

An ethnobotany of Kakheti and Kvemo Kartli, Sakartvelo (Republic of Georgia), Caucasus

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Research

Abstract

Background: Kahketi and Kvemo Kartli are historical provinces of Georgia located on the south-facing macro-slope of the eastern part of the Greater Caucasus (Kahketi) and east of the Lesser Caucasus (Kvemo Kartli). In this study we documented traditional plant use in Kakheti and Kvemo Kartli.

Methods: Fieldwork was conducted in August-November 2018. Interviews using semi-structured questionnaires were conducted with 40 participants (26 women and 14 men), with oral prior informed consent.

Results: We encountered 215 plant species belonging to 157 genera of 114 vascular plant families, and 3 fungal species and 5 undetermined fungi of at least 5 genera, belonging to at least 3 fungal families being used in the research region. Of these 114 vascular species were exclusively wild collected, 88 were grown in homegardens, and 18 were both grown in gardens and collected in the wild. Plants and their uses mostly overlapped among the areas within the region, with a slightly wider divergence in uses than in plants. The environmental fit analysis showed that a large degree of this variation was explained by differences among participant communities. The elevation of the participant community significantly fit the ordination in plant-space and explained a large degree of the variation in plant species reported but not in usespace. Gender was not significant in plant-space but was important in use space.

Conclusions: The lack of forest plant use, and both forest and garden plant-use knowledge in Kakheti

and Kvemo-Kartli might be traced to the fact that both regions are close to large markets in the region, which make it less necessary to grow or forage many species. In addition, Kahketi is easily one of the most fertile regions in Georgia, with a very short winter and there is essentially no need for foraging wild species e.g. for Phkhali. Lagodekhi, with its almost subtropical climate, is an extreme example of that, with almost no recorded forest plant use.

Key words: Caucasus, ethnobotany, plant use, traditional knowledge, post-soviet development

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Background

Georgia harbors a tremendous diversity of crops and crop wild relatives, and plant use for medicine and other purposes is very common (Akhalkatsi et al. 2018a,b), and can often be traced back millennia (McGovern et al. 2018). Plant use is indeed widely shared among different ethnic and religious communities (Kordzakhia and Javakhishvili 1971, Söderlind 2015). In this study we focused on the

regions Kakheti and Kvemo-Kartli (Fig. 1). The vegetation of the region includes montane forest, subalpine, alpine, subnival and nival zones and corresponds to the East Caucasian, i.e. Iberian, type of the vegetation vertical zonation (Gagnidze and Davitadze 2000; Zazanashvili et al. 1999). Most inhabitants speak Georgian, although small groups speak Azeri, Lak, Ude, Ossetian and Chechen (Beridze et al. 2003).



Fig. 1. Study area.

Kakheti (კახეთი) was formed as administrative region in 1991 after independence from the USSR, in eastern Georgia from the historical province of Kakheti and the small, mountainous province of Tusheti. In this paper we focus only on the traditional Kahketi region. Kakheti has a strong linguistic and cultural identity, since its ethnographic subgroup of Kakhetians speak the Kakhetian dialect of Georgian.

Traditionally, Kakheti has been subdivided into four areas: Shida Kakheti (შიდა კახეთი, Shida Kakheti) to the east of Tsiv-Gombori mountain range, along the right bank of the Alazani River; Gare Kakheti (გარე კახეთი, Gare Kakheti) along the middle lori River basin; Kiziq'i (ქიზიყი) between the Alazani

and the Iori; *Gaghma Mkhari* (გაღმა მხარი, *Gaghma Mkhari*) on the left bank of the Alazani.

The Kingdom of Kakheti-Hereti was an early Medieval monarchy in eastern Georgia, centered at the province of Kakheti, with its capital first at Telavi. It emerged in c. 1014 AD, under the leadership of Kvirike III the Great. At the beginning of the twelfth century did Georgian King David the Builder (c.1089–1125) incorporate Kakheti permanently into the Greater Georgian Kingdom. After the disintegration of the Georgian Kingdom, Kakheti became an independent Kingdom in the 1460s. From the early 16th century till the early 19th century, Kakheti and its neighboring Kartli came under intermittent Iranian rule. In 1762, the Kakhetian Kingdom was united with the neighboring Georgian

Kingdom of Kartli into the Kingdom of Kartli-Kakheti under King Heraclius II. Following the Treaty of Georgievsk and the sack of Tbilisi by Agha Mohammad Khan, in 1801 the Kingdom of Kartli-

Kakheti was annexed to the Russian Empire. Kakheti is home to ancient Georgian Orthodox Chistian sites like Bodbe Monastery (Fig. 2), and the ancient center of wine production in Georgia (Fig. 3).



Fig. 2. Bodbe monastery complex, Kakheti



Fig. 3. Pheasants Tears vineyards, Kakheti, with view of the Greater Caucasus.

Kvemo Kartli (ქვემო ქართლი) is a historic province and current administrative region in southeastern Georgia, originally part of the Kakhetian Kingdom. Kvemo Kartli has been settled by humans for millions of years. Especially the Dmanisi area (Fig. 4), is known for its hominid fossils of *Homo georgicus*, with an age between 1.6 and 1.8 million years, and the region has been settled by hominids ever since.



Fig. 4. Dmanisi landscape, Kvemo Kartli, from the Homo georgicus excavation site.

The region is one of the most economically developed in Georgia. After Tbilisi, the region is ranked second in industrial production. Apart from Georgians, Kvemo Kartli also hosts a large Azeri and Armenian population, and from the early 19th century to the second world war was home to a large number of Caucasus Swabians (a population of German origin), who had considerable influence especially on local agricultural production. In the early 19th century, 2629 Swabian radical Pietists immigrated to Georgia on invitation of Tsar Alexander I. Around 500 large families founded eight colonies near Tbilisi in 1818, supported by the Russian government. In colloquial language they were soon called the "Schwabendörfer". The largest village was Katharinenfeld, where initially 95 families, later 116 families lived. The name should honor the Württemberg Queen Catherine, the sister of Tsar Alexander I. The other villages. Marienfeld. Elisabethtal. Alexandersdorf and Petersdorf made a name for themselves because of their straight, cobbled streets. In 1918 there were more than 20 villages founded by Caucasian Germans in Georgia. After the occupation of Georgia and Azerbaijan by the Soviet Union in 1921, Katharinenfeld was renamed in Luxembourg and in 1944 in Bolnisi. Marienfeld became Sartischala, Elisabethtal became Asureti and Helenendorf became Xanlar. In 1941 there were over 24,000 German colonists in Georgia. In the same year, Stalin relocated all Caucasian Germans who were not married to locals to Kazakhstan and Siberia. The houses of the German settlers were given to migrants from other regions of Transcaucasia. Only a few Caucasian Germans returned to the Caucasus in the post-war period. In 2002 there were about 30 older women of German origin in Bolnisi.

Flora and vegetation

The Caucasus region contains an amazing variety of vascular plants, with about 6300 described species (Gagnidze (2002). The number of endemic taxa known for the Caucasus region is set at 2791 (Schatz et al., 2009).

The Botanical exploration of the Caucasus started in the 17th century. Jean-Baptiste Chardin (1686), described the gardens in Tiflis, Georgia, as well as the surrounding areas as result of a journey in 1672-1673. Joseph Delaporte published similar impressions in 1768 (Gogolishvili & Skhiereli, 1986). Botanist Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, published a large treatment of the Caucasus flora and

vegetation in 1717. Johann Christian Buxbaum published a five-volume treatment of the region in (1728-1740). The first real flora of the Caucasus region was however prepared by Adolf Marschall von Bieberstein (1808-1819). In the 20th century most of the Caucasus region formed part of the former Soviet Union, and botanically well studied in that time (Grossheim, 1928-1934, 1939-1967; Takhtajan, 2003-2012). A large number of detailed treatments of the Caucasus flora were compiled by Alexander Grossheim, who published the most complete Flora of the Caucasus (1928-1934). Starting in the 1940s, Grossheim produced also a series of volumes on human plant use for Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia (Grossheim, 1942, 1943, 1946, 1949, 1952). Especially his Manual of the Caucasian Plants (Grossheim, 1949) is still a standard reference today. Nakhutsrishvili (1999) produced the most comprehensive vegetation description for the Caucasus.

The high biodiversity in the Caucasus is found in a wide variety of vegetation types. A large portion of the region is covered by broad-leaved and coniferous forests (Galushko, 1978-1980; Doluchanov, 1989: Nakhutsrishvili, 1999; Zazanashvili et al., 1999, 2000). In the northern Caucasus, forests are mostly found in the western part, while moving further east forested areas are more and more restricted to areas along streams. and in in Dagestan, steppe and shrub formations are prevalent (Litvinskaya and Murtazaliev, 2009). The forest cover was estimated to be 36% in Georgia (Doluchanov, 1989), and forest cover has diminished from 35% to 11% in Azerbaijan. (Schatz et al, 2009). However, usage change, especially a reduction of sheep in the Northern Caucasus, as led the timberline to extend upwards in many areas (Bussmann et al., 2014, 2016a-d, 2017a-b).

In this study we documented traditional plant use in Kahketi and Kvemo Kartli and hypothesized that (1) plant use knowledge in general would lower in these regions than in the rest of Georgia, that (2) most plant use would center on home gardens (3) that the consumption of herbs as "Pkhali" (herb pie), very prevalent in other regions of Georgia, would be limited, and that (4) there would essentially be no trace of Swabian traditional knowledge in the region.

Materials and Methods

Ethnobotanical interviews

Fieldwork was conducted in August-November 2018. Interviews using semi-structured questionnaires were conducted with 40 participants (26 women and 14 men), with oral prior informed consent (Fig. 5).

The participants were selected by snowball sampling, trying to reach gender balance and represent members of different age groups (37-85 years). However, most participants were over 45 years old, because only very few younger people remain in remote Georgian villages. All interviews were carried out in the participants' homes and gardens by native speakers of Georgian and its local dialects, and then translated into English. Plants grown in the home gardens were used as prompts, while wild-collected species were free listed. Wildcollected and garden species were identified directly in the field, as well as using literature (Flora of Georgia Committee 1971-2011; Makashvili 1952-1953), and voucher collections deposited in the National Herbarium of Georgia (TBI). The of all species nomenclature follows APGIII www.tropicos.org, under (Angiosperm Phylogeny Group 2009). The spelling of vernacular names was standardized using Makashvili (1991). Fungal nomenclature follows MycoBank (http://www.mycobank.org).

Statistical analysis

Distance among informants was calculated for two matrices: one in which columns represented plant species reported, and one in which columns represented uses reported. We calculated distance with the Bray-Curtis method and used the metaMDS function in the R package vegan (Okasanen et al. 2018) to implement nonmetric multidimensional scaling. The resulting ordinations plot individuals more closely together who report similar plants (in the case of the first matrix) or similar uses (in the case of the second matrix). We then fit different continuous variables (elevation of community and age of individual) and categorical variables (gender of individual, community, and district) using to test whether each variable explains the location of informants in the ordination, also using vegan (Oksanen et al. 2018). We compared these fits to 999 randomized shuffles of the environmental variables to calculate significance. We calculated informant consensus for a given use category as the number of use reports minus the number of taxa over the number of use reports minus one:

Nur-Nt / Nur-1

We ranked species by three metrics: cultural importance value, the sum within species across all plant-uses of the number of informants reporting a plant-use over the number of informants reporting the plant; use diversity, the Shannon Index of uses (calculated with *vegan*, Oksannen et al. 2018); and use value, the number of reports of a species over total number of informants asked in a region (Philips and Gentry 1993).



Fig. 5. Interview, Kakheti, Georgia. Note plant amples in the foreground.

Results

We encountered 215 plant species belonging to 157 genera of 114 vascular plant families, and 3 fungal species and 5 undetermined fungi of at least 5 genera, belonging to at least 3 fungal families being used in the research region. Of these 114 vascular

species were exclusively wild collected, 88 were grown in homegardens, and 18 were both grown in gardens and collected in the wild (Table 1).

The most important use categories were food, and medicinal. For the demographics of all participants see Table 2.

Table 1- Plants used in Kahketi and Kvemo Kartli

Plant family	Scientific name	Georgian Name and (Transliteration)	Name other language and (Transliteration) (Lak, Ude, Ossetian and Tushetian)	Use description	Part used	Location
Actinidiaceae	Actinidia callosa Lindl.	კივი (k'ivi)	•	Human Food	Fruit	Garden
Adoxaceae	Sambucus ebulus L.	ანწლი (ants'li), ანწილი (ants'ili)		Human Food (Raw and Alcohol), Medicinal (Tincture),	Fruit	Forest
Adoxaceae	Sambucus nigra L.	ანწლი (ants'li), ანწილი (ants'ili)		Human Food, Medicinal	Fruit	Forest
Adoxaceae	Viburnum opulus L.	dახველი (dzakhvelia), წორო (ts'oro)		Medicinal (Cough), Utensils and Tools (Tools)	Fruit, Stem	Forest
Agaricaceae	Agaricus arvensis Schaeff.	ქამა (k'ama)		Human Food	Fruiting body	Forest
Amaranthaceae	Amaranthus paniculatus L.	წითელი ჯიჯლაყა (ts'iteli		Human Food (Phkhali)	Leaves,	Forest
		jijlaq'a), თათრულა ფხალი (tatrula pkhali)			Stem	
Amaranthaceae	Amaranthus retroflexus L.	ჩვეულებრივი ჯიჯლაყა (chveulebrivi jijlaq'a),	ხალე (khale - Lak)	Human Food (Phkhali)	Leaves, Stem	Forest
		წოწნარა (ts'ots'nara),				
		თეთრი მხალი (tetri mkhali),				
		თვითმავალა (tvitmavala),				
		მხალი-ბალახი (mkhali-				
		balakhi), წოწნარა				
		(ts'ots'nara), წრიანტელი (ts'riant'eli)				
Amaranthaceae	Amaranthus speciosus L.	ჯიჯლაყა-ყვავილი (jijlaq'a- q'vavili)	ლერტაგიჭი (lertagich'l - Ossetian)	Human Food (Phkhali, raw)	Leaves, Root	Garden
Amaranthaceae	Beta vulgaris L.	ქარხალი (ch'arkhali)	,	Human Food	Root	Garden
Amaranthaceae	Beta vulgaris L. ssp. cicla (L.) Moq.	მანგოლდი (mangoldi)		Human Food (Phkhali)	Leaves	Garden
Amaranthaceae	Chenopodium album L.	ნაცარქათამა (natsarkatama), მხალი (mkhali)	ფუტაყ (futaq' - Ossetian)	Human Food (Phkhali)	Leaves, Stem	Forest
Amaranthaceae	Chenopodium bonus-henricus L.	ნაცარქათამა (natsarkatama		Human Food (Phkhali)	Leaves	Garden

Amaranthaceae	Chenopodium foliosum (Moench) Asch.	ნაცარქათამა (natsarkatama	Human Food (Phkhali)	Leaves	Forest
Amaranthaceae	Spinaca oleracea L.	ისპანახი (isp'anakhi)	Human Food	Leaves, Stem	Garden
Amaryllidaceae	Allium cepa L.	ხახვი (khakhvi)	Human Food (Phkhali, raw), Medicinal (Blood pressure)	Leaves, Bulb	Garden
Amaryllidaceae	Allium sativum L.	ნიორი (niori)	Human Food (Phkhali, pickled, raw), Utensils and Tools (Dye)	Leaves, Bulb, Stem	Garden
Amaryllidaceae	Allium ursinum L.	მთის ღანძილი (mtis ghandzili), ღანძილი	Human Food (Pickled, raw)	Leaves	Forest
Apiaceae	Anethum graveolens L.	(g'andzili), სობო (sobo) კამა (k'ama), ცერეცო დიდი კამა (tseretso didi k'ama)	Human Food (Spice, Condiment), Medicinal (Infusion)	Leaves, Stem, Dry Seeds	Garden
Apiaceae	Anthriscus sylvestris L.	ჭყიმი (ch'q'imi), ღიმის დედა (g'imis deda)	Human Food (Phkhali)	Leaves	Forest
Apiaceae	Apium graveolens L.	ნიახური (niakhuri)	Human Food (Phkhali, spice)	Leaves, Stem	Garden
Apiaceae	Chaerophyllum aureum L.	ყინტორა (q'int'ora), ხოზო (khozo)	Human Food	Buds	Forest
Apiaceae	Chaerophyllum bulbosum L.	ღიმი (g'imi), ატოლი (at'oli)	Human Food (Pickled)	Leaves, Stem	Forest
Apiaceae	Chaerophyllum caucasicum (Fisch.) B. Schischk	ღიმი (g'imi), ატოლი (at'oli)	Human Food (Phkhali)	Leaves, Stem	Forest
Apiaceae	Coriandrum sativum L.	ქინპი (kindzi)	Human Food (Phkhali, Spice)	Leaves, Stem	Garden
Apiaceae	Daucus carota L. ssp. sativus	სტაფილო (st'apilo)	Human Food	Root,Lleaves	Garden, Forest
Apiaceae	Falcaria vulgaris Bernh.	კოფრჩხილა (k'oprchkhila), ბატიფეხა (bat'ipekha)	Human Food (Phkhali, pickled)	Leaves, Stem	Forest
Apiaceae	Heracleum sosnowskyi Manden	დიყი (diq'i), ხევსურის დიყი (khevsuris diq'i), დიყინა (diq'ina)	Human Food (Pickled)	Lower part of Stem, Seeds	Forest

Apiaceae	Heracleum sp.	დიყი (diq'i)		Human Food (Pickled)	Leaves, Lower part of Stem	Forest
Apiaceae	Hyppomarathum crispum (Pers.) Boiss.	ბურბურა (burbura), ქარქვეტა (karkvet'a)		Human Food (Phkhali), Medicinal	Leaves	Forest
Apiaceae	Petroselinum crispum (Mill.) Fuss	ოხრახუში (okhrakhushi), მაღდანოზი (mag'danozi)		Human Food (Spice)	Leaves, Stem	Garden
Apocynaceae	Vinca major L.	გველის სურო (gvelis suro)		Medicinal (Blood pressure)	Leaves	Garden
Araliaceae	Hedera colchica (K. Koch) K. Koch	სურო (suro)		Medicinal	Leaves	Garden
Asparagaceae	Asparagus officinalis L.	სატაცური (sat'atsuri)		Human Food (Phkhali, cooked)	Leaves, Stem	Forest, Garden
Asparagaceae	Yucca filamentosa L.	იუკა (iuk'a)		Utensils and Tools (Ropes and strings)	Leaves	Garden
Asphodelaceae	Aloe barbadensis Mill.	ალოე (aloe)		Medicinal	Whole Plant	Garden
Asteraceae	Achillea millefolium L.	ფარსმანდუკი (parsmanduk'i), მელაგუნდა (melagunda)		Medicinal	Leaves	Forest
Asteraceae	Arctium lappa L.	ოროვანდი (orovandi), ძირხვენა (dzirkhvena)		Human Food (Phkhali)	Leaves	Forest
Asteraceae	Artemisia dracunculus L.	ტარხუნა (t'arkhuna)		Human Food (Phkhali, Beverage)	Leaves, Stem, Seeds	Garden
Asteraceae	Bidens tripartida L.	ორკბილა (ork'bila), ჩერედა (chereda)		Medicinal (Bath)	Leaves, stem	Forest
Asteraceae	Calendula officinalis L.	გულყვითელა (gulq'vitela), კალენდულა (k'alendula)		Medicinal	Flower	Garden
Asteraceae	Cichorium intybus L.	ვარდკაჭაჭა (vardk'ach'ach'a), ტიტა (t'it'a)	ხათალდიდნყ (khataldidinq'- (Ossetian)	Human Food (Phkhali, Coffee replacement), Medicinal (Diarrhea)	Buds, Leaves, Stem, Root	Forest
Asteraceae	Cirsium incanum (S.G. Gmel.) Fisch. ex M. Bieb.	თეთრი ნარი (tetri nari), ნარი (nari)	. ,	Medicinal (Urinary, Kindey)	Root young	Forest
Asteraceae Asteraceae	Erigeron canadensis L. Helianthus tuberosus L.	მიწავაშლა (mits'avashla), მიწის ვაშლი (mits'is vashli)		Medicinal Human Food, Medicinal	Leaves Root	Garden Garden

Asteraceae	Matricaria chamomila L.	გვირილა (gvirila)		Medicinal	Leaves, Flower	Garden
Asteraceae	Pyrethrum sp.	გვირილა (gvirila), მინდვრის		Medicinal	Whole plant	Forest
		გვირილა (mindvris gvirila)				
Asteraceae	Serratula quinquefolia Bieb. ex Willd.	ირმისმხალა (irmismkhala),		Human Food (Phkhali)	Leaves,	Forest
		საფურცქვნელა			Stem	
		(sapurtskvnela)				
Asteraceae	Silybum marianum (L.) Gaertn.			Medicinal (Liver)	Seed	Forest
Asteraceae	Tagetes patula L.	ყვითელი ყვავილი (qhvitheli		Human Food (Spice)	Petals	Garden
		qhvavili), იმერული ზაფრანა				
		(imeruli zaphrana), იაყააქუ				
		(yaq'aaku)				
Asteraceae	Taraxacum officinale Wigg.	ბაბუაწვერა (babuats'vera)		Human Food (Phkhali),	Leaves,	Garden,
				Medicinal (Cold)	Stem, Root, Flower	Forest
Asteraceae	Tragopogon sp.	ფამფარა (pampara)		Human Food (Phkhali)	Leaves	Forest
Asteraceae	Tussilago farfara L.	ვირისტერფა (virist'erpa)		Medicinal (Infusion)	Leaves	Forest
Asteraceae	Xanthium strumarium L.	ღორის ბირკა (g'oris birk'a),		Human Food (Phkhali),	Leaves	Forest
		ბირკა (birk'a), ცეცხლეკალა		Medicinal		
		(tsetskhlek'ala), კუტეკალა				
		(კუტეკალა)				
Berberidaceae	Berberis vulgaris L.	კოწახური (k'ots'akhuri)		Human Food	Fruit	Forest
Betulaceae	Carpinus caucasica Grossh.	რცხილა (rtskhila)	ფოტყაად (fpt'q'aad - Ossetian)	Utensils and Tools (Tools)	Stem	Forest
Betulaceae	Alnus barbata C.A. Mey.	მურყანი (murq'ani), ნახო	,	Utensils and Tools	Stem	Forest
		(nakho)		(Tools)		
Betulaceae	Betula litwinowii Doluch.	არყი (arq'i)		Utensils and Tools	Stem	Forest
				(Tools)		
Betulaceae	Betula pendula Roth	არყი (arq'i)		Utensils and Tools (Tools)	Stem	Forest
Betulaceae	Carpinus caucasica Grossh.	შავი რცხილა (shavi rtskhila)		Utensils and Tools	Stem	Forest
				(Tools), Fuel (Firewood)		
Betulaceae	Carpinus orientalis Mill.	ჯაგრცხილა (jagrtskhila),		Utensils and Tools	Stem	Forest
		თეთრი რცხილა (tetri		(Tools), Fuel (Firewood)		
		rtskhila)				

Betulaceae	Corylus avellana L.	თხილი (tkhili)		Human Food	Fruit	Garden
Betulaceae	Corylus pontica K. Koch.	თხილი (tkhili)		Human Food	Fruit	Forest
Boletaceae	Boletus edulis Bull.	დათიკა სოკო (datik'a sok'o)		Human Food	Fruiting body	Forest
Boraginaceae	Symphytum caucasicum M. Bieb.	ლაშქარა (lashkara),		Human Food (Phkhali),	Leaves, Root	Forest,
		წუწნელა (ts'uts'nela)		Medicinal		Garden
Brassicaceae	Brassica oleracea L.	კომბოსტო (k'ombost'o)		Human Food	Leaves	Garden
Brassicaceae	Brassica oleracea L. var. italica	კომბოსტო (k'ombost'o),		Human Food	Leaves	Garden
		ბროკოლი (brok'oli)				
Brassicaceae	Capsella bursa-pastoris L.	წიწმატურა (ts'ts'mat'ura),	ხწ (khts' - Ossetian)	Human Food (Phkhali)	Leaves	Forest
		რეკებოს (rek'ebos),				
		ხარიკბილა (kharik'bila)				
Brassicaceae	Lepidium sativum L.	წიწმატი (ts'its'mat'i)		Human Food (Phkhali)	Leaves	Garden
Brassicaceae	Raphinastrum rugosum L. All.	ბოლოკა (bolok'a), ბოლოკას		Human Food	Root	Garden
		კოტი (bolok'as k'ot'i)				
Campanulaceae	Campanula latifolia L.	ალოშა (alosha)		Human Food (Phkhali)	Leaves,	Forest
Campanulaceae	Campanula rapunculoides L.	2,0-*, (mashita)		Human Food	Stem Leaves	Forest
Cannabaceae	Humulus lupulus L.	მაჩიტა (machit'a)		Human Food (Beer,	Flower,	Forest,
Carmabaceae	Hamaias iapaias L.	სვია (svia), სვე (sve)		Phkhali), Medicinal	Leaves,	Garden
				(Urinary - Prostate)	Stem	
Cannaceae	Canna indica L.	, Medicinal		Ornamental	Whole Plant	Garden
Caryophyllaceae	Stellaria media (L.) Vill.	ჟუნჟრუკი (zhunzhruk'i),		Animal Food (Geese),	Whole plant,	Garden
		ჟუნჟრუკა (zhunzhruk'a)		Human Food	leaves	
Compaga	Cornus mas L.	m ~ (-l-:li) m	m 0 (-1	(Khachapuri)	Fruit	Forest.
Cornaceae	Cornus mas L.	შინდი (shindi), შულდი	შემ (shem - Ossetian)	Human Food (Raw, Jam), Medicinal,	Fruit	Garden
		(shuldi)		Utensils and Tools		Garden
				(Tools)		
Cornaceae	Swida australis (C.A. Mey.) Pojark ex	შინდანწლა (shindants'la),		Utensils and Tools (Axe	Stem, Fruit	Forest,
	Grossh.			handles), Huma Food		Garden
Corylaceae	Carpinus caucasica Grossh.	რცხილა (rtskhila)		Utensils and Tools	Stem	Forest
Corylaceae	Corylus iberica L.	on (one a contraction (data it is bit a)		(Tools) Human Food	Fruit	Forest,
Corylaceae	Corylus ID e rica L.	დათვითხილა (datvitkhila),		riuman roou	i-Tuit	Garden
		დათვთხილა (datvtkhila)				Caraon

Crassulaceae	Sempervivum caucasicum Rupr. ex Boiss.		კლდის დუმა (k'ldisduma Tushetian)	Medicinal (Impotence, Wounds)	Leaves	Garden
Cucurbitaceae	Bryonia dioica Jacq.	ლეშურა (leshura), ადამის ძირი (adamis dziri)	(Human Food (Phkhali), Medicinal	Leaves	Forest
Cucurbitaceae	Citrullus lanatus (Thunb.) Matsum. & Nakai	საზამთრო (sazamthro)		Human Food (Pickled)	Fruit	Garden
Cucurbitaceae	Cucumis sativus L.	კიტრი (k'it'ri)		Human Food	Fruit	Garden
Cucurbitaceae	Cucurbita pepo L.	გოგრა (gogra)		Human Food (Cooked, Pickled)	Fruit	Garden
Cucurbitaceae	Citrullus lanatus (Thunb.) Matsum. & Nakai			Human Food	Fruit	Garden
Cucurbitaceae	Cucurbita sp.	გოგრა (gogra), ყაბაყი (q'abaq'i)		Human Food	Fruit	Garden
Cupressaceae	Juniperus depressa Raf. ex M'Murtrie	ღვია (g'via)		Fuel for smoking ham	Stem	Forest
Cupressaceae	Junperus sabina L.		ჭყერო (tchqhero - Svan)	Medicinal (Urinary - Kindey)	Leaves	Garden
Cupressaceae	<i>Thuja</i> sp.	ტუია (t'uia)	,	Medicinal	Leaves	Garden
Dryopteridaceae	Dryopteris filix-mas (L.) Schott.	ჩადუნა (chaduna), ჩადი (chadi)		Human Food (Phkhali), Utensils and Tools (Filter for Wine)	Leaves, Stem	Forest
Ebenaceae	Diospyros lotus L.	კარალიოკი (k'araliok'i), ხურმა (khurma)		Human Food	Fruit	Garden
Elaeagnaceae	Elaeagnus sp.	ფშატი (pshati)		Human Food	Fruit	Forest
Equisetaceae	Equisetum hyenale L.	შვიტა (shvit'a), ცხენისკუდა (tskhenisk'uda)		Medicinal	Leaves	Forest
Ericaceae	Vaccinium myrtillus L.	მთის მოცვი (mtis motsvi), მოცვი (motsvi), შალშავი (shalshavi)		Human Food	Fruit	Forest
Fabaceae	Gleditsia sp.	გლედიჩია (gledichia), მურმანის ეკალი (murmanis ek'ali)		Medicinal, Utensils and Tools (Tools)	Leaves, Stem	Forest
Fabaceae	Lathyrus roseus Steven	არჯაკელი (arjak'eli)		Human Food (Phkhali)	Leaves, Stem	Forest
Fabaceae	Phaseolus sativus L.	ლობიო (lobio)		Human Food	Seeds, Fruit	Garden

Fabaceae	Pisum sativum L.	ბარდა (barda)		Human Food, Animal Food (Cows)	Seeds	Garden
Fabaceae	Robinia pseudoacacia L.	აკაცია (ak'atsia), ლობიოს ხე (lobios khe)		Human Food (Pickled), Utensils and Tools (Poles)	Flower, Stem	Forest
Fabaceae	Trigonella caerulea (L.) Ser.	ულუმბო (ulumbo), უცხო სუნელი (utskho suneli)		Human Food (Spice)	Seeds	Garden
Fabaceae	Vicia faba L.	ცერცვი (tsertsvi)		Human Food, Animal Food (Cows)	Seeds	Garden
Fagaceae	Castanea sativa Mill.	წაბლი (ts'abli), ჭიფერ (ch'iper)		Human Food, Utensils and Tools (Tools)	Fruit, Stem	Forest
Fagaceae	Fagus orientalis Lipsky	წიფელი (ts'ipeli), წიფელა (ts'ipela)	თარსი ბალოს (tarsi- balos - Ossetian), ფუ'ფ უდინური (pu'p - Udin)	Human Food, Utensils and Tools (Tools), Construction (Timber), Animal Food (Fodder), Fuel (Firewood)	Fruit, Seeds, Stem	Forest
Fagaceae	Quercus iberica M. Bieb	მუხა (mukha), ქართული მუხა (kartuli mukha), წალი მუხა (ts'ali mukha), ნილე (nile)	კვრკო (k'vrk'o - Ossetian), მახ (ma'kh in - Udin)	Utensils and Tools (Tools), Construction (Timber), Fuel (Firewood), Animal Food (Fodder), Human Food, Medicinal	Stem, Fruit, Leaves	Forest
Fagaceae	Quercus macranthera Fisch. & C.A. Mey. ex Hohen.	კავკასიური მუხა (k'avk'asiuri mukha), მუხა (mukha), ფატარი მუხა (patari mukha)		Utensils and Tools (Tools)	Stem	Forest
Fungi		 მილიგაუმაჩი (miligaumachi)		Human Food	Fruiting body	Forest
Fungi		წიანასოკო (tsianasoko)		Human Food	Fruiting body	Forest
Geraniaceae	Pelargonium sp.			Medicinal	Leaves	Garden
Grossulariaceae	Ribes sp.	მოცხარი (motskhari)		Human Food	Fruit	Forest
Guttiferae	Hypericum perforatum L.	კრაზანა (k'razana)		Medicinal, Utensils and Tools (Dye)	Leaves, Flowers, Stem, Root	Forest

Juglandaceae	Juglans regia L.	კაკალი (k'ak'ali), ჰექე (heke)	უყ უდინური (u'q' -	Utensils and Tools	Stem, Fruit,	Forest,
			Udin)	(Tools), Human Food, Utensils and Tools (Dye)	Seeds, Root	Garden
Juglandaceae	Pterocarya pterocarpa (Michx.) Kunth ex Iljinsk.	ლაფანი (lapani)		Utensils and Tools (Tools)	Stem	Forest
Lamiaceae	Lamium album L.	ჭინჭრის დედა (ch'inch'ris deda)	ფსრამოთ (psramot - Ossetian)	Human Food (Phkhali)	Leaves, Stem	Forest
Lamiaceae	Lamium purpureum L.	, ბებრისკონკა (bebrisk'onk'a), ბებრიკონკა (bebrik'onk'a)	,	Human Food (Phkhali)	Leaves	Forest
Lamiaceae	Leonurus cardiaca L.	შავბალახა (shavbalakha)		Medicinal	Leaves	Garden
Lamiaceae	Mentha pulegium L.	პიტნა (p'it'na), ტყის პიტნა (t'q'is p'it'na)		Human Food (Raw, Tea), Medicinal	Leaves, Stem	Garden
Lamiaceae	Ocimum basilicum L.	რეჰანი (rehani), საშკულავი (sashk'ulavi)		Human Food (Phkhali, Spice), Medicinal (Infusion)	Leaves, Stem	Garden
Lamiaceae	Satureja hortensis L.	ქონდარი (kondari)		Human Food (Spice)	Leaves, Stem	Garden
Lamiaceae	Satureja spicigera (C. Koch) Boiss.	ტყის ქონდარი (t'q'is kondari)		Human Food	Leaves, Stem	Forest
Lamiaceae	Thymus sp.	ბეგქონდარა (begkondara), ველური ქონდარი (veluri kondari), მინდვრის ქონდარი (mindvris kondari)		Human Food (Phkhali), Medicinal (Infusion)	Leaves	Forest
Lamiaceae	Ziziphora serpyllacea M. Bieb.	ურცი (urtsi)		Medicinal	Leaves	Forest
Lauraceae	Laurus nobilis L.	დაფნა (dapna)		Human Food (Phkhali)	Leaves	Garden
Liliaceae	Polygonatum glaberrimum C. Koch.	სვინტრი (svint'ri)		Human Food (Phkhali)	Leaves	Forest
Lythraceae	Punica granatum L.	ბროწეული (brots'euli)		Human Food (Raw, Tkhemali), Utensils and Tools (Dye)	Fruit, Stem	Garden
Malvaceae	Althaea spp.	ტუხტი (t'ukht'i)		Human Food (Phkhali)	Leaves	Forest
Malvaceae	Malva neglecta L.	ბალბა (balba)		Human Food (Phkhali), Medicinal	Leaves, stem	Forest, Garden
Malvaceae	Malva sylvestris L.	ბალბა (balba)	ფუმფულ უდინური (pumpul - Udin)	Human Food (Phkhali)	Leaves, stem	Forest, Garden

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Malvaceae	Tilia caucasica Rupr.	ცაცხვი (tsatskhvi), ჰადას (hadas)		Medicinal (Infusion), Utensils and Tools (Tools)	Leaves, Stem	Forest
Moraceae	Ficus carica L.	ლეღვი (leg'vi)		Human Food, Medicinal	Fruit	Forest
Moraceae	Morus alba L.	თუთა (tuta), შავი (shavi)		Human Food, Medicinal, Animal Food (Silkworms)	Fruit, Leaves	Garden
Musaceae	Musa x paradisiaca L.	ბანანი (banani)		Human Food	Fruit	Garden
Nyctaginaceae	Mirabilis jalapa L.	გულისაბა (gulisaba)		Medicinal, Ornamental	Stem, Whole Plant	Garden
Oleaceae	Fraxinus excelsior L.	იფანი (ipani)	ზიდ (zid - Udin), იფან (ipan - Ossetian)	Utensils and Tools (Tools Tool handles)	Stem	Forest
Oleaceae	Syringia vulgaris L.	იასამანი (iasamani)	,	Medicinal	Leaves	Forest
Onocleaceae	Mattheuccia struthiopteris (L.) Todd.	ჩადუნა (chaduna), ჩადი (chadi)		Human Food (Phkhali)	Leaves	Forest
Oxalidaceae	Oxalis corniculata L.	,		Human Food (Phkhali)	Leaves	Garden
Papaveraceae	Chelidonium majus L.	ქრისტესისხლა (krist'esiskhla)		Medicinal, Utensils and Tools (Dye)	Flower, Leaves, Stem	Forest
Papaveraceae	Papaver somniferum L.	ყაყაჩო (q'aq'acho)	სრხდიდინა (sokhdidina - Ossetian)	Human Food (Seeds, Phkhali)	Seeds, Young	Forest, Garden
					Leaves and Stems	
Paulowniaceae	Paulownia imperialis Sieb.	პავლონია (pavlonia)		Utensils and Tools (Tools)	Stem	Forest
Physalacriaceae	Armillariella mellea (Vahl) P. Kumm	მანჭკვალა (mantchkvala)		Human Food	Fruiting body	Forest
Pinaceae	Picea orientalis (L.) Peterm.	ნაძვი (nadzvi)		Human Food, Utensils and Tools (Tools)	Cone young, Stem	Forest
Pinaceae	Pinus sosnowskyi Nakai	ფიჭვი (pich'vi)		Human Food, Utensils and Tools (Tools)	Cone young, Stem	Forest
Plantaginaceae	Plantago major L.	მრავალძარღვა (mravaldzarg'va)		Human Food (Phkhali), Medicinal	Leaves	Forest, Garden
Poaceae	Avena sativa L.	შვრია (shvria)		Human Food	Seed	Garden
Poaceae	Hordeum vulgare L.	ქერი (keri)		Human Food	Seed	Garden
Poaceae	Secale cereale L.	ჭვავი (ch'vavi)		Animal Food (Cows)	Seed	Garden
Poaceae	Setaria italica (L.) P. Beauv.	ფეტვი (pet'vi)		Human Food	Seed	Garden

Poaceae	Triticum dicoccum Schrank	ასლი (asli)		Human Food	Seed	Garden
Poaceae	Zea mays L.	სიმინდი (simindi)		Human Food, Medicinal	Seeds, Stigmata	Garden
Polygonaceae	Polygonum aviculare L.			Human Food (Phkhali)	Leaves	Forest
Polygonaceae	Rheum rhabarbarum L.			Human Food (Phkhali)	Leaves	Garden
Polygonaceae	Rumex acetosa L.	მჟაუნა (mzhauna)		Human Food (Phkhali)	Leaves	Forest
Polygonaceae	Rumex scutatus L.	ლახტარა (lakht'ara)	ჟამღ (zhamg' - Lak))	Human Food (Khachapuri, Phkhali)	Leaves	Forest
Polygonaceae	Rumex sp.	ღოლო (g'olo)	ღოლ (g'ol - Ossetian)	Human Food (Phkhali, Pickled), Medicinal, Utensils and Tools (Dye)	Leaves, Young Stems, Root	Forest
Polypodiaceae	Polypodium vulgare L.	კილამურა (k'ilamura), ძირტკბილა (dzirt'k'bila)		Medicinal (Cough), Utensils and Tools (Tools)	Root	Forest
Portulacaceae	Portulaca oleracea L.	დანდური (danduri), კატკატო (k'at'k'at'o)		Human Food (Phkhali), Medicinal	Leaves, Stem	Forest, Garden
Rhamnaceae	Paliurus spina-christi Mill.	მემვი (dzedzvi), ჯაგი (jagi)		Utensils and Tools (Fences), Medicinal (Infusion)	Stem, Leaves	Forest
Rhamnaceae	Ziziphus jujuba Mill.	უნაბი (unabi), ურნაბი (urnabi)		Human Food	Fruit	Forest
Rhododendraceae	Rhododendron caucasicum Pall.	დეკა (dek'a)		Medicinal (Infusion)	Leaves	Forest
Rosaceae	Crataegus curvisepala Lindm.	თეთრი კუნელი (tetri k'uneli), კვინელი (k'vineli)		Human Food (Raw, Tea), Medicinal	Fruit, Flowers, Leaves	Forest
Rosaceae	Crataegus pentagyna Waldst.	შავი კუნელი (shavi k'uneli), კვინელი (k'vineli)		Human Food (Raw, Tea), Medicinal	Fruit, Flowers, Leaves	Forest
Rosaceae	Crataegus sp.	კუნელი (k'uneli), კუნელი (q'avisperi k'uneli)	ბია-ბია (bia-bia - Udin)	Human Food (Raw, Tea, Compote), Medicinal (Infusion)	Fruit, Flowers, Leaves	Forest
Rosaceae	Cydonia oblonga L.	კომში (k'omshi)	ფუშა (pusha - Udin)	Human Food, Utensils and Tools (Tools), Medicinal (Infusion)	Fruit, Stem	Garden
Rosaceae	Eriobotrya japonica (Thunb.) Lindl.	მუშმულა (mushmula), ბუშმალა (bushmala)		Medicinal	Fruit	Garden

Rosaceae	Fragaria vesca L.	მარწყვი (marts'q'vi)		Human Food	Fruit	Garden
Rosaceae	<i>Fragaria x ananassana</i> Duchesne ex Rozier	მარწყვი (marts'q'vi)		Human Food	Fruit	Garden
Rosaceae	Malus orientalis Uglizk.	ვაშლი (vashli), მაჟალო (mazhalo)		Human Food (Phkhali, Raw)	Fruit	Garden, Forest
Rosaceae	Mespilus germanica L.	` ზღმარტლი (zg'mart'li), ყირიპ (q'irip')	მონტლე (mont'le - Ossetian)	Human Food	Fruit	Forest
Rosaceae	Prunus amygdalus Batsch	ვაშლატამა (vashlat'ama)	,	Human Food	Fruit	Garden
Rosaceae	Prunus avium (L.) L. var. silvestris	ბალამწარა (balamtsara)		Human Food	Fruit	Forest
Rosaceae	Prunus cerasus L.	ალუბალი (alubali)		Human Food (Raw, Phkhali)	Fruit, Leaves	Garden
Rosaceae	Prunus divaricata Ledeb.	ტყემალი (t'q'emali), ტიყი (t'iq'i)		Human Food (Raw, Tkhemali)	Fruit	Forest
Rosaceae	Prunus dulcis Mill. D.A. Webb.	წუში (nushi)		Medicinal	Fruit	Garden
Rosaceae	Prunus insititita L.	ღოღნოშო (g'og'nosho), მურაკი (murak'i)		Human Food	Fruit	Forest
Rosaceae	Prunus padus L.			Human Food	Fruit	Garden
Rosaceae	Prunus persica (L.) Batsch	ატამი (at´ami)		Human Food	Fruit	Garden
Rosaceae	Prunus spinosa L.	კვრინჩხი (k'vrinchkhi), ტყის მურაკი (t'q'is murak'i)		Human Food	Fruit	Forest
Rosaceae	Prunus vachuschtii Bregaze	ალუჩა (alucha)		Human Food	Fruit	Garden
Rosaceae	Prunus x domestica L.	ქლიავი (kliavi), ჭანჭური (ch'anch'uri)		Human Food	Fruit	Garden
Rosaceae	Pyrus caucasica Fed.	პანტა (p'ant'a)		Human Food	Fruit	Forest
Rosaceae	Pyrus communis L.	მსხალი (mskhali)		Human Food	Fruit	Garden
Rosaceae	Rosa sp.	ასკილი (ask'ili), ვარდი (vardi)		Human Food (Raw, Jam), Medicinal	Fruit, Flowers	Forest
Rosaceae	Rubus fruticosus L.	მაყვალი (maq'vali)		Human Food (Raw, Jam)	Fruit	Forest
Rosaceae	Rubus ideaus L.	ჟოლო (zholo), ჟოლი (zholi)	მალინა (malina - Ossetian)	Human Food, Medicinal	Fruit, Leaves	Garden, Forest
Rosaceae	Rubus sp.	მაყვალი (maq'vali)	,	Human Food	Fruit	Forest
Rosaceae	Sorbus aucuparia K. Koch	ჭნავი (ch'navi), ცირცელი (tsirtseli)		Medicinal (Infusion), Utensils and Tools	Fruit, Stem	Forest

			(Tools), Utensils and		
December	Sambura ta marinadia C. Chanta	0 (1 12)	Tools (Tools)	F:4	Caract
Rosaceae	Sorbus torminalis C.Crantz.	თამელი (tameli)	Human Food	Fruit	Forest
Rubiaceae	Rubia tinctorum L.	ენდრო (endro)	Utensils and Tools (Dye)	Stem	Garden
Russulaceae	Lactarius deliciosus (L. ex Fr.) S.F. Grey	ჭადა (chada)	Human Food	Fruiting body	Forest
Rutaceae	Citrus limon (L.) Burm. f.	ლიმონი (limoni)	Human Food	Fruit	Garden
Salicaceae	Populus pyramidalis Rozier	ალვის ხე (alvis khe)	Utensils and Tools (Tools)	Stem	Forest
Salicaceae	Populus sp.	ვერხვი (verkhvi)	Utensils and Tools (Tools)	Stem	Forest
Salicaceae	Salix alba L.	წნორი (ts'nori)	Utensils and Tools (Tools)	Stem	Forest
Salicaceae	Salix babylonica L.	ძეწნა (dzets'na), ტატწნურა (t'at'ts'nura)	Utensils and Tools (Tools)	Stem	Forest
Salicaceae	Salix caprea L.	მდგნალი (mdgnali),	Medicinal, Utensils and	Leaves,	Forest
		პოლპალა (p'olp'ala), ტირიფი (t'iripi)	Tools (Tools)	Stem	
Santalaceae	Viscum album L.	ფითრი (pitri)	Veterinary	Whole Plant	Garden, Forest
Sapindaceae	Acer campestre L.	ნეკერჩხალი (nek'erchlhali)	Utensils and Tools (Tools)	Stem	Garden
Sapindaceae	Acer cappadocicum Gled.	ქორაფი (korapi)	Utensils and Tools (Tools)	Stem	Forest
Sapindaceae	Acer trautvetteri Medw.	მაღალმთის ზოკვი (mag'almtis bok'vi)	Utensils and Tools (Tools)	Stem	Forest
Scrophulariaceae	Verbascum sp.	ქერიფქლა (keripkla)	Medicinal (Hemorrhoids)	Leaves	Garden
Simaroubaceae	Ailanthus altissima (Mill.) Swingle	ხემყრალი (khemq'rali),	Medicinal (Insect	Leaves,	Garden
		გველის ხე (gvelis khe),	repellant), Utensils and	Stem	
		მყრალი ხე (mq'rali khe)	Tools (Tools)		
Smilacaceae	Smilax excelsa L.	ეკალღიჭი (ek'alg'ich'i),	Human Food (Phkhali)	Leaves	Forest
		ეკალა (ek'ala), მაყალ			
		(maq'al), ღიჭი (g'ich'i)			
Solanaceae	Capsicum annuum L.	წიწაკა (ts'its'ak'a), მწარე	Human Food (Pickled,	Fruit	Garden
		წიწაკა (mts'are ts'its'ak'a)	Raw)		

Solanaceae	Capsicum annuum L. ssp. bulgari	წიწაკა ზულგარული (tzitzaka bulgaruli), ტკზილი		Human Food (Pickled, Raw)	Fruit	Garden
		წიწაკა (t'k'bili ts'its'ak'a)				
Solanaceae	Lycium barbarum L.	თეთრეკალა (tetrek'ala),		Medicinal, Utensils and	Fruit, Stem	Forest
		ქაცვი (katsvi)		Tools (Fences)		
Solanaceae	Lycopersicum esculentum L.	პომიდორი (p'omidori)		Human Food (Pickled, Raw)	Fruit	Garden
Solanaceae	Nicotiana rustica L.	თამბაქო (tambako)		Cultural (Snuff)	Leaves	Garden
Solanaceae	Nicotiana tabacum L.	თამბაქო (tambako)		Cultural (Smoking tobacco)	Leaves	Garden
Solanaceae	Physalis alkekengi L.	ონტკოფა (ont'k'opa)		Human Food	Fruit	Garden
Solanaceae	Solanum melogena L.	ბადრიჯანი (badrijani)		Human Food	fruit	Garden
Solanaceae	Solanum pseudocapsicum L.			Human Food	Fruit	Garden
Solanaceae	Solanum tuberosum L.	კარტოფილი (k'artopili)		Human Food (Phkhali, cooked)	Leaves, Tuber	Garden
Staphyleaceae	Staphylea colchica Steven	ჯონჯოლი (jonjoli), ჯონჯოლა (jonjola)		Human Food (Pickled)	Flowers, Young shoots	Forest, Garden
Taxaceae	Taxus baccata L.	ურთხელი უთხოვარი (urtkheli utkhovari)		Construction (Timber)	Stem	Forest
Tropaeolaceae	Tropaeolum majus L.			Human Food (Phkhali)	Leaves	Garden
Ulmaceae	Ulmus sp.	თელა (Tela), ჭალითელა (ch'alitela)	სველჯ (svelj - Ossetian)	Utensils and Tools (Tools), Medicinal (Fractures)	Stem, Root	Forest
Urticaceae	Urtica dioica L.	ჭინჭარი (ch'inch'ari)	ფსრა (psra - Ossetian)	Human Food (Phkhali, Kinkali)	Leaves, Stem	Forest
Violaceae	Viola sp.	ია (ia), იაია (iaia)		Human Food (Phkhali)	Leaves, Stem	Forest
Vitaceae	Vitis sylvestris W. Bartram	უსურვაზი (usurazi)		Human Food, Ornamental	Fruit	Forest
Vitaceae	Vitis vinifera L.	ყურძენი (q'urdzeni)		Human Food	Fruit	Garden

Table 2. Participants in Kakheti and Kvemo Kartli

gender	age	community	elevation m	district
F	80	Verona	1260	Sagarejo
M				Sagarejo
				Sagarejo
				Sig'nag'i
-				Sig'nag'i
				Kvareli
				Lagodekhi
				Kvareli
				Kvareli Kvareli
			-	
				Kvareli Kvareli
				Tetritskaro
F.	55			Sig'nag'i
	F	F 80 M 68 F 73 F 80 M 80 F 80 M 80 F 80 F 60 M 60 F 49 M 60 F 45 F 55 F 55 F 45 F 50 F 55 M 72 M 70 F 40 F 55 F 66 M 62 F 60 M 62 F 60 M 63 M 60 M 63 M 60 M 78 F 74 F 40 M 77 F 40 M 77 F 70 F	F 80 Verona M 68 Verona F 73 Verona F 80 Sig'nag'i M 80 Nukriani F 80 Nukriani F 80 Kvemo Magaro M 60 Kvemo Magaro F 49 Kedeli M 60 Kedeli F 45 Kedeli F 50 Kedeli F 55 Kedeli F 50 Kedeli F 55 Kedeli F 55 Kedeli F 55 Akhalsopeli F 50 Akhalsopeli F 55	F 80 Verona 1260 M 68 Verona 1260 F 73 Verona 1260 F 80 Sig'nag'i 790 M 80 Nukriani 970 F 80 Nukriani 970 F 60 Kvemo Magaro 550 M 60 Kvemo Magaro 550 F 49 Kedeli 720 M 60 Kedeli 720 F 45 Kedeli 720 F 55 Kedeli 720 M 72 Zinobiani 600 M 72 Zi

Participants were little differentiated by plant species reported, and age was not a distinctive factor for species knowledge differences (Fig. 6 A,B). However, in case of different plant uses, some clear differences were visible (Fig. 6 D,E). The location of the participant community significantly fit the ordination in plant-space (C, $r^2 = 0.261$) and in use-space (E, $r^2 = 0.373$) (Fig. 6 C,F). Overall, the elevation of the study community and the community location were the main separating variables for differences in both plant-space, with the community location being the most explicative factor ($r^2 = 0.6763$,

P=0.001; Table 3) and use-space r²=0.6628, P=0.001; Table 4), although in the latter gender and age also were highly significant in explaining differences in use, with women and older participants showing a higher knowledge of different plant uses. The number of plant species used in the research area, as well as their uses were much lower than reported from other areas of Georgia, with a mean of 41.1 plants known by participant (versus 58.1 in other areas), and a mean of 42.4 uses (versus 62.7 in other areas) (Figs. 7 and 8). The trend to know fewer species was less evident for cultivated species

than for forest plants (Fig. 9). However, when observing plant uses, the lack of knowledge, as

compared to other regions, was as significant for forest and garden species (Fig. 10).

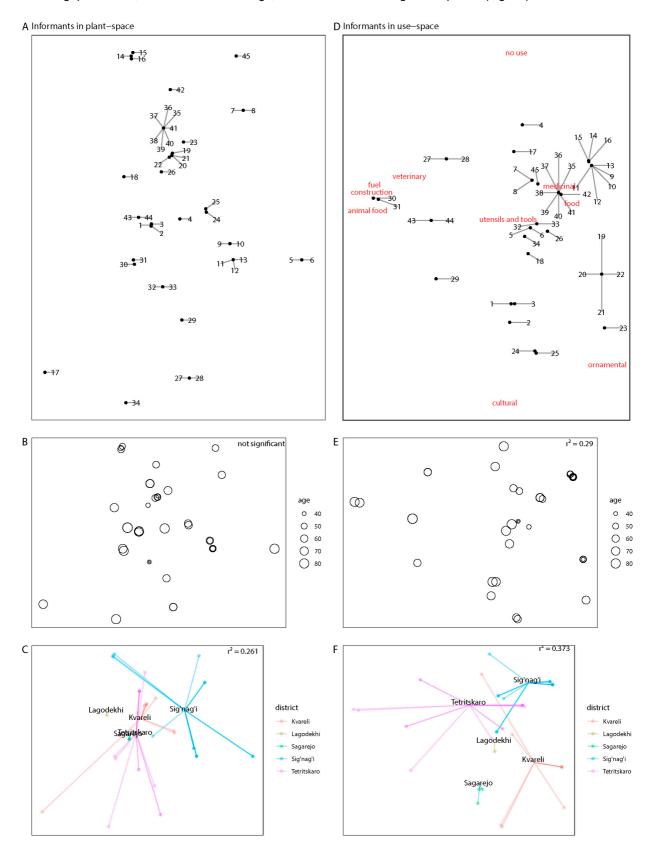


Fig. 6. Participants ordered by their distance in plants reported (A,B,C) and in uses reported (D,E,F). Participants are more differentiated by plant species reported (A, participants shown but plant species hidden for visual clarity) than by use reported (D, participants and uses shown).

Table 3. Environmental fit on ordination of individuals in plant-space

	r ²	p-value
Age	0.0475	0.347
Elevation	0.2843	0.001 ***
Gender	0.1021	0.009 **
Community	0.6763	0.001 ***
District	0.2632	0.004 **

Table 4. Environmental fit on ordination of individuals in use-space

	r ²	p-value		
Age	0.2897	0.001 ***		
Elevation	0.0880	0.146		
Gender	0.1797	0.001 ***		
Community	0.6628	0.001 ***		
District	0.3732	0.001 ***		

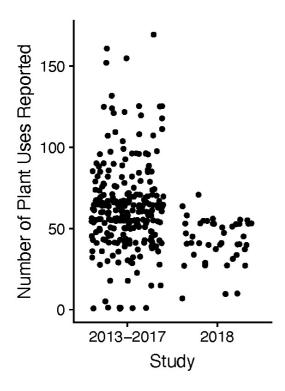


Fig. 7. Number of plant uses reported by each participant in this study (2018) in comparison to previous studies in Georgia (2013-2017).

Discussion

As we hypothesized, the number of plant species used in the research area, as well as their uses were much lower than reported from other areas of Georgia, with a mean of 41.1 plants known by participant (versus 58.1 in other areas), and a mean of 42.4 uses (versus 62.7 in other areas), equally for Svaneti-Lechkhumi-Khevsureti (Bussmann et al. 2014, 2016a), Samtskhe-Javakheti (Bussmann et al. 2017a,b), and high altitude Tusheti-Khevsureti (Bussmann et al. 2016b, 2017c), and thus lower than

species numbers and use reports than other areas in the wider Georgia (Bussmann et al. 2016c, Bussmann 2017; Zenderland et al. 2019). This might well be explained by the fact that Kakheti and Kvemo Kartli have fertile soils and short winters, and thus agricultural production is possible almost all year round. For this reason, foraging for wild vegetables is simply not a necessity, and expectedly herbal dishes like *Pkhali*" are rarely found.

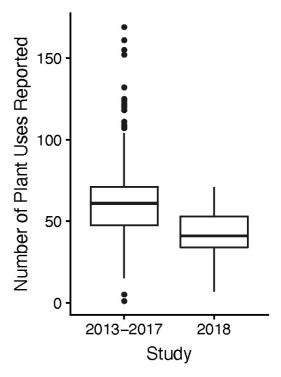


Fig. 8. Number of plant-uses reported by each participant in this study (2018) in comparison to previous studies in Georgia (2013-2017).

In addition, the entire region has easy access major markets, which again reduces the need for foraging. Likewise, the closeness to major health centers with well-functioning public health infrastructure reduces greatly the need to use herbal medicines.

The prevalence of wild collected species for medicinal applications, and garden species for food, was very similar in other regions (Bussmann et al. 2017a; Pieroni and Sõukand 2017).

Most species and uses were widely spread across the region Overall participants showed a high informant consensus in all use-categories. The large exceptions where Lagodekhi and Sagarejo, with very few species used, and Lagodekhi with a very low informant consensus (Table 5). This might be explained by the fact that both regions harbor large numbers of immigrants from other areas of Georgia, which all have different plant use traditions.

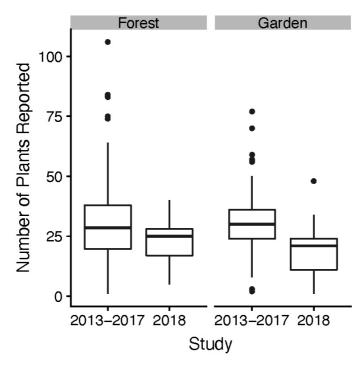


Fig. 9. Number of plant species known by each participant for forest and garden species.

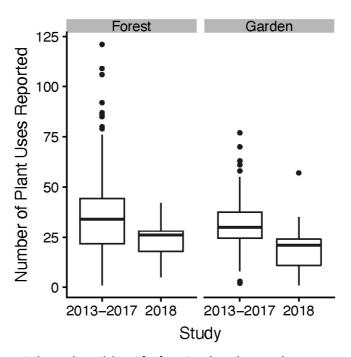


Fig. 10. Number of use reports by each participant for forest and garden species.

Table 5. Mean informant consensus across use categories among informant districts, with total number of use reports and taxa.

	N Use	Total Use			
District	Categories	Reports	Total Taxa	ICF mean	ICF sd
Kvareli	5	463	127	0.61	0.19
Lagodekhi	3	68	58	0.1	0.14
Sagarejo	4	123	42	0.76	0.16
Sig'nag'i	4	534	145	0.64	0.15
Tetritskaro	8	887	145	0.79	0.14

While many houses in some regions of Kvemo-Kartli still clearly show their Swabian heritage, no traces whatsoever of plant knowledge or plant names that might trace back to that heritage could be found, which indicates that after their deportation to Kazakhstan and Siberia during the 1940s, very few Swabians returned to the Caucasus, and their original contribution to local knowledge was completely erased.

Overall the research region showed a lower species number in comparison to a wide variety of studies published from other parts of Europe. The number of food species was low in comparison to other areas in the wider Mediterranean and Caucasus (Carvalho 2016; Dolina et al. 2017; Hajdari et al. 2018; Kasper-Pakosz et al. 2016; Korkmaz et al. 2016; Łuczaj et al. 2017, 2019; Mattalia et al. 2020; Melián et al. 2017; Mustafa et al. 2020; Nedelcheva et al. 2017; Oztürk et al. 2018; Polat et al. 2017; Pawera et al. 2017; Pieroni and Cattero 2018; Pieroni and Sõukand 2017, 2019; Pieroni 2017; Pieroni et al. 2018, 2019, 2020; Savo et al. 2019; Sõukand et al. 2017, 2019, 2020; Yeşil et al. 2019), and the number of medicinal species also was lower than in comparative studies (Pieroni and Sõukand 2017; Nedelcheva et al. 2017; Melián et al. 2017; Sõukand et al.- 2017; Carvalho 2016; Polat et al. 2017; Kasper-Pakosz et al. 2016; Korkmaz et al. 2016a; Dolina et al. 2017, Korkmaz et al. 2016b; Hajdari et al. 2018; Oztürk et al. 2018; Pawera et al. 2017; Pieroni 2017; Pieroni et al. 2018). The low variety of fungal species used as food was astonishing, especially when compared to other adjacent areas in Georgia, e.g. Racha, where fungal use was found to be very common (Kupradze et al. 2015; Bussmann et al. 2018).

Our results confirmed our hypothesis that (1) plant use knowledge in general would lower in these regions than in the rest of Georgia, that (2) most plant use would center on home gardens (3) that the consumption of herbs as "Pkhali" (herb pie), very prevalent in other regions of Georgia, would be limited, and that (4) there would essentially be no trace of Swabian traditional knowledge in the region.

Conclusions

The lack of forest plant use, and both forest and garden plant-use knowledge in Kakheti and Kvemo-Kartli might be traced to the fact that both regions are close to large markets in the region, which make it less necessary to grow or forage many species. In addition, Kahketi is easily one of the most fertile regions in Georgia, with a very short winter and there is essentially no need for foraging wild species e.g. for Phkhali. Lagodekhi, with its almost subtropical climate, is an extreme example of that, with almost

no recorded forest plant use. Overall the results on plant use in the Kahketi region need to be taken with a grain of salt, because a large part of the population of the region is actually not original from Kahketi. Many Imeretians and Ossetians moved to the region since independence and brought their plant knowledge with them. Thus, this study might be regarded as a snapshot of intercultural plant knowledge, which is however not equal to these plants actually being used in everyday life.

Declarations

List of abbreviations: Not applicable.

Ethics approval and consent to participate: Oral informed consent was obtained from all participants before conducting interviews.

Consent for publication: No personal information is disclosed, any person shown in an image gave their consent for publication.

Conflict of interests: The authors declare that they have no conflict of interests.

Competing financial interests: The authors declare that they have no competing financial interest.

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Author contributions: RWB, NYPZ, SS, ZK, DK, DT and KB designed the study; RWB, NYPZ, SS, ZK, DT and KB conducted the fieldwork, RHE conducted the main statistical analysis; RBU, NYPZ and RHE analyzed the data and wrote the manuscript; all authors read, corrected and approved the manuscript.

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