

PLANT NAMES IN KHALING
A STUDY IN ETHNOBOTANY AND VILLAGE ECONOMY

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INTRODUCTION

Nepal has a rich contribution to make in the botanical world. Since the time of Sir Joseph Hooker, flowers and other plants of the Himalayas have attracted the scientific attention of people around the world, but unfortunately, names in local dialects or languages are not widely known. This paper attempts to list some of the plant names recorded as a by-product of linguistic studies. Khaling, one of the Rai Languages spoken in Solu-Khumbu, Sagarmatha Zone, is the language in which we have recorded the names of plants here. The technical works we have consulted in the preparation of this paper are cited in the references given below. The following individuals I wish to thank for their contributions in identifying plants : Mr. T.B. Shrestha and Mrs. P. Pradan of the Department of Medicinal Plants, HMG, Thapathali, Kathmandu; Professor Dr. D.D. Bhatt of the Department of Botany at Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur; Mr. Ch.B. Khaling, our language assistant who supplied the Khaling names and many of the Nepali names. All plants were found in Khaling territory, at altitudes between 1300 to 3500 meters above sea level.

PART I
THE UTILIZATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES

1. CULTIVATED PLANTS.

1.1. FOOD GRAINS.

The principal staple for the Khaling people is black millet (*Eleusine coracana*). It is sown in seed beds during the months of May and June. These seed beds are prepared with great care. The ground is plowed and then with the hand broken into very fine particles and mixed with cow, buffalo or goat dung. The plot is then sown quite densely with seed. The seed beds are weeded twice before the millet shoots are transplanted to the fields where they will grow to maturity. Millet shoots are generally transplanted into fields which had barley as the preceding crop. Millet is

harvested in the months of November and December. Only the ears are cut. The stalks are left for the cattle to eat. Since the cattle go to the fields to feed on the millet stubble, the dung produced by the cattle need not be transported to the fields as is necessary with the Sherpa who keep their cattle in stables by their houses.

Millet, as a staple of Khaling diet, is served usually as the mid-morning meal in the form of porridge. It is accompanied by either a spinach or lentil soup. Left-over millet porridge becomes firm like a piece of bread and is eaten as a snack by children. Sometimes millet flour is mixed with soyabeans and prepared as soup. The Khaling do not, as a rule, eat millet pancakes, but they do prepare millet pancakes for the Kamis who work for them¹. Millet is also used to make beer and liquor (rakshi). Millet beer is considered the best quality homemade beer and preferred at festivities such as weddings.

Corn (*Zea mays*) is second only to millet as a staple food. Like millet, corn has a Khaling name which suggests that it has long been known to the Khaling. But whereas the Khaling normally use their own name when referring to millet, they tend rather to use the Nepali name when referring to corn. Corn is planted in the month of March and harvested at the beginning of the rainy season in June. It is eaten as a porridge in alternation with millet. But almost more important is its use as snack food when it is popped. "Tortillas", the South American kind of corn pancakes prepared from corn mush are completely unknown. Recently we had good response to instruction in how to make corn bread from the fine flour which is not used for corn porridge, but sifted out and fed to the dogs while the coarser meal is used in making porridge. In lean years the people may not be able to afford feeding the fine flour to the dogs and the knowledge of how to make corn bread may prove beneficial. Corn bread can be baked entirely from locally available ingredients. Locally available bicarbonate of soda can be used as a leavening agent. Corn is of course also used in making beer and liquor.

Rice (*Oryza sativa*) is planted only in small quantities on fields located lower than the actual Khaling villages. Rice is the food reserved for festivities such as weddings. It is only rarely used to make liquor.

Buckwheat (*Fagopyrum esculentum*) is planted during the months of August and September. Buckwheat is eaten as a porridge either by itself or mixed with millet. It is harvested in late December. Buckwheat is ground into fine flour and cooked into a porridge either by itself or mixed with millet flour. It is also very good in pancakes which are baked on a hot slate without any grease. Because it rises without any leavening agent, it would also be suited for baking bread.

1. Kami is the name of an ethnic group whose mothertongue is Nepali. They are blacksmiths, gold- and silversmiths, or field labourers.

Wheat (*Triticum vulgare*) is planted during the months of September and October. It is harvested during April and May and eaten especially during the rainy season when the millet has been used up and corn has not yet been harvested. Wheat is often parched and mixed with parched soyabeans for a snack food. Parched wheat may also be ground and cooked as porridge. Wheat flour is used to make pancakes (chapati) or dumplings.

Barley (*Hordeum Vulgare*) is planted especially for making beer. The time for planting is during September and October, harvesting time are the months of February and March.

Cop (*Triticum sp.*) is a kind of rye, planted in small quantities and used for snacks, puffed and mixed with other puffed grains.

1.2. OTHER EDIBLE PLANTS.

Potatoes (*Solanum tuberosum*) are not planted at the level of Khaling villages, but Khaling people usually own patches of potato fields in higher altitudes where the soil as well as the climate are favorable.

Around each house in a Khaling village one finds a clump of banana trees (*Musa paradisiaca*), the fruit of which ripens during the warm and rainy months. Also common in the gardens around the houses is a very useful plant of the gourd family (*Momordica charanta*). Its fruit is eaten from November till December. After that, the leaves fall off, and then part of the root is dug out and cut off and eaten boiled like potatoes. It is delicious when it is roasted in the ashes. Tomatoes (*Lycopersicon esculentum*) grow as big as marbles in the gardens around the houses. Indispensable is the patch of very hot red chilli (*Capsicum frutescens*) near each house. As in other parts of Nepal, both black lentils and soyabeans (*Glycine max.*) are grown around the houses. Also mustard greens are seen in every garden. They are cooked like spinach or dried and eaten in soup during early spring before the wild buckwheat leaves appear. When these appear they are also prepared and eaten like mustard greens. As yet, few people plant cabbage or cauliflower in their gardens. Recently, tea bushes are being grown in Khaling gardens. But the Khaling have yet to learn how to process tea leaves.

So-called sweet potatoes (*Ipomoea batatas*) grow in the red soil below the villages.

Taro (*Alocasia indicum*) is another starchy plant - root planted in fields near the village. In June, its leaves are cooked like spinach. The roots are dug out in January and boiled like potatoes. They can be kept raw for several months.

All the plants mentioned thus far fall into the category of cultivated plants.

2. SEMI-CULTIVATED PLANTS.

Nettles (*Urtica dioica*) are an example of a plant which falls into the category of semi-cultivated plants. Nettles are found near every house. The leaves are picked with bamboo tongs and prepared like mustard greens and eaten with porridge. More often, however, nettles are picked and cooked for the pigs.

An important semi-cultivated plant is bamboo (*Cephalostachyun*). Once it has been planted it is left to grow on its own. Bamboo has a very wide range of uses. During the monsoon season, the fresh shoots are cooked and provide a tasty vegetable dish. Bamboo provides material for water pipes to irrigate paddy fields (its stems are cut in half lengthwise for this purpose); scaffolds for house building and various kinds of step-ladders and fences are all made out of bamboo. Even kitchen utensils and containers are made out of this durable material. There is also a kind of bamboo with thin stems (*Arundinaria Hookeriana*) which provides material for baskets of all kinds as well as for little musical instruments which are pinned to clothing as decoration.

There are many shrubs and trees in the forests the fruits of which are gathered seasonally and eaten raw. Many roots and leafy plants are also gathered. These add variety to an otherwise monotonous menu. One kind of nut (*Juglans regia*) is particularly used to make yeast needed to ferment beer. In their daily trips to the jungle for animal fodder, the Khaling cut branches and leaves to feed their animals. Certain trees provide wood for tools or for beams in the houses.

Fire wood is, unfortunately, not cultivated. Though different kinds of trees are known to provide good fire wood, nothing is done to cultivate these trees in order to guarantee a supply of fire wood in the future. In fact, deforestation is a serious threat to the Khaling people.

One plant outstanding for its beauty is the rhododendron tree (*Rhododendron borbatum*), whose bright red blossoms are a spectacular sight in February and March. There are a number of orchids which grow in the jungle. They are often picked by the young folk who watch the cows and goats. From the stem of one particular kind (*Dendrobium Pierardi*) a strong strong fibre is obtained which is used to weave decorative patterns on the handles of little brushes which are carried by the girls and women to clean their golden nose rings. It is interesting to note that the Khaling people appreciate the beauty of the rhododendrons, orchids, and other wild flowers.

4. RELIGIOUS AND MEDICINAL USE OF PLANTS.

Some plants listed in Part III below are utilized for both religious and medical purposes, these purposes being inseparable. Some of these plants do have healing properties, serving to fight infection or stop diarrhea, while others are useful mainly for their ritual significance. One example is the betelnut (*Piper betle*). It is not, as is common among other ethnic groups in Nepal, chewed habitually, but serves exclusively a religious purpose in a ceremony held in the jungle in order to ward off evil spirits.

PART II

BARTERING AND TRADING.

Khaling economy is largely based upon agriculture. Though every family also owns livestock, consisting of cattle, water buffalos, goats and sheep, it is grain that is used to figure prices of goods bought by Khaling people. Until a few years ago, there were only a few items that needed to be bought in a Khaling household. Such items included metal tools for field work, cooking pots made of metal, some kinds of baskets, and clothes sewn by the local tailor. In each case, payment was made not in cash or cattle but in grain. That was still so until quite recently, because even nowadays people will often tell us the price of something, e.g. a basket, in terms of the quantity of grain required for the payment. Thus, bartering of goods for grain was the form of trade observed by the Khaling. Of course, nowadays, there is a market only one day's walk away from any Khaling village. Goods purchased in the market must be paid for in cash. But how do Khaling people earn cash? They do not have a large surplus of grain to sell for cash in any given year. It is just enough to account for expenses as mentioned above, or in addition for paying voluntary workers at house building or feeding a large number of guests at a feast. Apart from trying to sell small quantities of grain in order to have the necessary cash for items bought at the market, the Khaling people resort to buying products produced in the lowlands, such as rice, and transporting them to highland markets and selling them at a profit. But this is a slow and strenuous way to earn cash.

Grains that bring good prices in the market are millet, corn, rice and wheat. Mandarin oranges, grown at lower elevations within the Khaling area, bring a good profit when sold in Namche. Rice is in great demand in Namche, but the Khaling do not have a large surplus to sell. Wheat, since it grows better at higher altitudes and is cultivated by the Sherpa, is not very profitable as a cash crop for the Khaling. Corn is in demand by Sherpas, therefore it is a good item for bartering with Sherpas.

Trading in the strict sense of the word is not practised by the Khalings. No shops are found in the five panchayats in which Khaling villages are located. There are only occasional fairs held at irregular intervals. They are held at night time and are connected with religious observances.

Table 1 shows the places where Khalings buy and sell, the items which are marketed, and the approximate range of prices for each item. Except where specified, the prices given are for one pathi of the named commodity. The pathi is a unit of volume equivalent to approximately one gallon. In the case of chili pepper, the unit specified is the mana. There are eight mana to the pathi. The chart was recorded in March, 1974. Namche and Dorpu are weekly markets in Sherpa villages, Tumshe is in the Thulung area. Namche is three to four days walk north of the Khaling area, Tumshe is one day south, and Dorpu, where Khalings sell and buy most frequently, is one day east. Prices are given in Nepal rupees.

Table 1: Selling and Buying

	Namche	Tumshe	Dorpu
corn	7.50—8.00	5.00	4.00—5.00
rice	14.00—16.00	13.00—14.00	10.00—12.00
millet	7.50—8.00	4.00	6.00
potato	4.00	4.00	3.00
wheat	12.00	8.00	6.00
awee potato	—	2.00	—
soyabeans	8.00	6.00—8.00	—
chili (mara)	2.00	1.00	1.00
pounded rice	14.00	8.00	8.00
salt	16.00	10.00	8.00

PART III

PLANT NAMES.

The following Khaling plant names were collected during linguistic field research in January through May 1974. The list as it stands has been checked carefully to ensure that the Khaling and Nepali names match. About ten Khalings cooperated with me in the identification of each plant, and Mr. Purne P. Dhungana checked the Nepali names twice, for which I am very grateful. A great deal of time and effort was invested in checking the accuracy of the botanical names and descriptions given here.

We have restricted the list of plant names to those which are specifically useful to the human inhabitants of the area. While some of the Khaling names for plants given here are descriptive, others have no special meaning other than as plant names. There are surely names for many other plants which we have not included in this list. Many of the plants which we have included here have no Nepali names. This may be due in part to our limited knowledge of Nepali plant names.

The order of listing follows the Khaling Roman orthography². The description following the botanical names is not given in detail. For this the reader is invited to refer to the technical books that are listed in the references. I consulted them for each plant name. Doubtful names are followed by (?). We excluded in this list plants that have only Nepali names: exceptions are names which are completely incorporated into the Khaling phonological system. The Nepali equivalent is given in a slash line following the Latin name. A blank between slash lines indicates that either we did not know the Nepali name or that no Nepali name exists. Local variation in Nepali names may also be observed. In describing plant usage, fire wood is not listed, because practically all dry trees and shrubs can serve that purpose.

ækpa	<i>Znthoxylum oxyphyllum</i> Edgew. /Timbur/ a shrub with edible seeds
asalam	<i>Castanopsis indica</i> (Roxb.) A. DC. /dhale kaTus/ a tree. The leaves are used for fodder and in religious healing ceremonies.
'aap	<i>Pinus Roxburghii</i> Sargent /khoTo sallaa/ a lowland pine with long needles. It is used for timber.
'baalsam	<i>Aristolochia Griffithii</i> Hook. /f. Thom. a creeper. The inner strings are used to make ropes to tie domestic animals.
'barsu	<i>Cucumis sativus</i> Linn. /kààkro/ cultivated climbing herb with edible fruit
bæysu	<i>Cstnopsis tribuloides</i> (Sm.) A. DC. /musure kaTus/ a tree about 30' tall with edible fruit.
belemæ	(?) /halhale/ an herb with edible leaves
belembu	<i>Photinia integrifolia</i> Lindl. /gaj phul/ a tree, used as support and beams in cattle shelters

2. The Khaling Roman orthography system is described in Toba and Toba, 1972.

- 'beljwaam (?) / /
an herb
- 'bisuwaa *Alnus nepalensis* D. Don /utis/
a tall riverside tree, usually planted on land-slide areas to stop further erosion. It is also used as timber.
- blenggam (?) 1 bagale cyau/
an inedible fungus
- bokomæs *Garuga pinnata* Roxb. /dadabe/
a tree. Its leaves are used for fodder.
- bokote-sang *Maesa macrophylla* (Wallich) A. DC. / /
a small highland tree. The leaves are used for fodder and the trunk for timber.
- 'bokto *Engelhardtia spicata* Lech ex. Bl. /maiwa/
a large tree
- 'bosu *Boehmeria rugulosa* Weddell /dar/
a lowland tree. It is used for making all kinds of containers.
- brapjem *Arundinaria sp.* /kharuki/
an herb, or bamboo grass which animals are very fond of
- bubuyem *Anaphalis contorta* (D. Don) Hook. f. /buki jhaar/
tan herb with white flowers
- 'buplaaceu (?) /paan' cyau/
an edible fungus
- bhendekekepci *Cyathula tormentosa* (Roth) Moquin / /
a shrub. Monquin in fruit. Its seeds adhere to animal hair and are thus distributed.
- bhenderæni *Lycopersicon esculentum* Mill. /golbheDa /
tomato, cultivated and eaten
- bhek-apraa *Arisaema costatum* Wal Mart. /baankro/
a tuberous herb which looks like the head of a snake
- bhonggolsi *Pouzolzia hirta* (Bl.) Hassk. /ciple laharo/
a creeping plant with edible fruit
- 'bhøp *Arundinaria Hookeriana* Munro /malingo/
a bamboo, used to make baskets

- 'bhō *Panicum italicum* /kaagunu/
a millet, cultivated and eaten as a cereal
- 'bhræm *Fagopyrum esculentum* Moench /latte/
buckwheat, cultivated in the highland
F. tataricum(L.) J. Gaertner /kaun/
buckwheat, ground and eaten as porridge or pancakes
- 'bhtolung *Dryopteris filixmas* Schott. /uniu/
a fern with edible shoot
- bhülüsi *Agapetes serpens* (Wight) Sleumer /gaadar/
a parasitic plant with edible fruit
- 'bhündüwæ-sang *Clematis grewiaeflora* DC. /juge lahara/
woody climber. Its roots are used as medicine for headache.
- bhwaam (?) /jhyau/
a kind of white lichen used to stop bleeding
- bhwaarnæm *Buddleia asiatica* Lour. /bhimsing paat/
a tall shrub, used as fodder
- 'caakcaramsi (?) /ghaangghaa, okaaro/
a thorny tree with white flowers. It is used for fences and as goat fodder.
- cemö *Arundinaria sp.* /phurke/
a bamboo which is used by village shamans in healing ceremonies
- 'ceri *Cynodon Dactylon* (L.) Pers. /seto dubo/
an herb used for fodder
- cerlæm *Maesa chisia* Buch. - Ham. ex. Don /bilaune/
a small lowland tree used for fodder
- 'ces *Viburnum mullaha* Buch /cyaasi amilo/
a tree use as fodder
- 'cinwaam *Chenopodium album* Linn. /beThu/
an edible herb. Its fruit is used in beer-making
- 'comphæræm *Berberis aristata* DC. /cutro/
barberry. Thorny shrub with yellow flowers. It is used for fencing in fields.

- 'congki (?) /bhaisisure/
an herb used for fodder
- cop *Triticum sp.* /uwaa/
a cultivated grain, used as cereal, in pancakes, and in beer
- cos *Ficus glaherrima* Bl. /kaabhio/
a tree with edible leaves. Its trunk is used for timber.
- 'cōkaasi *Quercus glauca* Thunb. /phalaaDh/
a tree, used to make agricultural tools, e.g. plough parts
- 'cuksu *Picea spinulosa* (Griffith) Henwy /Thigure/
White spruce, used as timber
- 'curbu (?) / /
a thorny tree with dark green leaves which are eaten by goats. It is also used to fence in fields.
- 'curbham *Cirsium aryracanthum* DC. /sugure kaaDo/
a thistle, used for fodder
- 'chæmcu *Bauhinia variegata* Linn. /koiraro/
a tree used for fodder
- 'chænūwærsi (?) /paani lahara/
a creeper with sap which is used as eye medicine
- 'chebar *Saccharum officinarum* Linn. /ukhu/
sugar cane. It is cultivated, but the Khaling do not produce sugar from it, they only chew it.
- 'chörkwaay (?) /mirge cyau/
an edible fungus which grows on old trees
- 'daamdaa *Arundinaria sp.* /raato nigaalo/
a thin bamboo, used for making baskets
- 'dænciki *Leycesteria formosa* Wall. /paDpaDe/
an aromatic shrub, which sometimes takes parasitic form. It is used as an anthelmintic.
- delki *Dioscorea alata* L. /ghar tarul/
cultivated yam with edible fruit and root
- dodikhæm-saang *Gentiana capitata* Buch / /
a small edible herb used as fodder

- dokosi *Zea mays* L. /makai/
 corn. Together with millet, corn is the most important crop for the Khalings. Dry, empty cobs and stalks are used as fuel in the making of rakshi (liquor, because they give the low heat required for distilling. Dry stalks also are fed to water buffalos during the dry winter season.
- dongdang pungmæ *Primula ianthina* Balfour P. ex. Cave / /
 primula, it blooms in dark blue flowers in the highland. It is picked and worn as decoration on clothes or headwear.
- dūlimas *Vicia hirsuta* (L) Gray /aakura/
 an herb used for fodder
- dhæbatam *Bergenia ciliata*. (Maw.) Sternb. /pakhanaa bhed/
 a poisonous herb
- 'dhæru *Prunus cerasoides* D. Don /paiyung/
 Himalayan cherry tree. It is planted for the beauty of its flowers.
- 'dhenggaisi *Magnolia Campbellii* Hook. f. et. Thom. /ghoge cààp/ (?)
 a tree. Its leaves provide fodder, its trunk is used for timber.
- 'dhocer *Triticum vulgare* Vill. /gàu/
 wheat. It is cultivated and eaten whole and roasted or ground into fine flour and used in porridge or pancakes.
- dhosnær *Carex beccans* Nees, /harakeTo/
 herb-like grass used for fodder
- dhumii *Ficus foveolatus* Wall. ex. Mig. /dude lahara/
 a creeper with edible fruit. It also provides fodder.
- 'dhupsi *Piper betle* Linn. /paan/
 betelnut. Its fruit is edible. Its leaves are used at a religious ceremony of the Khalings called *thunæm mosi* 'jungle purification'. It is performed to keep the evil spirit that brings sickness from coming to the village. This is done by a shaman called *sele nokco*.
- elsi *Sterculia coccinea* Roxb. /cirui/
 a tree. Its leaves are used as food containers at feasts. The trunk is used for timber.

- 'gipsi *Glycine max* (L) Merrill /bhaTomaas/
a soyabean. It is cultivated and either roasted for snacks or made into a fermented paste which is cooked as soup.
- 'glombe *Machilus Gamlei* King /kaaulo/
a tree. Its bark is used for leavening sel roTi (Nepalese doughnut). The Khaling shaman uses the leaves when he performs an exorcism.
- 'goldo *Symloros ramosissima* Wall. ex. Gr. Don /khaaraane/
a tall tree. Its leaves provide fodder. Its fruit is processed for edible oil and its trunk is used as timber.
- 'ghamaalam *Zingiber Mioga* Rosc. (?) /ghokapaa/
a wild edible ginger root
- ghraktam (?) /gharaghoi/
a tree. Its black fruit is processed for edible oil.
- 'ghremsi *Quercus spicata* /phaalaame/
oak. Its leaves are used for fodder.
- ghrenaa *Urtica dioica* Linn. /sisnu/
nettle. It is semi-cultivated and eaten like spinach.
- ghruksu *Bombax malabaricum* D.C. /simbal/
a large tree, used as timber
- ghrüs *Rubus elipticus* Smith /ààiselu/
golden evergreen raspberry, uncultivated, edible
- 'hip *Arundinaria Maling* Gamble /setio nigaalo/
a small and thin bamboo, used in making baskets and rainwear
- 'holo *Duabanga sonneratioides* Hamilt. /laampaate/
a lowland tree, used as timber, mainly for the house beams
- 'jaasu *Bauhinia pupurea* L. /Tààki/
a tree, used as fodder. Its flowers are eaten as a vegetable substitute.
- jijile *Albizzia sp.* /seto siris/
a tree, used for fodder

- 'jilesi *Cannabis sativa* Linn. /bhààgo/
true hemp. Its seeds are eaten as a sedative to sooth rest-
lessness
- 'jörnisi *Rhus succedanea* Linn. /raani bholaayo/
cashew, edible nut, not cultivated
- 'jujur-saang *Oxalis corniculata* Linn. /cari amilo /
a medicinal herb
- 'jharbu *Eurya acuminata* DC. /jingguni/
a tree, used for fodder
- 'jhaalaabu (?) /tilke/
a tree, used for fodder
- 'jheremsi *Myrica esculenta* Buch. -Ham. ex. D. Don. /kaaphal/
evergreen tree, its bark is used as medicine for fever and
cough
- jhes-bhündüwæ *Clematis montana* Buch. -Ham. ex. D. Don. / /
a woody climber with a white flower
- jhes-kanaasi *Calanthe plantaginea* Lind / /
a highland orchid
- jhes-khaltap *Daphne bholua* Buch. Ham. ex. D. Don /lek ko aalgeli/
a tree. Its bark is used to make ropes. The Sherpas make
paper out of it.
- jhes-khæpraa *Arisaema Wallichianum* Hook. f. /lek baako/
a tuberous herb, used for making rope
- jhes-lamcaasi *Gaultheria pyroloides* Hook. f. et Thom. ex. Mig.
a highland shrub with edible fruit. Its leaves are used for
fodder.
- jhes-næpcibem *Viburnum cordifolium* Wall. /ghode khari/
a highland shrub with white peduncled corymb flowers
- jhes-rangkhilæm *Lyonia villosa* (Hook. f.) Hand. / /
a tree, used for fodder
- jhes-taaktibung *Rhododendron dalhousiae* Hook. f. /cimaal/
a rhododendron

- jhes-yasu *Prunus nepalensis* (Ser.) Steudel /arupaate/
plum
- 'jhesu *Terminalia myriocarpa* Heurck et Muell. -Arg. /paani saas /
a lowland tree.
- 'kanasi *Coelogyne corymbosa* Lindley /kaarine/
an epiphytic orchid with short rhizomes
- kat *Rubia manjith* Roxb. ex. Fleming /majiTo/
a creeper, used as fodder, also used as medicine by shamans
- 'kaanter *Dendroca lanmus* sp. /coya bàà/
a bamboo, used for making containers and ladders
- kaatwaalam *Rubia sikkimensis* Kurz. /majiTo/
a climbing herb
- kæmcülem *Pouzolzia viminea* /ciple/
an herb with a bag-like fruit containing a sticky juice which
is used for paste. The red fruit is also used for washing hair.
Some Khaling call this plant *ngelemæ*.
- kæphæm *Lagenaria leucantha* Rusby (Dvc.) /loki/
bottle gourd. The fruit can be used as a container after the
juice is taken out. Khaling priests, *nægi nokco*, use it filled
with beer which is offered to ancestor gods.
- 'kekepci *Triumfetta pilosa* Roth. /kuro/
a sharp pointed grass. The seeds are distributed when their
burrs attach themselves to clothing and animals.
- 'kerpungme *Primula atrodentata* W.W. Smith / /
a highland primrose
- ki *Solanum tuberosum* L. /aalu/
potato. Cultivated above 6,000'. Another variety is grown
in the lowland where it ripens earlier.
- kokalapkhæpraa *Arisaema Jacquemontii* Blume /chepaio baako /
an herb
- 'kole *Boswellia serrata* (?) /saala/
a tree, used for making boxes

- 'kongkoci *Lindera nessiana* Benth. /silTimbur/
a tree. Its leaves and seeds are used as medicine.
- 'korosi *Emblica officinalis* Gaertn. /amala/
a deciduous tree with an edible fruit which is dried and used as diarrhea medicine.
- 'kursi *Juglans regia* Linn. /okhaat/
walnut. It is used for timber, its edible fruit is used in beer making.
- khaktam *Plygoun runcinatum* Buch.- Ham. ex. D. Don /ratnaulo/
an herb, used for fodder
- 'khawaa *Stercuria villosa* (?) /odaala/
a lowland tree. It provides a fibre which is used to make headbands and rope.
- khaakcalap *Holarrhena antidysenterica* Wallich ex DC /khirio/
a large tree. Its leaves are only eaten by goats. It is planted for shade or kept as a hedge around fields.
- 'khænæmbu *Heynea trijuga* (Roxb.) Kurz. /ààkhaa taruwa/
a lowland tree
- khæbwaasmi *Melothria maderaspatana* (L.) Cogninax /kààkro jhar/
a creeping herb with edible red fruit
- khik *Scurrula elata* (Edgew.) Danser /aaijeru/
a woody parasitic plant, poisonous
- 'khisaa *Pinus Griffithii* McClelland /sallo/
tall pine tree with long cones, used for timber
- khlus *Mahonia napaulensis* DC. /jamane mardro/
a tree with edible fruits
- khorsane *Osmanthus fragrans* Lour. /silingge/
a tall tree with white flowers. Its trunk is used to make ploughs and handles of other agricultural instruments including axes.
- khos *Alocasia india* Schott /pinDalu/
taro, cultivated and eaten

- khörsæy *Capsicum frutescens* var. /khursaani/
chilli, used for seasoning
- khöwel *Mechelia champaca* Linn. /cààp/
a tall tree with yellow flowers. Its trunk is used for timber.
- 'khukwaay (?) /bagale cyau/
an edible fungus
- 'khup *Ficus clavata* Wall /khuniu/
a fig tree with edible fruits. Its leaves as well as its fruits are fed to animals.
- 'khubu *Albizzia mollis* Boiv. /siris/
a tree with pinnated leaves, flowering in April. Its trunk is used for timber.
- 'khüpli *Swertia angustifolia* Buch.—Ham. ex D. Don /ci aito/
a medicinal herb used on wounds
- lahaajujur *Rheum spiciforme* Royle / /
a highland herb with edible fruit
- 'lamcassi *Gaultheria fragrantissima* Wall. h /macino/
a tree with edible fruit, its leaves are used for fodder.
- 'lamlam saang *Tithymarus sikkimense* Boiss. Hurusawaet Ya. Tamaka /hirimbe/
a poisonous highland shrub. Its leaves are yellow and look like a flower, but the actual flower emerges from the top leaves.
- leldhamkhos *Gonatanthus pumilus* (D. Don) Engler et Krause / /
a tuberous herb on mossy rocks. It has no flower and is poisonous.
- 'lemgaasi *Musa paradisiaca* L. /kera/
banana, edible, cultivated below 7000'
- 'lömæsi *Rubus calycinus* Wall. /bhui aaiselu/
highland strawberry, wild, with edible fruit
- 'lujaa *Eleusine indica* (L) ex D. Dor /kodo/
finger millet. Together with corn, it is the most important crop for Khalings.

- 'lungkupæ *Amaranthus caudatus* L. /laTTe/
amaranthus, cultivated and eaten for snacks.
- lusam *Imperata arundinacea* Cyrill. /khar/
a thatch grass
- 'makhaa *Codonopsis viridis* Wallich / /
a creeper which emits a peculiar odor, used as fodder
- 'mal saapham *Bauhinia Vahlii* Wight /bhorlo/
a creeper with large leaves which are used for umbrellas
- matikhala (?) / /
a fern, used for fodder
- maacaram *Inula cappa* DC. /gaaiteware/
a shrub, used for fodder.
- 'maaraa *Callicarpa arborea* Roxb. / /
a tree with red flowers. Its leaves are used for fodder.
- 'maassang *Myrsine semiserrata* Wall. /kaabikaaT/
a tree, used for fodder.
- nangkayem *Bucklandea populnea* R. Brown ex Griffith /pipiro/
a shrub, used to make walls in the animal shed.
- 'nampriængmæ *Selaginella involvens* Spring /banmaaraa/
a club-moss, used for the Hindu ceremony *satta naran* and
for decoration of gates.
- 'næpcibem *Viburnum erubescens* Wall. ex DC. / /
a shrub with white flowers. The wood is used in mattock
handles.
- 'nöri *Chenopium ambrosioides* L. /laato laTTe/
an edible herb which grows in the highland. It is used for
fodder.
- 'ngærbu *Ficis sarmentosa* Buch. -Ham. ex. J.E. Smith /ban timilaa/
a climber, used for fodder.
- 'ngeleme *Pouzolzia hirta* (Bl.) /ciple/
an edible herb, the stem of which yields a slippery substance
used for paste. The leaves are used for fodder.

- 'ngoroci *Nardostachys jatamansi* DC. /jatamansi/
spikenard, used for its medicinal properties. Its flowers are worn as decoration on the blouse.
- 'packci *Arundinaria Hookeriana* Munro /khasre nigalo/
a bamboo, It is planted near farmland and used for weaving mats.
- 'paktasi *Holboellia latifolia* Wallich /gupla/
a creeper with edible fruit. It is used for fodder and to make ropes.
- 'pasam *Phaseolus aureus* Ham. /mungi/
bean, cultivated for vegetables
- pataarangkhi *Cinnamomum tamala* Nees /tel paaT/
cinnamon bark. Because of its aroma it is used for preventing nausea.
- 'pæb *Dendrocalamus sikkimensis* Gamble /b. as/
a bamboo, used for weaving mats and baskets and for tying together ladders.
- 'pimæs *Emblia officinalis* Gaertn. /amala/
emblic myrobalan, a tree with edible fruits which are dried and used in diarrhea.
- 'plemci *Dolichos biflorus* L. /gahat/
a pulse. This is the most important pulse in the hills of Nepal. *Pisum arvense* /kerau/ kerong (Khaling) is also grown and eaten raw.
- 'pokalpung *Luculia gratissima* (Wall.) Sweet /ragate/
a tree, used as fodder
- 'pomer *Equisetum diffusum* D. Don /sunggure jhar/
an herb, used as fodder
- 'popwaap *Rubus reticulatus* Wallich ex Hook f. /boksi kaaD/
a thorny creeper, used as fodder
- 'pore *Machilus Duthieae* King /kaaTe kaaulo/
a tree, used as fodder. Khaling shamans use the leaves to wave over sick people.

- 'porongku *Equisetum diffusum* D. Don /sunggure jhar/
This is another name for 'pomer above.
- 'prehprewæ (?) /ancuto/
an herb, used as fodder
- 'puysu *Prunus napaulensis* (Ser.) Stendel /aru paate/
a poisonous tree. Its wood is used in making agricultural tools.
- 'püyü saang (?) /phusre jhar/
an herb, used for fodder
- phakaltim sang (?) / /
a tree.
- p'haram *Zingiber officinale* Rosc. /aaduwa/
ginger. It is used as spice in vegetable dishes. The Khaling shaman bites it for purification before his work, so that spirits cannot trouble him when he exorcises them from the sick. Other priests also use it to the same effect before they officiate in ceremonies.
- 'phösö sang *Homalium napaulense* (DC.) Benth
an aromatic tree, used for fodder
- 'rakciki *Girardia palmata* (Fors.) Gaud /allo/
Wild hemp. It yields a strong and durable fiber for clothing, bags and nets.
- rangkhilæm *Lyonia ovalifolia* (Wall.) Drude /aanggeri/
a poisonous tree, used for making charcoal
- 'raawa *Tsuga dumosa* (D.Don.) Eichler /gopre sallo/
a pine tree, used for timber, but mostly avoided for religious reasons
- 'rep *Quercus semicarpifolia* Sm. /khasru/
oak. Its wood is used for hammers, ploughs etc. The leaves are used for fodder.
- ieskap sang *Osyris wightii* Wall. ex Wight /nunDhiki/
reskp means 'orphan'. The name describes the tendency of this tree to stand alone, and not in groves. The leaves are used as medicine.

- Semecarpus anacardium* Linn. Benth. ex Hook f. /kaag bhlaayo/
a tree, used as fodder. A white sap runs when it is cut.
- risku sang (?) /sikre/
a shrub used for brooms
- robolsi *Lindera pulcherrima* (Nees) /phusure /
a poisonous tree
- 'rö *Orvza sativa* L. /dhaan/
rice. It is not a staple in the hill area. Khaling people eat it on special occasions only because it is relatively scarce.
- röjæ sang *Thalictum chelidonii* DC.
an herb, used as fodder
- röplæm (?) / /
an edible fungus
- 'rumbu kwaay *Ramalina himalayensis* Ræs /thaakre cyau/
an edible fungus
- rüys *Mesua ferrea* Linn. /naagesari/
iron wood. A tree, used for cough medicine and foot injuries.
- sakacew (?) /giTT e cyau/
an edible fungus
- sakaar *Ipomoea batatas* (L.) Lam. /sakar khanDa/
sweet potato. Cultivated and eaten.
- 'samsöri *Anaphalis triplinervis* (Sims.)
an herb, used for fodder and to start fire
- sapla *Curcuma angustifolia* Roxb. /kacur/
a shrub, used by Khaling shamans to divine and diagnose disease
- saankwaay (?) /kaanne cyau/
an edible fungus
- saaphaa *Thysanolenia maxima* (Roxb.) O. Kuntze /amliso/
a shrub, used for fodder and for making brooms. The Khaling shaman also uses it in healing ceremonies.

sæmces	<i>Sambucus hookeri</i> Rehder /cari bhaago / a small odorous herb
'sæmkwaay	(?) /maangnisag/ an herb, eaten as a vegetable
sæmphræm	<i>Gleichnia volubilis</i> Junghung /uniu/ a fern, used as a bed of straw in the cattle shed, also in beer making and for cleaning pots and pans
sæmsi	(?) /likhi phul/ a tree used for fodder. Its flower is used for decoration.
sereme	<i>Lens culinaris</i> Moench /musur/ lentil
sib	<i>Cedrela toona</i> Roxb. ex Rottle et Willd /tuni/ a lowland tree, used as timber
sibuyem	<i>Artemisia vulgaris</i> /Linn. /titepati/ a wormweed herb, used for fodder and in a Khaling ritual called <i>kommosi</i>
silaa	<i>Taxus baccata</i> L. /Denggro/ a tree, used to make the frame of the shaman's drum.
solubu	<i>Casearia</i> sp. /baarkure/ or /harkaTo/ a tree, used as fodder
sothwaap	<i>Grewia vestita</i> /syal phusre/ a tree.
sököme	<i>Triumfetta pilosa</i> Roth /ban kurro/ a bristly herb, 'kekepci is another name for the same plant
sölam	<i>Shorea robusta</i> Gaertn, /saakuwaa/ a large lowland tree, used for bridges because of its strength and durability
sölemsi	<i>Pentapanax Leschenaultii</i> Wight et Arn. /singau To/ a climber with edible fruit
sönme sang	<i>Santalum album</i> Linn. /sirkhanDaa/ a tree, used for fodder and timber

- söslem *Boehmeria macrophylla* D. Don /kaamle/
a shrub, used for fodder and ropes
- Boehmeria phlayphylla*
This is another species found in Khaling villages. See H. Hara 1966, *The Flora of Eastern Himalaya*, p. 56.
- 'surci (?) / /
a large tree, used as timber
- swaarsu *Quercus lanuginosa* (Lour.) D. Don /bààjh/
a large tree, used as fodder.
- swaaicep *Mucuna nigricans* Steud /kasuso/
a lowland climber with pods covered with stinging hair. The large stem is used as part of tools.
- 'taaktibung *Rhododendron barbatum* Wall. ex G. Don /guraas/
a rhododendron with poisonous buds
- taaktinggur *Rhododendron lindleyi* T. Moore /cimaal/
a highland rhododendron with white flowers. It provides very good fire wood.
- 'tæmwæ *Musa sapientum* L. /ban Kera/
wild banana. Its leaves are used to make plates at feasts.
- terti *Butea frondosa* Roxb. /palas/
a large tree with red flowers which bloom before the leaves appear. Khaling people like to wear these flowers as decoration on their clothes.
- teraa *Saurauja nepalensis* DC. /goguna/
a tall tree with edible fruit. Its leaves are used for fodder
- tokol pungme *Cardiocrinum giganteum* (Wall.) Makino /gyu paat/
a plant with a white actinomorphic flower, which is worn for decoration on clothing
- 'toplemsi *Cinnamomum glanduliferum* Meissn. /maligiri /
an edible berry
- 'tukusi *Sorbus Hedlundi* C.K. Schneid. /mel/
a tree, used for fodder

- 'tur *Cephalostachyun sp.* /dhungro bààz/
cylinder bamboo, used to make water containers and a liquor container particular to the Khaling which is called *thöklaa*. It is beautifully decorated and only very few Khalings make it.
- thaktilæm *Berberis asiatica* Roxb. /culetro/
a tree with thorny stem, used for fodder
- 'thaansi *Quercus lamellosa* Smith / /
an oak, used for fodder. Its trunk and branches provide wood for tool handles.
- theprip *Arundinaria Hookeriana* Munro /tite/
a thin bamboo, used for baskets and raingear. Reported to be less durable than hip.
- 'thocipolu (?) /soli cyau/
an inedible cup fungus
- thunæm-wæsep *Polystichum lentum* (D.Don.)
a fern, used as a bed of straw in the cattle shed
- 'thüsü *Machilus sp.* /liso kaaula/
a tree. The shaman uses its branch which he sharpens at one end in exorcisms to ascertain the cause of the sickness by divination. He also uses the leaves to stab the evil spirit that causes the sickness.
- waaimæ *Dendrobium Pierardi* Roxburgh /sunikhari/ ex Hook. f. an orchid with yellow flowers. The stem provides a strong fiber which is used to weave decorations on little bushes carried by women and girls.
- 'waayaa bharnæm *Leucosceptrum canum* Sm. /bhusure/
a tree with sweet smelling flowers. The leaves are used for fodder
- waayaa khaltap *Edgeworthia Gardneri* (Wall). Meisner /algeri/
a bush with bark used for making ropes
- wælbe *Michelia velutina* DC. /cââp/
a very tall tree, used for timber. It is scarce nowadays because of indiscriminate use in the past.

'wæsep	<i>Gleichenia linearis</i> (Burm.) Clarke /niguro/ a large inedible fern
wös	<i>Ficus Hookerii</i> (?) /mebhaaro/ fig tree with edible fruit. The leaves are use for fodder.
yaangyaas	<i>Prunus persica</i> Batch. /aaru/ peach. Cultivated
yaasu	<i>Schima wallichii</i> (DC) Korth /cilaune/ a tall tree with irritating bark. Its shoots are good for fodder.
yocam	<i>Polygonum molle</i> D.Don. /ThoDne/ a shrub with edible shoots
yongki	(?) / / an herb, used for making ropes
yor	<i>Ischaemum rugosum</i> Salish. /baabiyo/ a grass growing on cliffs, used for making ropes and brooms.

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