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Plant Life and Plant-Worship in Tripuri Folktales: A Reading of Ethnobotany in Select Tripuri Folktales

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Abstract:

This paper examines the representation of plant lifeforms and the significance of such narratives in select Tripuri folktales through the lens of Ethnobotany. The study argues that plants in Tripuri folk narratives should not be regarded merely as passive elements of nature. Rather, it explores how they frequently function as active participants that shape events, sustain human life, mediate relationships between human and nonhuman beings, and contribute to a critical interpretation of the landscape. The methodological framework of this study is grounded in the theoretical insights on "plant life" and "plant-worship" as articulated by T.F. Thiselton Dyer in his seminal work, *The Folk-Lore of Plants* (1889). The paper further employs Nancy J. Turner's 2014 work titled *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral Knowledge: Ethnobotany and Ecological Wisdom of Indigenous Peoples of Northwestern North America* as a theoretical framework for the study. The present paper is an attempt at an Ethnobotanical study of Tripuri folktales such as "Kwaikendraisa", "Shrub Spinster", "Khumpui", "Kherengbar", and "Chethuwang" in English translation. The paper demonstrates how plants participate in networks of ecological, cultural, and familial relations. The botanical lifeforms are not merely mentioned in these narratives, but they perform material, ecological, affective, and narrative functions. The study proposes that Tripuri folktales serve as repositories of ethnobotanical memory in which plant life is represented as animate and consequential, highlighting the significance of expanding the scope of folklore studies by foregrounding the agency of the botanical world and the Tripuri perspective on human-plant relationships.

Keywords: Tripuri Folktales, Ethnobotany, Plant life, Plant-Worship, Kwaikendraisa, Shrub Spinster, Chethuwang, Khumpui, Kherengbar.

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Introduction:

Plants constitute one of the most intimate yet frequently overlooked dimensions of human ecological experience. Human communities depend upon plants for food, medicine, shelter, clothing, fuel, tools, and numerous other necessities. Beyond these uses, plants also occupy important positions in cultural imagination. They are often associated with birth, death, fertility, healing, kinship, sanctity, memory, and even the origin of different communities. In oral traditions, knowledge about plants may be preserved not only through practical experiences but also through folktales, folk songs, myths, rituals, and proverbs. The study of plants in folklore can therefore provide access to a form of knowledge that is simultaneously ecological, cultural, material, and imaginative. It is the narrative concerning the interdependent relationship among plants, humans, and non-human beings, which tends to be important regardless of the time and place they belong to. When Laertes in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* wishes for the violets to spring from the grave of Ophelia (Act V, Scene I), he says:

"Lay her in the earth,

And from her fair and unpolluted flesh

May violets spring." (qtd. in Dyer 12)

This perhaps is an echo of Grimm's words, which go, "a child carries home a bud which the angel had given in the wood, when the rose blooms, the child is dead. The Lay of Runzifal makes a blackthorn shoot out of the bodies of slain heathens, a white flower by the heads of fallen Christians" (qtd. in Dyer 12), as stated by T.F. Thiselton Dyer in the opening chapter of his 1889 book *The Folk-Lore of Plants*. The present paper is an attempt at understanding the narratives of plant life and plant-worship in folktales from the Northeast, India, through the lens of ethnobotany with special reference to select Tripuri folktales from Tripura.

This paper explores how the Tripuri oral tradition provides a particularly productive field for such an investigation. Tripuri folktales contain numerous representations of plants, trees, creepers, fruits, flowers, and other forms of vegetation. These plants are frequently integrated into stories involving humans, animals, supernatural beings, landscape, food, shelter, and transformation. In the Tripuri folktale "Kherengbar", for example, a flower of the same name becomes an important link in a chain of consequences, extending from a human action to a series of interactions among plants and animals. Thus, the narrative also becomes the source text for how a flower loses its fragrance. Similarly, in the folktale "Chethuwang", a tree plays the role of rescuing a woman in need. In the tale, the prayers of a young woman in distress facilitate the growth of a sapling into an ever-growing *chethuwang*[1] tree, which ultimately reaches the moon. Such narratives suggest that plant life is a significant cultural narrative, which exceeds its function as a mere landscape. In Tripuri folktales, the plants do not simply exist in the background while human characters act. Instead, plant lifeforms participate in the unfolding of events. They may facilitate events, enable events, have meaningful interactions with the characters, rescue the human individuals within the narratives, or mediate relationships between human beings and nonhuman beings. Thus, the study concerns how they embody cultural and ecological knowledge, and how their representation contributes to the construction of Tripuri understandings of nature and environment.

The existing scholarship on Tripuri knowledge of ethnobotany highlights the diverse uses of plants, including their medicinal, cultural, religious, and ritualistic practices within the community. In a study based on ethnobotanical studies of some plants used by the Tripuri Tribe of Tripura, Sharma, et al. highlight the "great knowledge of religion and culture" (518) of the Tripuris. They note that most of these communities had adhered to forms of worship that did not follow the practice of "idol worshipping" (Sharma, et al. 518). Instead, they considered "trees and bamboos as the symbols of Gods and Goddesses in their culture" (Sharma, et al.

518). For instance, one of the practices associated with Ker Puja, a traditional festival of Tripura, involves the worship of the deity 'Ker' through the construction of a distinctive structure made of bamboo culm, known as '*Wathob*' in Kokborok (Sharma, et al. 518). In the context of the ethno-medicinal plants used by the Tripuris, a study explores how the Tripuris "collect the raw materials for medicine preparations from the nearby forests and fields" (Majumder and Datta 68). The study observes that the preparation of medicines is done at home by "boiling, crushing, mixing the materials and preparing the paste or decoction, etc." (Majumder and Datta 68). Furthermore, it is significant to note that "Worshipping of plants, performing various religious practices and ceremonies under trees reflect the attitude of the Tripuris towards conservation of their plant resources indirectly" (Sharma, et al. 527).

In this context, Ethnobotany provides an appropriate conceptual framework for investigating the relationship among human beings, plants, and animals. Although the field has traditionally focused on how human communities use and classify plants, contemporary ethnobotanical research also recognises the cultural dimensions of plant knowledge. Hence, plants are understood not simply as biological organisms but as entities situated within particular systems of knowledge, practice, language, belief, and social structure. In the context of Tripuri culture, ethnobotanical knowledge is frequently transmitted orally and embedded in their everyday practices and cultural narratives.

While the term "Ethnobotany" itself was coined only in 1895, T.F. Thiselton Dyer's *The Folk-Lore of Plants*, published even before the coinage of the term, offers a theoretical framework for the study. Coined by the American taxonomist and botanist J.W. Harshberger, in a lecture at University of Pennsylvania, USA, the term "Ethnobotany" is defined as "to study the plants used by primitive and aboriginal people" ("History of Ethnobotany – Society of Ethnobotanists"). Dyer's work systematically gathers traditions concerning plant life, exploring aspects of "Plant Life", "Primitive and Savage Notions Respecting Plants", "Plant

Worship", "Lightning Plants", "Plants in Witchcraft", "Plants in Demonology", "Plants in Fairy-Lore", "Love Charms", "Plants and the Weather", "Plant Proverbs", "Plants and their Ceremonial Use", "Plant Names", "Plant Language", "Fabulous Plants", "Doctrine of Signatures", "Plants and the Calendar", "Children's Rhymes and Games", "Sacred Plants", "Plant Superstitions", "Plants in Folk-Medicine", "Plants and their Legendary History", and "Mystic Plants" (Dyer). In the context of the chosen Tripuri folktales, the present study focuses on Dyer's observations on "Plant Life" and "Plant-Worship". According to Dyer, "the fact that plants, in common with man and the lower animals, possess the phenomena of life and death, naturally suggested in primitive times the notion of their having a similar kind of existence" (1). Dyer's observations reflect an important aspect of early human conceptions of the natural world. The observation that plants undergo experiences akin to those experienced by human beings and animals, such as birth and death, encouraged early societies to attribute to plants a form of existence equivalent to their own. From this perspective, the distinction between the animate and the inanimate is blurred, and plants, therefore, could be conceived as something that possesses life, consciousness, and a spiritual essence of their own. It is important to note that while Dyer's work offers a methodological premise for the study, the present paper addresses the limitations of using the terminology that belongs to a nineteenth-century European comparative folklore tradition and therefore may require a careful and ethical reinterpretation when applied to Tripuri folk narratives. Thus, the purpose here is to use his work as a heuristic framework for enquiring how plants acquire cultural presence and narrative agency within the Tripuri cultural context. Furthermore, the study employs Nancy J. Turner's theory of ethnobotany as posited in her 2014 work titled *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral Knowledge: Ethnobotany and Ecological Wisdom of Indigenous Peoples of North America*. Canadian anthropologist Nancy J. Turner defines ethnobotany as the "study of the interrelationships between people and plants" (1:3). According to Turner, the "environmental

and cultural knowledge is not static; it has evolved and will continue to evolve and shift as cultural, ecological, and social contexts shift" (1:4). And perhaps this is why there is a significant need to explore cultural narratives such as folktales from perspectives that are constantly evolving.

The paper argues that the representation of plant life in Tripuri folktales reveals an ecological worldview in which human existence is deeply entangled with nonhuman life. Plants serve as sources of nourishment, material resources, habitats, kin, and agents within chains of causality. Tripuri folktales can therefore be read as forms of ethnobotanical memory in which knowledge of plant life is preserved in and through the narratives. Ethnobotany is fundamentally concerned with the relationship between people and plants. Such relationships include the identification, naming, classification, collection, cultivation, consumption, medicinal use, and ritual significance of plants. However, an ethnobotanical approach to folklore must move beyond a simple inventory of the species and their uses. Therefore, the cultural significance of a plant may be expressed through plant narratives. Their significance may be expressed through the stories associated with plant lifeforms, the roles they play within the community, and the relationships established between the plants and other living beings within such narratives.

Discussion and Findings:

Numerous representations of plant life serving different narrative purposes can be found in the folktales of Tripura. The Tripuri folktale "Kwaikendraisa" tells the story of a man born from *kuwai* or betel nut who rescues his father by completing the challenge taken up by his father even before he was born. *Kuwai* belongs to the Arecaceae family. Its botanical name is *Areca catechu* L. (Sharma et al. 521). The fruits of *kuwai* are used in "religious ceremony and marriage ceremony" (Sharma, et al. 521). The tale begins with the king introducing a challenge

associated with his magic tree. He declares that anyone who can cut his magic tree into two halves “with a single blow and in one breath” will receive half the kingdom. When the man learns about the challenge, he confidently compares it with his experience of cutting down large trees during cultivation. While his statement, “The king’s should not be much bigger than those trees” (“Kwaikendraisa” 67), is a practical one, it suggests possible overconfidence. This observation extends beyond the man in the folktale, reflecting a common tendency among human beings to make assumptions based on their limited experiences and knowledge when confronted with phenomena that exceed their understanding. Such assumptions often lead humans to underestimate the complexity and unpredictability of the natural world. This fosters a sense of control and superiority over nature. This tale promotes the understanding of the interrelationship between people and plants. The tree in the tale is described as small, branchless, “no bigger than a flower plant and was not certainly taller than the human body” (“Kwaikendraisa” 67). However, the man fails to cut it, and as a result, the king orders him to serve as an enslaved person in the palace for the rest of his life until any one of his seven sons succeeds in cutting down the tree and sets him free. However, the seven sons never returned home after they set out in search of the serpent king’s jewel, as the serpent king had captured them.

Meanwhile, their father discovered the secret of cutting the magic tree in one breath, with a single blow. However, he could not use this knowledge because only his sons could set him free, and he was unaware of what had happened to them. In the folktale, the “magic tree” (“Kwaikendraisa” 67) serves as the central element that mediates between the human, supernatural realm, and human society. Its unique characteristics and the king’s conditions surrounding it give the tree a cultural and narrative significance beyond its physical form. The tree, described as not very big and branchless, ends up dictating human actions and destabilising the order of the human world. In “Kwaikendraisa”, the narrative of the betelnut

and the birth of Kwaikendraisa is a significant one. To reiterate the central theme of the tale, the entire family, including the man, his wife, and their seven sons are all rescued by Kwaikendraisa, a child born out of a betelnut, which is another botanical lifeform. The successful cutting of the magic tree, thus, represents the culmination of knowledge, human ingenuity, and interaction with plant life. Employing Dyer's perspective of "plant life" as posited in his work *The Folk-Lore of Plants* (1889), the present study argues that the tale can be interpreted as an ethnobotanical narrative in which plant life structures both the material and symbolic world of the characters. The "magic tree" represents the extraordinary and supernatural dimensions attributed to plants, while rice, cereals, vegetables, and fuel represent the significance of plant-based resources required for survival and sustenance. The tale encodes the Tripuri understandings of ecological knowledge, kinship, identity, and transmission of knowledge across generations. Thus, the folktale is not simply a supernatural story but serves as a cultural text that preserves knowledge about how plants participate in human life.

It is important to note that ethnobotany has long been embedded in oral traditions, myths, legends, and folktales, for the plants occupy an important place in everyday human lives. Folktales, therefore, offer narratives that promote interdependent relationships among human beings, animals and plant lifeforms. The Tripuri folktale "Shrub Spinster" illustrates such a relationship. The tale begins in an agricultural landscape where the youngest brother, Lakai, discovers a round, scented shrub and brings it home. Highlighting the relationship between humans and a plant lifeform, the tale presents Lakai's love and care for the plant. He gives repeated warnings that others should neither touch it nor eat it, establishing the shrub's identity as a significant one. The shrub is described as "round in shape" ("Shrub Spinster" 90) and "very sweet" ("Shrub Spinster" 90) in flavour and fragrance. Such details of the shrub establish the material presence of plant life and demonstrate how human beings experience the natural environment through sight, smell, and taste. The shrub's transformation into a woman

blurs the boundary between the human and the botanical world, which challenges the anthropocentric approach to narratives. In the folktale, the interconnectedness between the woman's body and the fragrance of the flower, *khumpui*, highlights sensory experiences derived from the botanical world. This is evident in the following extract from the folktale: "In the bamboo-platform the shrub remains as it is kept. At that time a very beautiful girl comes out of it. The flavour of her body is of khumpui flower, the room is covered with a sweet scent" ("Shrub Spinster" 90). This is where Dyer's observations come into play. The shrub undergoes experiences similar to those experienced by human beings and other animals. In fact, in the folktale, the shrub is presented as something that possesses consciousness, and a spiritual essence of its own. While Dyer's focus is on modern European folklore, his idea of "spirit-haunted trees" (7), in a way, resembles the shrub from the Tripuri folktale "Shrub Spinster". On this note, Nancy J. Turner's arguments may be cited to extend the idea further. She states that the "spiritual side of existence was more evident; mountains, rivers, animals, and trees and other plants had obvious human persona and societies like those of humans today" (Turner 2:232). Thus, the shrub in "Shrub Spinster" presents the spiritual side of a plant lifeform. While Turner suggests that the plants possess a human persona, the present paper addresses the need to go beyond that. Although human life and plant lifeforms are clearly interconnected, the significance of plant lifeforms goes beyond merely serving the needs of human beings or just holding a human persona. The folktale "Shrub Spinster" further provides an illustration of an ecological cycle through its representation of the cycle of destruction and regeneration of organic matter. For instance, after Lakai's wife cuts the shrub into pieces and throws it, "a big lemon tree" ("Shrub Spinster" 91-92) grows out from the discarded pieces of the shrub. This Tripuri folktale thus offers a narrative in which plant life is dynamic and transformative in nature, challenging an anthropocentric worldview.

Another significant Tripuri folktale associated with plant life is "Khumpui". Commonly known as white ginger lily in English, *khumpui* is a type of flower. The botanical name of *Khumpui* is *Hedychium coronarium* J. Koenig ("Hedychium Coronarium J.Koenig | Species"). While *Hedychium coronarium* is under threat category and is listed as data deficient, it is important to note that the "medicinal value of this plant in the treatment of a large number of human ailments is mentioned in Ayurveda, Charaka Samhita and Sushruta Samhita" (Kamath and Dawda 19). Among its other uses, the "rhizome of the plant is used in the treatment of diabetes, cold, body aches, headache, lancinating pain, contusion, inflammation and rheumatic pain" (Kamath and Dawda 19). In "Khumpui", the *khumpui* flower blooms where the head of the python was thrown away into the water by Raima and Saima's father, the *ochai* ("Khumpui" 38) or the priest. Thus, the flowers symbolise the spirit of the dead python. In fact, flowers act as active participants within the narrative as they wither away when worn by the younger sister and remain fresh when worn by the elder sister, as is evident in the following extract from the tale:

> Blooming flowers – 'Khumpui' adorned either side of the spring. Such a lot of flowers. The younger sister could not resist her temptation. But as soon as she put a flower in the bun it withered away. She tried it again – again it dried up instantly. The elder sister was also very surprised. She had not ever seen such a thing before. She too, took up a flower and put it on her head hesitantly. But that flower remained fresh. ("Khumpui" 38)

Here, the *khumpui* flower is responsive to human action, implying the consequences. The synchronisation of the flowers blooming, the song, and the water's movement portrays the plant and the aquatic world as responsive participants in the narrative. In the folktale, after the elder sister drowns herself in the spring to be reunited with her husband, a huge banyan tree seems to give the younger sister a new purpose in life. The elder sister instructs her younger

sister to find a huge banyan tree whose "seven branches spread over to seven direction" ("Khumpui" 39). As instructed by her sister, the girl spins the wheel while singing:

> If I don't become the queen of a king, I am not a woman
> If I don't bear seven children, how can I be a woman ("Khumpui" 39)

Thus, the banyan tree functions as a place of shelter and safety for the younger sister. In fact, it also functions as a spatial landmark and a narrative threshold through which the girl moves from the forest into a royal life. So, it may be noted that the plant lifeforms actively participate and drive the narratives within the folktale.

Dyer, in the chapter titled "Plant-Worship" of his book *The Folk-Lore of Plants* (1889), states that a "form of religion which seems to have been widely distributed amongst most races of mankind at a certain stage of their mental culture is plant-worship" (28). He traces the history of plant worship through "an inquiry into the origin and development of the nature-worshipping phase of religious belief" (Dyer 28). An instance from the Tripuri folktale "Khumpui" may be cited to critique this idea. In the tale, when the elder sister gets suspicious and concerned about the python's well-being, she instructs her sister to stay back, while she sinks into the water. While the representation of plant-worship is evident in her song, its significance goes beyond that. Given below are the lyrics of the song:

> Keep blooming o you khumpui, keep rising water,
> Where do you flow to, O spring, lead me along. ("Khumpui" 38)

The tale "Khumpui" incorporates not just the botanical world and the human world, but a world more complex. It presents a parallel world under the water which the elder sister finds after she sinks into the water, as is evident in the following extract from the tale: "She saw a huge palace under water. In the gate of that her husband the python was waiting for her in human form" ("Khumpui" 39). This corresponds to Turner's observation, which goes:

> There were different worlds that were relatively easily transcended – a sky world, an under-ocean world, and a place where ghosts and dead people resided. Living lives that paralleled those of people on earth. Many different supernatural beings, some of them benevolent, some fearsome monsters, but all very powerful, wandered the earth, moving through the different worlds and using their mystical powers to shape and change the world into its present form. (2:232)

Another narrative relevant to this study is the Tripuri *kerang kothoma* or folktale "Chethuwang". It may be noted that two different spellings of the same folktale, which are "Chethuwang" and "Chethuang", have been retained in this study, as both variants are used in two separate published works cited in this paper. "Chethuwang" tells the story of a brother and a sister, where the brother develops a desire to marry his own sister. While reluctant at first, her parents and the villagers also decide to wed the siblings to meet the demands of the boy. The sister, horrified and determined to escape, refuses. With no way out, she prays to the *chethuwang* tree for help. The tree then responds to the girl's prayers by growing rapidly upward, carrying her higher and higher until she finally reaches the sky and, as a result, escapes the incestuous marriage to her brother. The folktale thus recounts a young woman in distress whose salvation comes through a mysterious plant that allows her to ascend into the sky. Hurt deeply by the heinous proposal of her brother and their parents, she carries her clothes, camphor and incense in a basket and leaves her room unnoticed. After walking a long distance, she finds a small *chethuwang* tree. Then, she washes its base with water from the mountain stream and decorates it with flowers. After igniting the camphor and incense, she addresses the *chethuwang* tree in rhymed verse, which goes as follows:

> Dida bai ano kainani hino,
>
> Lok chethuang lok…
>
> Phungsa tanthani phungba robokdi,

Lok chethuang lok. (Debbarma 90)

This may be roughly translated into English as follows:

They are planning to wed me to my own brother

Grow chethuang grow…

If they try to cut you down once, grow five times more,

Grow chethuang grow. (Debbarma 90, my trans.)

While the story may be interpreted as a tale carrying moral lessons condemning incest and affirming social order, it also offers an extraordinary vision of ethnobotanical agency. At the heart of the narrative is a miraculous tree that grows with supernatural speed and immense height, enabling the young woman to escape the unwanted marriage by ascending into the sky. In the folktale, the tree is not merely a passive element of the landscape or a symbolic backdrop, but an active collaborator in the girl's liberation. The *chethuang* or *chethuwang* tree is worshipped by "many tribals" (Sharma, et al. 518) for their well-being. The apex of the branch of *chethuang* with "3 or 5 leaves is used for brushing (suklai)" when they suffer from diarrhoea with the help of an *ochai* or priest chanting the required "mantras". Apart from this, "Leaf petiole (3 in nos.) is tied in white thread and worn on wrist or neck of the kids. Some people plant and worship as it has a legend in the past" (Sharma, et al. 521).

Furthermore, the Tripuri folktale "Kherengbar" may be read as a narrative on Tripuri ecological consciousness, in which the natural world functions as a repository of cultural knowledge, beliefs, and practices. While there are multiple versions of the folktale, this paper focuses on only one version of it. In this version of the tale, the forest through which the newly married couple travels emerges as a space where human desire interacts or rather clashes, with the forces of nature. The sudden arrival of the flower's fragrance, carried by the southerly wind,

draws attention to the sensory dimensions of human-plant relationships. From the perspective of the study of ethnobotany, the husband's description of the *kherengbar*[2] as a flower that "has no roots on the earth" ("Kherengbar" 121) but "clings and blossoms on some other tree" ("Kherengbar" 121) is notable. This seems to reflect a form of botanical knowledge through which the plant's growth habit is explained alongside its mythological association with heaven. The narrative thus illustrates how traditional Tripuri knowledge incorporates both the physical properties of a species and the cultural connotations attached to it. The tale thus illustrates the consequences of defying the orders of nature. In the folktale, the woman's ignorance and inability to respect the sanctity of the heavenly flower, *kherengbar,* despite the man's warnings, lead to their tragic transformation from human beings into nonhuman beings. The transformation of the man and the woman may thus be interpreted as the consequence of defying the sacred order of the natural world. In this context, Turner's observations may be cited. She writes:

> Conversely, human ancestors, with careful training and supernatural help, often crossed into the spirit world, interacting with animal societies like the Bears, the Wolves, or the Mountain Goat people and venturing into the sky country and the country under the ocean. These connections with the spirit the world and with long-ago times are recognized and acknowledged today not only through stories but also through special places or sacred sites, through ceremonies and dances, through clan, house, and family crests as exhibited on masks and dance regalia, totem poles, and many other items, and through names that are passed by way of inheritance from generation to generation. (Turner 2: 232-233)

Furthermore, the flower's heavenly origin is significant to this narrative. In the context of Dyer's "Plant-worship", the present study explores how the Tripuri folktale "Kherengbar" offers a narrative of flower-worship, facilitating a return to the sacred order of nature. In doing

so, the folktale links the failure to worship the flower before wearing it with the tragic transformation of the man and woman into nonhuman beings. Thus, the plant lifeforms in Tripuri folktales are represented as animate and consequential, highlighting the significance of expanding the scope of folklore studies by foregrounding the agency of the botanical world and the Tripuri perspective on human-plant relationships. Apart from this, the Tripuri belief that the gods removed the flower's fragrance offers a narrative that preserves the traditional ecological observations while revealing how ethnobotanical knowledge is transmitted through storytelling.

Conclusion:

Thus, the study explores the different ways in which plant life is represented and embedded within the Tripuri folktales. Through the plant-centred episodes, the folktales suggest that botanical life is not peripheral to human existence. Instead, it participates in the production of knowledge specific to the Tripuris. In other words, this study explores the diverse ways in which the relationships between human beings and the natural environment are articulated through folktales. Ultimately, this paper is an attempt at recognising and documenting the intricate relationship between plants, human beings, and culture, and to appreciate the knowledge and traditions preserved within folklore as an essential part of the Tripuri culture.

Notes:

1. The Kokborok term for the Blackboard tree or Scholar's tree. The scientific name of *chethuwang* or *chethuang* is *Alstonia scholaris* (L.) R.Br. ("Alstonia Scholaris (L.) R. Br. | Species").
2. The Kokborok term for the foxtail orchid. The scientific name of *kherengbar* is *Rhynchostylis retusa* (L.) Blume. ("Rhynchostylis Retusa (L.) Blume | Species")

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