) te' vomol	tzo(n) te' vomol	X
	xelajtik ~	xelajtik te'/~	X
Litsea glaucescens	-poxal me'tik-	poxal me'tik, tzajal poxal me'tik, yaxal tojol poxal me'tik	X X X
	tzij uch	tzij uch (te')	X
	tzil tzi(l) ujch (te')	tzil tzi(l) ujch (te')	X
	tziz/s uch	tziz/s uch	X
Litsea neesiana	poxal me'tik	poxal me'tik poxal me'tik, tzajal	X X
	tzij uch (te')	tzij uch (te')	X
	tzil tzi(l) ujch	tzil tzi(l) ujch (te')	X
	tziz/s uch	tziz/s uch	X
Llavea cordifolia	bau' vomol	bau' vomol	X
	ch'ix ~	ch'ix ~, tzajal	X
	chocho nich ~	chocho (nich) ~	X
	ik'al ~	ik'al ~	X
	komel vomol	komel vomol	X
	lisom vomol	lisom/n vomol	X
	paj nich ~	paj nich ~ paj nich ~, ik'aj	X X
	romero ~	romero ~, tzajal	X
	tan ~	tan ~	X
	tojol ch'in nichim wa'mal	tojol ch'in nichim wa'mal	X
	tuxnuk' ~	tuxnuk' ~	X
	tzajal (nich) ~	tzajal ~ tzajal nich(im) ~	X X
	xuch'il wamal	xuch'il (nich) wamal xuch'il (nich) wamal, tzajal	X X
	yaxal nich ~	yax(al) nich ~	X
	Lobelia laxiflora	(pi)rimon ~	(pi)rimon ~ (pi)rimon ~, sakil
espenesiya		espenesiyo/a ~	X
k'anal nich ~		k'an(al) nich ~	X
l/yoko(m) nich		l/yokom nich	X
paj nich ~		paj nich ~	X
pame/peneyat ~		pame/panayat ~	X
prima na(j)k' ~		prima najk' ~ prima najk' ~, tzajal	X X
sabal tz'unun		saba(l) tz'unun	X
tur {i/e} sna ~		turasn {a/o}/turisno/tulesna (te'/~)	X

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language Tzeltal Tzotzil	
Lobelia laxiflora (cont.)	tzajal nich(im) ~	tzajal nich(im) ~	X	X
	tz'emani' ~	tz'em{a/e}ni' ~		X
Loeselia glandulosa	bak ~ tut	bak ~ tut		X
	bak kaj tz'ujul momol	bak kaj tz'ujul momol		X
	-bak* ~ -	bak bak ~ bak* ~ bak* nich ~, yaxal	X	X
	espenesiyo/a ~	espenesiyo/a ~	X	
	ik'al te'	ik'al te'		X
	-kuj tz'ujul-	kuch'/ku(j)tz' tz'ujul ~ vixil kuj tz'ujul vixil kuj tz'ujul ka'		X X X
	tzukut vomol	tzukut vomol		X
	uran nich ~	u{l/r}an (nich) ~, yax(al)		X
	wajch'ul ~	wa(j)ch'(ul) te'/~, ch'in	X	
	yax(al) nich ~	yax(al) nich ~	X	
	Lopezia racemosa	bach' te vomol	bach' te vomol	
bak ~		bak* ~, tzajal		X
ch'ilivet		ch'ilivet, antzil		X
o'al ~		o'al ~	X	
tzajal nich ~		tzajal nich(im) ~	X	
-tz'oban-		tutin tz'oban wamal tz'oban nich ~, tzajal tz'oban(il) (ak'/~)	X X X	
vol nich ~		b/vol nich ~ b/vol nich ~, tzajal		X X
yakan bilix vomol		yakan bilix vomol		X
yaubel wamal		yaubel wamal	X	
yaxal ~		yax(al) ~		X
Ludwigia peruviana	chakal ~	chakal ~, poxil		X
	kampam te' momol	kampam te' momol		X
	k'an(al) nich te'/~	k'an(al) nich ~ k'an(al) nich te'	X	X X
	sak' mes	sak' mes, antzil		X
	tzotz nich wamal	tzotz(il) nich wamal, k'anal	X	
	wariwana	wariwana	X	
Lycopersicon esculentum	-chichol-	chichol ~ chichol ~, bik'tal chichol ~, tzajal tzajal chichol ~, bik'tal		X X X X
	ichil ok ~	ichil ok ~	X	
	tzail tumat	tzail tumat	X	
	tzajal ~	tzajal ~, bik'tal		X
Malvaviscus arboreus	al{f/p}eres nichim	al{f/p}eres nichim		X
	ch'ich ni' te'	ch'ich ni' te'/~		X
	ch'ixol/al ak' ~	ch'ix(j)ol/al ak' ~ ch'ix(j)ol/al ak' ~, tzajal	X X	X X

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language	
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil
Malvaviscus arboreus (cont.)	mantzana te'	mantzana te' mantzana te', ch'in	X X	
	nich pok'il te'/~	nich pok'il te'/~		X
	stzotz' te'	s/tz/zotz' te'	X	
	tulipan	tulipan		X
	tunin chij ak'	tunin chij ak'	X	
	tzajal nich ak' ~	tzajal nich ak' ~	X	
	tz'oban(il) (ak'/~)	tz'oban(il) (ak'/~)	X	X
Melanthera nivea	[food of] buluk' sit ~	[food of] buluk' sit ~ [food of] buluk' sit ~, tzajal	X X	
	bakal nich to'bol wa'mal	bakal nich to'bol wa'mal	X	
	ch'aj ~	ch'a* ~		X
	ch'al nich wamal	ch'al nich wamal, k'anal	X	
	ch'am te'	ch'am te'		X
	chan tzel ok ~	chan tzel ok ~	X	
	ch'ix ~	ch'ix ~, yax(al)	X	
	jotz' ~	jotz'(otz') (te'/ak'/~), yaxal		X
	ka'	ka', yaxal		X
	k'anal nich ~	k'an(al) nich ~	X	
	-k'ob ~ -	k'ob ~, yaxal yanal k'ob vomol		X X
	majbenal ~	majbenal ~		X
	matas ka' ~	matas ka' ~		X
	pom momol	pom momol, yaxal		X
	saju'	saju' ~		X
	sak(il) nich ~	sak(al/il) nich ~	X	
	sikil ~	sikil ~	X	
	tzoy pom	tzoy pom		X
	vach' te' ~	vach'(il) te'		X
	vol nich ~	b/vol nich ~		X
yaxal (nich) ~	yax(al) ~ yax(al) nich ~	X X	X	
Melilotus alba	-ch'a(j)ben-	ch'a(j) b{e/i}n ~ ne'ek ch'aben	X X	
	chenek' mut te'	chenek' mut te'/~	X	
	-kulentu- ~	kul{a/e}ntu ~ kulentu tz'i' ~	X X	
	lajtam/ta(j)ta {m/n(in)} wamal	lajtam wamal tajtam/n ~ tatamin, tzajal	X X	X
	tan abnal wamal	tan abnal wamal	X	
	tuil ab'nal	tuil ab'nal		X
	tul ~	tul ~		X
	ve'el t'ul ~	ve'el t'ul ~		X
	yaxal ~	yax(al) ~		X
	Melilotus indica	-ch'a(j) b{e/i}n ~ -	ch'a(j) b{e/i}n ~ ch'abin toro wamal	X X

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language		
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil	
Melilotus indica (cont.)	chenek' mut ~	chenek' mut te'/~	X		
	ch'ok	ch'ok, poxil		X	
	k'an(al) nich ~	k'an(al) nich ~	X		
	-kulentu-	kul{a/e}ntu ~ kulentu chitam	X X		
	takin wach' wamal	takin wach' wamal	X		
	takin wamal	takin wamal	X		
	ve'el t'ul ~	ve'el t'ul ~		X	
	yanal ~	yanal ~		X	
	yaxal ~	yax(al) ~		X	
Miconia mexicana	akan te'	akan te', i(j)k'al	X		
	ch'il te'	ch'il (ch'il) te'		X	
	k'an(al) (nich) te'	k'an(al) nich te' k'an(al) te'	X X		
	la' te' ~	la' te' ~	X		
	muy te'	muy te', k'anal		X	
	patax momol	patax momol, mukil		X	
	-pay te'-	pay te', yaxal tzajal pay (te'), mukul tzajal pay (te'), tzajal	X X X		
	pem chitom (te')	pem chitom (te') pem chitom (te'), ik'al pem chitom (te'), tzajal	X X X		
	tilil ja' ~	tilil ja' ~, ijk'il	X		
	tza' mut te'	tza' mut te', ijkal	X		
	xon te'	xon te'		X	
	yanal poch	yanal poch		X	
	Micropleura renifolia	~(al) vo'	~(al) vo'		X
		aljel lumil wa'mal	aljel lumil wa'mal	X	
-bikil wamal-		bikil ch'o wamal bikil chuch wamal	X X		
k'an(al) ~		k'an(al) ~		X	
kerem vomol		kerem vomol		X	
kuch tz'ujul ~		kuch'/ku(j)tz' tz'ujul ~	X		
lot' bak' (pox) ~		lot' bak' (pox) ~	X		
marmax		marmax/malwax/malva ~/ak'	X		
-nab-		mak mak nab ~ nich nab ~	X X		
piolete wa'mal		piolete wa'mal	X		
sepajtik vomol		sepajtik vomol		X	
sikil ~		sikil ~	X		
yaxal ~		yax(al) ~		X	
yel vomol		yel vomol		X	
Mimosa albida		chik' ch'ix ~	chik' ch'ix ~ chik' ch'ix ~, sakil	X X	
		lotz'om/p/b ch'ix/j ~	lotz'om/p/b ch'ix/j		X
	o(i)tz'el ch'ix	o(i)tz'el ch'ix	X		

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language		
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil	
Mimosa albida (cont.)	sip ~	sip ~		X	
	tzotz(il) ~	tzotz(il) ~		X	
	xi'el ~	xi'el ~		X	
Monnina xalapensis	(pi/ni/s)tz'otz' te'	ni' tz'otz' te' pitz'otz s/tz/zotz' te'	X X	 X	
	chipon/p te'	chipon/p te'	X		
	pen akan momol	pen akan momol		X	
	tzij chawuk te'	tzij cha(w)uk te'		X	
	tz'oban te'	tz'oban te'		X	
	xaxib te'	xaxib (te'/~)		X	
	Myrica cerifera	ch'a* te' ~	ch'a* te' ~ ch'a* te' ~, sak(il/al)	X X	
chabek' te'		chabek' te'	X		
-kolol/alal te'-		ch'a(j) kolol te', yisim ch'a(j) kolol/alal te'/~ k'ol(o) max te' k'olol te'	X X X X		
satin (te')		satin (te')		X	
sera te'		sera te'		X	
winik te'		w/winik te', ik'il		X	
Nicotiana tabacum		-m{a/o}y-	ana(l) moy, yax m{a/o}y m{a/o}y te' m{a/o}y te', tzajal m{a/o}y, tzajal m{a/o}y, yaxal yabenal may yanal moy	 X X X X X	 X X
		yanal anjel	yanal anjel		X
	Ocimum micranthum	-a{l/r}bajaka ~ -	a{l/r}va(ja)ka ~ simaron (nich) a{l/r}bajaka ~		X X
		ch'ich' wamal	ch'ich' wamal		X
		ch'ichol ch'o	ch'ichol ch'o		X
		chuvaj ~	chuvaj(il) ~		X
		ichil ok ~	ichil ok ~		X
		k'ak'et ~	k'a(j)k'et ~		X
		k'anal nich te'/~	k'an(al) nich ~ k'an(al) nich te'	X X	
-muil-		muil ~ muil ~, yaxal muil pom momol		X X X	
ob ~		ob ~		X	
tz'al (nich) te'/~		tz'al(tz'al) (nich) te'/~		X	
uskum ~		uskum te'/~		X	
worox nich wamal		worox nich wamal		X	
yak' tz'i' ~		yo'ak' tz'i' ~		X	

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language Tzeltal Tzotzil	
Ocimum micranthum (cont.)	yaxal ~	yax(al) ~	X	
Ocimum selloi	arvajaka ~	a{l/r}va(ja)ka ~	X	
	ch'a'al ~	ch'a* ~	X	
	-chitam-	bakel chitam ~		X
		bakel yakan chitam, ijkal		X
		chitam wamal		X
		yok', yakan chitom ~		X
	ik'al ~	ik'al ~	X	
	jolom wamal	jolom wamal, yax	X	
	-muil- ~	muil ~		X
		muil ~, yaxal		X
		muil momol ch'o		X
	pajal	pajal, yaxal	X	
	puj ~	puj ~, yaxal	X	
	san mikel ~	san mikel ~	X	
	tza'los wamal	tza'los wamal	X	
	tzop	tzop, yaxal	X	
	uch momol	uch momol, yax	X	
xulem te'/~	xulem te'/~	X		
yakan k'ulub ~	yakan k'ulub ~, muk'ul	X		
Oenothera rosea	apun(al) ~	apun(al) ~	X	
	bak nich ~	bak* nich ~, yaxal	X	
	elan nich vomol	elan nich vomol, yax	X	
	k'ak'el ~	k'ajk'el ~, poxil	X	
	k'ux jolal	k'ux jolal	X	
	naktzajel vomol	naktzajel vomol	X	
	sikil ~	sikil ~	X	
	tan ~	tan ~	X	
	tek'ben xojob	tek'ben xojob	X	
	tzajal nich ~	tzajal nich(im) ~	X	
	tzo' sat momol	tzo' sat momol	X	
	xi'el ~	xi'el ~	X	
	yanal nich vomol	yanal nich vomol	X	
	yax(al) nich ~	yax(al) nich ~	X X	
Oreopanax xalapensis	chik'in burro te'	ch'ikin bur(r)o/u te'/~	X	
	-chuch te'-	chikin chuch te'	X	
		chuch te'	X	
		wajtan chuch te'	X	
	tu'kil te'	tu'kil te'	X	
	warumba te'	warumba te'	X	
	yakan, yich'ak, yok mut (te'/~)	yakan, yich'ak, yok mut (te'/~)	X X	
yek'ech mut te'	yek'ech mut te'	X		
Oxalis corniculata	bak ~	bak* ~	X	
	-ch'akiw-	ch'akiw wamal	X	
		ch'akiw wamal, tzajal	X	
		kaxlan ch'akiw	X	
ichil ok ~	ichil ok ~, sakil	X		

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language		
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil	
Oxalis corniculata (cont.)	kenya ~	kenya ~ kenya ~, bik'tal		X X	
	ok ~	ok/akan ~, tzajal	X		
	paj ul ~	pa(j) ul(ul) (te'/~)		X	
	pajal ~	pajal ~		X	
	pajch'el pul y-ok	pajch'el pul y-ok	X		
	s-tz'u(j)lem ~	s-tz'u(j)lem ~	X		
	tzukut vomol	tzukut vomol		X	
Parathesis chiapensis	-am{o/u}ch- ~	am{o/u}ch ~ bak* am{o/u}ch ~ tzo'amuch		X X X	
	ch'ail momol	ch'a* ~		X	
	k'anal nich te'/~	k'an(al) nich ~ k'an(al) nich te'		X X	
	may te'	m{a/o}y te'	X		
	nich toy	nich toy, k'anal		X	
	tilil ja' ~	tilil ja' ~ tilil ja' ~, sakal/il tilil ja' ~, tzajal	X X X	X	
	xu' te'	xu' te', k'an		X	
	yaxal ~	yax(al) ~		X	
	Perymenium ghiesbreghtii	bajk'al te' ~	bajk'al te' ~	X	
bak te' ~		bak te' ~, k'anal	X		
ch'ail (pox) te'/~		ch'a* ~ ch'ail pox te'/~		X X	
ch'oliw te'		ch'olib/m/p/w/v (te'/~)	X		
k'an(al) (nich) te'/~		k'an(al) nich ~ k'an(al) nich te' k'an(al) te', mukil	X X X	X	
k'ox top'ol		k'ox top'ol, nich	X		
k'oxox te'/~		k'ol/r(k)ox/k'oxox te' k'ox/ch te' ~, ijk'al		X X	
majt'isil te'		majt'isil te'	X		
obal (te')		obal (te'), poxil		X	
pom te'		pom te' pom te', bik'tal pom te', mukil		X X X	
uskum (nich) te'/~		uskum te'/~ uskum te'/~, k'anal	X X		
Phaseolus coccineus		bok	bok		X
		-botil-	botil botil chenek' ne'ek botil yanal botil		X X X X
	chuil chenek'	chuil chenek'	X		
	p'otil	p'otil		X	

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language	
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil
Phyllanthus grandifolius	ch'a* te'/~	ch'a* ~, yax(al)	X	
		ch'a* te' ~	X	
		ch'a* te' ~, muk'ul	X	
	-chuch te'-	on chuch te'	X	
		pom chuch te'	X	
	ik'al te'	ik'al te'		X
	ja'as te'	ja'as te'(es)	X	
	k'an ol te'	ol (te'), k'an(al)		X
	k'ol/r(k)ox/k'oxox te'/~	k'ol/r(k)ox/k'oxox te'	X	X
		k'ol/r(k)ox/k'oxox te', tzajal	X	
	max te' ~	max te' ~		X
	-oven-	oven antivo		X
		oven ch'o		X
		oven chuch (te')		X
oven ka'			X	
tuil ~	tuil ~	X		
tzajal te'	tzajal te'	X		
tzotz nich te'	tzotz nich te'	X		
Phyllanthus niruri	~ ch'o	~ ch'o, yaxal		X
	bak (bak) ~	bak bak ~	X	
		bak* ~, sakil	X	
	ch'a bakal ~	ch'a* bakal ~	X	
	ch'a'al ~	ch'a* ~	X	
	ch'ak te'	ch'ak te'		X
	-k'an te'-	k'an(al) te'		X
		k'an(al) te', sakal	X	
		ya'benal kante'	X	
	kuch kuch itz'in	kuch kuch itz'in		X
	paj ul	pa(j) ul(ul) (te'/~)		X
	-vax (te')-	vax (te') antivo		X
		vax te' ka'		X
xaxib ~	xaxib (te'/~)	X		
yaxal ~	yax(al) ~		X	
yaxib ~	yaxib ~	X		
Phytolacca icosandra	j'op	j'op	X	
	kulix itaj	kulix itaj		X
	-ob-	kulix ob		X
ob ~		X	X	
ob ~, sakil			X	
ob ~, yaxal			X	
ob itaj			X	
Pinaropappus spathulatus	ch'a* ~	ch'a* ~		X
	ch'aj kotom ~	ch'aj kotom ~	X	X
	-chu'-	chu' ~, tzajal		X
		chu' chij		X
		chu' ch'o ~		X
rosario chu' momol			X	

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language	
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil
Pinaropappus spathulatus (cont.)	k'an(al) (nich) ak/~	k'an(al) (nich) ak ~ k'an(al) nich ~	X	X
	kojtom wamal	kojtom wamal	X	
	kulantu ~	kul {a/e}ntu ~		X
	pech'ech' ak'	pech'ech' ak'	X	
	sakil nich ~	sak(al/il) nich ~		X
	tzejpun bok' wamal	tzejpun bok' wamal	X	
	tzepente' ~	tzepente ~		X
	vixil rosario	vixil rosario		X
	wek'an nich ak	wek'an nich ak	X	
	yaxal ~	yax(al) ~		X
	yitaj chij	yita(j) chij ~		X
	yizim chij	yizim chij		X
	Piper sp.	akan ~	akan ~	
chitom te'		chitom te'		X
lukum (nich) te'/~		lukum (nich) te'/~		X
mol te' uch		mol te' uch		X
-mumun- te'		mumun olte' mumun olte', sakil mumun te'	X X X	
on te'		on (te'), muk*	X	
pajk'en wa'mal		pajk'en wa'mal	X	
pak'a te'		pak'a te'		X
puyil b/p/w/vaj ~		puyil b/p/w/vaj ~		X
yakan mut		yakan, yich'ak, yok mut (te'/~)		X
yakan tuluk' ~		yakan tuluk' ~		X
yijil wamal		yijil wamal	X	
Piptothrix areolaris		-ch'a* te' ~ -	ch'a* te' ~, ch'in ch'a* te' ~, muk'ul ton ch'a* te' ton ch'a* te', muk'ul	X X X X
	-ch'ikin buro/chij te'/~	ch'aba' chikin buro wamal ch'ikin bur(r)o/u te'/~ chikin chij ~, k'anal	X X X	
	jom akan	jom akan		X
	jotz'(otz') (te'/ak'/~)	jotz'(otz') (te'/ak'/~)		X
	k'an(al) te'	k'an(al) te'		X
	keb chij	keb/p chij		X
	-m {a/o}y-	kaxlan may te' m {a/o}y m {a/o}y te', sakal	X X	X
	pom te'	pom te', k'anal		X
	pox ~	pox ~, k'anal		X
	sak(il) nich ~	sak(al/il) nich ~	X	
	tul nichim te'	tul nichim te'		X
	yita(j) chij ~	yita(j) chij ~	X	

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language	
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil
Piqueria trinervia	-bak* (nich) te'/~ -	bak te' ~		X
		bak te' pox		X
		bak* ~	X	
		bak* nich ~, sak(il/al)	X	
	ch'a'al ~	ch'a* ~	X	
	chichi k'uy	chichi k'uy		X
	chi'il ~	ch(i)'il ~		X
	chijil te' ~	chiji(l) te' ~	X	
	chuvaj	chuvaj(il) ~		X
	-k'oxox chij-	kaxlan k'oxox chij	X	
		k'oxox chi(j) wamal	X	
	majbenal ~	majbenal ~		X
	nichim chij	nichim chij ~		X
	sakil nich ~	sak(al/il) nich ~	X	
tan abnal wamal	tan abnal wamal	X		
wach' wach' ~	wach' wach' ~	X		
ya'al wamal	ya'al wamal	X		
Plantago australis	bakal ~	bak* ~, tzajal ~	X	
	chikin chij ~	chikin chij ~	X	
	chikin t'ul wamal	chikin t'ul wamal	X	
	lam/n te' ~	lam/n te' ~	X	X
	mantzana ~	mantzana ~	X	
	matz'am wamal	matz'am wamal	X	
	tz'ak bak wa'mal	tz'ak bak wa'mal	X	
	-yok'/ak' tz'i'-	vixil yok' tz'i'		X
		yok'/ak' tz'i' ~	X	X
Pluchea odorata	-chabchab-	chab(chab) ~, mukil		X
		vixil chabchab momol		X
	ch'ail te'	ch'a* te' ~		X
	-may te'-	kaxlan may te'	X	
		m{a/o}y te'	X	
		m{a/o}y te' ch'o	X	
	pam momol	pam momol, tzajal		X
	putzil ~	putzil ~		X
	sitil te'	sitil (te')	X	
	-silit-	nich sitit ~		X
		sitit (te')		X
		sitit (te'), bik'tal		X
		sitit (te'), sakil/al	X	
		sitit (te'), tzajal	X	X
		sitit ~	X	
		sitit ch'o (te')	X	
tan saran tzelopat	tan saran tzelopat		X	
tzajal nich ~	tzajal nich(im) ~		X	
vol nich ~	vol nich ~, tzajal		X	
votz' te'	votz' te'		X	
xoch' te'	xoch' te', k'an		X	

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language	
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil
Polygala floribunda	-ch' {o/u} pak-	ch' {o/u} pak te' / ~ pum ch'opak ~	X	
	-nich(im)-	nich(im) te' nichim ak' nichim antivo nichim martin		X X X X
	pak' nich	pak' nich		X
	pum (te' / ~)	pum (te' / ~)	X	X
Polygonum punctatum	~(al) vo'	~(al) vo'		X
	-bak (nich) ~ -	bak* ~ simaron bak nich		X X
	-ich(il/u)- ak' / ~	ich(il) pimil ~ ichil ~ ichil/ul ak'	X X X	X X
	kinil wamal	kinil wamal	X	
	k'unil wamal	k'unil wamal	X	
	pem k'ulub ~	pem k'ulub ~, muk'tik		X
	pimil ~	pimil ~	X	
	tzij ni' wa'mal	tzij ni' wa'mal	X	
	yail ~	yail ~		X
	yak' mis wamal	yak' mis wamal	X	
	yak' tz'i' ~	yok'ak' tz'i' ~	X	
	yich v/wakax	yich v/wakax		X
Priva aspera	ch'ail ~	ch'a* ~		X
	jolom ik' wamal	jolom ik' wamal	X	
	k'ajk'el ~	k'ajk'el ~, poxil		X
	lomik ~	lomik ~, yaxal	X	
	sabal tz'unun	saba(l) tz'unun saba(l) tz'unun, muk'ul	X X	
	-sik' sik' ~ -	ne'ek sik' sik' wamal sik' sik' ~	X X	
	vach'il ~	vach'(il) ~		X
	-woch'ol-	w/voch'ol ~ w/voch'ol ok/akan ~ w/voch'ol ok/akan ~, sakil w/voch'ol ok/akan ~, tzajal	X X X X	
	xanxan	xanxan		X
Prunella vulgaris	buluk' sat	buluk' sat ~		X
	jonon wamal	jonon wamal	X	
	kuch bakal wamal	k'uch bakal wamal	X	
	lumil bajton wa'mal	lumil bajton wa'mal	X	
	nuk'bal/ul jonon wamal	nuk'bal/ul jonon wamal	X	
	paxak' ~	paxak' ~		X
	tzajal nich ~	tzajal nich(im) ~		X
	tzoy leb vonon	tzoy leb vonon		X
	tzukum ~	tzu(j)kum (nich) ~		X
	tz'unun ~	tz'unun ~	X	

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Prunella vulgaris (cont.)	yatzijeb vonon	yatzijeb vonon	X
	yax(al) nich ~	yax(al) nich ~	X X
	yutz'inab vonon ~	yutz'inab vonon ~	X
Prunus serotina	ch'ich te' xtoj't'	ch'ich te' xtoj't'	X
	chicho(j) te'	chicho(j) te'	X
	chij te'	chij te'	X
	-ch'ix te'-	ch'ix te' ch'ix te' mut	X X
Psidium guineense	pa(j) x-ch(i)ak (te')	pa(j) x-ch(i)ak (te'/~)	X
	-pata/poto-v-	lumil pata	X
		neek pata	X
		ni' pata	X
		ni' pata, sakal	X
		pajal poto(j/v)	X
		pata (te')	X
pata/poto-v	X		
pata/poto-v, muk'ul	X		
Randia aculeata	~ t'ul	~ t'ul	X
	comol t'ul	comol t'ul	X
	kuch kuch itz'in	kuch kuch itz'in	X
	-kulentu-	kul {a/e} ntu ~	X
		kul {a/e} ntu ~, yaxal	X
		kul {a/e} ntu ch'o ~	X
		kulentu mis ~	X
	mesob k'a'ep ~	mesob k'a'ep ~	X
	sikil ~	sikil ~	X
	tzu(j)kum (nich) ~	tzu(j)kum (nich) ~	X X
tzu(j)kum (nich) ~, bik'tal		X	
tzu(j)kum (nich) ~, mukil		X	
tzu(j)kum (nich) ~, yaxal		X	
yaxal nich ~	yax(al) nich ~	X	
Ranunculus petiolaris	k'an(al) nich ~	k'an(al) nich ~	X
	-k'okob/m-	k'ok'ob ch'upak	X
		k'ok'ob/m ch'o	X
		k'okom jobel	X
	-kul {a/e} ntu ch'o-	kul {a/e} ntu ch'o ~	X
		yail kulantu ch'o	X
	lo(j)t' ~	lo(j)t' ~	X
	nit(ir)an/rin k'ajk' wamal	nit(ir)an/rin k'ajk' wamal	X
	nitan wamal	nitan wamal	X
	tzijil ~	tzijil ~	X
	tzijil tzib ch'o	tzijil tzib ch'o	X
	yail ~	yail ~	X
	yail tzib	yail tzib	X
Rapanea juergensenii	atz'am te'	atz'am te' atz'am te', tzajal	X X
	ch'a(j) kolol (te')	ch'a(j) kolol/alal te'/~	X X

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language	
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil
Rapanea juergensii (cont.)	ixim te'	ixim te'	X	
		ixim te', tzajal	X	
	k'ox/ch te' ~	k'ox/ch te' ~	X	
		k'ox/ch te' ~, sakal	X	
	satin	satin (te')		X
	sera te'	sera te'	X	
Rapanea myricoides	tilil (te')	tilil (te')	X	X
		tilil (te'), mukil/ul	X	
	atz'am te'	atz'am te'	X	X
	ch'ak olol ~	ch'a(j) kolol/alal te'/~		X
	ik'al ak ~	ik'al ak ~	X	
	ok te'	ok te', i(j)k'al	X	
	patax satin	patax satin		X
	satin (te')	satin (te')		X
Relbunium hypocarpium	tilil	tilil (te'), antzil		X
		tilil (te'), mukil/ul		X
	yail te'	yail te', mukil		X
	yaxal ~	yax(al) ~		X
	bak ~	bak* ~		X
	-bujtz'an(il) ~ -	bujtz'an(il) ~, sakil	X	
		bujtz'an(il) ~, tzajal	X	
		ne'ek butz'anil wamal	X	
chejil ~	chejil ~	X		
jotz'(otz') (te'/ak'/~)	jotz'(otz') (te'/ak'/~)		X	
kulentu ~	kul {a/e} ntu ~		X	
penko wamal	penko wamal		X	
sak(al) (nich) ~	sak(al/il) ~, ch'in	X		
	sak(al/il) nich ~	X		
sat vomol	sat vomol, tzajal		X	
s-tz'u(j)lem ~	s-tz'u(j)lem ~		X	
tan ~	tan ~		X	
tan sit wamal	tan sit wamal, ijkal		X	
tujtz' wamal	tujtz' wamal		X	
xavon/en vomol	xavon/en vomol		X	
yax(al) (nich) ~	yax(al) ~		X	
	yax(al) nich ~		X	
Rhus schiedeana	-(pa-j) ul(ul)-	ne'ek paj/y ul	X	
		pa(j) ul(ul) (te'/~)	X	X
		pa(j) ul(ul) (te'/~), muk*	X	X
		ulul te'	X	
	-jo'ox (te')-	jo'ox (te') ka'		X
		jo'ox te' ~		X
	pak'an te'	pak'an te'		X
	pal ui te'	pal ui te'	X	
sat te'	sat te', tzajal		X	
tzotz kab te'	tzotz kab te'		X	
-ve'el umtot-	ve'el um tot		X	

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Rhus schiedeana (cont.)		ve'el umtot mut		X	
Rhus terebinthifolia	jo'ox te' ka'	jo'ox (te') ka'		X	
	-pa(j) ul(ul) ~ -	altzil paj ul lumil paj ul pa(j) ul(ul) (te'/~) paj ul (te') ch'o paj ul ak'	X X X	X	
	pajal ~	pajal ~	X		
	potov vomol	pata/poto-v		X	
	ve'el mut te'	ve'el mut (te')		X	
	ve'el um tot	ve'el um tot		X	
	Ricinus communis	-ch' {o/u} pak-	ch' {o/u} pak te'/~ ch' {o/u} pak te'/~, sakal kaxla sit ch'opak kaxlan ch' {o/u} pak kaxlan ch' {o/u} pak, sakil	X X X X X	X
estreya momol		estreya momol		X	
moy		m {a/o} y		X	
vaxajtik ~		va {x/ch'} ajtik ~		X	
xelajtik te'/~		xelajtik te'/~		X	
yakan mut te'		yakan, yich'ak, yok mut (te'/~)		X	
Rubus coriifolius		-makum/om/ub-	bol sit makum makum/om/ub ~ makum/om/ub ~, tzajal	X X X	X
	{kere/le} chuka (nich) ~	{kere/le} chuka ~	X	X	
	alvanux ~	alvanux ~		X	
Rumex crispus	ch'ininin chin	ch'ininin chin, poxil		X	
	nam te' mol	nam te' mol		X	
	tz'asib vomol	tz'asib vomol		X	
	ya'al wamal	ya'al wamal	X		
	yail ~	yail ~ yail ~, bik'tal		X X	
	yok' chitom	yok', yakan chitom ~, bik'tal yok', yakan chitom ~, mukil		X X	
	yok'/ak' tz'i' ~	yok'/ak' tz'i' ~ yok'/ak' tz'i' ~, mukil/ul	X	X	
	Rumex obtusifolius	{kere/le} chuka ~	{kere/le} chuka ~	X	X
		alvanux ~	alvanux ~		X
nam te' mol		nam te' mol		X	
pajal itaj		pajal itaj		X	
ti' bilil wa'mal		ti' bilil wa'mal	X		
yail ~		yail ~		X	
yak' tz'i' ~		yok'/ak' tz'i' ~ yok'/ak' tz'i' ~, mukil/ul	X X		
-yok' chitom-		vixil yok' chitom yok', yakan chitom ~		X X	

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language		
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil	
Ruta graveolens	lula ~	lula ~	X	X	
	saba(l) tz'unun	saba(l) tz'unun	X		
Sageretia elegans	-jo'ox-	jo'ox mut jo'ox te' ~ jo'ox te' ch'o		X X X	
	lan te' ~	lam/n te' ~	X		
	makum	makum/om/ub ~		X	
	pa(j) ulul (te'/~)	pa(j) ul(ul) (te'/~) pa(j) ul(ul) (te'/~), sakil pa(j) ul(ul) (te'/~), tzajal	X X X		
	patax nichim	patax nichim		X	
	sakil pomos	sakil pomos/x, bik'tal		X	
	tzotzil te'	tzotzil te', sakil	X		
	ve'el mut	ve'el mut (te')		X	
	ve'el um tot	ve'el um tot		X	
	xu(l)xal/n	xu(l)xal/n	X		
	Salmea scandens	bajk'al te'	bajk'al te' ~	X	
		cha' bajch' ak'	cha' bajch' ak'	X	
		-ch'a* ~ -	ch'a* ~ ch'a* ak' ~ ch'a* ak' ~, sakil ch'a* ak' ~, tzajal ch'ail/ch'ial abnal	X X X X	X
chon ~		chon ~, poxil		X	
muy ti te' vomol		muy ti te' vomol		X	
nichim chuch		nichim chuch		X	
sibak ak'/te'		sibak ak'/te'		X	
siban (te')		siban (te'), ch'in	X		
vixil ajate'es		vixil ajate'es		X	
wach' wach' ~		wach' wach' ~	X		
xo' te'		xo' te'		X	
-yail-		yail ~ yail ab'nal		X X	
yita(j) chij ~		yita(j) chij ~	X		
Salvia cinnabarina		p/vom tz'unun	p/vom tz'unun	X	X
		saba(l) tz'unun	saba(l) tz'unun saba(l) tz'unun, tzajal	X X	
	Salvia holwayi	-p/vom tz'unun-	ne'ek pom tz'unun p/vom tz'unun	X	X
pom ch'a te'		pom ch'a te'		X	
saba(l) tz'unun		saba(l) tz'unun saba(l) tz'unun, tzajal	X X		
saben tz'unun		saben tz'unun	X		
Salvia karwinskii		chocho (nich) ~	chocho (nich) ~	X	
	ch'oliw te'/~	ch'olib/m/p/w/v (te'/~)	X		
	-pom tz'unun-	ne'ek pom tz'unun p/vom tz'unun	X X	X	

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language		
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil	
Salvia karwinskii (cont.)		p/vom tz'unun, muk* pom tz'unun ka' vixil pom tz'unun ~	X	X X X	
	-saba(l) tz'unun-	niwak' sabal tz'unun saba(l) tz'unun, muk'ul saba(l) tz'unun, sakil sikil saba stz'unun	X X X X		
	tzajal nich ~	tzajal nich(im) ~	X		
	woch'ol akan wamal	w/woch'ol ok/akan ~	X		
	Salvia lavanduloides	-bak* (nich) ~-	bak ~ t'ul bak* ~ bak* nich ~ ch'a* ~ ch'a* bakal ~ jol bakal vomol		X X X X X X
		k'uch bakal wamal	k'uch bakal wamal	X	
sik' sik' ~		sik' sik' ~	X		
tan mukan momol		tan mukan momol		X	
tzujkum ~		tzuj(j)kum (nich) ~		X	
vach'il ~		vach'(il) ~		X	
yax(al) nich ~		yax(al) nich ~	X		
Salvia polystachya		ch'a'al ~	ch'a* ~, yax(al)	X	
		chab ~	chab(chab) ~		X
		-chan tzel ~ -	chan tzel ok ~ chantzel wamal	X X	
	makub	makum/om/ub ~		X	
	-pom tz'unun-	p/vom tz'unun, yaxal pom tz'unun ch'o pom tz'unun ka' pom tz'unun xulem vixil pom tz'unun ~		X X X X X	
	potzlomal vomol	potzlomal vomol		X	
	sabal tz'unun	saba(l) tz'unun, muk'ul	X		
	sikil ~	sikil ~		X	
	tzij ni' wa'mal	tzij ni' wa'mal	X		
	vach' te'	vach'(il) te', yaxal		X	
	-woch'ol-	w/woch'ol ~, yaxal w/woch'ol ok/akan ~ w/woch'ol ok/akan ~, sakil	X X X		
	yaxal (nich) ~	yax(al) ~ yax(al) nich ~		X X	
	Salvia purpurea	ch'ail ~	ch'a* ~		X
		-pom tz'unun-	p/vom tz'unun, yaxal pom tz'unun ka' pom tz'unun xulem		X X X
		sabal tz'unun	saba(l) tz'unun, muk'ul saba(l) tz'unun, yaxal	X X	

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language		
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil	
Salvia purpurea (cont.)	sik' sik' ~	sik' sik' ~	X		
	tzantzel ok ~	tzantzel ok te'/~	X		
	w/voch'ol (woch' ok/akan) ~	w/voch'ol ~	X		
		w/voch'ol ok/akan ~	X	X	
	w/voch'ol woch' ok/akan ~	X			
	yaxal nich ~	yax(al) nich ~	X	X	
Salvia reptans	abnal wamal	abnal wamal, sak	X		
	ak'il ~	ak'il ~	X		
	bak bak ~	bak bak ~	X		
	chin	chin, poxil		X	
	ch'ixil nich ~	ch'ixil nich ~, yaxal	X		
	jich' jich' ~	jich' jich' ~	X		
	k'anal nich ~	k'an(al) nich ~	X		
	makub	makum/om/ub ~		X	
	nichim vonon	nichim vonon		X	
	pat vomol	pat vomol, yaxal		X	
	sit wamal	sit wamal, yaxal	X		
	tzitz ~	tzitz ~	X		
	u{l/r}an (nich) ~	u{l/r}an (nich) ~, yax(al)	X	X	
	wach' nich' wamal	wach' nich' wamal, k'anal	X		
	yaxal (nich) ~	yax(al) ~		X	
		yax(al) nich ~	X	X	
	Salvia rubiginosa	ch'a* bakal ~	ch'a* bakal ~	X	
chikin chij ~		chikin chij ~	X		
chikin tz'i' ~		chikin tz'i' te'/~	X		
ch'il ch'il te'		ch'il (ch'il) te'	X		
ijkal nich ~		i(j)k'al nich ~	X		
-pom tz'unun-		p/vom tz'unun			X
		p/vom tz'unun, antzil			X
		p/vom tz'unun, bik'tal			X
		p/vom tz'unun, muk*			X
		pom tz'unun ka'			X
		vixil pom tz'unun ~			X
		vixil pom tz'unun ka'			X
-saba(l) tz'unun-		saba(l) tz'unun			X
		saba(l) tz'unun, muk'ul			X
		saba(l) tz'unun, yaxal			X
		yaxal saba(l) tz'unun, muk'ul			X
tantan nich ~		tan (tan) nich ~, yaxal	X		
tzantzel ok ~	tzantzel ok te'/~	X			
tzelu pat ~	tzele/tzelek/tzelopat (te'/~)	X			
yaxal nich ~	yax(al) nich ~	X			
Sambucus mexicana	chiji(l) te'	chiji(l) te' ~	X	X	
	chikite'	chikite'		X	
	chil te'	chil te'	X		
Satureja brownei	bujtz'an(il) ~	bujtz'an(il) ~	X		
		bujtz'an(il) ~, sakal	X		

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language		
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil	
Satureja brownei (cont.)	chejil ~	chejil ~	X		
	chi('i)l a'mal	chi('i)l a'mal		X	
	chuvaj(il) ~	chuvaj(il) ~		X	
	kuch tz'ujul ~	kuch'/ku(j)tz' tz'ujul ~	X	X	
	lumal xchel	lumal xchel		X	
	muil ~	muil ~		X	
	pejtz' wamal	pejtz' wamal, sak	X		
	pol(e)a vomol	pol(e)a vomol		X	
	sakil (nich) ~	sak(al/il) ~ sak(al/il) nich ~	X X		
	-sikil ~-	kaxlan sikil wamal sikil ~	X X		
	s-tz'u(j)lem ~	s-tz'u(j)lem ~	X		
	yax chel	yax(al) che(i)l ~ yax(al) che(i)l ~, bik'tal		X X	
	Saurauia scabrida	ajo(j) (te')	ajo(j) (te')	X	X
avoj		avoj		X	
chuej ~		chuej ~		X	
tilil la' ~		tilil ja' ~, sakal/il	X		
Senecio chenopodioides	antzil ~	antzil ~		X	
	-ch'a*-	ch'a* te' ~ ch'a* te' ~, k'anal ch'ail pox momol, antzil	X X	X	
	ik' ~	ik' ~, poxil		X	
	k'anal nich ak'/~	k'an(al) (nich) ak' ~ k'an(al) nich ~		X X	
	majnich momol	majnich momol		X	
	makub	makum/om/ub ~		X	
	paj nich ~	pa(j) ul(ul) (te'/~), k'anal paj nich ~		X X	
	potzil nichim ch'o	potzil nichim ch'o		X	
	ti'ol ~	ti'ol ~ ti'ol ~, poxil		X X	
	vol nich ~	b/vol nich ~		X	
	wach' te'	wa(j)ch'(ul) te'/~, ch'in	X		
	-xich'- ~	ni' xich' wamal, k'anal xi(j)ch' ~, k'anal	X X		
	xuch'al ~	xuch'al ~		X	
	xuk'ubte' vomol	xuk'ubte' vomol		X	
	Senecio cristobalensis	-mumun te'-	mumun te' ni' mumun te'	X X	
		to(j)pak (te')	to(j)pak (te')	X	
tutumixik'/ak'		tutumixik/ak'		X	
Senecio grandifolius		ch'a* te'	ch'a* te' ~ ch'a* te' ~, sak(il/al) ch'a* te' ~, yaxal	X X X	X
	chikin buro te'	ch'ikin bur(r)o/u te'/~	X		

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language		
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil	
Senecio grandifolius (cont.)	m{a/o}y te'	m{a/o}y te', sakal	X		
	muy te'	muy te'		X	
	nich te'	nich(im) te'	X		
	patz ik' te'	patz ik' te'		X	
	-pom te'-	pom te', antzil vixil pom te'		X X	
	sak(il) nich te'/~	sak(al/il) nich ~ sak(il) nich te'	X X	X	
	sotz' ~	sotz' ~		X	
	topak	to(j)pak (te')	X		
	tuxnuk' ~	tuxnuk' ~		X	
	tzanpek	tzanpek		X	
	yax nich ~	yax(al) nich ~	X		
	yij pat te'	yij pat te'		X	
	Senecio salignus	ch'a* te' ~	ch'a* te' ~	X	
chilka(n/t/m) (te')		chilka(n/t/tik) (te'/~) chilka(n/t/tik) (te'/~), muk*	X X	X X	
k'anal nich ~		k'an(al) nich ~	X		
sak(il) nich te'/~		sak(al/il) nich ~ sak(il) nich te'	X X		
toj p'ol ak' ~		toj p'ol ak' ~	X		
Senecio thomasi	akan la wamal	akan la wamal, sakil	X		
	bak te' ~	bak te' ~		X	
	ch'a te'	ch'a te', antzil		X	
	k'an(al) nich te'/~	k'an(al) nich ~ k'an(al) nich te'	X X	X X	
	pom tz'unun	p/vom tz'unun		X	
	sak baj te'	sak ba(j) te' sak ba(j) te', sakil	X X		
	tan ~	tan ~	X		
	tuxnuk' ~	tuxnuk' ~ tuxnuk' ~, muk'tik		X X	
	-tzelopat-	nich tzelopat, k'anal tzelopat ka' tzelopat, antzil		X X X	
	tzotz(il) ~	tzotz(il) ~, sakal/il	X		
	-tzuy-	tzuy (te'/~) tzuy (te'/~), sakal tzuy bakte', sakal	X X X		
	Senna foetidissima	ch'aj te'	ch'a* te' ~ ch'a* te' ~, muk'ul	X X	
		-chenek'-	chenek' chij chenek' ka' chenek' mut te'/~ chenek' te' tzotz chenek'		X X X X X
jit'i t'ul		jit'i t'ul	X		

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language		
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil	
Senna foetidissima (cont.)	o'kem te'	o'kem te', yax	X		
	tuil ~	tuil ~		X	
	tzis chawuk ~	tzis/z cha(w)uk ~	X		
	xt'el	xt'el, poxil		X	
Smallanthus maculatus	ba{l/r}an k'in te'/~	ba{l/r}an k'in te'/~	X		
	baran bot' wamal	baran bot' wamal	X		
	ch'aj te' ~	ch'a* te' ~	X		
	chipop ch'o	chipak/op/up ch'o	X		
	-k'ail-	ch'a(j) kil/k'ail (te')			X
		k'ail (pox)			X
		k'ail (pox), bik'tal			X
		k'ail (pox), ik'al			X
		k'ail (pox), mukil			X
k'ail, antzil				X	
tz'ibal k'ail				X	
pilix ~	pilix ~			X	
Solanum americanum	-mo'em-	ajk'abal mo'em	X		
		mo'em	X		
		mo'em, yisim	X		
	mui(l) itaj ~	mui(l) itaj ~		X	
	tumat ch'o(j)	tumat ch'o(j) ~	X		
yerbamora	yerbamora ~		X		
Solanum lanceifolium	k'uxbal ch'ix	k'uxbal ch'ix	X		
	-pe(v)ul/pewal-	k'ux pe(v)ul		X	
		k'ux pewal ch'ix	X		
		pewal ch'ix ~	X		
tujukulum/n ch'ix	tujukulum/n ch'ix	X			
	tujukulum/n ch'ix, sakil	X			
	tujukulum/n ch'ix, tzajal	X			
Solanum nigrescens	bak ~	bak* ~	X		
	-ch'a* ~ -	ch'a* ak' ~	X		
		ch'a* te' ~	X		
		sit ch'a te', ijk'al	X		
	ch'a* bakal ~	ch'a* bakal ~	X		
	ch'a'al bok wamal	ch'a'al bok wamal, sakil	X		
	ch'aba na ch'o te'	ch'aba na ch'o te'	X		
	ijkal sit ~	ijkal sit ~, yaxal	X		
	k'an ol	ol (te'), k'an(al)		X	
	tuil te'	tuil te'		X	
	tzitz te'	tzitz te'	X		
	xulem te'	xulem te'/~		X	
	yaxal ~	yax(al) ~	X		
Sonchus oleraceus	chikoria/aryo ~	chikoria ~	X	X	
	ch'ix ~	ch'ix ~	X		
	kulix pimil ~	kulix pimil ~	X		
	-tzepen-	tzepen on ~		X	
	tzepente ~		X		

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language		
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil	
Stevia ovata	(n)ak'obal us	(n)ak'obal us (n)ak'obal us, muk'tik (n)ak'obal us, tzajal	X	X	
	ak' obal	ak' obal, muk'tik		X	
	bak ~	bak* ~	X		
	bak nich ~	bak* nich ~, sak(il/al)	X		
	ch'a* (nichim) te'/~	ch'a* ~ ch'a* ~, sakil ch'a* te' ~ ch'a* te' ~, ik'al ch'a* te' ~, sak(il/al) ch'ail pox te'/~	X X X X X	X X X X	
	sak(il) nich ~	sak(al/il) nich ~	X		
	vach' te' ~	vach'(il) te'		X	
	yak nich wamal	yak nich wamal	X		
	yax nich ~	yax(al) nich ~	X		
	Struthanthus deppeanus	na {b/p} ux te'	na {b/p} ux te' na {b/p} ux te', yaxal		X X
		nobo(l) sik'ol	nobo(l) sik'ol nobo(l) sik'ol, yaxal		X X
tzoyob chuch		tzoyob chuch		X	
yikatz' te'/~		yikatz' te'/~ yikatz' te'/~, k'anal yikatz' te'/~, yaxal	X X X		
Struthanthus quercicola	(t)zoyob chuch	tzoyob chuch		X	
	chikin chuch te'	chikin chuch te'	X		
	lan te'	lam/n te' ~	X		
	na {b/p} ux te'	na {b/p} ux te' na {b/p} ux te', k'anal		X X	
	nobo sik'ol	nobo(l) sik'ol		X	
	-yax(al) ~ -	yax(al) ~ yax(al) nich ~ yax(al) nich te'	X X X		
	yikatz' te'	yikatz' te'/~ yikatz' te'/~, k'anal yikatz' te'/~, tzajal	X X X		
	Symlocos breedlovei	ch'aj te'	ch'a* te' ~, yaxal		X
ch'o te'		ch'o te', yaxal		X	
itaj te'		itaj te', yax		X	
k'anal nich te'		k'an(al) nich te'	X		
k'oxox te'		k'ol/r(k)ox/k'oxox te', mukil		X	
mes mos kala te'		mes mos kala te'	X		
pay te' ~		pay te'	X		
pom te'		pom te', yaxal		X	
siban te'		siban (te') siban (te'), sakil siban (te'), yaxal	X X X		

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language	
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil
Symlocos breedlovei (cont.)	te' poj	te' poj, yaxal		X
	yax(al) (nich) te'/~	yax(al) ~		X
		yax(al) nich ~		X
		yax(al) nich te'		X
		yax(al) te' ~		X X
Tagetes filifolia	ik' ~	ik' ~, poxil		X
	-inajo-	inajo antivo		X
		injo ~		X
		simaron injo wa'mal		X
	-kulentu/elento ~-	kul {a/e}ntu ~		X
		kulentu jos ~		X
		kulentu mis ~		X
		kulentu tz'i' ~		X
	-mantzania/o-	mantzana ~		X
		mantzania ch'o		X
		mantzania ka'		X
		mantzania vomol		X
		mantzania antivo		X
tomiyo ka'	tomiyo ka'		X	
tusus wamal	tusus wamal		X	
-tzitz-	tzis/tz(tikal) toj(tik)		X	
	tzitz ~		X	
	tzitz ka'		X	
	tziz olol		X	
Tagetes lucida	k'an(al) nich ~	k'an(al) nich ~		X
	-perikon(a)-	perikon vomol tzitz		X
		perikon(a) vomol		X
	pimento ~	pimento ~		X
	sansibre (ak') wamal	sansibre (ak') wamal		X
	silsil abnal wamal	silsil abnal wamal		X
	tzis/tz(tikal) toj(tik)	tzis/tz(tikal) toj(tik)		X
	tzitz ~	tzitz ~		X
	tzitz ak ~	tzitz ak ~		X
tzitz ak ~, k'anal			X	
tziz olol	tziz olol		X	
Tagetes nelsonii	k'anal nich ~	k'an(al) nich ~		X
	-ma(j)tas-	ma(j)tas ~		X
		ma(j)tas ~, mukul		X
		ne'ek majtas		X
	tusus wamal	tusus wamal		X
	-tzis/z chauk-	tzis cha(w)uk ach'elal ~		X
		tzis/z cha(w)uk ~		X
wa'mal witz	wa'mal witz, k'anal		X	
yama chauk	yama chauk		X	
Tecoma stans	bina/o te'	bina/o te'		X
	chipak/op/up ch'o	chipak/op/up ch'o		X
		chipak/op/up ch'o, k'anal		X

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language	
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil
Tecoma stans (cont.)	k'an(al) (nich) te'/~	k'an(al) nich ~	X	X
		k'an(al) nich te'	X	X
		k'an(al) te'		X
	moy	m{a/o}y		X
	sabin te'	sabin te'	X	
	siban (nich)	siban (te'), k'an(al)	X	
		siban (te'), tzajal	X	
Thalictrum guatemalense	-ch'ol{i/e}p-	ch'olip ch'o		X
		tzijil ch'olep		X
	kuch'/kutz' tz'ujul ~	kuch'/ku(j)tz' tz'ujul ~		X
		kuch'/ku(j)tz' tz'ujul ~, muk'tik		X
	tom chikinil wa'mal	tom chikinil wa'mal	X	
	-tzib-	tuil tzib		X
		tzib ~, i(j)k'al		X
	tzijil tzib		X	
tzis/j chawuk ~	tzij cha(w)uk te'		X	
	tzis/z cha(w)uk ~		X	
uch te'	uch te', yaxal		X	
Tithonia diversifolia	-ch'aj te' ~ -	ch'a* te' ~	X	
		ne'ek ch'aj te' ~	X	
	-kil/k'ail-	ch'a(j) kil/k'ail (te')	X	X
		k'ail (pox)		X
		k'ail (pox), mukil		X
		k'ail, antzil		X
		vixil k'ail		X
		vol nich k'ail		X
		vol nich k'ail ka'		X
	pilix ~	pilix ~		X
pilix ~, muk'tik			X	
pilix ~, yaxal			X	
-sun-	ch'a zun		X	
	sun (te'/~)	X	X	
vol nich ~	b/vol nich ~		X	
	b/vol nich ~, k'an(al)		X	
Triumfetta dumetorum	ch'ix ~	ch'ix ~		X
	espenesiya ~	espenesiyo/a ~, yaxal	X	
	-mar max-	lumil mar max	X	
		simaron mar max	X	
	mol/al (ak'/~)	mol/al (ak'/~)	X	
	-sip ~ -	sip ~		X
		vixil sip momol		X
	y-uch' max	y-uch' max		X
y-uch' max, muk'tik			X	
yuch' mol	yuch' (te') mol		X	
Trixis inula	bajk'ul te' ~	bajk'al te' ~	X	
	bak(nich/te') ~	bak te' ~	X	
		bak* ~	X	

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language Tzeltal Tzotzil	
Trixis inula (cont.)		bak* nich ~, k'anal	X	
	k'anal nich te'/~	k'an(al) nich ~ k'an(al) nich te'	X X	
	lumil ~	lumil ~, k'anal	X	
	max te'	max te' ~, k'an	X	
	-mes te'-	ka' mes te', antzil mes te' ~ mes te' ~, antzil mes te' ~, k'anal mes te' antivo ne'ek mes te'	X X X X X	
	sakil nich ~	sak(al/il) nich ~	X	
	wach'ul/vach' te' ~	vach'(il) te' wa(j)ch'(ul) te'/~	X X	
	Valeriana scandens	-chin ak'-	chin ak' chin ak', sakil sikil chinak' tu'il chin ak'	X X X X
		-ch'o ak'/--	ak' ch'o ne ch'o ak'/~	X X
		k'ak'et ch'in	k'a(j)k'et ch'in	X
k'an ak' ~		k'an(al) (nich) ak' ~	X	
sabal tz'unun		saba(l) tz'unun, sakil	X	
satab ~/ak'		satab ~/ak' satab ~/ak', sakil	X X	
sikil ~		sikil ~	X	
tuil ~		tuil ~	X	
tzail ichil ak'		tzail ichil ak'	X	
tzo' tuluk' ak'/~		tzo' tuluk' ak'/~	X	
xi'el vomol mut		xi'el vomol mut	X	
ya'al ak'		ya'al ak', ch'in	X	
yaxal ak'		yaxal ak'	X	
Verbena carolina	ch'ail ~	ch'a* ~	X	
	-k'ulub-	k'ulub wa'mal, sakal pem k'ulub ~ tan yakan k'ulub yakan k'ulub ~ yakan k'ulub ~, sakal/il	X X X X	
	uran (nich) ~	u{l/r}an (nich) ~, yax(al)	X	
	v/berbena ~	berbena ~	X	
	Verbena litoralis	b/berbena ~	berbena ~	X
-k'ulub ~-		pem k'ulub ~ yakan k'ulub ~ yakan k'ulub ~, sakal/il	X X X	
muil ~		muil ~	X	
telajtik yanal momol		telajtik yanal momol	X	
tul nichim ka'		tul nichim ka'	X	

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language		
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil	
Verbena litoralis (cont.)	u{l/r}an (nich) ~	u{l/r}an (nich) ~, yax(al)		X	
Verbesina turbascensis	autzil	autzil, sakil		X	
	-ch'a*-	ch'a* te' ~ ch'ail pox te'/~	X	X	
	chan tzel ok	chan tzel ok ~		X	
	chik'in bur(r)o/u te'/~	ch'ikin bur(r)o/u te'/~	X		
	leb nich momol	leb nich momol		X	
	nich tap'al	nich tap'al, sakal	X		
	pom te'	pom te', antzil		X	
	sak te' momol	sak te' momol		X	
	to'bol	ta/to'bol (te'), sakal/il	X		
	tojpak	to(j)pak (te')	X		
	tub/p chil	tub/p chil		X	
	tuil te'	tuil te', sak		X	
	-tzantzel- te'/~	tzantzel ok te'/~ tzantzel te'/~		X X	
	tzele/tzelek/tzelopat (te')	tzele/tzelek/tzelopat (te'/~)	X		
	tzem te'	tzem te', tzajal	X		
	yaxal ~	yax(al) ~		X	
	Vernonia leiocarpa	-bak(il)-	bak te' ~, sakal bak te' pox bak te' pox, sakil bakil pukuj ~	X X X	X
ch'ikin buro		ch'ikin bur(r)o/u te'/~		X	
-may te'-		m{a/o}y te' m{a/o}y te' ch'o m{a/o}y te' ch'o, sakil	X X X		
pat ka' te'		pat ka' te', sak		X	
-sitit (te')-		sitit (te') sitit (te'), sakil/al sitit (te'), tzajal sitit ch'o (te')	X X X	X X X	
-tzelopat-		tzelopat ka' tzelopat, antzil		X X	
tzotzil te'		tzotzil te'		X	
xolom vomol		xolom vomol		X	
Vernonia patens		akan la wamal	akan la wamal, sakil	X	
		chikin tz'i' te'	chikin tz'i' te'/~	X	
	-may te'-	m{a/o}y te' ch'o m{a/o}y te', sakal	X X		
	pan yol te'	pan yol te'	X		
	patux momol	patux momol		X	
	-sip-	sip ~ sip te'		X X	
	sitil te'	sitil (te')	X		
	-sitit (te')-	sitit (te') sitit (te'), bik'tal	X X	X X	

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language	
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil
Vernonia patens (cont.)		sitiit (te'), sakil/al	X	
		sitiit (te'), tzajal	X	X
		sitiit ch'o (te')	X	
	uch' (nich) te'/~	x-uch' te'/~		X
	yak' chij te'	yok'/ak' chij te'	X	
Viburnum elatum	ja' mal te'	ja' mal te', yax	X	
	jalam te'	jalam te', yax	X	X
	siban (te')	siban (te'), tzajal	X	
	sit te'	sit te'/~, i(j)k'al	X	
	tzajal (nich) ~	tzajal ~ tzajal nich(im) ~	X X	
	tzop te'	s/tzop (te'), tzajal	X	
Viburnum hartwegii	~ t'ul	~ t'ul		X
	amuch	am{o/u}ch ~		X
	ch'a* te' ~	ch'a* te' ~ ch'a* te' ~, muk'ul ch'a* te' ~, tzajal	X X X	
	chik' jala te'	chik' jala te'	X	
	ik'al pom te'	ik'al pom te', bik'it		X
	ik'al te'	ik'al te'		X
	jalam te'	jalam te', yax		X
	paj te'	paj te', yaxal		X
	s/tzop (te')	s/tzop (te') s/tzop (te'), sakil s/tzop (te'), tzajal	X X X	X
	te' joj	te' joj, ik'al		X
	te' nok	te' nok, ik'al		X
	te' puy	te' puy, ik'al		X
	uch' te'	x-uch' te'/~		X
Vinca major	-tz'eman-	tz'em {a/e}ni' ~, ijkal tz'em {a/e}ni' ~, yaxal	X X	
	uran (nich) ~	u{l/r}an (nich) ~, yax(al)		X
	yax(al) nich ak'/~	yax(al) nich ~ yax(al) nich ak'	X X	X
Witheringia stramonifolia	ch'ichol ch'o	ch'ichol ch'o		X
	itaj ka'	itaj ka', mukl		X
	k'ajk'et ~	k'ajk'el ~, poxil		X
	may te' ch'o	m{a/o}y te' ch'o	X	
	-mo'em-	moem ch'o(j) ~ mo'em, ijkal	X X	
	-muil itaj-	muil itaj ch'o muil itaj ch'o, antzil muil itaj ka'		X X X
	pom tz'unun	p/vom tz'unun		X
	-tumat-	tumat ch'o(j) ~ tumat te'	X X	
	unen ~	unen ~, poxil		X

Plant Species	Similar Index Name	Name, Attributive ^{1,2,3,4,5}	Language	
			Tzeltal	Tzotzil
Witheringia stramonifolia (cont.)	xel chikin wamal	xel chikin wamal	X	
	yermamora ka'	yermamora ka'		X
	yermamora ka', antzil	yermamora ka', antzil		X
Zanthosylum foliolosum	bojta' ch'ix	bojta' ch'ix	X	
	ch'ix k'an/on te'	ch'ix k'an/on te'	X	
	-el(e)monex/er(e)monix-	el(e)monex/er(e)monix ch'ix (te'/~)	X	
		eremux wamal	X	
	k'an te'	k'an(al) te'		X
	k'ux ech'ix wamal	k'ux ech'ix wamal	X	
	leb(en) s/tz'otz (ak')	leb(en) s/tz'otz (ak')		X
	tzab(al) ch'ix ~	tzab(al) ch'ix ~	X	
Grand Total			6594	5408

N = 200

¹ Life forms: *te'* 'tree', *wamal/vomol/momol/tz'i'lel* 'herb' (represented as "~"), *ak* 'grass', *ak'* 'vine'

² Colors: *sak/sakil/sakal* 'white', *ik'al/ijk'al* 'black', *yax/yaxal* 'green', *k'anal* 'yellow', *tzajal* 'red'

³ Size: *ch'in/bik'tal* 'small', *muk'ul/mukil/muk'tik/antzil/niwak* 'large'

⁴ Plant parts: *yisim* 'root', *abenal/yabenal* 'leaf', *nich/nichim* 'flower'

⁵ *pox/poxil* 'medicine (for)'

APPENDIX B

NAME INDEX VALUES AND SPECIES RANKS FOR EACH LANGUAGE GROUP¹

Family	Species	Pooled Data		Tzeltal		Tzotzil	
		Name Rank	Name Index (H1)	Name Rank	Name Index (H1)	Name Rank	Name Index (H1)
AST	Baccharis vaccinioides	2	0.000	8	0.000	11	0.000
COR	Cornus excelsa	2	0.000	8	0.000	11	0.000
ROS	Rubus coriifolius	2	0.000	8	0.000	11	0.000
CHN	Chenopodium ambrosioides	4	0.100	17	0.179	11	0.000
SOL	Brugmansia candida	5	0.101	8	0.000	22	0.172
RUB	Ruta graveolens	6	0.113	17	0.179	11	0.000
SOL	Nicotiana tabacum	7	0.181	8	0.000	35	0.303
API	Apium leptophyllum	8	0.332	34	0.512	11	0.000
PHT	Phytolacca icosandra	9	0.337	29	0.337	29	0.229
FAB	Calliandra houstoniana	10	0.358	18	0.183	41	0.501
MLP	Galphimia glauca	11	0.389	39	0.548	11	0.000
RAN	Clematis dioica	12	0.431	38	0.535	26	0.201
AST	Dahlia imperialis	13	0.432	45	0.695	11	0.000
ACT	Saurauia scabrada	14	0.448	29	0.337	39	0.431
PTAL	Adiantum andicola	15	0.524	50	0.703	24	0.179
VRB	Lippia chiapasensis	16	0.650	8	0.000	57	0.918
PTAL	Equisetum myriochaetum	17	0.727	40	0.593	55	0.769
EUP	Ricinus communis	18	0.787	8	0.000	78	1.331
VRB	Verbena carolina	19	0.871	8	0.000	79	1.339
MRT	Psidium guineense	20	0.923	61	0.909	11	0.000
VRB	Lantana camara	21	0.926	77	1.171	40	0.442
ONA	Ludwigia peruviana	22	0.927	32	0.410	76	1.221
VRB	Verbena litoralis	23	0.928	8	0.000	91	1.467
FAB	Phaseolus coccineus	24	0.969	59	0.896	44	0.590
LAM	Salvia cinnabarina	25	1.000	26	0.316	11	0.000
ANA	Rhus terebinthifolia	26	1.030	25	0.303	82	1.379
VRB	Lantana hispida	27	1.033	99	1.460	25	0.187
EUP	Croton draco	28	1.035	8	0.000	90	1.448
VRB	Lippia substrigosa	29	1.062	46	0.699	69	1.015
ERI	Gaultheria odorata	30	1.087	35	0.523	74	1.173
ERI	Arbutus xalapensis	31	1.090	79	1.173	32	0.250
CAP	Sambucus mexicana	32	1.114	61	0.909	55	0.769
HAM	Liquidambar styraciflua	33	1.122	29	0.337	81	1.358
AST	Bidens pilosa	34	1.176	8	0.000	95	1.547
ROS	Holodiscus argenteus	35	1.205	32	0.410	11	0.000
SOL	Lycopersicon esculentum	36	1.206	23	0.206	27	0.206
LAM	Salvia holwayi	37	1.206	44	0.645	28	0.216
PLG	Monnina xalapensis	38	1.237	102	1.507	37	0.373
SOL	Solanum lanceifolium	39	1.246	84	1.252	11	0.000
FAB	Calliandra grandiflora	40	1.280	97	1.444	56	0.794
AST	Senecio cristobalensis	41	1.289	37	0.533	11	0.000
EUP	Euphorbia graminea	42	1.299	55	0.754	83	1.386
THE	Cleyera theaeoides	43	1.374	8	0.000	61	0.964
ONA	Fuchsia paniculata	44	1.382	90	1.340	52	0.754
APO	Vinca major	45	1.420	63	0.971	68	1.000
ROS	Prunus serotina	46	1.498	53	0.722	30	0.242

Family	Species	Pooled Data		Tzeltal		Tzotzil	
		Name Rank	Name Index (H1)	Name Rank	Name Index (H1)	Name Rank	Name Index (H1)
AST	<i>Tithonia diversifolia</i>	47	1.511	56	0.758	101	1.679
PLG	<i>Polygala floribunda</i>	48	1.515	66	1.000	97	1.572
ARL	<i>Oreopanax xalapensis</i>	49	1.526	134	1.960	11	0.000
FAB	<i>Acacia angustissima</i>	50	1.539	73	1.109	63	0.983
MLV	<i>Hibiscus uncinellus</i>	51	1.547	74	1.118	86	1.415
RHM	<i>Ceanothus coeruleus</i>	52	1.558	64	0.987	11	0.000
SOL	<i>Solanum americanum</i>	53	1.564	48	0.700	38	0.422
ROS	<i>Crataegus pubescens</i>	54	1.568	75	1.135	60	0.948
AST	<i>Bidens aurea</i>	55	1.577	23	0.206	96	1.557
AST	<i>Ageratina ligustrina</i>	56	1.634	101	1.485	64	0.994
AST	<i>Acmella oppositifolia</i>	57	1.679	54	0.748	118	1.892
FAB	<i>Dalea leporina</i>	58	1.691	120	1.800	50	0.742
FAB	<i>Senna foetidissima</i>	59	1.705	128	1.884	46	0.678
CLE	<i>Clethra suaveolens</i>	60	1.727	32	0.410	136	2.096
AST	<i>Tagetes nelsonii</i>	61	1.733	89	1.339	24	0.179
LOR	<i>Struthanthus deppeanus</i>	62	1.733	8	0.000	89	1.444
MYR	<i>Myrica cerifera</i>	63	1.734	100	1.467	11	0.000
GAR	<i>Garrya laurifolia</i>	64	1.739	149	2.132	33	0.267
LAM	<i>Salvia lavanduloides</i>	65	1.750	115	1.662	73	1.161
AST	<i>Senecio salignus</i>	66	1.762	123	1.855	11	0.000
BIG	<i>Tecoma stans</i>	67	1.773	141	2.060	34	0.286
LAM	<i>Salvia karwinskii</i>	68	1.785	143	2.083	11	0.000
MRS	<i>Rapanea myricoides</i>	69	1.793	51	0.709	140	2.194
FAB	<i>Mimosa albida</i>	70	1.793	29	0.337	77	1.236
LOG	<i>Buddleia americana</i>	71	1.798	78	1.173	67	1.000
AST	<i>Smallanthus maculatus</i>	72	1.803	67	1.034	43	0.571
RAN	<i>Thalictrum guatemalense</i>	73	1.803	21	0.201	99	1.640
AST	<i>Vernonia patens</i>	74	1.818	110	1.571	85	1.399
AST	<i>Pluchea odorata</i>	75	1.827	57	0.840	148	2.251
ANA	<i>Rhus schiedeana</i>	76	1.841	58	0.871	127	2.007
LAU	<i>Litsea neesiana</i>	77	1.843	48	0.700	65	0.995
GES	<i>Kohleria elegans</i>	78	1.846	43	0.631	107	1.727
LAU	<i>Litsea glaucescens</i>	79	1.847	48	0.700	66	0.998
AST	<i>Sonchus oleraceus</i>	80	1.865	84	1.252	58	0.929
RUB	<i>Zanthosylum foliolosum</i>	81	1.874	91	1.345	32	0.250
AST	<i>Baccharis trinervis</i>	82	1.874	72	1.105	48	0.684
PLA	<i>Plantago australis</i>	83	1.889	172	2.398	47	0.679
MEL	<i>Conostegia xalapensis</i>	84	1.894	24	0.211	103	1.691
TIL	<i>Triumfetta dumetorum</i>	85	1.902	36	0.523	88	1.434
MLP	<i>Bunchosia lanceolata</i>	86	1.908	8	0.000	166	2.437
CAP	<i>Viburnum elatum</i>	87	1.909	171	2.369	11	0.000
MRS	<i>Parathesis chiapensis</i>	88	1.933	19	0.191	132	2.037
AST	<i>Stevia ovata</i>	89	1.952	106	1.538	84	1.387
AST	<i>Calea urticifolia</i>	90	1.952	167	2.333	62	0.968
ERI	<i>Cavendishia crassifolia</i>	91	1.982	118	1.751	11	0.000
ORC	<i>Epidendrum radicans</i>	92	2.008	95	1.406	106	1.727
AST	<i>Baccharis glutinosa</i>	93	2.010	139	2.039	72	1.145
LAM	<i>Hyptis mutabilis</i>	94	2.053	86	1.274	124	1.969
PAP	<i>Argemone mexicana</i>	95	2.061	42	0.612	129	2.013
MLV	<i>Anoda cristata</i>	96	2.062	21	0.201	170	2.521
MLP	<i>Byrsonima crassifolia</i>	97	2.097	85	1.255	59	0.931
WIN	<i>Drimys granadensis</i>	98	2.136	116	1.674	36	0.323
AST	<i>Coreopsis mutica</i>	99	2.155	126	1.877	75	1.210
SAP	<i>Dodonaea viscosa</i>	100	2.174	132	1.930	45	0.591
LAM	<i>Salvia purpurea</i>	101	2.185	112	1.602	104	1.693
RUB	<i>Randia aculeata</i>	102	2.209	104	1.530	112	1.771
LOR	<i>Struthanthus quercicola</i>	103	2.250	65	0.991	93	1.495

Family	Species	Pooled Data		Tzeltal		Tzotzil	
		Name Rank	Name Index (H1)	Name Rank	Name Index (H1)	Name Rank	Name Index (H1)
ASC	<i>Asclepias curassavica</i>	104	2.281	109	1.571	120	1.916
SYM	<i>Symplocos breedlovei</i>	105	2.294	135	1.962	113	1.780
AST	<i>Archibaccharis androgyna</i>	106	2.300	159	2.253	42	0.535
AST	<i>Bartlettina tuerckheimii</i>	107	2.305	182	2.545	49	0.732
RUB	<i>Borreria laevis</i>	108	2.307	8	0.000	162	2.382
CIS	<i>Helianthemum glomeratum</i>	109	2.323	154	2.183	98	1.635
AST	<i>Trixis inula</i>	110	2.331	144	2.108	71	1.022
AST	<i>Vernonia leiocarpa</i>	111	2.344	111	1.579	152	2.310
AST	<i>Fleischmannia pycnocephala</i>	112	2.357	41	0.597	169	2.520
FAB	<i>Melilotus alba</i>	113	2.367	114	1.659	102	1.688
AST	<i>Chromolaena collina</i>	114	2.390	80	1.176	185	2.801
MRS	<i>Rapanea juergensii</i>	115	2.417	161	2.276	53	0.764
PLM	<i>Loeselia glandulosa</i>	116	2.420	87	1.314	143	2.210
AST	<i>Tagetes filifolia</i>	117	2.442	94	1.400	108	1.728
AST	<i>Dyssodia papposa</i>	118	2.468	98	1.444	109	1.746
SCR	<i>Lamourouxia longiflora</i>	119	2.499	68	1.037	144	2.218
MEN	<i>Cissampelos pareira</i>	120	2.502	62	0.961	157	2.357
AST	<i>Erechtites valerianifolia</i>	121	2.540	92	1.350	168	2.506
PLG	<i>Rumex obtusifolius</i>	122	2.544	71	1.094	156	2.347
MLP	<i>Gaudichaudia albida</i>	123	2.584	119	1.757	146	2.226
PLG	<i>Rumex crispus</i>	124	2.585	81	1.199	178	2.629
ONA	<i>Lopezia racemosa</i>	125	2.617	93	1.399	131	2.030
AST	<i>Lagascea helianthifolia</i>	126	2.651	53	0.722	197	3.214
FAB	<i>Melilotus indica</i>	127	2.680	138	1.982	80	1.352
ONA	<i>Fuchsia microphylla</i>	128	2.700	69	1.056	195	3.082
VRB	<i>Priva aspera</i>	129	2.713	142	2.062	110	1.750
PLG	<i>Polygonum punctatum</i>	130	2.718	125	1.873	158	2.361
AST	<i>Tagetes lucida</i>	131	2.726	121	1.806	100	1.654
MLV	<i>Malvaviscus arboreus</i>	132	2.730	155	2.221	141	2.200
PIP	Pipe	133	2.749	76	1.159	153	2.322
RAN	<i>Ranunculus petiolaris</i>	134	2.788	103	1.511	138	2.138
AST	<i>Ambrosia cumanensis</i>	135	2.789	151	2.159	111	1.769
LAM	<i>Hyptis urticoides</i>	136	2.790	96	1.414	181	2.652
AST	<i>Senecio grandifolius</i>	137	2.790	152	2.168	186	2.816
EUP	<i>Phyllanthus niruri</i>	138	2.804	130	1.911	142	2.200
ONA	<i>Oenothera rosea</i>	139	2.808	70	1.072	187	2.845
LYT	<i>Cuphea pinetorum</i>	140	2.813	88	1.327	183	2.723
BRA	<i>Lepidium virginicum</i>	141	2.816	178	2.482	51	0.742
LAM	<i>Salvia rubiginosa</i>	142	2.826	196	3.047	11	0.000
AST	<i>Baccharis serraefolia</i>	143	2.834	168	2.334	87	1.426
MLV	<i>Keamemalvastrum lacteum</i>	144	2.834	82	1.223	180	2.647
CRS	<i>Bryophyllum pinnatum</i>	145	2.835	175	2.472	116	1.809
RUB	<i>Crusea calocephala</i>	146	2.856	131	1.913	164	2.413
RUB	<i>Hamelia patens</i>	147	2.860	107	1.549	184	2.774
RHM	<i>Sageretia elegans</i>	148	2.866	113	1.629	149	2.271
AST	<i>Ageratina pringlei</i>	149	2.873	140	2.042	126	1.974
AST	<i>Senecio thomasi</i>	150	2.876	156	2.230	160	2.380
AST	<i>Erigeron karwinskianus</i>	151	2.883	136	1.967	165	2.415
AST	<i>Perymenium ghiesbreghtii</i>	152	2.896	162	2.278	121	1.931
LAM	<i>Prunella vulgaris</i>	153	2.898	137	1.980	174	2.570
LOG	<i>Buddleia crotonoides</i>	154	2.911	147	2.122	117	1.845
CAP	<i>Viburnum hartwegii</i>	155	2.939	105	1.535	192	2.903
AMA	<i>Alternanthera laguroides</i>	156	2.990	150	2.135	179	2.646
SOL	<i>Witheringia stramonifolia</i>	157	3.004	127	1.880	163	2.412
LAM	<i>Ocimum selloi</i>	158	3.017	122	1.812	145	2.221
SOL	<i>Solanum nigrescens</i>	159	3.022	189	2.763	70	1.021
OXA	<i>Oxalis corniculata</i>	160	3.031	158	2.251	114	1.797

Family	Species	Pooled Data		Tzeltal		Tzotzil	
		Name Rank	Name Index (H1)	Name Rank	Name Index (H1)	Name Rank	Name Index (H1)
CAM	Lobelia laxiflora	161	3.032	157	2.240	150	2.276
LYT	Cuphea hyssopifolia	162	3.032	166	2.307	137	2.108
AST	Bidens squarrosa	163	3.038	165	2.303	188	2.852
EUP	Phyllanthus grandifolius	164	3.044	184	2.598	125	1.969
MEL	Miconia mexicana	165	3.044	133	1.932	139	2.184
LAM	Salvia polystachya	166	3.047	164	2.300	122	1.947
AST	Salmea scandens	167	3.058	146	2.115	171	2.524
AST	Brickellia paniculata	168	3.076	148	2.125	159	2.375
LYT	Cuphea aequipetala	169	3.080	163	2.287	128	2.011
API	Micropleura renifolia	170	3.080	179	2.490	155	2.344
AST	Piptothrix areolaris	171	3.083	153	2.176	173	2.557
AST	Verbesina turbascensis	172	3.094	129	1.890	177	2.586
BOR	Cordia spinescens	173	3.095	117	1.686	175	2.578
RUB	Bouvardia leiantha	174	3.095	124	1.859	194	3.050
VAL	Valeriana scandens	175	3.101	170	2.362	123	1.957
SCR	Castilleja integrifolia	176	3.123	183	2.565	92	1.493
EUP	Acalypha botteriana	177	3.160	191	2.772	105	1.726
AMA	Iresine celosia	178	3.166	173	2.457	135	2.074
AST	Senecio chenopodioides	179	3.180	108	1.553	199	3.535
AST	Piqueria trinervia	180	3.204	187	2.641	119	1.916
LAM	Ocimum micranthum	181	3.260	190	2.770	133	2.055
GER	Erodium moschatum	182	3.311	185	2.623	134	2.059
AST	Pinaropappus spathulatus	183	3.334	145	2.111	182	2.708
ONA	Fuchsia splendens	184	3.366	160	2.262	191	2.902
AST	Ageratum houstonianum	185	3.376	169	2.357	176	2.580
PTAL	Llavea cordifolia	186	3.384	180	2.531	151	2.308
CAM	Diastatea micrantha	187	3.398	181	2.535	193	2.969
GEN	Geranium seemanii	188	3.438	192	2.772	130	2.027
RUB	Relbunium hypocarpium	189	3.475	200	3.365	94	1.547
LAM	Lepechinia schiedeana	190	3.477	199	3.352	115	1.805
LAM	Satureja brownei	191	3.490	177	2.480	172	2.554
LAM	Salvia reptans	192	3.503	197	3.140	154	2.332
SCR	Castilleja arvensis	193	3.540	193	2.832	161	2.381
AST	Aster exilis	194	3.583	176	2.479	196	3.107
PRM	Anagallis arvensis	195	3.619	198	3.143	147	2.230
RUB	Deppea grandiflora	196	3.676	186	2.634	190	2.875
AST	Fleischmanniopsis leucocephala	197	3.737	174	2.472	200	3.594
API	Berula erecta	198	3.763	195	3.027	167	2.440
AST	Melanthera nivea	199	3.885	188	2.748	198	3.446
MEL	Arthrostemum ciliatum	200	3.901	194	2.988	189	2.858

N=200

ⁱ Values are in ascending order of diversity. The higher the value, the more diversity of name responses.

APPENDIX C

USE INDEX VALUES AND SPECIES RANKS FOR EACH LANGUAGE GROUPⁱ

Family	Species	Pooled Data		Tzeltal		Tzotzil	
		Use Rank	Use Index (HI)	Use Rank	Use Index (HI)	Use Rank	Use Index (HI)
CHN	Chenopodium ambrosioides	1	1.195	2	0.000	4	1.577
MRT	Psidium guineense	2	1.405	11	1.103	2	1.358
VRB	Verbena litoralis	3	1.492	5	0.800	3	1.522
MLV	Malvaviscus arboreus	4	1.713	2	0.000	39	2.305
AST	Stevia ovata	5	1.724	57	1.903	1	0.691
VRB	Verbena carolina	6	1.756	10	0.893	8	1.807
MLV	Anoda cristata	7	1.797	6	0.809	33	2.238
ROS	Crataegus pubescens	8	1.847	4	0.650	30	2.218
AST	Baccharis serraefolia	9	1.973	25	1.446	31	2.219
MLV	Hibiscus uncinellus	10	2.034	9	0.880	65	2.559
AST	Chromolaena collina	11	2.058	38	1.647	17	1.997
FAB	Calliandra grandiflora	12	2.067	77	2.088	11	1.879
AST	Ageratina pringlei	13	2.089	61	1.922	6	1.754
AST	Baccharis trinervis	14	2.089	68	2.007	10	1.861
AST	Baccharis vaccinioides	15	2.091	20	1.391	29	2.195
FAB	Acacia angustissima	16	2.112	19	1.386	34	2.238
FAB	Calliandra houstoniana	17	2.113	23	1.410	41	2.380
ANA	Rhus schiedeana	18	2.135	21	1.395	13	1.925
MLP	Bunchosia lanceolata	19	2.155	2	0.000	70	2.621
AST	Tagetes filifolia	20	2.212	29	1.532	38	2.304
TIL	Triumfetta dumetorum	21	2.234	37	1.629	54	2.468
BOR	Cordia spinescens	22	2.251	13	1.247	50	2.431
VRB	Lantana camara	23	2.268	79	2.102	27	2.176
CIS	Helianthemum glomeratum	24	2.278	40	1.678	37	2.285
AST	Tithonia diversifolia	25	2.289	28	1.518	42	2.386
SOL	Nicotiana tabacum	26	2.298	55	1.853	23	2.120
BRA	Lepidium virginicum	27	2.303	32	1.541	56	2.496
AST	Vernonia leiocarpa	28	2.322	12	1.161	106	2.885
SOL	Solanum americanum	29	2.326	65	1.943	25	2.161
RAN	Clematis dioica	30	2.326	129	2.476	7	1.773
MLP	Byrsonima crassifolia	31	2.349	8	0.876	111	2.917
AST	Ageratina ligustrina	32	2.376	92	2.215	19	2.044
MEN	Cissampelos pareira	33	2.421	7	0.844	119	2.988
LAM	Salvia lavanduloides	34	2.449	63	1.932	43	2.387
LAM	Salvia reptans	35	2.450	130	2.487	14	1.927
RUB	Zanthosylum foliolosum	36	2.491	70	2.040	28	2.180
SOL	Lycopersicon esculentum	37	2.491	119	2.410	26	2.170
MLV	Kearnemalvastrum lacteum	38	2.497	27	1.509	143	3.143
AST	Erigeron karwinskianus	39	2.501	69	2.027	46	2.408
CAP	Sambucus mexicana	40	2.510	91	2.201	57	2.497
PTAL	Equisetum myriochaetum	41	2.515	136	2.559	16	1.981
AST	Calea urticifolia	42	2.531	39	1.659	66	2.561
VRB	Lantana hispida	43	2.532	145	2.628	21	2.105
AST	Senecio grandifolius	44	2.545	18	1.375	147	3.159

Family	Species	Pooled Data		Tzeltal		Tzotzil	
		Use Rank	Use Index (HI)	Use Rank	Use Index (HI)	Use Rank	Use Index (HI)
PLG	<i>Polygala floribunda</i>	45	2.563	43	1.701	85	2.743
AST	<i>Salmea scandens</i>	46	2.566	109	2.353	47	2.414
SAP	<i>Dodonaea viscosa</i>	47	2.570	44	1.731	76	2.680
SOL	<i>Solanum lanceifolium</i>	48	2.579	107	2.337	20	2.093
AST	<i>Bidens squarrosa</i>	49	2.592	51	1.818	121	3.005
AST	<i>Piptothrix areolaris</i>	50	2.598	62	1.930	125	3.031
RUB	<i>Borreria laevis</i>	51	2.600	59	1.917	48	2.428
AST	<i>Tagetes lucida</i>	52	2.608	137	2.564	5	1.720
ASC	<i>Asclepias curassavica</i>	53	2.622	157	2.727	15	1.946
SOL	<i>Brugmansia candida</i>	54	2.623	46	1.761	71	2.630
EUP	<i>Euphorbia graminea</i>	55	2.651	16	1.341	157	3.228
AST	<i>Pinaropappus spathulatus</i>	56	2.674	108	2.338	79	2.691
AST	<i>Sonchus oleraceus</i>	57	2.680	80	2.115	22	2.114
ROS	<i>Rubus coriifolius</i>	58	2.687	49	1.793	55	2.495
AST	<i>Coreopsis mutica</i>	59	2.691	35	1.614	122	3.008
AST	<i>Perymenium ghiesbreghtii</i>	60	2.705	73	2.066	78	2.688
AST	<i>Tagetes nelsonii</i>	61	2.711	53	1.849	64	2.554
ANA	<i>Rhus terebinthifolia</i>	62	2.711	64	1.934	94	2.801
PLG	<i>Rumex crispus</i>	63	2.718	47	1.763	120	2.993
PLG	<i>Monnina xalapensis</i>	64	2.722	50	1.812	104	2.877
RUB	<i>Crusea calocephala</i>	65	2.728	42	1.695	126	3.040
AST	<i>Verbesina turbascensis</i>	66	2.751	58	1.912	103	2.873
CAM	<i>Diastatea micrantha</i>	67	2.752	15	1.322	163	3.243
AST	<i>Smallanthus maculatus</i>	68	2.758	120	2.416	62	2.544
PTAL	<i>Adiantum andicola</i>	69	2.770	83	2.148	61	2.541
CLE	<i>Clethra suaveolens</i>	70	2.774	34	1.570	93	2.800
AST	<i>Vernonia patens</i>	71	2.775	85	2.156	87	2.754
SOL	<i>Witheringia stramonifolia</i>	72	2.793	84	2.153	18	2.022
LYT	<i>Cuphea aequipetala</i>	73	2.816	171	2.822	9	1.843
EUP	<i>Croton draco</i>	74	2.823	71	2.050	124	3.028
AST	<i>Baccharis glutinosa</i>	75	2.833	106	2.336	32	2.237
LAM	<i>Lepechinia schiedeana</i>	76	2.836	114	2.375	67	2.592
AMA	<i>Alternanthera laguroides</i>	77	2.862	56	1.854	95	2.802
THE	<i>Cleyera theaeoides</i>	78	2.873	75	2.082	96	2.816
PLG	<i>Polygonum punctatum</i>	79	2.877	131	2.496	44	2.388
LOR	<i>Struthanthus depeanus</i>	80	2.879	31	1.540	108	2.896
AST	<i>Lagascea helianthifolia</i>	81	2.891	17	1.361	181	3.347
LOR	<i>Struthanthus quercicola</i>	82	2.897	98	2.280	68	2.606
AST	<i>Bidens aurea</i>	83	2.908	86	2.159	72	2.636
MYR	<i>Myrica cerifera</i>	84	2.909	155	2.711	53	2.465
ERI	<i>Cavendishia crassifolia</i>	85	2.911	41	1.690	134	3.081
ONA	<i>Lopezia racemosa</i>	86	2.914	33	1.554	182	3.372
AST	<i>Dyssodia papposa</i>	87	2.919	96	2.267	110	2.915
API	<i>Apium leptophyllum</i>	88	2.921	54	1.850	75	2.653
MEL	<i>Arthrostemum ciliatum</i>	89	2.923	26	1.461	107	2.888
MRS	<i>Rapanea myricoides</i>	90	2.928	30	1.538	170	3.290
PTAL	<i>Llavea cordifolia</i>	91	2.930	102	2.318	98	2.823
ROS	<i>Holodiscus argenteus</i>	92	2.936	105	2.333	45	2.391
ERI	<i>Arbutus xalapensis</i>	93	2.946	103	2.324	24	2.130
AST	<i>Senecio thomasi</i>	94	2.949	67	1.984	180	3.346
PRM	<i>Anagallis arvensis</i>	95	2.954	139	2.587	35	2.264
PLG	<i>Rumex obtusifolius</i>	96	2.957	78	2.096	161	3.240
MEL	<i>Miconia mexicana</i>	97	2.958	87	2.188	117	2.982

Family	Species	Pooled Data		Tzeltal		Tzotzil	
		Use Rank	Use Index (HI)	Use Rank	Use Index (HI)	Use Rank	Use Index (HI)
PHT	Phytolacca icosandra	98	2.963	122	2.429	129	3.053
FAB	Phaseolus coccineus	99	2.995	121	2.416	63	2.548
EUP	Phyllanthus grandifolius	100	2.997	93	2.237	177	3.323
LOG	Buddleia crotonoides	101	3.010	133	2.504	51	2.441
LAM	Satureja brownei	102	3.019	181	2.914	73	2.639
AST	Bartlettina tuerckheimii	103	3.025	104	2.329	138	3.125
RUB	Deppea grandiflora	104	3.052	90	2.197	149	3.163
AST	Fleischmanniopsis leucocephala	105	3.056	124	2.443	167	3.259
AST	Dahlia imperialis	106	3.059	166	2.790	105	2.884
ONA	Fuchsia splendens	107	3.060	180	2.906	49	2.430
ROS	Prunus serotina	108	3.063	45	1.748	168	3.277
RUB	Ruta graveolens	109	3.067	101	2.303	114	2.960
LAM	Prunella vulgaris	110	3.083	154	2.706	40	2.364
LAM	Ocimum micranthum	111	3.088	146	2.630	116	2.972
EUP	Ricinus communis	112	3.089	175	2.842	74	2.641
FAB	Mimosa albida	113	3.099	72	2.065	176	3.317
WIN	Drimys granadensis	114	3.106	186	2.933	86	2.746
HAM	Liquidambar styraciflua	115	3.108	22	1.407	188	3.415
LAM	Ocimum selloi	116	3.116	14	1.288	187	3.411
SCR	Castilleja integrifolia	117	3.125	132	2.497	102	2.870
AST	Aster exilis	118	3.126	95	2.247	84	2.730
PLM	Loeselia glandulosa	119	3.133	116	2.390	80	2.707
MLP	Gaudichaudia albida	120	3.137	148	2.645	146	3.155
AST	Erechtites valerianifolia	121	3.138	76	2.086	178	3.328
CAM	Lobelia laxiflora	122	3.138	60	1.921	128	3.052
CAP	Viburnum hartwegii	123	3.139	138	2.585	140	3.128
VRB	Lippia substrigosa	124	3.141	143	2.612	77	2.684
AST	Acmella oppositifolia	125	3.143	115	2.384	166	3.252
MLP	Galphimia glauca	126	3.145	142	2.611	132	3.077
MRS	Rapanea juergensenii	127	3.145	82	2.143	144	3.143
LAU	Litsea glaucescens	128	3.155	168	2.804	90	2.759
AST	Piqueria trinervia	129	3.155	99	2.287	99	2.854
AST	Senecio chenopodioides	130	3.155	88	2.190	184	3.384
AST	Senecio salignus	131	3.162	144	2.616	60	2.535
ONA	Oenothera rosea	132	3.165	167	2.800	112	2.950
VRB	Lippia chiapasensis	133	3.171	188	2.959	81	2.708
CRS	Bryophyllum pinnatum	134	3.173	174	2.829	89	2.757
RAN	Ranunculus petiolaris	135	3.174	197	3.337	12	1.884
ERI	Gaultheria odorata	136	3.177	52	1.828	150	3.181
MEL	Conostegia xalapensis	137	3.180	94	2.244	160	3.240
RUB	Hamelia patens	138	3.189	161	2.747	88	2.755
API	Berula erecta	139	3.190	118	2.405	52	2.458
AST	Ambrosia cumanensis	140	3.194	195	3.247	59	2.529
BIG	Tecoma stans	141	3.200	169	2.813	100	2.859
SCR	Castilleja arvensis	142	3.218	187	2.956	91	2.781
GAR	Garrya laurifolia	143	3.219	164	2.762	82	2.711
AST	Archibaccharis androgyna	144	3.222	117	2.402	145	3.144
RHM	Ceanothus coeruleus	145	3.223	128	2.468	109	2.904
VAL	Valeriana scandens	146	3.227	141	2.595	101	2.870
EUP	Phyllanthus niruri	147	3.228	97	2.274	155	3.226
ONA	Fuchsia paniculata	148	3.229	24	1.414	148	3.161
ACT	Saurauia scabrida	149	3.231	127	2.465	97	2.822
AST	Pluchea odorata	150	3.237	179	2.904	152	3.194

Family	Species	Pooled Data		Tzeltal		Tzotzil	
		Use Rank	Use Index (HI)	Use Rank	Use Index (HI)	Use Rank	Use Index (HI)
OXA	Oxalis corniculata	151	3.239	200	3.517	36	2.279
AST	Senecio cristobalensis	152	3.239	126	2.445	172	3.294
AST	Brickellia paniculata	153	3.241	153	2.691	174	3.299
LAM	Hyptis mutabilis	154	3.244	81	2.142	171	3.292
PLA	Plantago australis	155	3.245	74	2.072	183	3.373
COR	Cornus excelsa	156	3.249	193	3.161	58	2.507
API	Micropleura renifolia	157	3.252	48	1.766	192	3.480
RAN	Thalictrum guatemalense	158	3.265	36	1.624	194	3.496
RUB	Randia aculeata	159	3.267	100	2.303	153	3.218
LAU	Litsea neesiana	160	3.276	170	2.819	127	3.050
AST	Ageratum houstonianum	161	3.290	89	2.195	199	3.624
LAM	Salvia polystachya	162	3.306	147	2.642	165	3.252
AST	Melanthera nivea	163	3.308	140	2.593	173	3.298
ONA	Ludwigia peruviana	164	3.316	111	2.368	154	3.218
VRB	Priva aspera	165	3.321	191	2.994	123	3.022
CAP	Viburnum elatum	166	3.326	183	2.921	92	2.784
RHM	Sageretia elegans	167	3.331	113	2.373	83	2.718
FAB	Melilotus alba	168	3.332	190	2.970	136	3.105
MRS	Parathesis chiapensis	169	3.333	125	2.445	158	3.231
RUB	Relbunium hypocarpium	170	3.353	176	2.875	69	2.609
SYM	Symplocos breedlovei	171	3.354	66	1.983	198	3.578
LAM	Salvia holwayi	172	3.367	134	2.520	156	3.227
LAM	Salvia cinnabarina	173	3.367	162	2.749	159	3.240
FAB	Melilotus indica	174	3.377	151	2.668	169	3.287
SOL	Solanum nigrescens	175	3.379	112	2.372	162	3.241
FAB	Dalea leporina	176	3.407	163	2.759	130	3.065
LYT	Cuphea hyssopifolia	177	3.407	150	2.660	131	3.069
AST	Trixis inula	178	3.412	123	2.436	190	3.471
EUP	Acalypha botteriana	179	3.416	110	2.364	141	3.129
PIP	Piper sp.	180	3.421	177	2.879	139	3.127
ARL	Oreopanax xalapensis	181	3.423	149	2.650	195	3.533
ONA	Fuchsia microphylla	182	3.428	172	2.823	137	3.113
LAM	Salvia karwinskii	183	3.433	159	2.741	197	3.540
LOG	Buddleia americana	184	3.439	192	3.079	115	2.966
APO	Vinca major	185	3.459	165	2.779	118	2.987
AST	Fleischmannia pycnocephala	186	3.474	184	2.922	193	3.482
RUB	Bouvardia leiantha	187	3.479	158	2.733	191	3.476
ORC	Epidendrum radicans	188	3.521	189	2.962	151	3.192
LAM	Salvia rubiginosa	189	3.542	152	2.672	185	3.406
LAM	Hyptis urticoides	190	3.545	135	2.535	200	3.804
LYT	Cuphea pinetorum	191	3.551	156	2.719	113	2.954
GER	Erodium moschatum	192	3.576	185	2.928	179	3.333
AMA	Iresine celosia	193	3.586	194	3.218	186	3.410
SCR	Lamourouxia longiflora	194	3.625	178	2.891	142	3.136
AST	Bidens pilosa	195	3.645	173	2.827	135	3.086
PAP	Argemone mexicana	196	3.647	160	2.746	164	3.247
LAM	Salvia purpurea	197	3.648	182	2.918	196	3.538
FAB	Senna foetidissima	198	3.716	196	3.330	189	3.435
GES	Kohleria elegans	199	3.720	198	3.409	133	3.079
GEN	Geranium seemanii	200	3.883	199	3.421	175	3.315

N=200

ⁱ Values are in ascending order of diversity. The higher the value, the more diversity of use responses.

APPENDIX D

WEIGHTED SPECIES RANKS FOR NAME AND USE DIVERSITY FOR EACH LANGUAGE GROUPⁱ

Family	Species	Pooled Data Overall Rank	Tzeltal Overall Rank	Tzotzil Overall Rank
CHN	<i>Chenopodium ambrosioides</i>	3	9	8
AST	<i>Baccharis vaccinioides</i>	9	14	20
MRT	<i>Psidium guineense</i>	11	36	7
VRB	<i>Verbena litoralis</i>	13	7	47
VRB	<i>Verbena carolina</i>	13	9	44
FAB	<i>Calliandra houstoniana</i>	14	21	41
SOL	<i>Nicotiana tabacum</i>	17	32	29
RAN	<i>Clematis dioica</i>	21	84	17
VRB	<i>Lantana camara</i>	22	78	34
FAB	<i>Calliandra grandiflora</i>	26	87	34
PTAL	<i>Equisetum myriochaetum</i>	29	88	35
SOL	<i>Brugmansia candida</i>	30	27	47
ROS	<i>Rubus coriifolius</i>	30	29	33
MLV	<i>Hibiscus uncinellus</i>	31	42	76
ROS	<i>Crataegus pubescens</i>	31	40	45
FAB	<i>Acacia angustissima</i>	33	46	49
VRB	<i>Lantana hispida</i>	35	122	23
CAP	<i>Sambucus mexicana</i>	36	76	56
AST	<i>Tithonia diversifolia</i>	36	42	72
SOL	<i>Lycopersicon esculentum</i>	37	71	27
SOL	<i>Solanum americanum</i>	41	57	32
PTAL	<i>Adiantum andicola</i>	42	67	42
AST	<i>Ageratina ligustrina</i>	44	97	42
ANA	<i>Rhus terebinthifolia</i>	44	45	88
SOL	<i>Solanum lanceifolium</i>	44	95	16
PLG	<i>Polygala floribunda</i>	47	55	91
AST	<i>Stevia ovata</i>	47	82	43
ANA	<i>Rhus schiedeana</i>	47	40	70
AST	<i>Baccharis trinervis</i>	48	70	29
API	<i>Apium leptophyllum</i>	48	44	43
EUP	<i>Euphorbia graminea</i>	49	36	120
LAM	<i>Salvia lavanduloides</i>	50	89	58
PLG	<i>Monnina xalapensis</i>	51	76	71
EUP	<i>Croton draco</i>	51	40	107
MLV	<i>Anoda cristata</i>	52	13	102
TIL	<i>Triumfetta dumetorum</i>	53	37	71
MLP	<i>Bunchosia lanceolata</i>	53	5	118
PHT	<i>Phytolacca icosandra</i>	54	75	79
RUB	<i>Ruta graveolens</i>	58	59	63
RUB	<i>Zanthosylum foliolosum</i>	59	81	30
AST	<i>Dahlia imperialis</i>	60	106	58
THE	<i>Cleyera theaeoides</i>	61	42	79
AST	<i>Tagetes nelsonii</i>	61	71	44
ERI	<i>Arbutus xalapensis</i>	62	91	28
FAB	<i>Phaseolus coccineus</i>	62	90	54

Family	Species	Pooled Data Overall Rank	Tzeltal Overall Rank	Tzotzil Overall Rank
AST	Chromolaena collina	63	59	101
ROS	Holodiscus argenteus	64	69	28
MLP	Byrsonima crassifolia	64	47	85
CLE	Clethra suaveolens	65	33	115
EUP	Ricinus communis	65	92	76
AST	Calea urticifolia	66	103	64
CIS	Helianthemum glomeratum	67	97	68
MLV	Malvaviscus arboreus	68	79	90
AST	Tagetes filifolia	69	62	73
AST	Sonchus oleraceus	69	82	40
AST	Bidens aurea	69	54	84
MLP	Galphimia glauca	69	91	72
AST	Smallanthus maculatus	70	94	53
AST	Vernonia leiocarpa	70	62	129
LOR	Struthanthus deppeanus	71	20	99
AST	Vernonia patens	73	98	86
MYR	Myrica cerifera	74	128	32
SAP	Dodonaea viscosa	74	88	61
HAM	Liquidambar styraciflua	74	25	135
VRB	Lippia chiapasensis	75	98	69
AST	Baccharis serraefolia	76	97	59
VRB	Lippia substrigosa	77	95	73
MEN	Cissampelos pareira	77	35	138
ROS	Prunus serotina	77	49	99
ASC	Asclepias curassavica	79	133	68
COR	Cornus excelsa	79	101	35
AST	Coreopsis mutica	79	81	99
RUB	Borreria laevis	80	34	105
MRS	Rapanea myricoides	80	41	155
AST	Ageratina pringlei	81	101	66
ACT	Saurauia scabrida	82	78	68
ERI	Gaultheria odorata	83	44	112
BRA	Lepidium virginicum	84	105	54
AST	Baccharis glutinosa	84	123	52
ERI	Cavendishia crassifolia	88	80	73
MLV	Kearnemalvastrum lacteum	91	55	162
AST	Acmella oppositifolia	91	85	142
AST	Senecio grandifolius	91	85	167
FAB	Mimosa albida	92	50	127
AST	Tagetes lucida	92	129	53
LOR	Struthanthus quercicola	93	82	81
ONA	Ludwigia peruviana	93	72	115
PLG	Rumex crispus	94	64	149
AST	Erigeron karwinskianus	95	103	106
ONA	Fuchsia paniculata	96	57	100
AST	Senecio cristobalensis	97	82	92
BOR	Cordia spinescens	98	65	113
LAM	Salvia cinnabarina	99	94	85
RHM	Ceanothus coeruleus	99	96	60
AST	Senecio salignus	99	134	36
AST	Dyssodia papposa	103	97	110
GAR	Garrya laurifolia	104	157	58
LAU	Litsea glaucescens	104	108	78
BIG	Tecoma stans	104	155	67
AST	Lagascea helianthifolia	104	35	189
PLG	Polygonum punctatum	105	128	101
LAM	Salvia holwayi	105	89	92
AST	Bartlettina tuerckheimii	105	143	94

Family	Species	Pooled Data Overall Rank	Tzeltal Overall Rank	Tzotzil Overall Rank
RUB	<i>Crusea calcephala</i>	106	87	145
ONA	<i>Lopezia racemosa</i>	106	63	157
AST	<i>Bidens squarrosa</i>	106	108	155
AST	<i>Perymenium ghiesbreghtii</i>	106	118	100
WIN	<i>Drimys granadensis</i>	106	151	61
AST	<i>Salmea scandens</i>	107	128	109
PLG	<i>Rumex obtusifolius</i>	109	75	159
AST	<i>Piptothrix areolaris</i>	111	108	149
MEL	<i>Conostegia xalapensis</i>	111	59	132
AST	<i>Pluchea odorata</i>	113	118	150
LAM	<i>Salvia reptans</i>	114	164	84
ARL	<i>Oreopanax xalapensis</i>	115	142	103
SOL	<i>Witheringia stramonifolia</i>	115	106	91
AST	<i>Bidens pilosa</i>	115	91	115
APO	<i>Vinca major</i>	115	114	93
RAN	<i>Thalictrum guatemalense</i>	116	28	147
AMA	<i>Alternanthera laguroides</i>	117	103	137
FAB	<i>Dalea leporina</i>	117	142	90
PLM	<i>Loeselia glandulosa</i>	118	102	112
PLA	<i>Plantago australis</i>	119	123	115
LAU	<i>Litsea neesiana</i>	119	109	96
AST	<i>Verbesina turbascensis</i>	119	94	140
AST	<i>Pinaropappus spathulatus</i>	120	127	131
LYT	<i>Cuphea aequipetala</i>	121	167	69
MRS	<i>Rapanea juergensenii</i>	121	122	99
AST	<i>Erechtites valerianifolia</i>	121	84	173
AST	<i>Senecio thomasi</i>	122	112	170
MLP	<i>Gaudichaudia albida</i>	122	134	146
LAM	<i>Hyptis mutabilis</i>	124	84	148
AST	<i>Archibaccharis androgyna</i>	125	138	94
LAM	<i>Salvia karwinskii</i>	126	151	104
CAM	<i>Diastatea micrantha</i>	127	98	178
CAP	<i>Viburnum elatum</i>	127	177	52
LOG	<i>Buddleia americana</i>	128	135	91
LOG	<i>Buddleia crotonoides</i>	128	140	84
MRS	<i>Parathesis chiapensis</i>	129	72	145
FAB	<i>Senna foetidissima</i>	129	162	118
MEL	<i>Miconia mexicana</i>	131	110	128
RUB	<i>Randia aculeata</i>	131	102	133
LAM	<i>Prunella vulgaris</i>	132	146	107
EUP	<i>Phyllanthus grandifolius</i>	132	139	151
LAM	<i>Lepechinia schiedeana</i>	133	157	91
RAN	<i>Ranunculus petiolaris</i>	135	150	75
ONA	<i>Oenothera rosea</i>	136	119	150
LAM	<i>Ocimum selloi</i>	137	68	166
AST	<i>Ambrosia cumanensis</i>	138	173	85
SYM	<i>Symplocos breedlovei</i>	138	101	156
CAP	<i>Viburnum hartwegii</i>	139	122	166
GES	<i>Kohleria elegans</i>	139	121	120
PTAL	<i>Llavea cordifolia</i>	139	141	125
ORC	<i>Epidendrum radicans</i>	140	142	129
CRS	<i>Bryophyllum pinnatum</i>	140	175	103
FAB	<i>Melilotus alba</i>	141	152	119
CAM	<i>Lobelia laxiflora</i>	142	109	139
RUB	<i>Hamelia patens</i>	143	134	136
EUP	<i>Phyllanthus niruri</i>	143	114	149
AST	<i>Trixis inula</i>	144	134	131
PRM	<i>Anagallis arvensis</i>	145	169	91

Family	Species	Pooled Data Overall Rank	Tzeltal Overall Rank	Tzotzil Overall Rank
MEL	Arthrostephia ciliatum	145	110	148
ONA	Fuchsia splendens	146	170	120
PAP	Argemone mexicana	146	101	147
LAM	Ocimum micranthum	146	168	125
LAM	Satureja brownei	147	179	123
SCR	Castilleja integrifolia	147	158	97
VRB	Priva aspera	147	167	117
LAM	Salvia purpurea	149	147	150
AST	Fleischmannia pycnocephala	149	113	181
RUB	Deppea grandiflora	150	138	170
AST	Fleischmanniopsis leucocephala	151	149	184
FAB	Melilotus indica	151	145	125
ONA	Fuchsia microphylla	155	121	166
AST	Piqueria trinervia	155	143	109
AST	Senecio chenopodioides	155	98	192
OXA	Oxalis corniculata	156	179	75
AST	Aster exilis	156	136	140
PIP	Piper sp.	157	127	146
SCR	Lamourouxia longiflora	157	123	143
RHM	Sageretia elegans	158	113	116
VAL	Valeriana scandens	161	156	112
AST	Brickellia paniculata	161	151	167
LAM	Hyptis urticoides	163	116	191
API	Micropleura renifolia	164	114	174
LAM	Salvia polystachya	164	156	144
LAM	Salvia rubiginosa	166	174	98
LYT	Cuphea pinetorum	166	122	148
SOL	Solanum nigrescens	167	151	116
SCR	Castilleja arvensis	168	190	126
API	Berula erecta	169	157	110
LYT	Cuphea hyssopifolia	170	158	134
AST	Ageratum houstonianum	173	129	188
EUP	Acalypha botteriana	178	151	123
RUB	Relbunium hypocarpium	180	188	82
AST	Melanthera nivea	181	164	186
RUB	Bouvardia leiantha	181	141	193
AMA	Iresine celosia	186	184	161
GER	Erodium moschatum	187	185	157
GEN	Geranium seemanii	194	196	153

N=200

ⁱ Ranks are based on a weighted average of the name diversity and use diversity ranks for each of the three data analysis groups. Values are in ascending order of diversity. The higher the value, the more diversity of both name and use responses.