“Rocks” (brown, red, blue, black) (Chief – Black Flint)

“Trees with leaves” (Chief – Rocky Mt Maple)

“Trees with needles” (Chief – White Pine)

“Grasses” (Chief – Bluebunch Wheatgrass)

“Roots (Chief – Bitterroot)

“Berries (Chief – Black Huckleberry)

“Those without blood” (insects and spiders) (chief not recalled)

“bushes, flowers, and trees”

“Those that crawl on the surface” (worms, frogs, snakes) (Chief – a special small kind of rattlesnake)

“Fish” (Chief – Steelhead Trout)

“Those that fly” (Chief – Golden Eagle)

“Those that walk with paws” (Chief – Cougar)

“Those that walk with hooves” (Chief – a special celibate buck Mule Deer)

Coyote (*snk’lip*)

Great Chief

(*kwilstn*) ‘sweathouse’

Figure 6-1. The domains and their Chiefs in Okanagan Cosmology (as contributed by Selina Timoyakin; from Turner 1974: 79). Note: dotted line indicates those domains that, collectively, would be widely considered by most English speakers to be in the “Plant” universe. Some of these categories closely align with broad scientific taxa, whereas others (e.g. “Those that crawl…”) include categories that are only distantly related.