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Ethnobotany of dioecious species: Traditional knowledge on dioecious plants in India

Gopalakrishnan Saroja Seethapathy^{a,b,c,*}, Kaliamoorthy Ravikumar^c, Berit Smestad Paulsen^a,
Hugo J. de Boer^{b,†}, Helle Wangenstein^{a, †}

^a Department of Pharmaceutical Chemistry, School of Pharmacy, University of Oslo, P.O. Box
1068, 0316 Oslo, Norway

^b Natural History Museum, University of Oslo, P.O. Box 1172, 0318 Oslo, Norway

^c The Institute of Trans-Disciplinary Health Sciences and Technology, Foundation for
Revitalisation of Local Health Traditions (FRLHT), 74/2 Jarakabande Kaval, Post Attur via
Yelahanka, Bangalore 560064 India

*Corresponding author e-mail addresses, phone number

g.s.seethapathy@farmasi.uio.no; seethapathygs@gmail.com; +47-22856567

† These authors contributed equally to this work

18 **Abstract**

19 *Ethnopharmacological relevance:* More than 15,000 angiosperm species are dioecious, i.e.,
20 having distinct male and female individual plants. The allocation of resources between male and
21 female plants is different, and also variation in secondary metabolites and sex-biased herbivory is
22 reported among dioecious plants. However, little is known about the ethnobotany of dioecious
23 species and whether preferences exist for a specific gender, e.g., in food, medicine or timber.

24 *Aim of the study:* The aim of this study was: 1) to study whether Indian folk healers have
25 preference for plant genders, and to document their knowledge and use of dioecious species; 2)
26 to understand the concept of plant gender in Indian systems of medicine and folk medicine, and
27 whether Ayurvedic literature includes any references to gender preference.

28 *Materials and methods:* Lists of dioecious plants used in Indian systems of medicine and folk
29 medicine were compiled. Ethnobotanical data was collected on perceptions and awareness of
30 dioecious plants, and preferences of use of specific genders of dioecious species using semi-
31 structured interviews with folk healers in Tamil Nadu, India. In addition, twenty Ayurvedic
32 doctors were interviewed to gain insight into the concept of plant gender in Ayurveda.

33 *Results:* Indian systems of medicine contain 5-7% dioecious species, and this estimate is
34 congruent the number of dioecious species in flowering plants in general. Informants recognized
35 the phenomenon of dioecy in 31 out of 40 species, and reported gender preferences for 13
36 species with respect to uses as timber, food and medicine. Among informants different plant
37 traits such as plant size, fruit size, and visibility of fruits determines the perception of a plant
38 being a male or female. Ayurvedic classical literature provides no straightforward evidence on
39 gender preferences in preparation of medicines or treatment illness, however it contains details
40 about reproductive morphology and sexual differentiation of plants.

41 *Conclusions:* A knowledge gap exists in ethnobotanical and ethnopharmacological literature on
42 traditional knowledge of dioecious plants. From this explorative study it is evident that people
43 have traditional knowledge on plant gender and preferential usages towards one gender. Based
44 on this, we propose that researchers conducting ethnobotanical and ethnopharmacological studies
45 should consider documenting traditional knowledge on sexual systems of plants, and test the
46 existence of gender specific usages in their conceptual framework and hypothesis testing.

47 Incorporating such concepts could provide new dimensions of scientific knowledge with
48 potential implications to conservation biology, chemical ecology, ethnoecology and drug
49 discovery.

50 **Keywords:** Ayurveda; Dioecy; Ethnopharmacology; Folk classification; Plant gender;
51 Vernacular taxonomy.

52

53 **1. Introduction**

54 Enormous efforts are being made to document and systematically study the traditional uses of
55 plants. Dioecy, where species have separate female and male plants, is widespread among
56 flowering plants, and an estimated 6% of species are dioecious (Renner, 2014). Resource
57 allocation, including trade-offs between allocation to defense, growth and reproduction, is
58 different between genders of dioecious plants (Obeso, 2002). Several studies have shown that
59 differences in reproductive demands between the genders of dioecious plants cause gender
60 physiology divergence that in turn affects the production and concentration of secondary
61 metabolites (Bajpai et al., 2016; Milet-Pinheiro et al., 2015; Simpson, 2013). Herbivory has been
62 suggested as a selective pressure that has resulted in the evolution of dioecy (Bawa, 1980), and
63 studies have utilized the plant resource allocation theory (Levins, 1968) to understand the
64 patterns of plant-herbivore interaction (Obeso, 2002), herbivore plant gender preferences
65 (Hjalten, 1992), plant browsers (Danell et al., 1991), folivores (Maldonado-López et al., 2014),
66 pollinators (Milet-Pinheiro et al., 2015), and gall formers (Wolfe, 1997). Cornelissen and Stiling,
67 2005 reviewed the evidence of sex-biased herbivory in dioecious plants, and found that male
68 plants exhibited significantly higher number of herbivores and herbivory in terms of plant
69 damage compared to female plants, and showed that male plants exhibited significantly lower
70 concentrations of secondary compounds and other defenses than female plants. However, there
71 are also examples of the opposite, e.g., the male plants leaves of *Rhamnus alpinus* L. and
72 *Juniperus macrocarpa* Sm. exhibited a higher concentration of anthraquinones, phenolics and
73 terpenoids respectively than those of females, which contrasts with the resource allocation theory
74 (Banuelos et al., 2004; Massei et al., 2006). Hence it is evident that resource allocation might
75 have a profound effect on the composition and concentration of secondary compounds between
76 individuals of dioecious species (Simpson, 2013).

77 Simpson, 2013 has highlighted the importance of gender in phytochemical research and
78 its impact on pharmacological properties of a species. For example in the dioecious species
79 *Cannabis sativa* L., the female plants are used for marijuana, whereas the male plants are
80 preferred for fiber (Fetterman et al., 1971). In *Dodonaea polyandra* Merr. & L.M.Perry
81 (Sapindaceae), labdane diterpenoids have been reported as major phytoconstituents, whereas
82 female individuals contain clerodane diterpenoids (Simpson, 2013; Simpson et al., 2011;
83 Simpson et al., 2012). Similarly, a significant variation in the concentration of alkaloids was

84 shown for the dioecious medicinal plant *Tinospora cordifolia* (Willd.) Miers (Menispermaceae).
85 The mean abundances of magnoflorine, jatrorrhizine and oblongine were significantly higher in
86 male plants while mean abundances of tetrahydropalmatine, norcoclaurine and reticuline were
87 significantly higher in female plants (Bajpai et al., 2016). It has been suggested that female
88 plants of *T. cordifolia* might be preferred for therapeutic use due to the higher accumulation of
89 secondary metabolites and higher antioxidant activity (Choudhry et al., 2014).

90 The 15,600 dioecious angiosperms occur in 987 genera (6%) and 175 families (38%),
91 with a number of families being entirely dioecious, e.g., Menispermaceae, Moraceae,
92 Myristicaceae, and Putranjivaceae (Renner, 2014). Many of these dioecious species are well
93 documented for their medicinal values (de Boer and Cotingting, 2014). In India, it is estimated
94 that 8000 plants have medicinal usages. Some of these are codified in traditional
95 pharmacopoeias, i.e., Ayurveda, Siddha, Unani, and Sowa-Rigpa, whereas others are part of oral
96 traditions in different biocultural groups. Considerable evidence for sex-biased herbivory and
97 variation in secondary metabolites in dioecious plants is available in scientific studies, but little
98 is known about traditional concepts and preferences for dioecious plants, either male or female.
99 Few studies on folk classification of plants and ethno-ecology report traditional knowledge
100 associated with dioecy, and the importance of how the different genders of plant species are
101 named and classified in local languages and how this reflects perceptions of the environment
102 (Berlin et al., 1973), cultural values of biodiversity (Bjorå et al., 2015), and ecological
103 characteristics (Khasbagan, 2008). Bernstein et al., 1997 used plot survey inventories in Brunei
104 to show that their informants were able to accurately predict the gender of dioecious plants. In
105 Northern Morocco, it was reported that the vernacular taxonomy is congruent with the biological
106 classification of the dioecious species *Ficus carica* L. among three communities inhabited in
107 three socio-geographic regions who speaks Arabic, Berber, and both Arabic and Berber,
108 respectively (Hmimsa et al., 2012).

109 Several studies have highlighted the importance of understanding the ecology of plant
110 biodiversity as a strategy for drug discovery (Coley et al., 2003), as well as ethnobotanical
111 studies and/or traditional medicines for drug development (Patwardhan and Mashelkar, 2009). At
112 the same time, erosion and deterioration of traditional knowledge threatens biocultural diversity
113 and limits resilience in healthcare choices for local communities, which also can cause a loss in
114 leads for drug discovery (de Boer and Cotingting, 2014; Srithi et al., 2009). In the context of

115 ongoing cultural, ecological, and socio-economical changes, particularly the influence of
116 urbanization and influence of western lifestyles, the increasing reliance on biomedical
117 healthcare, the devaluation of traditional practices, and diminishing cultural cohesion are
118 weakening the frequency and scope of traditional plant use and this poses a serious threat to
119 biodiversity-based cultural knowledge (Srithi et al., 2009; Vandebroek and Balick, 2012).
120 Documenting the use of plants by ethnic communities is an important part in understanding and
121 analyzing elements of traditional medicines, and also a way to perpetuate knowledge at risk of
122 being lost (de Boer and Cotingting, 2014).

123 The aim of this study was: 1a) to document traditional knowledge on dioecious plants
124 among folk healers and 1b) to understand whether folk healers have preference for plant genders
125 in food, medicines or timber; 2) to understand folk healers' perceptions of what are considered to
126 be male and female plants in their community and traditions; and 3) to understand the concept of
127 plant gender in Indian systems of medicine and folk medicine , and whether Ayurvedic literature
128 contains any references to plant gender and preferences.

129

130

131 **2. Methodology**

132

133 **2.1. Selection of Indian dioecious plants**

134 Dioecious species in India were derived from the list of 15,600 dioecious angiosperms compiled
135 by Renner (2014) by limiting to species occurring in India. Dioecious species in codified and
136 non-codified Indian traditional medicine were mined from the Indian Medicinal Plant Database,
137 National Medicinal Plants Board, Government of India, and full lists are provided in
138 Supplementary Data S1.. Nomenclature follows The Plant List (The Plant List, 2013
139 <http://www.theplantlist.org>) and Angiosperm Phylogeny Group IV (Byng et al., 2016). The
140 ethnobotanical study focused on 40 dioecious plants in 30 genera and 20 families (Table 1),
141 which occurred in the study area (see below) and were reported to be used in traditional medicine
142 in previous studies.

143

144 **2.2. Study area for ethnobotanical study**

145 The present survey was conducted in the Kolli Hills (11.105° N, 78.150° E), Servarayan Hills
146 (11.455° N, 78.175° E), and Sittlingi Valley (11.543° N, 78.365° E), all of which are part of the
147 Eastern Ghats in Tamil Nadu, India. The natural vegetation of the study area is categorized into
148 shola (tropical montane forest), evergreen, semi-evergreen, deciduous, scrub, and plantation
149 (Jayakumar et al., 2002). The main ethnic group in the study is the *Malayali* (lit. malai = hill, ali
150 = dwells and/or malai = hill, alu = person), one of 36 scheduled tribal communities in Tamil
151 Nadu. The *Malayali* is spread along the contiguous hills of the Eastern Ghats from Pachamalai,
152 Kollimalai, Sitheri, Palamalai, Javvadhu to the Servarayan Hills (Xavier et al., 2015). The major
153 livelihood and local economy of these *Malayali* communities are cattle farming, agriculture,
154 fuel-wood and collection of non-timber forest products such as herbal medicines, honey and
155 some edible fruits and tubers (Xavier et al., 2015).

156

157 **2.3. Ethnobotanical data collection**

158 Forty folk healers aged 40 to 80 (33 males and 7 females) were interviewed in 2016, and their
159 knowledge documented using a semi-structured questionnaire aided by props consisting of live
160 specimens and photo galleries of the selected 40 dioecious species (Table 1). Study participants
161 were selected using the snowball sampling method (Berlin and Berlin, 2005), and we particularly
162 focused on local people who are older than 40 years, regularly use plants for medicinal purposes,
163 fuel-wood and non-timber forest product collectors, and plant harvesters. Sampling was initiated
164 through the indication of community leaders. The semi-structured questionnaire assessed the
165 informants' perception of dioecious plants, awareness about dioecious plants and, if aware, is
166 their preference for choosing a specific gender of dioecious plants (Supplementary Data S2).
167 Additional information such as the folk healers' perspective on gender in plants and its roles in
168 their traditions were also recorded. The interviews were conducted in the informants' native
169 language *Tamil*. Following the interviews, the plants mentioned during the interviews were
170 collected and confirmed for identification. Prior to the ethnobotanical survey, the purpose of the
171 study was explained to the informants and the consent to conduct the study was requested and
172 agreed. The documented medicinal plants were collected and pressed for herbarium vouchers,
173 and identified with the help of valid references. All collected specimens were vouchered and
174 deposited in the FRLH-Herbarium and Raw Drug Repository of The Institute of Trans-
175 Disciplinary Health Sciences and Technology, India (Table 1). Prior to the ethnobotanical data

176 collection, ethical approval for this study was obtained from the National Biodiversity Authority,
177 Government of India (Reference number: India/NBA/Apl/9/1032).

178

179 **2.4. Plant gender and Ayurveda**

180 Twenty Ayurvedic doctors, who were formally educated and qualified to practice Ayurveda,
181 were interviewed using a semi structured questionnaire in order to gain insight into the concept
182 of plant gender in Ayurveda and its literature. Before initiating the interview process, it was
183 explained to the doctors that the biological classification of plants classifies plant gender on the
184 basis of their floral sexual characters i.e. the presence or absence of the androecium and
185 gynoecium.

186

187 **3. Results and discussion**

188

189 **3.1 Indian dioecious plants**

190 Among dioecious species sex ratios deviate from the mean, and species with a male bias are
191 associated with long-lived growth forms (e.g., trees), biotic seed dispersal and fleshy fruits,
192 whereas female bias is associated with herbaceous species, and abiotic pollen dispersal (Field et
193 al., 2013). Plasticity in sex expression has also been reported for a number of species (Borges et
194 al., 1997; Geetha et al., 2007; McArthur, 1977; Renner, 2014). In this study, out of 40 dioecious
195 plants used in the ethnobotanical data collection, 31 plants belong to families or genera that are
196 either strictly or completely dioecious (cf. *Dioscorea* and Menispermaceae). The sex ratio of
197 these species is not well studied in the study area, but for example, *Mallotus philippensis* has
198 been shown to be male-biased under low light environments and female-biased under more light
199 environments in India (Pathak and Shukla, 2004). Biased sex ratios and plasticity in sex
200 expression of a given dioecious plants might have a significant effect on informants observation
201 and classification of a plant as male and female.

202 Supplementary Data S1 shows the list of dioecious plants that are documented for its
203 medicinal values in folk medicine, Ayurveda, Siddha, Unani, and Sowa-Rigpa and it was found
204 that that 5-7% of medicinal plants in Indian systems of medicines are dioecious plants, and this
205 estimate is congruent with the diversification rate of dioecious species in flowering plants (Käfer
206 et al., 2014; Renner, 2014). Based on this, we propose that these lists of species harness a

207 potential to be studied comparatively for their chemical composition between male and female
208 plants and the pharmacological activities, and also provides a platform to document ethno-
209 ecological knowledge, and traditional knowledge of dioecious plants with special reference to its
210 gender.

211

212 **3.2 Traditional knowledge and plant gender preference**

213 To elicit knowledge on dioecy, informants were explained the phenomenon of dioecy in
214 flowering plants, as correct knowledge was decisive for the outcome of the survey. They were
215 informed that male and female plants exist separately as individual plants, that male plants only
216 bear flowers that will not yield fruits and seeds, whereas female plants bear flowers, fruits, and
217 viable seeds. The existence of monoecious and bisexual plants was explained as well, and they
218 were explained that if the same plant bears male and female flowers it is monoecious, and if the
219 same flower contains both reproductive organs it is bisexual. Plants such as papaya, palm trees,
220 coconut trees, pumpkin, and goose berries were given as examples to explain the reproductive
221 systems of flowering plants before initiating the interview process. Table 1 shows the details of
222 40 dioecious plants used in the ethnobotanical study, and it was found that the informants were
223 aware of existence of the dioecious nature of many plants. Out of 40 plants used in the study,
224 informants recognized the phenomenon of dioecy in 31 species (Table 1), and no significant
225 variation was found between the 33 male and 7 female informants about their knowledge on the
226 existence of dioecious species and the number of dioecious species reported for usages.

227 Therefore male and female informants were considered as one category of informants for further
228 analysis (Supplementary Data S3). However, Table 2 shows a significant variation among the
229 age groups of informants. The informants below the age 50 had less knowledge on dioecious
230 species, and used less number of dioecious species. On the other hand, a linear growth was
231 observed between the age groups for preferring any one gender of dioecious plants, while using
232 the plants which suggests that the age older informants had better perception on gender of plants
233 and their unique uses (Table 2).

234 A number of studies has documented the lack of traditional knowledge among younger
235 people, and this has been attributed to the expansion of modern education, cultural change, and
236 the influences of modernization (Srithi et al., 2009; Voeks and Leony, 2004). As a result of
237 changing realities, traditional knowledge of medicinal plants that was once embedded in

238 numerous indigenous cultures, is rapidly disappearing. It has been suggested that to avoid the
239 loss of this intellectual heritage, it is necessary to either keep it alive, or at least to document and
240 describe the traditional use of plants (Bussmann and Sharon, 2006).

241 Table 3 shows the overview of informants awareness, gender preference and the habit of
242 the dioecious plants. Since, fruits being informed and considered as the main identity to
243 distinguish male and female plants among the informants, it was observed that the visibility of
244 fruit size, plant size and plant traits based uses of a particular plant determines the perception of a
245 plant being male or female. For example, informants were unaware of dioecy for two shrubs
246 (*Dodonaea angustifolia*, *Dodonaea viscosa*), two climbers (*Cocculus hirsutus*, *Cyclea peltata*),
247 and two lianas (*Asparagus racemosus*, *Cissampelos pareira*) they are all sourced from the wild
248 in the study area, but the useful part of these plants are not fruits or seeds. On the contrary,
249 informants were aware of dioecy for *Celastrus paniculatus* (liana), and *Emebelia tsjeriam-cottam*
250 (shrub), because the seeds are used as medicines from this plants, and informants were aware of
251 a plant that did not produced seeds. Plant-based ecosystem services are crucial for satisfying
252 human needs, and human utilization of a plant is highly influenced by its species traits. For
253 example, humans have selected plant species with traits that maximize crop yield, such as large
254 fruits or height, or large grain size (Díaz et al., 2013; Díaz et al., 2011). Cámara-Leret et al., 2017
255 tested the relationship between plant traits and its perceived value by people through an
256 interdisciplinary perspective on the linkages between ecosystem services, human needs and
257 species' traits. It was demonstrated that people preferentially use large, widespread species rather
258 than small, narrow-ranged species, and that different traits are linked to different uses. For
259 example, one would expect a species to possess traits that satisfy human basic needs such as food
260 and health. Such traits are plant size, constantly high yielding subsistence, widespread and cost
261 effective to gather, and in contrast a species trait have strong link to easy availability and weaker
262 link to plant size for medicinal usages (Cámara-Leret et al., 2017).

263

264 **3.3 Gender preference in food and medicinal usages**

265 Table 1 shows the usages of plants under the categories of plants being utilized as food,
266 medicine, rituals, and a category of others. Among the 40 dioecious species, informants have
267 gender preference for 13 species (10 trees, 2 lianas, and 1 shrub), and it was found that the
268 informants have better knowledge about the toddy (palm wine) prepared out of male and female

269 palm trees (*Borassus flabellifer* and *Phoenix* species). Toddy is a traditional alcoholic drink
270 prepared by the fermentation of sap or exudate collected by slicing off the tip of unopened
271 flowers of palm trees (Davis and Johnson, 1987). Informants reported that male palms yield
272 comparatively less toddy than female palms, and the former are in higher demand among
273 consumers because it is believed to be more potent. In this study, we observed that this
274 knowledge is particular to elder informants, the reason for this was that in mid-20th century in
275 India due to the increasing demand of toddy's, it was reported that the toddy often was
276 adulterated with chemical substances, such as chloral hydrate and diazepam, and the adulteration
277 had detrimental health consequences for toddy consumers (Rao et al., 2004). Therefore, the
278 consumption and sale of toddy were prohibited from time to time in India, and the production of
279 Indian-made foreign liquor such as whisky and brandy was promoted through industrialization
280 (Mahal, 2000).

281 It has been reported that harvesters in Nilgiri Biosphere Reserve, India, were aware of
282 male and female trees of *Canarium strictum*, and that resin yielding trees were female trees
283 (Varghese and Ticktin, 2008). A similar case was observed in *Canarium strictum* in Kolli Hills
284 and Servarayan Hills where the informants reported that male trees produce less resin than the
285 female trees, and when inquired further about the quality variation between the two gender the
286 informants did not comment on any quality variation in male and female plant resins, but
287 informed about a general variation that based on the dryness of the resin that the fragrance it
288 produces varies. For example, resin composition of male and female trees of *Austrocedrus*
289 *chilensis* (D. Don) Florin & Boutelje (Cupressaceae) is reported to vary between genders and
290 during different seasons of the year (Olate et al., 2014).

291 Interestingly, for medicinal usages informants reported a gender preference for *Piper*
292 *betle* and *Tinospora cordifolia*, and the usage was rather complex and dependent on spiritual
293 beliefs and medication. For example, informants believe that the *Piper betle* leaves of any one
294 gender can be used to balance the hormonal imbalance of people with transgender sign. i.e., if a
295 man is showing a sign of woman, prescribing a male leaf extract along with goat or sheep milk
296 may cure the illness and vice versa. Similarly male plant leaves are prescribed to woman, and
297 female plant leaves are prescribed to men with the purpose to act both as a sexual stimuli and to
298 foster a good relationship between men and women. The informants reported male leaves as
299 harder to chew than the female leaves, therefore female leaves are prepared to make paan (paan

300 is combination of betle leaves with areca nut or tobacco, chewed for its stimulant and
301 psychoactive effects). However, when enquired about the taxonomic identity of male and female
302 *Piper betle* leaves, it was found that informants segregate male and female leaves based on the
303 venation pattern and number of veins in a leaf, i.e., the harder the venation pattern, and a
304 minimum of 5 veins in a leaf is believed to be male leaf, and the softer venation pattern and less
305 than 5 veins in a leaf is a female leaf. In India, despite its availability in the wild, *Piper betle* is
306 vegetatively propagated for cultivation and no flowering is observed in the subtropics due to the
307 lack of inductive photoperiods. The female plants rarely produce any flower or fruit in the Indian
308 climate (Bajpai et al., 2012; Guha, 2006). Despite the absence of flower and fruiting to identify
309 male and female *Piper betle*, sexual dimorphism for leaf character was reported in terms of
310 length and breadth ratio of leaves. Male leaves are reported to be narrowly ovate with 1.84 ± 0.21
311 length: breadth ratio and female leaves are cordate or ovate to round leaves with 1.26 ± 0.13
312 length: breadth ratio. Leaves of the female plants are mostly pungent and male plants are less
313 pungent (Krishnamurthy et al., 2008). However the congruency between folk healers
314 identification, and biological identification of male and female *Piper betle* is yet to be
315 documented. Jing and Coley, 1990 have reported that male and female trees of *Acer negundo*
316 (Aceraceae) could be distinguished from one another solely based on leaf characters, and the
317 largest difference between the sexes was the toughness of leaves. Leaves from female trees were
318 on average tougher than those from male trees, and suggests that male trees commonly suffered
319 greater herbivory than females due to toughness of leaves. Sexual dimorphism in vegetative
320 growth for several dioecious plants were also reported (Jing and Coley, 1990).

321

322 **3.4 Timber plants and gender preference**

323 Table 4 shows the plants used for its timber and preferential gender usages. Out of 21 tree
324 species used in the study, informants have reported 9 species for various construction purposes,
325 and among these 6 species are preferred based on the gender (Table 4). Timber of male palm
326 trees (*Borassus flabellifer* and *Phoenix* species) and *Drypetes sepiaria* is preferred for
327 construction purposes such as houses, huts and furnitures because it is believed that male plants
328 have expected size and more durable timber than female trees. On the contrary, female plant
329 timber of *Diospyros ebenum* is preferred over male plants and it is believed that carving in male
330 plant timber is tough. Informants preference on one gender in timber could be explained with

331 plant resource allocation theory that the male plants comparatively allocates more resource to
332 vegetative growth than the female plants (Obeso, 2002). Obeso, 1997 have reported that mean
333 annual tree-ring width of *Ilex aquifolium* L. was greater in males than in females for a 30-year
334 period and that the male plants grew more than females. Similarly, male trees of *Bursera*
335 *morelensis* Ramírez, and *Dacryodes excelsa* Vahl were significantly taller and larger than female
336 trees (Forero-Montaña et al., 2010; Pavón and de Luna Ramírez, 2008). On the contrary male
337 and female trees belonging to 16 species of Myristicaceae and *Cecropia schreberiana* Miq.
338 showed no differences in annual growth rates implying that females can compensate the higher
339 cost of reproduction (Forero-Montaña et al., 2010; Queenborough et al., 2007).

340 On the other hand informants reported that male plants of *Myristica dactyloides* are
341 selectively chosen for fire wood considering that it has no other benefits for them. Similar
342 information was documented for *Carica papaya* that the informants do not prefer the male plants
343 to be grown in their garden since it yields no fruits to them. Selective logging is reported to be
344 the far most common management strategies to exploit commercial timber trees in tropical
345 regions (Putz et al., 2012), and woody plants are especially vulnerable due to selective logging,
346 given their economic value as timber and their long regeneration time (Martínez Garza and
347 Howe, 2003). Thus, selective logging and economic value increases the threat to dioecious taxa
348 because of an underlying correlation between woodiness and dioecy (Martínez - Garza and
349 Howe, 2003). Among the threatened plants included in the IUCN Red List of Threatened
350 Species, woody growth habit of dioecious species is contributing to the higher risk of extinction
351 (Vamosi and Vamosi, 2005). Any anthropogenic activity that modifies the male–female distance,
352 sex ratio, plant size and pollinator abundance or behavior could affect the long-term viability of
353 dioecious plants, and endangers the species (Somanathan and Borges, 2000).

354 Apart from dioecious plants, informants had knowledge about the occurrence of
355 monoecious plants (i.e., with separate male and female flowers on the same individual plant),
356 especially about *Cocos nucifera* (coconut), and *Cucurbita* species (pumpkins). Informants aware
357 of male flowers in coconut tree and pumpkins which will not bear fruits, and few informants
358 have informed that male coconut flowers can be used as medicine to increase fertility for both
359 men and women. On the other hand, the female informants specified their tradition of using male
360 flowers of pumpkins as an ornamental.

361

362 **3.5 Vernacular names and plant gender**

363 In this study, it was observed that based on different phenotypes, texture of different plant parts
364 and morphological appearance of closely related species, people have the tendency to represent a
365 particular plant species either as male or female by providing gender specific vernacular names,
366 and such plant species are not dioecious. For example, the phenotypic variations in the flowers
367 such as blue and white in *Clitoria ternatea* L., Leguminosae (*Shankapusphi*) is attributed to
368 gender in Kolli Hills. They consider white flower phenotype as female (resembles the Indian
369 female god Lakshmi) and blue flower phenotype as male (resembles the Indian male god
370 Krishna). They prefer either one phenotype during the rituals and the choice of phenotype is
371 based on the ritual process and whether the spiritual god is male or female. Similarly, *Mimosa*
372 *pubica* L., Leguminosae (*thottasinungi*; *thottasuringi*) was also categorized into male and female
373 based on the characteristic observations in movements in the pulvini of leaves, pinnae and
374 pinnules of the plants in response to touch. If the leaf movement of shrinkage starts from top to
375 bottom basal end upon the touch, it is called male variety (*munsuringi*), and if the shrinkage
376 starts from bottom to top, it is called female variety (*pinsuringi*). On the other hand, two closely
377 related monoecious species in Moraceae, *Artocarpus hirsutus* Lam. (*ayanipala*; *kattupala*;
378 *peyppala*) and *Artocarpus heterophyllus* Lam. (*palamaram*; *narpala*), are considered to be male
379 and female plants respectively based on the fruit texture and timber quality. Informants reported
380 that the fruit of *Artocarpus hirsutus* is watery and mushy in nature, whereas the fruit of
381 *Artocarpus heterophyllus* is fibrous. In addition, it was reported that the timber of *Artocarpus*
382 *hirsutus* was more durable than that of *Artocarpus heterophyllus*.

383

384 **3.6 Plant gender and Ayurveda**

385 The interaction with Ayurvedic doctors indicated that the Ayurvedic classical literature has no
386 straight forward evidence on gender preference to prepare medicine or to treat illness. However
387 the concept of plant gender is mentioned in Ayurvedic literatures such as *Charaka Samhita*,
388 *Vrikshayurveda*, and *Rajanighantu*. For example, *Charaka Samhita* describes the morphological
389 appearance, properties, and uses of a particular medicinal plant called *Kutaja*, and the plant is
390 described as male plant (*Pum-Kutaja*) and female plant (*Stri-Kutaja*), and these two plants are
391 decoded as *Holarrhena pubescens* Wall. ex G.Don (Syn. *Holarrhena antidysenterica* (Roth)
392 Wall. ex A.DC.) and *Wrightia tinctoria* R.Br. both belonging to the Apocynaceae family

393 (Samhita, 2001). These two species are not biologically dioecious. Therefore, it appears that the
394 concept of gender differentiation in *Charaka Samhita* for *Kutaja* is not based on the floral sexual
395 characters of the plants, rather based on the morphological appearance and properties of the
396 plants. On the contrary, *Vrikshayurveda* and *Rajanighantu* describe the concept of reproductive
397 morphology and sexual differentiation of plants (Prasad and Narayana, 2007; Sengupta, 2010).
398 For example, *Rajanighantu* mentions the existence of male and female individuals of a dioecious
399 species plant called *Ketaki* (*Pandanus odoratissimus* L.f. (Syn. of *Pandanus odorifer* (Forssk.)
400 Kuntze) (Adkar and Bhaskar, 2014), but includes no indication on gender preferential usage.

401

402 **Conclusions**

403 During the last century, substantial ethnobotanical knowledge has been documented, and
404 ethnobotanical studies have evolved to demonstrate the importance of traditional ecological
405 knowledge to livelihoods around the globe, but also highlighted the rapid rate at which
406 knowledge is being forgotten and lost. From this study, we identified the existence of a
407 significant knowledge gap in ethnobotanical and ethnopharmacological literature on traditional
408 knowledge of dioecious plants. Hence, an explorative study was conducted, and from this study
409 it is evident that people have traditional knowledge on gender of plants and preferential usages
410 towards one gender for some species. Based on this, we propose that researchers conducting an
411 ethnobotanical and ethnopharmacological study should consider documenting traditional
412 knowledge on sexual systems of plants, and test the existence of gender specific usages in their
413 conceptual framework and hypothesis testing. The incorporation of such concepts could provide
414 new dimensions of scientific knowledge with potential implications to conservation biology,
415 chemical ecology, ethnoecology and drug discovery.

416

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426 **Author contributions**

427 GSS, KR, BSP, HdB and HW synthesized the study concept and designed the study
428 methodology. GSS with the guidance of KR conducted the field study and collected the data.
429 GSS, KR, BSP, HdB, and HW analyzed and interpreted the data. GSS wrote the manuscript, and
430 all authors have contributed to the preparation and finalization of the article. All authors have
431 read and approved the final version of the manuscript.

432

433 **Conflicts of interest**

434 The authors have no conflicts of interest.

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670 **Tables**

671 **Table 1.** Details of dioecious plants studied in Kolli hills (Namakkal district), Sittlingi Valley
672 (Dharmapuri district) and Servarayan Hills (Salem district), Tamil Nadu with preference towards
673 gender and uses.

674 **Table 2.** Total average number of dioecious plants recognized, used, and preferred for its gender
675 by different age group of informants.

676 **Table 3.** Overview of dioecious plants based on their habit, and the informants awareness and
677 gender preference.

678 **Table 4.** Timber yielding dioecious plants with preferential gender usage.

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681 **Supplementary Data**

682 **Supplementary Data S1.** List of possible dioecious plants used in Indian systems of codified
683 and non-codified medicine.

684 **Supplementary Data S2.** Study questionnaire on ethnobotany of dioecious plants.

685 **Supplementary Data S3.** Background details of informants, their knowledge on dioecious
686 plants, and the category of preference for plant gender.

Table 1. Details of dioecious plants studied in Kolli Hills (Namakkal district), Sittlingi Valley (Dharmapuri district) and Servarayan Hills (Salem district) of Tamil Nadu, India with preferences towards gender and uses.

Species; Family; Voucher	Tamil name	Habit	Plants recognized as dioecious (%)			Gender preference	Specific use*
			Y	N	Uncertain		
<i>Anamirta cocculus</i> (L.) Wight & Arn.; Menispermaceae; CI 776	<i>Kakamari,</i> <i>Nancukkottai</i>	Liana	35	58	8	Yes	O: Fruits and seeds are poisonous which are used to poison fishes ^{1,9,17,38} (Tag et al., 2005) R: ♂ and ♀ leaves are used to do black magic ^{1,4,7,13,14,31}
<i>Aphanamixis polystachya</i> (Wall.) R.Parker; Meliaceae; CI 777	<i>Cemmaram,</i> <i>Civappurmar</i> <i>am</i>	Tree	33	58	10	Yes	M: Leaves are used to cure skin diseases, and stomach pain ^{2,3,18,24,32} (Sen et al., 2011) R: Flowers are collected for fragrance, in which ♀ flowers tend to contain more fragrance, and occasionally offered in rituals ^{2,8,13,29}
<i>Asparagus racemosus</i> Willd.; Asparagaceae; CI 778	<i>Tannirvittank</i> <i>izhangu</i>	Liana	0	88	13	No	M: Tubers are used to cure white discharge, stomach pain, reduces body heat, rejuvenative, and enhances lactation ¹⁻⁴⁰ (Bopana and Saxena, 2007)
<i>Bischofia javanica</i> Blume; Phyllanthaceae; CI 779	<i>Romaviruksh</i> <i>a pattai,</i> <i>Milachadaya</i> <i>n</i>	Tree	35	58	8	No	M: Stem bark is used to cure body ache, stomach ulcers, mouth ulcers and inflammatory conditions ^{4,9,13,17,26,30,31,36} R: Stem and leaves are used to black magic in terms of removing fear ^{1,4,7,9,13,14,31,36}
<i>Borassus flabellifer</i> L.; Arecaceae; CI 780	<i>Panai maram</i>	Tree	100	0	0	Yes	F: ♂ plant toddy is more vibrant than ♀ ^{1,3,13,17,22,25,27,38,40} . Fruits and tuberous seedlings are edible ¹⁻⁴⁰ (Davis and Johnson, 1987) M: Fruits and roots are used as diuretic, and antidiabetic ^{1,11,23,31} (Davis and Johnson, 1987)
<i>Canarium strictum</i> Roxb.; Burseraceae; CI 781	<i>karukunkiliya</i> <i>m</i>	Tree	68	15	18	Yes	M: Resin is used as anti-inflammatory and to cure skin diseases, against poisonous bites ^{1-10, 31,35,37} . (Namsa et al., 2009). O: ♀ tree yields more resin than ♂ plant ^{1-10, 23,33,36,37}
<i>Carica papaya</i> L.; Caricaceae; CI 782	<i>Pappali</i> <i>pazham</i>	Tree	100	0	0	No	F: Fruits are edible ¹⁻⁴⁰ (Krishna et al., 2008) M: Latex are used to control tooth ache, fruits used as rejuvenative and pregnancy abortive agent ^{1,4,15,21,24,27,29,34} (Krishna et al., 2008)

<i>Cassine glauca</i> (Rottb.) Kuntze; Celastraceae; CI 783	<i>Karuvali</i>	Tree	83	0	18	No	M: Leaves and stem are used against dysentery, for wound healing, against poisonous bites, headache, fever ^{5,11,12,13,21,23, 26,29} (Moin et al., 2014)
<i>Celastrus paniculatus</i> Willd.; Celastraceae; CI 784	<i>Valuluvai</i>	Liana	70	23	8	No	M: Seeds are used in mental problems, joint pain, arthritis, skin diseases, wound healing ^{1,5,10,14,18,20,31,36} (Rajkumar et al., 2007)
<i>Cissampelos pareira</i> L.; Menispermaceae; CI 785	<i>Vattattiruppi</i>	Liana	0	73	28	No	M: Root and whole plant are used as appetizer, antidiarrhoeal, antihelmintics, antiulcer, and to cure digestive complaints. ^{1,3,7,13,16,19,21,27,34,36} (Amresh et al., 2007)
<i>Coccinia grandis</i> (L.) Voigt; Cucurbitaceae; CI 786	<i>Kovai,</i> <i>Kovaikkay</i>	Vine	0	60	40	No	F: Fruits are edible and used as vegetable ¹⁻⁴⁰ (Addis et al., 2009)
<i>Cocculus hirsutus</i> (L.) W.Theob.; Menispermaceae; CI 787	<i>Kattukkoti</i>	Climber	0	83	18	No	M: Leaves and roots are used to cure skin diseases, skin irritation, and stomach ache ^{1,4,7,9,14,15,29,30,34} (Patil et al., 2014)
<i>Cyclea peltata</i> (Lam.) Hook.f. & Thomson; Menispermaceae; CI 788	<i>Malaithangi,</i> <i>Vattattiruppi</i>	Climber	0	78	23	No	M: Leaves and roots are used to cure poisonous bites, indigestion, stomach pain, boils and blisters ^{2,5,7,8,14,25,28,34} (Xavier et al., 2015)
<i>Dioscorea alata</i> L.; Dioscoreaceae; CI 789	<i>Vettilai-valli</i>	Vine	68	0	33	No	F: Cooked tuber is used as food, and rejuvenative ¹⁻⁴⁰ (Kumar et al., 2017)
<i>D. bulbifera</i> L.; Dioscoreaceae; CI 790	<i>Verrilai valli</i>	Vine	60	0	40	No	
<i>D. esculenta</i> (Lour.) Burkill; Dioscoreaceae; CI 791	<i>Mucilam valli</i>	Vine	65	0	35	No	
<i>D. hispida</i> Dennst.; Dioscoreaceae; CI 792	<i>Kavalakodi</i>	Vine	63	0	38	No	
<i>D. oppositifolia</i> L.; Dioscoreaceae; CI 793	<i>Maruvalli</i>	Vine	68	0	33	No	
<i>D. pentaphylla</i> L.; Dioscoreaceae; CI 794	<i>Kattuvalli</i> <i>kalangu</i>	Vine	78	0	23	No	
<i>Diospyros ebenum</i> J.Koenig ex Retz.; Ebenaceae; CI 795	<i>Karunkali</i>	Tree	100	0	0	No	F: Fruits are edible ^{12,13,19,22,29,30,32,35} (Mallavadhani et al., 1998; Rauf et al., 2017)

<i>D. melanoxylon</i> Roxb.; Ebenaceae; CI 796	<i>Kattupala</i>	Tree	100	0	0	No	F: Fruits are edible ^{12,13,19,22,29,30,32,35} (Mallavadhani et al., 1998; Rauf et al., 2017) M: Leaves are used to cure stomach pain ^{7,11,25,28} (Mallavadhani et al., 1998; Rauf et al., 2017). Leaves are used to as regional cigarette for psychoactive effects ^{21,23,27,33} (Rathore, 1972)
<i>D. montana</i> Roxb.; Ebenaceae; CI 797;	<i>Vakkanai,</i> <i>Vakkanathi</i>	Tree	100	0	0	No	F: Fruits are edible ^{12,13,19,22,29,30,32,35} (Mallavadhani et al., 1998; Rauf et al., 2017) M: Bark and stem are used to cure fractured bones, act as anticoagulant, and to relieve body pain ^{11,18,19,21,23,25} (Mallavadhani et al., 1998; Rauf et al., 2017)
<i>Dodonaea angustifolia</i> L.f.; Sapindaceae; CI 798	<i>Virali</i>	Shrub	0	93	8	No	M: Leaves are used as wound healing, relieves body pain, anti-inflammatory. Pregnancy abortive agent, cleanse the womb ^{1,2,5,8,11,14,17,18,21,24,26, 37,38} (Getie et al., 2003; van Heerden et al., 2000)
<i>D. viscosa</i> (L.) Jacq.; Sapindaceae; CI 799	<i>Velari</i>	Shrub	0	93	8	No	
<i>Drypetes sepiaria</i> (Wight & Arn.) Pax & K.Hoffm.; Putranjivaceae; CI 800	<i>Kalvirai</i>	Tree	100	0	0	No	F: Fruits are edible ¹¹⁻³⁰ (Arinathan et al., 2007)
<i>Embelia tsjeriam-cottam</i> (Roem. & Schult.) A.DC.; Primulaceae; CI 801	<i>Vaivilangam</i>	Shrub	78	0	23	No	M: Seeds are anthelmintic ^{1,4,5,9,16,19,21,27,34} (Venkatasubramanian et al., 2013)
<i>Euphorbia tirucalli</i> L.; Euphorbiaceae; CI 802	<i>Tirukukalli</i>	Tree	0	10 0	0	No	M: Latex is used to cure neural dysfunction, joint pains, skin disease, and act as neural stimuli ^{2,3,4,5,11,13,17} (Bani et al., 2007)
<i>Ficus hispida</i> L.f.; Moraceae; CI 803	<i>Peiatthi</i>	Tree	18	65	18	No	M: Fruits are eaten to cure male impotent and also to increase fertility ^{1,8,12,18,24,30,35} (Lansky et al., 2008)
<i>Hydnocarpus pentandrus</i> (Buch.-Ham.) Oken; Achariaceae; CI 804	<i>Neeradimuthu</i>	Tree	70	23	8	No	F: Fruits are edible ^{3,8,32,35} (Sahoo et al., 2014) M: Leaves and seeds are used to cure skin diseases, chest pains, joint pains ^{1,33,34,37,38} (Sahoo et al., 2014)
<i>Lannea coromandelica</i> (Houtt.) Merr.; Anacardiaceae; CI 805	<i>Odiyamaram</i>	Tree	58	35	8	No	M: Leaves and stem bark are used to cure fever, dysentery, and anti-inflammatory ^{7,9,15,28,33}
<i>Mallotus philippensis</i> (Lam.) Müll.Arg.; Euphorbiaceae; CI 806	<i>Kamala,</i> <i>Manjanathi</i>	Tree	53	13	35	No	M: Leaves and stem bark are used to cure stomach ache. Fruits are used as antidiabetic ^{3,6,12,15,20,32,35,38,39}

<i>Momordica dioica</i> Roxb. ex Willd.; Cucurbitaceae; CI 807	<i>Pakarkoti, Pakarkai</i>	Climber	23	73	5	No	F: Fruits are used as vegetable ¹⁻⁴⁰ . (Talukdar and Hossain, 2014) M: Fruits are used as antidiabetic ¹⁻⁴⁰ . (Talukdar and Hossain, 2014)
<i>Myristica dactyloides</i> Gaertn.; Myristicaceae; CI 808	<i>Jathikai</i>	Tree	68	20	13	No	F: Mace and kernel is used in food ¹⁻⁴⁰ (Swetha et al., 2017)
<i>Phoenix loureiroi</i> Kunth; Arecaceae; CI 809	<i>Malai eecham</i>	Tree	100	0	0	Yes	F: Fruits are edible ¹⁻⁴⁰ , ♂ plant toddy is more vibrant than ♀ plant toddy ^{1,3,5,13,22,25,27,35,38,40} (Haynes and McLaughlin, 2000; Rhouma et al., 2010)
<i>P. pusilla</i> Gaertn.; Arecaceae; CI 810	<i>Icham</i>	Tree	100	0	0	Yes	
<i>P. sylvestris</i> (L.) Roxb.; Arecaceae; CI 81	<i>Icham</i>	Tree	100	0	0	Yes	
<i>Piper betle</i> L.; Piperaceae; CI 812	<i>Vettrilai</i>	Climber	100	0	0	Yes	F: ♀ leaves are preferred ^{10,11,12,14,20,26,33,36} M: ♂ plant leaves are preferred to increase male potency, and ♀ plant leaves are prescribed to male and ♂ leaves to female to act as sexual stimuli. ♂ and ♀ leaves are given in combination for hormonal balance among transgenders ^{1,2,8,13,25,27,29,34,35,37,39,40} . (Sarkar et al., 2000) R: ♀ leaves are preferred in rituals ^{2,8,29,39}
<i>Semecarpus anacardium</i> L.f.; Anacardiaceae; CI 813	<i>Senkottai</i>	Tree	78	0	23	No	M: Seeds are poisonous, cures muscle spasm, skin diseases, and act as wound healing ^{9,32,33,38} (Vijayalakshmi et al., 2000)
<i>Streblus asper</i> Lour.; Moraceae; CI 814	<i>Kuttipilaa</i>	Tree	0	48	53	No	M: Leaves and stem bark are used to cure urinary infections ^{8,13} (Rastogi et al., 2006)
<i>Tinospora cordifolia</i> (Willd.) Miers; Menispermaceae; CI 815	<i>Cintilikkoti</i>	Liana	38	0	63	Yes	M: Stem acts as antidiabetic, immunomodulatory ^{1,9,12,15,40} , ♂ and ♀ roots are used in combination to treat menstrual disorders ^{2,8,16,19,21,39} . (Grover et al., 2000)

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*Superscript numbers are the identity of informants as shown in Supplementary Data S3; F: Food, M: Medicine, O: Others, R: Ritual

Table 2. Total average of dioecious plants recognized, used, and preferred for its gender by different age group of informants.

Informant age cohorts	Total number of informants	Species recognized as dioecious by informants	Average no. of species reported for usages	Average no. of species preferred for gender
41-50	17	19.35	21.47	2.71
51-60	10	24.2	23.1	3.5
61-70	6	23.5	21.17	4.17
71-80	7	24.14	22.14	5.71

Table 3. Overview of dioecious plants grouped on their habit, and the informants awareness and gender preference.

Habit	Dioecious species	Species reported as dioecious by informants	Species preferred for specific gender by informants
Tree	21	19	10
Vine	7	6	0
Liana	5	3	2
Climber	4	2	1
Shrub	3	1	0

Table 4. Timber species with preferential gender usage.

Species	Preferential gender usages*
<i>Borassus flabellifer</i> L.	♂ timber is preferred for construction 4,7,11,16,19,21,27,30,34
<i>Diospyros ebenum</i> J.Koenig ex Retz.	♀ timber is preferred for construction 4,7,11,18,25,28,30,32,35,38
<i>Drypetes sepiaria</i> (Wight & Arn.) Pax & K.Hoffm.	♂ timber is preferred for construction ^{13,15,16,18,22,23,26}
<i>Lannea coromandelica</i> (Houtt.) Merr.	♂ is preferred to make wooden vessels (marakuduvai) to farm animals ^{12,13,15} . ♂ preferred to be grown in farm land in order to avoid seedings 2,6,7,9,14,17,22,28,33,35
<i>Myristica dactyloides</i> Gaertn.	♂ preferably cut for firewood ^{1,2,3,7,10}
<i>Phoenix loureiroi</i> Kunth	♂ timber is preferred for construction 5,6,12,13,17,24,28,33,40
<i>P. pusilla</i> Gaertn.	
<i>P. sylvestris</i> (L.) Roxb.	

*Superscript numbers are the identity of informants as shown in Supplementary Data S3