

Defining 'ethnobotanical convergence'

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1 **Defining ‘ethnobotanical convergence’**

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10 In a recent forum article published in this journal, Garnatje et al [1] propose a new term,
11 ‘ethnobotanical convergence’, to describe “similar uses for plants included in the same node of a
12 phylogeny”. Drawing a parallel between cultural and organismal evolution, Garnatje et al [1] suggest
13 “some plants have similar morphological characteristics because they have close phylogenetic
14 placement, a phenomenon termed ‘evolutionary convergence’”. Evolutionary biologists do not
15 interpret the morphological characteristics shared by related species as convergence, but as
16 homology. Applying phylogenetic methods to test hypotheses of homology, convergent traits are
17 those with independent origins in unrelated species [2]. The definition of ‘ethnobotanical
18 convergence’ Garnatje et al [1] propose is fraught with problems because it overlooks the accepted
19 meaning of the term convergence, and also the challenges of identifying independent origin of
20 traditional knowledge. We argue that the term ‘ethnobotanical convergence’ should be limited to
21 cases where there is clear evidence to support a hypothesis of independent discovery.

22

23 Whether plant use is the result of independent discovery may be important when designing
24 bioprospecting strategies. Several authors have suggested that independent discovery of plant
25 properties by people of different cultures is strongly suggestive of plants’ bioactivity [3-5]. Plant use
26 that is found in more than one culture could be the result of independent discovery, shared ancestry
27 or cross-cultural transmission of knowledge (see for example, [6,7]). Evolutionary anthropologists
28 have adopted phylogenetic methods to discriminate between these alternative explanations for
29 cultural similarity [8]. Using a phylogenetic framework derived from linguistic data, traits are
30 mapped onto the phylogeny. A rigorous definition of ‘ethnobotanical convergence’ would depend
31 on these approaches to identify multiple independent origins of plant use.

32

33 Here we outline two scenarios that could result in the shared use of closely related plants, using the
34 terms horizontal (transmission of knowledge between cultures) and vertical (from one generation to
35 the next, and from ancestral to descendent cultures) to describe modes of transmission of
36 knowledge. In our first scenario, closely related peoples use closely related plants. This is not in itself
37 indicative of independent discovery, since the knowledge could be “ancestral”, the result of vertical

38 transmission of knowledge. Shared use by closely related people is not especially informative in a
39 bioprospecting context. In our second scenario, distantly related peoples use closely related plants.
40 In this case shared use could be interpreted as independent discovery of the plant's use. However, it
41 would be important to consider the spatial distribution of the people, since horizontal transmission
42 is possible between cultures newly in proximity, perhaps following migration or trade (see [9] for an
43 example of cross-cultural adoption of plant use following migration). So far, for bioprospecting,
44 independent discovery of the uses of plants has been inferred or implied, without recourse to
45 linguistic phylogeny. For example, Saslis-Lagoudakis et al [10] compared medicinal floras of
46 linguistically unrelated and geographically separated peoples so that shared use could be attributed
47 to independent discovery. In contrast, Garnatje et al [1] cite the use of congeneric oregano species
48 as ethnobotanical convergence. The cultures cited by Garnatje et al [1] as using oregano species
49 have had significant historical opportunity for knowledge transmission, making it difficult to
50 attribute similar use to independent discovery. In such cases, linguistic relationships between the
51 compared societies to account for cultural relatedness (Galton's problem), evidence from written
52 records, and comparison of cognate or loaned plant names may discriminate between shared
53 ancestral knowledge, knowledge transmission and true ethnobotanical convergence.

54

55 That closely related plants are chemically similar drives the rational use of phylogenies of plants in
56 bioprospecting [10]. Plants included in the same clade of a phylogeny might be expected to have
57 similar therapeutic applications across cultures because they have similar bioactivity. Lineages rich in
58 species used medicinally, termed "hot nodes" [11], encompass the "similar uses for plants included
59 in the same node of a phylogeny" referred to by Garnatje et al [1]. Phylogenetically-informed
60 bioprospecting of medicinal plants depends on interdisciplinary approaches that combine plant
61 phylogenies, cultural phylogenies and ethnobotanical data. Introducing confused terminology at the
62 outset will hinder the interdisciplinary conversations required.

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