

Utilization patterns of *Diploknema butyracea* along the gradient of geography and culture in the Nepal Himalaya

Shreehari Bhattarai, Balram Bhatta, Arjun K. Shrestha, Ripu M. Kunwar

Correspondence

Shreehari Bhattarai 1*, Balram Bhatta¹, Arjun K. Shrestha², Ripu M. Kunwar³

¹Faculty of Forestry, Agriculture and Forestry University, Hetauda, Nepal.
²Faculty of Agriculture, Agriculture and Forestry University, Rampur, Nepal.
³Gandaki University, Pokhara, Nepal.

*Corresponding Author: sbhattarai@afu.edu.np

Ethnobotany Research and Applications 30:45 (2025) - http://dx.doi.org/10.32859/era.30.45.1-15 Manuscript received: 03/09/2024 - Revised manuscript received: 24/03/2025 - Published: 25/03/2025

Research

Abstract

Background: Geographic, cultural, phylogenic, and socio-economic factors influence traditional knowledge. This study evaluates the collection and utilization pattern of the **chiuri**-Butter tree (*Diploknema butyracea* (Roxb.) H. J. Lam) across varying geographic and cultural gradients in Nepal.

Methods: We carried out a survey of 270 households from nine districts across lowland Tarai, Siwalik, mid-hills, and mountainous physiography covering all regions of western, central, and eastern Nepal. A generalized linear mixed model, ANOVA, and its corresponding post-hoc Tukey test were used to analyze the results.

Results: The maximum Use Reports of **chiuri** were observed for subsistence (1440) followed by primary health care medicine (240), and religious (213). The maximum values of **chiuri** (Use Reports 402, use value 0.47, and cultural importance index 13.4) were reported from Makawanpur followed by Chitwan, both districts well represent the Central Tarai-Siwalik region. These Use Reports value the **chiuri** go beyond mere ethnomedicinal. The *Chepang* ethnic group, inhabiting only the Central Tarai-Siwalik region of the country possesses a rich and diverse knowledge of **chiuri** collection, utilization, and conservation with a Use Reports of 10.85 per person.

Conclusions: Chepang and **chiuri** are interconnected, as they are associated with most extensive Use Reports. The people have meticulously conserved **chiuri** trees in their private lands, state forests, and community-based forests. Community-based conservation, local stewardship, and agroforestry policies can ensure sustainable use. Protecting chiuri forests may serve as a vital refuge for the semi-nomadic *Chepang*, preserving their traditions and livelihoods for future generations.

Keywords: Butter tree, Chepang, Ethnoecological knowledge, Socioeconomic attributes

Background

The selection of plants for traditional uses follows a non-random method, considering taxonomic affinities, ethnobotanical context, prior knowledge (Farnsworth & Bingel 1977, Cox 2007), geographical and socio-cultural factors (Kunwar et al. 2022), ecological characteristics (Kutal et al. 2021), and phytogeographical traits (Saslis-Lagoudakis et al. 2014). Socio-cultural factors such as ethnicity, age, sex, religion, education, and profession (Maffi 2005, Houehanou et al. 2011), as well as ecological attributes such as availability, abundance, frequency, and growth pattern of the plant, and geographical variables concerning the distance required to travel to obtain desirable resources, are duly considered while selecting and collecting plants (Low 1966, Blancas et al. 2013). Among these, prior knowledge, ethnicity, religion, occupation, slope, and distance primarily influence ethnobotany in Nepal (Kunwar et al. 2019, Kutal et al. 2021, Bhattarai et al. 2024). However, changes such as plant phenology, upslope movement of species, invasion by alien species, human outmigration, land abandonment, alterations in land use, and increasing human exploitation along with climate change are major drivers disrupting the tradition and knowledge of plant selection, collection, use, and conservation (Brosi et al. 2007, Vandebroek & Balick 2012, Zomer et al. 2013, Kunwar et al. 2018). Documentation of traditional knowledge developed by local communities through experiences of adapting to environmental crises is paramount in the era of climate change (Karki et al. 2022). Evaluating this knowledge and its patterns holds promise for formulating specific strategies for traditional knowledge preservation and building resilience while acknowledging the unique characteristics of each community, geography, culture, and biodiversity (Chaudhary et al. 2017, Singh et al. 2019).

Diploknema butyracea (Roxb.) H. J. Lam, also known as Butter tree in English, and chiuri in Nepali, is a multipurpose cultural keystone tree species of Nepal (Uprety & Asselin 2023, Bhattarai et al. 2024). It is a medium to large-sized tree up to 25 m high, slow-growing, native species to the Sub-Himalayan tract of Nepal, India, China, and Bhutan and has been reported between 200 m and 1500 m (Lee 1996, Press et al. 2000, Joshi 2010, Majumdar et al. 2012). Different ethnic groups of Nepal, India, Bhutan, and Tibet use chiuri for various purposes (Adhikari-Devkota et al. 2023). It is hailed for its multipurpose values as different parts/products such as bark, stem, leaf, nectar, fruit, butter, honey, oil cake, and gum are utilized (Bhattarai et al. 2024). Understanding the influence of socioeconomic variables on the traditional knowledge and utilization of chiuri is essential for informing policy interventions, sustainable development strategies, and cultural preservation efforts. However, loss of traditional knowledge and practices in many parts of the world due to acculturation, land use change, limited access to traditional resources, outmigration, industrialization, modernization, and climate change are evident including Nepal (Reyes-Garcia et al. 2013, Paniagua-Zambrana et al. 2014, Saslis-lagoudakis et al. 2014, Atreya et al. 2018). Such study is pressing, while land abandonment and sociocultural transformations are prevalent throughout Nepal (Kunwar et al. 2018). In this connection, we documented and compared the knowledge of different ethnic groups and sites, and assessed the influence of socioeconomic, demographic, and geographic variables on traditional knowledge of chiuri plant collection and use. We hypothesized that the ethnic groups (Tamang, Chepang) hold greater knowledge and are more closely connected to nature (forest, a case of chiuri tree in this study) than other peer groups.

Materials and Methods

Study area

Nepal, renowned for its rich cultural heritage and diverse traditional knowledge, presents a compelling case for examining the interactions between socioeconomic and demographic factors and traditional knowledge. Administratively, the country is divided into seven provinces, 77 districts, and 753 local bodies. The diverse west, central, and east longitudes (80°33'-88°12' E) and north-south latitudes (26°8'-30°27') (Banerji 1963), offer distinct geological landscapes, each shaped by unique historical, cultural, and socio-economic attributes (Chaudhary 2023). It has three distinct vertical physiographic regions: the lowland flat plains or Tarai in the southern part of the country, the hills in the middle, and the mountains in the north (Chhetri & Easterling 2010). The Siwalik range lies between the Tarai and the hills (PCTMCDB 2015). We carried out the ethnobotanical study in three physiographic regions (Tarai-Siwalik, Hill, and Mountain) of Western, Central, and Eastern Nepal (Figure 1). The map of the study sites was prepared using ArcMap 10.8 version. The study sites have a diverse array of ethnicities. Western Nepal is predominantly inhabited by Kshetri, Brahman-Hill, Dalit, and others. In Central Nepal, Kshetri, Brahman-Hill, Tamang, Chepang, and others are the major ethnic groups, while in Eastern Nepal, the major ethnic groups include Limbu, Sherpa, Kshetri, Brahman-Hill, Rai, Tamang, and Dalit (CBS 2021) (Table 1). Kshetri and Brahman-Hill are dominant and privileged caste groups, respectively, with the first (16%) and second largest (12%) populations mostly residing in midhills. Dalits, a disadvantaged caste group, constitute around 13% of the population and mostly inhabit western Nepal. Tamang and Chepang are Tibeto-Nepalese ethnic groups (Saslis-Lagoudakis et al. 2014), with populations of 5% and 0.2%, respectively, heavily populated in central Nepal (CBS 2021).

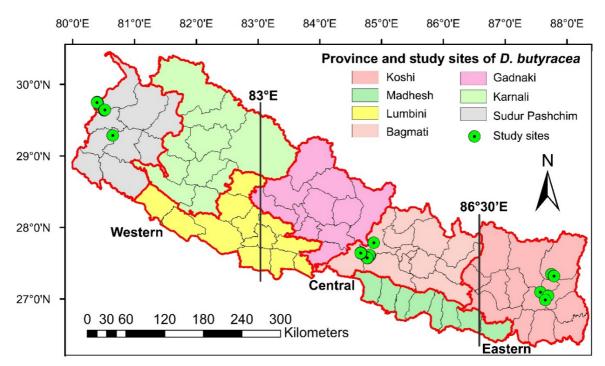


Figure 1. Map of study areas showing data collection points

District	Study site	Physiogr aphy	Total Populati on	Outmigr ation (%)	Major ethnic group (%)
Dadeldhura	Ganyapdhura	Mid-hills	13722	16.07	Kshetri (39.79), Brahman-Hill (18.44), Kami
Dadolandia	Rural Municipality		10/11	10.07	(13.74), Mijar (12.18), Thakuri (7.35)
Baitadi	Dasarathchand	Mid-hills	31567	9.75	Brahman-Hill (32.98), Kshetri (30.1), Kami
Ballaul	Municipality		31307	9.75	(21.75), Thakuri (5.74), Dashnami (3.62)
Darchula	Malikarjun Rural	Mountai	15635	5.96	Kshetri (63.47), Kami (16.78), Brahman-Hill
Darchula	Municipality	ns	12032	5.90	(11.44), Thakuri (6.56), Damai (0.88)
Chitwan	Douti Municipality	Tarai-	66617	8.02	Brahman-Hill (20.08), Tamang (19), Chepang
	Rapti Municipality	Siwalik	66617		(17.88), Kshetri (9.26), Tharu (6.35)
Makawannur	Raksirang Rural	Siwalik	25006	1 07	Tamang (46.25), Chepang (43.96), Kshetri
Makawanpur	Municipality		25996	1.87	(2.75), Thakuri (2.37), Kami (1.55)
Dhading	Benighat-Rorang	Mid-hills	33854	2.70	Chepang (34.9), Brahman-Hill (10), Kshetri
Dilaung	Rural Municipality		55654	2.70	(9.38), Tamang (8.89), Magar (8.2)
Panchthar	Kummayak Rural	Mid-hills	12746	7 16	Limbu (50.5), Kshetri (22.29), Brahman-Hill
rancinildi	Municipality		12/40	7.16	(6.14), Kami (4.77), Damai (4.57)
Torbathum	Laligurans	Mid-hills	15329	6.05	Limbu (31.46), Kshetri (29.97), Gurung (8.27),
Terhathum	Municipality		12272	0.05	Magar (6.93), Brahman-Hill (5.11)
Taplaiung	Phungling	Mountai	28449	5.66	Limbu (33.41), Kshetri (11.47), Brahman-Hill
Taplejung	Municipality	ns	20449	5.00	(10.88), Gurung (9.69), Sherpa (8.41)

Table 1. Ethnic diversity and population status in the study sites (CBS 2021)

Field visits and data collection

We conducted three field visits: the first in western, the second in central, and the third in eastern Nepal from January to April 2023. On average, each field visit lasted for 15 days. Voucher specimens (SC01-SC165) collected from the field were deposited at the National Herbarium and Plant Laboratories, Kathmandu (KATH), and the Faculty of Forestry, Agriculture and Forestry University, Hetauda. During the field visits, a total of 270 household heads (30 in each study site which household has **chiuri** in his/her land, older than 20 years) were interviewed. We used purposive sampling techniques for household selection and snowball sampling for key informants such as traditional healers, collectors, traders, and community forest user groups. We adhered to the International Society of Ethnobiology's code of conduct (http://ethnobiology.net/ code-of-

ethics/), and each respondent's verbal consent was obtained before the survey following a free prior informed consent process. Each respondent was informed about the research objectives, the voluntary nature of their participation, their anonymity, and their right to withdraw at any time. We classified socioeconomic variables into three levels as individual, family, and locality (Table 2).

Independent variable name	Level	Variable type	Variable classification		
Age	Individual	Continuous	15 to 98 years		
Education level	Individual	Ordinal	(1) Illiterate; (2) Literate; (3) Primary; (4) Higher		
Occupation	Individual	Nominal	(1) Agriculture; (2) Service; (3) Business		
Gender	Individual	Nominal	(1) Male; (2) Female		
Ethnicity	Individual	Nominal	(1) Brahman-Hill /Kshetri; (2) Ethnic; (3) Dalit		
Living history	Individual	Continuous	1 to 100 years		
Household size	Family	Continuous	1 to 22		
Livestock owned	Family	Continuous	1 to 25		
Land owned	Family	Continuous	0.03 to 5.14 ha		
Proximity to resource	Locality	Ordinal	(1) 0.5 Km; (2) 1 Km; (3) 1.5 Km; (4) > 2 Km		
Sourcing	Locality	Nominal	(1) Forest only; (2) Forest and private land		
Physiography	Locality	Nominal	(1) Tarai-Siwalik; (2) Hill; (3) Mountain		
Development	Locality	Nominal	(1) Rural Municipality; (2) Municipality		

Table 2. Description of socioeconomic variables

Free listing was done to generate a comprehensive list of emic uses of **chiuri** in every part/product utilized by different cultural groups along the geography of Nepal. A total of 21 emic uses (anthelmintic, asthma, beverage, cooking oil, dowry, edible, enlighten lamp, fertilizer, fodder, food, fuel wood, honey, jaggery, latex, pesticide, piscicidal, religious, skin crack, soap base, timber, and worship), of all useful parts/products were classified into six etic categories such as medicinal, religious, cultural, subsistence, industrial, and culinary (modified from Cook 1995, Kutal *et al.* 2021). The diversity of plant parts/products and their usefulness reported by each respondent were used as a score to evaluate and compare the level of traditional knowledge along the geography and culture. We employed a binary system, using '1' to indicate the presence and '0' for the absence of **chiuri** utilization in the field.

Data Analysis

Ethnobotanical indices

The following ethnobotanical indices were calculated to analyze the quantitative ethnobotany using R studio (version 2024.04.0).

Use Reports (URs)

It is the total uses for the part/product by all participants within each use category for that part/product. It is an account of the number of participants who mention each use-category NC for the part/product and the sum of all uses in each use-category (Phillips *et al.* 1994).

$$URs = \sum_{u=u1}^{uNC} \sum_{i=i1}^{iN} URui$$

The Use Value (UV)

The use value or importance of **chiuri** was assessed using the methodology described by (Phillips & Gentry 1993, Phillips *et al.* 1994) as -

$$UV = \frac{\sum UVi}{N}$$

Where UVi represents the use value of the species for a single informant obtained as the sum of the number of different uses mentioned by informant i and where N is the total number of informants.

Frequency of Citation (FC)

It is the sum of participants that cite a use for the part/product (Tardio & Pardo-de-Santayana 2008).

$$FC = \sum_{i=i1}^{iN} URi$$

Cultural Importance Index (CII)

To find out the cultural significance of each plant part/product in every locality, the cultural importance index (CII) was calculated as the summation of the Use Reports (URs) in every use category mentioned for a species in the locality divided by the number of participants (N) in that locality (Hoffman & Gallaher 2007).

$$CII = \sum_{u=u1}^{uNC} \sum_{i=i1}^{iN} URui / N$$

Statistical analysis

To analyze the influence of socio-economic attributes on plant Use Reports in study sites we first used analysis of variance analysis (ANOVA) and its corresponding post-hoc Tukey test. To analyze the influence of socioeconomic variables on **chiuri** Use Reports at individual, family, and locality levels, we carried out a generalized linear mixed model. The level of significance was applied at $p \le 0.05$. All the analyses were performed in R studio in R 4.3.1 (The R Foundation for Statistical Computing Platform 2023) using ethnobotanyR package.

Results

Usefulness of chiuri and its parts

A total of 2023 Use Reports across 21 emic uses of ten useful parts/products of **chiuri** were recorded and later classified into six etic categories for easier presentation (Table 3). Among the useful parts/products, fruit, leaf, and stem were cited with a 100% frequency of citation, followed by butter (57.03%) and honey (50.54%). Bark was prioritized for its medicinal properties, while stems and branches provided fuelwood and timber. Leaves were used as fodder during famine and for religious applications, while flowers were primarily used for honey production. Fruits served as both delicious food and occasional wine ingredients, and seeds were crucial mainly for butter production. Seeds were used to produce butter and oil cake; the latter was quite valuable as a fertilizer and pesticide. Besides plant parts, entire trees were also used for specific cultural purposes, although the frequency of citations was low (7.71%).

Part/Product	Frequency of Citation (FC)	Use Report	Emic use	Etic category	
Deul	(%)	(URs)	Anthologistic		
Bark	34.07	100	Anthelmintic	Medicinal	
			Latex	Subsistence	
Butter	57.03	233	Cooking oil	Culinary	
			Soap base	Industrial	
			Skin crack	Medicinal	
			Enlighten lamp	Religious	
Flower	45.56	131	Syrup	Subsistence	
Fruit	100	273	Edible, beverage Subsi		
Honey	50.54	300	Food	Industrial	
			Asthma	Medicinal	
			Worship	Religious	
			Food	Subsistence	
Leaf	100	348	Leaf plate	Religious	
			Fodder	Subsistence	
Oil cake	87	174	Fertilizer, pesticide,	Subsistence	
Oll Cake	87	1/4	piscicidal		
Stem	100	451	Fuel wood, timber Subsister		
Nectar	2.96	8	Jaggery	Subsistence	
Entire plant (Tree)	7.71	13	Dowry	Cultural	

Table 3. Ethnobotanical indices of Chiuri parts/products utilization

Utilization of all parts/products for medicinal, religious, cultural, subsistence, industrial, and culinary use categories revealed the multipurpose nature of trees. The highest Use Reports were observed for the subsistence (1440) followed by medicinal (240) and religious (213) use categories (Figure 2). The subsistence use category with 12 emic uses played a crucial role in supporting the livelihoods of the locals. Delicious food from fruit, nutritive fodder from leaves, and fuelwood from stem branches were common emic uses throughout the country with the highest frequency citation (100%). Similarly, latex from bark, syrup, honey, jaggery from flowers, a beverage from fruit, fertilizer, and pesticidal uses of oil cake were also cited to be used for subsistence uses.

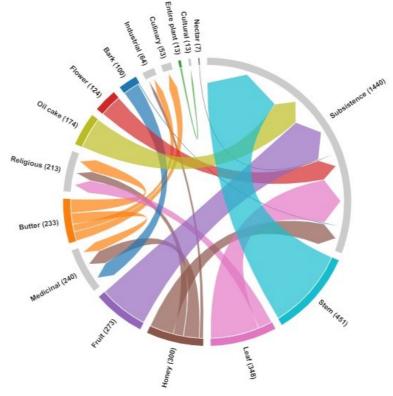


Figure 2. Use categories of different parts/products of D. butyracea

The selection and use of **chiuri** plant parts varied greatly depending on geography and culture. All **chiuri** plant parts/products (10) were reported to be used in Makawanpur followed by nine in Chitwan district, both from Central Nepal. Similarly, the *Chepang* ethnic group valued all plant parts/products (fruit, leaf, stem, butter, honey, oil cake, bark, latex, nectar, and entire plant) for all six use categories. On the contrary, the least, three plant parts/products (fruit, leaf, and stem) were reported to be used for ethnobotanical applications in the Panchthar district, eastern Nepal, and by the *Limbu* ethnic group.

Chiuri use values along geography and culture

We found a statistically significant association (p=0.000) among the Use Reports (URs), Use Value (UV), and Cultural Importance Index (CII) along the geography, and culture (Table 4). Longitudinally, the maximum Use Reports (983) (10.92 person⁻¹) was reported from central Nepal followed by western (663) (7.37 person⁻¹), and eastern (377) (4.19 person⁻¹). Similarly, among physiographic regions, the Tarai-Siwalik holds the highest Use Reports (13.25 person⁻¹) followed by mountain (7.03 person⁻¹) and hills (5.37 person⁻¹). At the site level, the highest scores of URs (402), UV (0.47), and Cl (13.4) were reported from Makawanpur followed by Chitwan (URs 393, UV 0.44, and Cl 13.1) whereas the lowest scores (URs 122, UV 0.14, and Cl 4.07) were reported from Panchthar, eastern Nepal. Similarly, a significant variation (p=0.000) in **chiuri** utilization was observed among the ethnic groups. The *Chepang* ethnic group had diverse knowledge and practices of **chiuri** with a Use Reports of 10.85 person⁻¹ followed by *Tamang* (8.17 person⁻¹), *Dalit* (8 person⁻¹), and *Kshetri* (6.98 person⁻¹) and the least for group *Dashnami* (2.75 person⁻¹). These findings underscore the complex interplay between geographical location and cultural perceptions in shaping resource utilization patterns.

Socioeconomic attributes and chiuri utilization

The knowledge of **chiuri** utilization was statistically and significantly varied at an individual level, education (p=0.000), occupation (p=0.002), and ethnicity (p=0.000). However, there was no significant variation in the Use Reports among

respondent's age groups (p=0.449), gender (p=0.465), and living history (p=0.932) (Figure 3). At the family level, we observed a significant positive association between Use Reports and household size (p=0.003), and livestock owned (p=0.002) but a significant negative interaction was observed at land owned (p=0.002) (Figure 4) suggesting that those with smaller land holdings reported higher **chiuri** use. Similarly, at the locality level, both proximity to the trees and sourcing from forest and both forest and private land had a significant difference in **chiuri** Use Reports in many sites indicating that the easier accessibility to the resource, the higher the Use Reports (Figure 5).

Location	Physiographic	Maior athric groups	Use	Use	Cultural	
Location	region	Major ethnic groups	Report	Value	Importance Index	
Western	Mountains	Kshetri, Brahman-Hill, Dalit, Thakuri	291	0.32	9.7	
Nepal	(Darchula)	KSHELH, Bruhhlun-Hill, Duilt, Hlukun		0.32	9.7	
	Mid-hills (Baitadi)	Kshetri, Brahman-Hill, Dashnami, Dalit	158	0.18	5.27	
	Mid-hills (Dadeldhura)	Brahman-Hill, Kshetri, Dalit	214	0.24	7.13	
Central Nepal	Mid-hills (Dhading)	Chepang, Tamang, Gurung, Kshetri, Magar, Mijar	188	0.18	5.27	
	Siwalik	Chepang, Tamang	402	0.47	13.4	
	(Makawanpur)	Chepung, Tumung			13.4	
	Tarai-Siwalik	Chepang, Tamang, Tharu	393	0.44	13.1	
	(Chitwan)	Chepung, Tumung, Thata			13.1	
Eastern	Mountains	Limbu, Magar, Sherpa, Sunuwar	131	0.15	4.37	
Nepal	(Taplejung)					
	Mid-hills	Limbu, Brahman-Hill, Kshetri, Dalit,	124	0.14	4.13	
	(Terhathum)	Dashnami				
	Mid-hills	Magar, Limbu, Brahman-Hill, Dalit	122	0.14	4.07	
	(Panchthar)	wagar, Limba, Branman-Aili, Dailt				
Total			2023	2.26	4.07	

Table 4. Scores of use report, use value, and cultural importance index of Chiuri along geography

The generalized linear mixed model showed that various socioeconomic and demographic factors differently impacted the Use Reports of **chiuri**, with seven out of 11 factors showing significant influence (Table 5). Specifically, age was a significant factor only in Dadeldhura while education had a notable negative impact in Makawanpur and Panchthar, suggesting that individuals with higher education are less likely to use **chiuri** products and parts, possibly due to access to alternative resources or practices. At the locality level, both proximity to the resource and sources had a significant association in many study sites indicating that the easier availability of the resource, the higher the Use Reports. Remarkably, proximity plays a critical role, as evidenced by the strong negative coefficient for proximity to resources, indicating that individuals residing closer to **chiuri** resources are more likely to report its use.

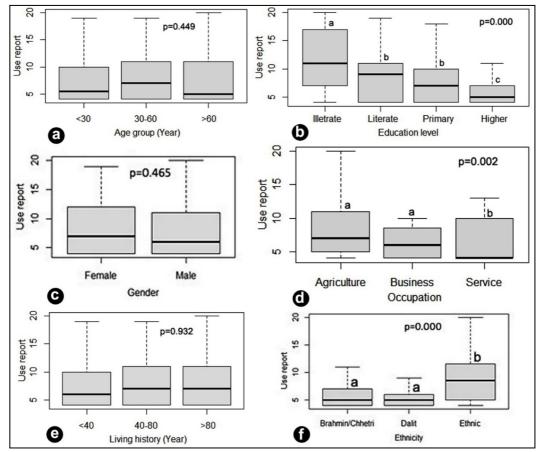


Figure 3. Association between use report and socioeconomic variables at individual level a) age; b) education level; c) gender; d) occupation; e) living history; f) ethnicity

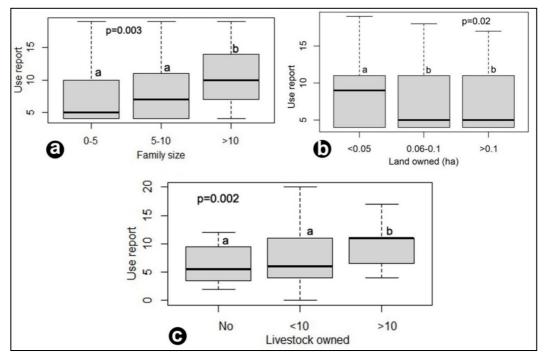


Figure 4. Association between use report and socioeconomic variables at the family level a) household size; b) land owned; c) livestock owned

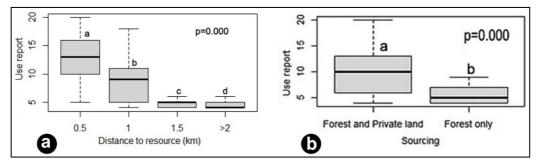


Figure 5. Association between use report and socioeconomic variables at locality level a) distance to resource b) sourcing

Table 5. Generalized linear mixed model of socioeconomic variables influencing *D. butyracea* use report (significance level (p): *=0.05, **=0.01, ***=0.000)

Variables	Western Nepal			Central Nepal			Eastern Nepal		
	Dadeldhura	Baitadi	Darchula	Chitwan	Makawanpur	Dhading	Panchthar	Terhathum	Taplejung
Intercept	1.893	1.492	2.236	9.146	8.706	4.959*	8.317***	3.511***	1.891
Age	0.086*	0.041	0.035	0.094	-0.011	0.001	-0.011	0.001	0.012
Education level	0.087	-0.229	0.397	-3.085	-2.081*	-0.210	-1.091**	-0.001	0.088
Occupation	2.207***	1.849	-0.160	6.183*	3.858	-0.828	-0.140	-0.105	0.727*
Gender	-0.110	0.738	-0.056	-2.941	-2.333	-0.266	-0.002	-0.022	0.468
Ethnicity	0.570	0.126	0.647	1.819	5.257*	0.100	0.228	0.002	0.203
Living history	0.003	0.015	0.025	-0.029	0.018	-0.004	-0.001	-0.001	-0.002
Household size	-0.074	-0.001	0.164	-0.069	-0.118	0.067	0.115*	0.043*	0.035
Livestock owned	0.105	0.042	-0.006	0.035	-0.110	-0.077	-0.051	-0.008	-0.008
Land owned	-0.001	-0.018	0.022	0.039	-0.032	0.025	0.001	0.001	-0.002
Proximity to resource	-3.308**	-1.854	-5.463**	-2.409	-9.816	-0.815	-0.001	-0.147	-0.748*
Sourcing	-0.448	0.849*	1.979	-0.261	0.165	2.312***	-0.071	0.330*	0.318

Similarity and dissimilarity of the uses

Besides the regular subsistence uses of fruit, leaf, and stem branches, some parts, and products of the **chiuri** trees were applied for those not reported earlier (Table 6). A total of 17 uses were found unique and the most were again recorded from Central Nepal districts (Chitwan, Makawanpur) and by the *Chepang*. In the *Chepang* community, Makawanpur, the tree was used as a dowry, and its nectar was made into jaggery, which was then offered to special guests. The bark of the **chiuri** tree in Chitwan and Makawanpur is utilized for its juice for fish poisoning and anthelmintic treatment and latex for birds trapped mainly by the *Chepang* and *Tamang* groups. Oil cake was used as a leech repellent and a biofertilizer and pesticide in agricultural fields. The fruit was processed into wine besides delicious food by the *Limbu* people in Terhathum.

Study site	Parts/products	Emic use	Ethnic group/caste	
Makawanpur	Tree	Dowry	Changeng	
	Nectar	Jaggery	Chepang	
Chitwan, Makawanpur	Bark	Latex, Fish poisoning, Anthelmintic	Chepang, Tamang	
	Oil cake	Fertilizer, pesticide, leech repellent		
Terhathum	Fruit	Juice, Wine	Limbu	
Baitadi, Chitwan, Dadeldhura, Darchula, Makawanpur	Butter	Cooking oil, enlightening religious lamp, boil, pimples, soap base	Brahman-Hill, Chepang, Kami, Kshetri, Magar, Tamang, Tharu	
Chitwan, Darchula, Makawanpur	Honey	Food, Asthma	Chepang, Tamang, Tharu, Magar, Brahman-Hill, Tharu, Kami,	

Chiuri parts/products and their values

The fruit, leaves, and stem/branches of this multipurpose tree were reported with a 100% citation frequency, showing that everyone was familiar with the tree and had used at least one of its parts or products. The bark is employed in traditional medicine in treating various ailments such as rheumatism, ulcers, inflammation, and diabetes and for fishing purposes due to its stupefying properties. Its bioactive compounds, including flavonoids, tannins, glycosides, terpenoids, and carbohydrates together with a considerable amount of phenolic compounds content exhibit antioxidant, anti-inflammatory, and analgesic potential, supporting its traditional medicinal uses (Baruwal Chhetri *et al.* 2020, Dahal *et al.* 2021, Devkota *et al.* 2019, Joshi 2010, Watanabe *et al.* 2013). The ripe fruit yields a delicious syrupy sugar and a juicy pulp rich in sugars, carbohydrates, proteins, fats, ash, and essential minerals, making it a good source of nutrients after food (Adhikari *et al.* 2007, Sundriyal & Sundriyal 2004).

Besides the general uses of fruit for consumption and leaves and stems for leaf plates, fodder, and fuelwood, the plant is also valued for its butter and honey. These products were cited with frequencies of 57.03% and 50.54%, respectively, and had 233 and 300 Use Reports. This highlights their significance and widespread use across various geographical regions and ethnic groups. **Chiuri** butter is particularly valued in subsistence, religious, medicinal, culinary, and even industrial utilization especially in cosmetics, pharmaceuticals, and even confectionery when blended with Kokum (*Garcinia indica*) or Sal (*Shorea robusta*) holding a large economic potential (GIZ 2013, Reddy & Prabhakar 1994). Despite changes in subsistence use due to socio-acculturation, outmigration, and the easy availability of alternatives, the **chiuri** tree remains socioculturally significant among indigenous and ethnic groups like the Chepang and Tamang. This enduring importance is particularly intriguing, as the use of **chiuri** is deeply intertwined with Chepang culture, making them inseparable (Chikanbanjar *et al.*, 2021).

The high number of Use Reports for **chiuri** in subsistence and medicinal applications demonstrates that its value extends beyond cultural significance. **Chiuri** plays a vital role in rural livelihoods, offering essential products for subsistence, household economies, and primary health care. The application of **chiuri** plant parts and products ranged from dowry to food to agricultural and medicinal uses, demonstrating its versatility and potential for the maintenance of culture and biodiversity. In ancient literature, the *D. butyracea* tree was said to be a *Kalpabriskha* (wish-fulfilling sacred tree) (Joshi *et al.* 2018), and still today every part/product such as bark, butter, flower, fruit, honey, leaf, oil cake, stem, entire plant (tree) are used for a variety of purposes (Bhattarai *et al.* 2024) including economic uses (Acharya 2014). As **chiuri** tree species have been significant to the forest-dependent ethnic groups for maintaining traditions, culture, livelihood, health care, and spiritual practices, it could be conserved as a socio-cultural asset of the ethnic groups inhabiting the rural areas.

Knowledge of chiuri utilization and socioeconomic variables

Significant variation in **chiuri** use was observed among different education levels, occupations, and ethnicities, underscoring the importance of these variables in determining the extent of reliance on traditional resources. The respondents with higher education and non-agricultural occupations had relatively less knowledge of **chiuri** utilization, aligning with global ethnobotanical trends (Bruyere *et al.* 2016). This trend was observed as individuals with higher education levels often seek office jobs, moving away from traditional knowledge (Ouachinou *et al.* 2019). In contrast, those with less formal education remained dependent on forest resources and agriculture-based livelihoods, reporting more varied uses of **chiuri** (Atreya *et al.* 2018). Generally, ethnic groups possessed higher knowledge, skills, and dependency on this multipurpose tree, utilizing it for medicinal, religious, cultural, and culinary purposes beyond mere subsistence. Notably, the *Chepang* ethnic group considers **chiuri** trees a symbol of pride and tradition, often offering them as dowries to their daughters and valuing their presence in their territory (Shakya 2000, Dhakal 2014, Chikanbanjar *et al.* 2021) highlighting its socio-cultural significance alongside other diverse uses (Uprety & Asselin 2023). *Chepang* people lament the declining interest of youngsters to collect and use **chiuri** parts/products. The decreasing utilization of **chiuri** products is manifested in Chitwan (Poudel *et al.* 2024).

The nonexistence of significant associations with age, gender, and living history suggests that **chiuri** use is broadly distributed across these demographics, reflecting a general cultural familiarity with the tree. Although many studies such as (Karki *et al.* 2023, Albuquerque *et al.* 2011, Cox 2000) revealed the significant influence of age group and gender on the utilization pattern of multipurpose tree species, all respondents reported knowledge of using at least a few parts such as leaf, fruit, and stem branches of **chiuri** for subsistence purposes.

The positive correlation between **chiuri** use and household size, as well as livestock ownership, suggests that larger families and those with more livestock rely more on **chiuri**, likely due to increased economic demands and the need for diverse resources to support their household economy (Chinsembu *et al.* 2014). Conversely, the negative correlation with land

ownership implies that those with smaller land holdings may rely more heavily on **chiuri**, likely because they have fewer agricultural resources and thus turn to forest resources to meet their needs. Larger landowners often have diversified income sources, such as as commercial farming or employment, decreasing the necessity of relying on **chiuri** for subsistence. In contrast, households with limited land rely more on communal forest resources, including **chiuri**, for food, medicine, and economic activities. The findings further reinforce the significance of accessibility, with proximity to resources and sourcing from both forest and private lands being crucial for higher **chiuri** Use Reports (Reddy & Chakravarty 1999).

Cultural and geographical influence on chiuri use

The statistical analysis (ANOVA) showed that **Chiuri** utilization varied significantly (*p*=0.000) across geographic and cultural groups. Central Nepal had the highest Use Reports (983, 10.92 person⁻¹), followed by western (663, 7.37 person⁻¹) and eastern (377) (4.19 person⁻¹). Similarly, the Tarai-Siwalik holds the highest Use Reports (795, 13.25 person⁻¹) followed by mountain (422, 7.03 person⁻¹) and hills (806, 5.37 person⁻¹). The result deduced that the Central Tarai-Siwalik possessed the highest values of **chiuri** for local livelihood. Maximum plant utilization records in central and western Nepal were attributed to the richness of different ethnic groups such as *Chepang, Tamang Magar, Tharu*, etc., and their prevailed close association with forest and water. *Chepang, Magar and Tamang* ethnic groups are indigenous and knowledgeable in better utilization of forests (Lama, 2023) and so are *Tharu* for water (Chaudhary *et al.* 2021). Among the groups, the *Chepang* had the most diverse knowledge and practices (10.85 URs person⁻¹), followed by *Tamang* (8.17 URs person⁻¹) and both are native to and densely populated in central mid-hills. Historically, the *Chepang* group, inhabiting close to central Tarai-Siwalik has maintained a mutual relationship with nature, relying on forests, water, and wildlife for their livelihoods (Aacharya *et al.* 2023). Higher Use Reports in Central hills and Tarai-Siwalik could be a reason that the **chiuri** plant abundantly grows at the range of 700-1200 m (Bhattarai *et al.* 2024, Brosi *et al.* 2007), and sometimes scales up to 200-1500 m (Press *et al.* 2000). Siwalik is a continuum of southern lowland Tarai to populous and diverse mid-hills (Chaudhary & Subedi 2019).

The Chepang and Tamang ethnic group in Makawanpur, with the highest Use Reports (402) and a cultural importance index of 13.4, followed by Chepang, Tamang and Tharu ethnic groups with the Use Reports (393) and the cultural importance index (13.1) in Chitwan showcases a strong connection between their traditional knowledge, practices, and ethnobotany. Chepang ethnic group is semi-nomadic and mostly dependent on forest for their livelihood. There is the lowest outmigration rate (1.87-2.7%) in Makawanpur and Dhading districts, home to Chepang, also nuanced that the Chepangs are rich in traditional knowledge, cultural beliefs, and chiuri trees. This was supported by the negative correlation (R=-0.24) between the absentee population and knowledge of chiuri plant use. Rising outmigration, socio-acculturation, and the easy availability of alternatives have promoted people to seek other options, posing a threat to the cultural heritage of chiuri and Chepang. The Chepang people not only rely on and worship the chiuri tree but also meticulously manage and conserve trees across different land tenure systems, including state forest lands, unregistered private lands (locally known as Khoriya), and registered private lands (Bhattarai et al. 2024; Sharma, 2011). In private lands, there were ~15 chiuri trees in each Chepang household in Raksirang, Makawanpur (Golay et al. 2021). Chepang people avoid cutting down chiuri trees (Bhattarai et al. 2021). This stewardship reflects their commitment to preserving the integrity of the chiuri tree (Haq et al., 2022) while also demonstrating the long-term strength of community-based conservation initiatives, which have been widely promoted across the developing world as a strategy for protecting natural resources and ensuring their sustainable use (Baral & Stern, 2011). This close connection between ecology and ethnobotany was evident, as districts with rich populations and abundant resources demonstrated extensive ethnobotanical knowledge and vice-versa.

Conclusions

The diverse **chiuri** utilization pattern in geographical and socioeconomic contexts reveals distinct patterns, with certain parts such as the fruit, leaf, and stem/branches holding particular significance. Subsistence use emerged as the most prevalent category with the highest Use Reports (1,440), followed by medicinal uses (240). The maximum Use Reports of **chiuri** for subsistence use and medicinal applications granted the usefulness of **chiuri** goes beyond mere cultural. As the tree has multipurpose values and ten parts/products of the tree are being used, there is a growing concern about the conservation of species. The highest Use Reports (402), use value (0.47), and cultural importance index (13.4) were reported from Makawanpur district followed by Chitwan, both districts represent the Tarai-Siwalik region of central Nepal and are home to the *Chepang* ethnic group. Culturally, the *Chepang* had diverse knowledge and practices of **chiuri** utilization with a Use Reports of 10.85 person⁻¹ followed by *Tamang* (8.17 person⁻¹) and both are native to and densely populated in central Midhills and Siwalik. *Chepang* people are the primary conserver of **chiuri** and they have meticulously conserved trees across different land tenure systems, including state forestlands, community-based forests, and private lands in central Nepal. The **chiuri** Use Reports showed significant variation in education, occupation, ethnicity, household size, and proximity to the

chiuri tree. These findings underscore the importance of considering geography and cultural covariates in understanding the ethnobotany of **chiuri**. Thus, nationwide documentation and conservation of **chiuri** through community-based conservation strategies, including participatory forest management and local stewardship initiatives, as well as encouraging **chiuri** orchard establishment via national agroforestry policies, can play a crucial role in ensuring sustainable utilization and enhancing economic resilience for local communities.

Declarations

Ethics approval and consent to participate: We adhered to the International Society of Ethnobiology's code of conduct (http://ethnobiology.net/ code-of-ethics/) and each respondent's consent was obtained before the survey following the free prior informed consent process.

Consent for publication: Not applicable

Availability of data and materials: Necessary data are included inside the manuscript. Other data will be made available upon request.

Competing interests: The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

Funding: Not applicable

Author contributions: SB, BB, AKS, and RMK designed the work. SB collected the field data, analyzed and prepared the draft. All authors read, corrected, and approved the manuscript.

Acknowledgements

We appreciate the support from the Nepal National Herbarium (KATH) and Royal Botanic Garden Herbarium (K) in accessing the voucher specimens. We are thankful to all government forest officials and forest user groups, Gandhiv Kafle, Rishi R. Kattel, Bishnu Prasad Acharya, Jeetendra Gautam, Balkrishna Ghimire, Laxman Khanal, Laxmi Khadka, Dinesh Joshi, Binod Khatri, Om Mishra, Sudipta Sapkota, Dipendra K. Shahi, David Thakuri, Bipan Shrestha, Prastuti Chaulagain, Sandip Tamang, Tekendra Rawat, key informants, local respondents, and other known and unknown helping hands whose generous sharing of information and guidance have been crucial in shaping this research. Their on-the-ground knowledge and insights have provided a vital perspective that greatly enriched our findings. Additionally, we are deeply thankful to the ethnic communities and local people who graciously shared their traditional practices and wisdom. Equally, we acknowledge the Faculty of Forestry, Agriculture and Forestry University for providing an enriching academic environment. Also, we are thankful to the government forest officials and forest user groups that nurtured this research endeavor.

Literature cited

Acharya KR. 2014. Lessons Learnt from the Medicinal and Aromatic Plants (MAPs) Sub-sectors, Nepal. www.includenepal.org

Aacharya BP, Syantal D. 2023. Chiuri, Chepang and Chamero. Division Forest Office, Rapti-Manahari, Makawanpur Nepal.

Adhikari-Devkota A, Pandey J, Devkota HP. 2023. *Diploknema butyracea* (Roxburgh) H. J. Lam. Himal. Fruits Berries 137-144. doi: 10.1016/b978-0-323-85591-4.00007-6

Adhikari MK, Shakya DM, Kayastha M, Baral SR, Subedi MN. 2007. Bulletin of Department of Plant Resources No. 28. Medicinal Plants of Nepal. Department of Plant Resources, Kathmandu.

Albuquerque UP, Soldati GT, Sieber SS, Ramos MA, de Sa JC, de Souza LC. 2011. The use of plants in the medical system of the Fulni-ô people (NE Brazil): a perspective on age and gender. Journal of Ethnopharmacology 133(2): 866-873.

Atreya K, Pyakurel D, Thagunna KS, Bhatta LD, Uprety Y, Chaudhary RP, Rimal SK. 2018. Factors contributing to the decline of traditional practices in communities from the Gwallek-Kedar area, Kailash sacred landscape, Nepal. Environmental Management 61: 741-755.

Banerji ML. 1963. Outline of Nepal phytogeography. Vegetation 11: 288-296.

Baral N, Stern MJ. 2011. A comparative study of two community-based conservation models in Nepal. Biodiversity and Conservation 20: 2407-2426.

Baruwal Chhetri SB, Khatri D, Parajuli K. 2020. Antioxidant, Anti-Inflammatory, and Analgesic Activities of Aqueous Extract of Diploknema butyracea (Roxb.) HJ Lam Bark. The Scientific World Journal 1: 6141847.

Bhattarai B, Chikanbanjar R, Kunwar RM, Bussmann RW, Paniagua-Zambrana N. 2021. *Diploknema butyracea* (Roxb.) H.J. Lam. Sapotaceae. In: Kunwar, R.M., Sher, H., Bussmann, R.W. (eds) Ethnobotany of the Himalayas. Ethnobotany of Mountain Regions. Springer, Cham. doi: 10.1007/978-3-030-57408-6_84

Bhattarai S, Bhatta B, Shrestha AK, Kunwar RM. 2024. Ecology, Economic Botany and Conservation of *Diploknema butyracea* in Nepal. Global Ecology and Conservation 51:e02869.

Blancas J, Casas AA, Perez-Salicrup D, Caballero J, Vega E. 2013. Ecological and socio-cultural factors influencing plant management in Náhuatl communities of the Tehuacán Valley, Mexico. Journal of Ethnobiology and Ethnomedicine 9:1-23.

Brosi BJ, Balick MJ, Wolkow R, Lee R, Kostka M, Raynor W, Gallen R, Raynor A, Raynor P, Lee Ling D. 2007. Cultural Erosion and Biodiversity: Canoe-Making Knowledge in Pohnpei, Micronesia. Conservation Biology 21: 875-879. doi: 10.1111/j.1523-1739.2007.00654.x

Bruyere BL, Trimarco J, Lemungesi SA. 2016. comparison of traditional plant knowledge between students and herders in northern Kenya. J Ethnobiology Ethnomedicine 12: 48. doi: 10.1186/s13002-016-0121-z

CBS (Central Beuro of Statistics, Nepal). 2021. National Report on Caste/ ethnicity, language & religion. https://censusnepal.cbs.gov.np/results/downloads/caste-ethnicity.

Chaudhary BR, Acciaioli G, Erskine W, Chaudhary P. 2021. Responses of the Tharu to climate change related hazards in the water sector: Indigenous perceptions, vulnerability and adaptations in the western Tarai of Nepal. Climate and Development 13(9): 816-829. doi: 10.1080/17565529.2021.1889947

Chaudhary N. 2023. Statistically Left Outs and Socio-Historically Legitimized Groups in Nepal. Far Western Review 1(1): 173-186.

Chaudhary RP, Bhattarai SH, Basnet G, Bhatta KP, Uprety Y, Bhatta LD, Kotru R, Oli BN, Sharma LN, Khanal S, Sharma UR. 2017. Traditional practice and knowledge of indigenous and local communities in Kailash Sacred Landscape, Nepal. ICIMOD Working Paper 2017/1. Kathmandu: ICIMOD

Chaudhary RP, Subedi CK. 2019. Chure-Tarai Madhesh Landscape, Nepal From Biodiversity Research Perspective. Plant Archives 19(2): 351-359.

Chhetri NB, Easterling WE. 2010. Adapting to climate change: Retrospective analysis of climate technology interaction in the rice-based farming system of Nepal. Annals of the Association of American Geographers 100(5): 1156-1176.

Chikanbanjar R, Pun U, Bhattarai B, Kunwar RM. 2021. **Chiuri** (Diploknema butyracea (Roxb.) HJ Lam): An Economic tree for Improving Livelihood of Chepang Communities in Makwanpur, Nepal. Ethnobotany Research and Applications 21(15): 1-11. doi: 10.32859/era.21.15.1-11.

Chinsembu KC, Negumbo J, Likando M, Mbangu A. 2014. An ethnobotanical study of medicinal plants used to treat livestock diseases in Onayena and Katima Mulilo, Namibia. South African Journal of Botany 94: 101-107.

Cox PA. 2000. Will tribal knowledge survive the millennium? Science 287(5450), 44-45.

Cox PA. 2007. Ethnopharmacology and the search for new drugs. In Ciba Foundation Symposium 154-Bioactive Compounds from Plants: Bioactive Compounds from Plants: Ciba Foundation Symposium 154 (pp. 40-55). Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

Cook FEM. 1995. Economic Botany Data Collection Standard. Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, UK.

Dahal S, Subedi S, Paudel N. 2021. A review on *Diploknema butyracea* (Roxb.) H.J.Lam. (**Chiuri**) for production, uses, and strategy of management concerning Chepang communities in Nepal. Journal of Multidisciplinary Sciences 3(1): 50-57. doi: 10.33888/jms.2021.316.

Dhakal B. 2014. Development of Chyuri (*Diploknema butyracea* Roxb) Fruit Biomass Models (A case study from Piple Basaha Community Forest of Baglung, Nepal). doi: 10.13140/RG.2.2.34092.46729.

Devkota HP, Adhikari-Devkota A, Belwal T, Bhandari DR. 2019. Chyuri (*Diploknema butyracea*) Butter. Fruit Oils: Chemistry and Functionality pp. 281-289. doi: 10.1007/978-3-030-12473-1_13.

Farnsworth NR, Bingel A. 1977. Problems and Prospects of Discovering New Drugs from Higher Plants by Pharmacological

Screening.

GIZ. 2013. Value Chain Analysis of Nepal Butternut (Chiuri). Report Presentation on 6th December 2013.

Golay DK, Miya MS, Timilsina S. 2021. **Chiuri** (*Aesandra butyracea*) and Beekeeping for Sustainable Livelihoods of Chepang Community in Raksirang-6, Makawanpur, Nepal. Indonesian Journal of Social and Environmental Studies 2(1): 75-85. doi: 10.47540/ijsei.v2i1.200.

Haq SM, Hassan M, Bussmann RW, Calixto ES, Rahman IU, Sakhi S, Ali N. 2022. A cross-cultural analysis of plant resources among five ethnic groups in the Western Himalayan region of Jammu and Kashmir. Biology 11(4): 491.

Hoffman B, Gallaher T. 2007. Importance indices in ethnobotany. Ethnobotany Research and Applications 5: 201-218.

Houehanou TD, Assogbadjo AE, Kakai RG, Houinato M, Sinsin B. 2011. Valuation of local preferred uses and traditional ecological knowledge in relation to three multipurpose tree species in Benin (West Africa). Forest Policy and Economics 13(7): 554-562.

Joshi SR. 2010. Resource Analysis of Chyuri (Aesandra butyracea) in Nepal. www.medep.org.np.

Joshi NC, Chaudhary A, Rawat GS. 2018. Cheura (*Diploknema butyracea*) as a livelihood option for forest-dweller tribe (Van-Raji) of Pithoragarh, Uttarakhand, India. ESSENCE International Journal for Environmental Rehabilitation and Conservation, 9(1): 134-141. doi: 10.31786/09756272.18.9.1.116.

Karki D, Khadka D, Kunwar RM, Aryal PC, Paudel HR, Bhatta S, Shi S. 2023. Ethnomedicinal plants in Champadevi rural municipality, Okhaldhunga district, Nepal. Journal of Ethnobiology and Ethnomedicine 19(1): 58.

Karki G, Bhatta B, Devkota NR, Acharya R, Kunwar R. 2022. Climate change adaptation research in Nepal: implications for the advancement of adaptation planning. Mitig Adapt Strateg Glob Change 27: 18, doi: 10.1007/s11027-021-09991-0

Kunwar RM, Baral B, Luintel S, Uprety Y, Poudel RC, Adhikari B, Bussmann RW. 2022. Ethnomedicinal landscape: distribution of used medicinal plant species in Nepal. Journal of Ethnobiology and Ethnomedicine 18(1): 34.

Kunwar RM, Fadiman M, Cameron M, Bussmann RW, Thapa-Magar KB, Rimal B, Sapkota P. 2018. Cross-cultural comparison of plant use knowledge in Baitadi and Darchula districts, Nepal Himalaya. Journal of Ethnobiology and Ethnomedicine 14: 1-17.

Kunwar RM, Shrestha K, Malla S, Acharya T, Sementelli AJ, Kutal D, Bussmann RW. 2019. Relation of medicinal plants, their use patterns and availability in the lower Kailash Sacred Landscape, Nepal. Ethnobotany Research and Applications 18: 1-14.

Kutal D, Kunwar RM, Baral K, Sapkota P, Sharma HP, Rimal B. 2021. Factors that influence the plant use knowledge in the middle mountains of Nepal. PloS One 16(2): e0246390.

Lama S. 2023. Indigenous Magar's Bheja System Preserving Forests in Nepal. Indigenous Voice, https://earthjournalism.net/stories/indigenous-magars-bheja-system-preserving-forests-in-nepal.

Lee SK, Pennington TD. 1996. SAPOTACEAE Shan Lan Ke. In Flora of China (Vol. 150).

Low BS. 1996. Behavioral ecology of conservation in traditional societies. Human Nature 7: 353-379.

Maffi L. 2005. Linguistic, cultural and biological diversity. Annual Review of Anthropology 29: 599-617.

Majumdar K. Datta BK, Shankar U. 2012. Establishing continuity in distribution of *Diploknema butyracea* (Roxb.) HJ Lam in Indian subcontinent. Journal of Research in Biology 2(7): 660-666.

Ouachinou JA, Dassou GH, Idohou R, Adomou AC, Yedomonhan H. 2019. National inventory and usage of plant-based medicine to treat gastrointestinal disorders with cattle in Benin (West Africa). South African Journal of Botany 122: 432-446.

Paniagua-Zambrana NY, Camara-Leret R, Bussmann RW, Macía MJ. 2014. The influence of socioeconomic factors on traditional knowledge: a cross scale comparison of palm use in northwestern South America. Ecology and Society 19(4).

PCTMCDB (President Chure-Tarai Madhesh Conservation Development Board). 2015. https://chureboard.gov.np/storage/files/cara-sarakashhanae-kashhatara-jallharaka-nakasa-gavasa-ra-vadahara1642493272.pdf

Phillips O, Gentry AH. 1993. The useful plants of Tambopata, Peru: I. Statistical hypotheses tests with a new quantitative technique. Economic Botany 47(1): 15-32.

Phillips O, Gentry AH, Reynel C, Wilkin P, Galvez-Durand BC. 1994. Quantitative ethnobotany and Amazonian conservation. Conservation Biology 8(1): 225-248.

Poudel B, Ghimire S, Gautam N. 2024. An assessment of *Diploknema butyracea* (Roxb.) H. J. Lam (**Chiuri**) utilization in Chepang community Chitwan district, Nepal. Innovations in Agriculture 7: 1-9. doi: 10.3897/ia.2024.124320

Press JR, Shrestha KK, Sutton DA. 2000. Annotated checklist of the flowering plants of Nepal. Natural History Museum Publications. http://efloras.org/florataxon.aspx?flora_id=110&taxon_id=242420203

Reddy SRC, Chakravarty SP. 1999. Forest dependence and income distribution in a subsistence economy: evidence from India. World Development 27(7):1141-1149.

Reddy SY, Prabhakar JV. 1994. Confectionery fat from phulwara (*Madhuca butyracea*) butter, Fett, Wissenschaft. Technologie 96(10): 387-390.

Reyes-García V, Gueze M, Luz AC, Paneque-Galvez J, Macía MJ, Orta-Martínez, M, Pino J, Rubio-Campillo, X. 2013. Evidence of traditional knowledge loss among a contemporary indigenous society. Evolution and Human Behavior 34(4): 249-257.

Saslis-Lagoudakis CH, Hawkins JA, Greenhill SJ, Pendry CA, Watson MF, Tuladhar-Douglas W, Savolainen V. 2014. The evolution of traditional knowledge: environment shapes medicinal plant use in Nepal. Proceedings of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences 281(1780): 20132768.

Shakya MR. 2000. Chepangs and Chiuri: the use of non timber forest products in Nepal. Food Chain 26(26): 3-5.

Sharma DP. 2011. Understanding the Chepangs and Shifting Cultivation: A Case Study from Rural Village of Central Nepal. Dhaulagiri Journal of Sociology and Anthropology 5: 247-262. doi: 10.3126/dsaj.v5i0.6367.

Singh S, Bhat JA, Malik ZA, Youssouf M, Bussmann RW, Kunwar RM. 2019. Sacred groves in Western Himalaya, India: community-managed nature refuges for conservation of biodiversity and culture. Ethnobotany Research and Applications 18: 1-21.

Sundriyal M, Sundriyal RC. 2004. Wild edible plants of the Sikkim Himalaya: Marketing, value addition and implications for management. Economic Botany 58(2): 300-315. doi: 10.1663/0013-0001(2004)058[0300:WEPOTS]2.0.CO;2.

Tardio J, Pardo-de-Santayana M. 2008. Cultural importance indices: a comparative analysis based on the useful wild plants of Southern Cantabria (Northern Spain). Economic Botany 62: 24-39.

Uprety Y, Asselin H. 2023. Biocultural Importance of the **Chiuri** Tree [*Diploknema butyracea* (Roxb .) H. J. Lam] for the Chepang Communities of Central Nepal. Forests 14(3): 479;doi: 10.3390/f14030479

Vandebroek I, Balick MJ. 2012. Globalization and loss of plant knowledge: challenging the paradigm. PloS One 7(5): e37643.

Watanabe T, Rajbhandari KR, Devkota H. 2013. A Handbook of Medicinal Plants of Nepal Supplement I Bioactive compounds from medicinal and edible ferns View project. April. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/234169741.

Zomer RJ, Trabucco A, Metzger M, Oli KP. 2013. Environmental stratification of Kailash Sacred Landscape and projected climate change impacts on ecosystems and productivity. ICIMOD working paper 30, Kathmandu.