

The Myth of the Maple-Apple

Laying a Gaulish Ghost Word to Rest

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Abstract

In spite of some strides that have been made, Old Celtic plant names are an area of study that has not been developed to its potential. The case of *acerabulus* (etymon of French *érable*) is a good example of this, where current literature repeats a flawed analysis for the term from over one hundred years ago, with little-to-no improvement since. The goal of this paper is to shed a new light on *acerabulus*, to reveal that our conventional wisdom of it meaning ‘maple-apple’ is in fact a fundamental misunderstanding. The paper gives an overview of influential publications on the matter and analyzes the primary source of our conventional theory. It then turns a critical eye on the supposed supporting evidence for this theory, demonstrating its flaws and misrepresentations that have been essential to propping it up for decades. Afterwards, the paper discusses the theory’s phonological failures while proposing a potential alternative etymology that could better fit. Lastly, the provenance and significance of this alternative etymology is discussed.

Despite being a word well-known and used by millions of people around the globe, it is most likely that if not for the chance survival of a late Latin hapax preserved in an 8th Century English glossary,¹ nobody would have any clue as to the etymon of *érable*. Joseph Vendryes himself may have had little inkling of how influential his mention of the etymon would be when he brought it up as a word of advice to another etymologist he critiqued in the 1911 printing of *Revue Celtique*.² Whether or not he was the first author to connect *érable* to *acerabulus*, his brief digression is nevertheless nearly universally the source (whether directly or indirectly) for publications and reference works that have touched on the matter since.

Subsequent authors have done little to add to Vendryes’ observations in the past hundred or more years, aside from making the assumption that the term *-abulus* is none other than the Celtic **aballos* ‘apple tree.’ Vendryes certainly invited the comparison, so it is predictable that those in want of

¹Lindsay 1921.

²Vendryes 1911.

an etymology would draw that conclusion from his words. But a careful reading of the passage finds he technically stops short of outright identifying *-abulus* as such, as does the eminent *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch (FEW)* whose entry for *acerabulus*³ is largely based on Vendryes.

Guyonvarc'h reportedly proposed the 'apple tree' theory back in 1968.⁴ But André's essential piece, *Noms de plantes gaulois*, is remarkable for explicitly rejecting his assertion as « douteux », albeit with no explanation (and with an equally unsupported link of its own, attributing Old Breton *hobæbl* to *-abulus* instead. Schrijver joins this view, likewise with no argument.)⁵

The countless casual, popular publications that assume *-abulus* to be 'apple tree' are of little consequence. But when cracking open Delamarre's *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise (DLG)*, one needs to look no further than the very first entry to find this connection being made.⁶ Few other resources are as influential in our current understanding of the Gaulish language as *DLG*, so the connection made there is quite consequential. Of course, the connection is again made with no further analysis than what was already provided by Vendryes (who did not make the connection.)

The discussion is only spinning its wheels as authors baselessly take one side or the other. So to begin the process of finally advancing our understanding of *acerabulus* beyond that trail that Vendryes unconsciously blazed over a hundred years ago, we should begin by none other than reanalyzing his argument with a 21st Century perspective:

1 Vendryes' Advice

Vendryes had waded into a debate the linguistics community was having at the time over M.A. Cuny's etymology for Gaulish *odocos* and Latin *ebulum*.⁷ He reassured Cuny that, contrary to his detractors, Vendryes found no formal fault in his identification of a common root-stem **odh-*, **edh-* that these plants shared. However, he did criticize that a root « à signification aussi vague » could only be proposed with reservation, and he felt Cuny's treatment oversimplified the issue by neglecting some other significant Gaulish phytonyms that Vendryes presumably felt could bear consideration in some way: *opulus* and *abulus*.

From here, we can outline Vendryes' arguments:

1. *Opulus* and *abulus* have very similar form, but cannot be interpreted as the same.

³Wartburg 1928.

⁴André 1985.

⁵Schrijver 2015.

⁶Delamarre 2003.

⁷Vendryes 1911.

2. We receive the word in two forms from different copies of the same glossary: *acerabulus*, *acerafulus*.
3. It is the source of French *érable* 'maple.'
4. It is a bimembric compound, of two different tree names.
5. We see a similar formation in Welsh *criafol* 'rowan,' a compound which must feature *-abulus* as well.
6. We likewise see such compounds in OHG *fereh-eih* 'oak,' OE *furh-wadu* 'pine,' Irish *fic-abull* 'fig tree,' OBr *hob-æbl*.

Subsequent authors follow his reasoning but typically only cite the Insular comparanda he mentions. As they identify both the Irish and Welsh terms with **aballos*, **abalna* 'apple tree,' they conclude that *-abulus* is a Gallo-Latin reflex of the same. At face value, this would seem sound enough, which is why it gets repeated uncritically. But, as soon as we look past the surface level of this argument, the problems become readily apparent.

1.1 The Insular Comparanda That Weren't

By citing supposed parallel formations from Irish, Welsh, and Breton, linguists typically believe they have covered all their bases. That is essentially the kind of criteria they seek to secure that a phenomenon existed in Celtic, projectable back to ancient times (unless we happen to be lucky enough to find a Continental cognate of the same.) But as it happens in this case, the Insular comparanda are mostly a mirage.

Irish *ficabull* is the only apparent phytonym to be hyphenated with *-abull* in Old or Middle Irish.⁸ Besides being a totally isolated example, it is a compound formed to describe a foreign tree that probably was only known to the speaking community through literature. Furthermore, it is only found in an early 15th Century manuscript, *An Leabhar Breac*,⁹ and has no evident currency in Irish outside of that. All of this would already make it an incredibly weak basis for establishing anything as typical of Celtic. But the story gets even worse for the *ficabull* argument.

There is an unquestionably parallel formation in Old English *ficæppel* 'id.' Bosworth and Toller's dictionary informs of many such instances of this word in English, with perhaps the oldest known example going back to Ælfric's late 10th Century glossary.¹⁰ Considering the large number of Anglo-Norman loanwords to enter Irish between the 12th and 14th Centuries,¹¹ and the fact that *ficabull* is a scarce and purely literary artifact from the early

⁸Toner et al. n.d.(a).

⁹Vendryes 1911.

¹⁰Bosworth and Toller 1898a.

¹¹Hickey 1993.

15th Century, it is almost impossible to argue that it is anything other than a mere loan or calque from English. Not a Celtic formation.

While we are on the topic of English loans, I would like to turn our attention to *hobæbl*, from a 9th Century manuscript.¹² If this is a British reflex of Celtic **aballo-*, one would expect it to have undergone lenition by this time (lenition is supposed to have occurred in 5th Century British.¹³) If it is an Irish reflex, one should question why it would exhibit syncope rather than more closely resemble *aball*, a neighboring form in the same paragraph. Celtic **aballo-* does not add up here. *Hobæbl*'s meaning is undefined, but if we do believe it contains 'apple,' it might be more useful to consider if it is an English introduction. Besides better explaining the form we receive, we can compare Welsh *hob* which is an Old English loan of *hope* 'hoop, bushel (measure of corn),'¹⁴ and is semantically fitting to link with apples. In the United States, old varieties of apple have been locally referred to as "hop" and "hoop" apples,¹⁵⁻¹⁷ which would not establish any historicity for the term, but does demonstrate some sensibility and tendency in English to form that kind of phrase. Yet, considering the clear presence of Old French loans in the same document,¹⁸ perhaps the context better points to some relation with French *hièble* 'dwarf elder,' rather than anything **aballo-* related as André and Schrijver insist. Regardless, there is not yet any persuasive argument to be made for reading Celtic **aballo-* in this bewildering *hobæbl* hapax we receive from the manuscript.

Welsh *criafol* could potentially represent an **aballo-* compound found in Celtic, but we should note some limitations. For one, it is not typically spelled *criafal*, instead having the appearance of a *criaf-ol* construction (notwithstanding the semantic problems that introduces.) In that same vein, it is frequently reshaped as *criafon* (perhaps under influence of *mafôn* 'raspberry') and the singulative has at times taken the form of *criolen*.¹⁹ All of this would indicate that the meaning of 'apple' is either a misapprehension or at least was not recognized or enforced by many of the people who used the term. The term is also defined by *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru (GPC)* as the fruit of the tree, with its meaning as the tree itself being only secondary. It also seems to be a regional term according to Vendryes, and so was never really a standard or widespread term for a tree species in the way that *érable* is (and presumably *acerabulus* was.) In the end this is hardly a compelling comparandum to rely on, and yet it is all that remains after turning a more

¹²Stokes 1897.

¹³Toorians 2008.

¹⁴*GPC Online* 2014.

¹⁵Ragan 1905.

¹⁶Agriculture (United States) 1913.

¹⁷Creighton Lee Calhoun 2010.

¹⁸Stokes 1897.

¹⁹*GPC Online* 2014.

critical eye to the other two.

So it goes to show that a proper study of the Insular material reveals the opposite of what several influential writers have tried to pass it off as: **-aballo-* compounds are in fact unusual and rare in Celtic, if they exist at all. And the only convincing example specifically refers to a tree that produces round, reddish, edible fruits (so at least bears some faint resemblance to *Malus* species to justify the usage of **-aballo-*.) It goes without saying that the maple does not compare to that criteria at all.

1.2 The Apple Situation in English

Vendryes' other comparanda are in Germanic, where "tree-tree" compounds are found in some number. As already noted above, certain '-apple' compounds in Celtic likely come from English influence. This is easy to understand when one realizes the relative productivity of '-apple' compounds in English. Bosworth and Toller give the following examples:²⁰ *brembel-æppel*, *eág-æppel*, *eorþ-æppel*, *fic-æppel*, *finger-æppel*, *palm-æppel*, *wudu-æppel*. All of these (except for the metaphorical "eye-apple") refer to plants that bear fleshy, edible fruit. Most of them are non-native plants with which English speakers would not be readily familiar (so hyphenating with -apple seems to have an explanatory function.) The *wudu-æppel* is merely a specific variety of *Malus*. So we are left only with the *brembel-æppel* as a native, non-*Malus* species that ever received the "apple" epithet, and it is not a tree at all but is only so-called for its edible fruits (this identification of brambles as "apples" is perhaps relatable to the alternation found in Welsh *criafol*, *criafon* noted above.)

So it is that, even when we venture beyond the Celtic language family searching for a precedent that could justify such a compound as 'maple-apple' to refer to something like the *Acer* genus, we fail to find one. There is simply nothing within Celtic or its neighbors that would compare to such a construction. The 'maple-apple' interpretation can only be considered strange and unprecedented, and thus highly questionable.

Now that this half of Vendryes' theory has essentially dissipated, we can turn our attention to the other half which deals more with the formal phonological aspects of *acerabulus*. This will allow us to reason in a way that moves beyond Vendryes' initial writing on the matter.

2 Phonology of *Acerabulus* and *Érable*

There are two phonological components of *-abulus* that are pivotal and bear our attention: its vocalism and its intervocalic voiced stop.

²⁰Bosworth and Toller 1898b.

De Bernardo Stempel's words would be wise to keep in mind as we go forward:

The core problem the analysis of Continental Celtic word formation has to overcome is the general tendency to segment every word at face value without considering that some phonetic change might have intervened, altering the original structure.²¹

2.1 Lenition

The fatal difficulty of the 'maple-apple' theory is that it depends on the unique preservation of the voiced stop in **aballo-*. We have in fact only received one clear survival of **aballo-* in Gaulish, and it had already undergone lenition. This example comes to us from *De nominib[us] Gallicis* (the *Vienna Glossary*),²² whose earliest surviving copy dates back to the 9th Century (which itself may be a copy of a 6th Century Merovingian Gaulish document),²³ roughly coinciding with (or predating) the manuscripts from which we receive *acerabulus*. The *Vienna Glossary* relates to us:

auallo poma

But while that is the only explicit attestation, the evidence does not stop there. It is likely that **aballo-* is a part of various extent placenames, as Delamarre relates to us:²⁴ *Avallon, Ollon, Valuégols, Valeuil, Avalleur*. Every one of these shows lenition, if they do in fact descend from that root. The only toponymic examples Delamarre provides that still show ⟨b⟩ are from ancient times, which would have plausibly predated the sound change.

Now, we cannot have this discussion while ignoring the fact that one of the three Corpus Glossary copies that relate *acerabulus* to us gives it as *acerafulus*²⁵ (although most authors do ignore it.) This would certainly make a striking counterpoint regarding lenition. But the counterpoint is overruled by some straightforward observations: 1) it is outvoted 2:1 by the other manuscript copies, 2) in some Medieval hands, the forms of ⟨b⟩ and ⟨f⟩ can be ripe for confusion, and 3) if we are indeed to take this term as the antecedent of *érable* then it is overruled by *érable* itself, which has always apparently preserved the voiced stop.

Since *acerabulus* contains a ⟨b⟩ in this lenition environment, we should consider that it could etymologically have been a **p* prior to lenition. Besides being a regular change known in British,²⁶ the *p > b* sound change from

²¹Stempel 2013.

²²André 1985.

²³Stifter 2012.

²⁴Delamarre 2003.

²⁵Lindsay 1921.

²⁶Schrijver 1995.

Gaulish etyma passing into French is also evinced elsewhere, as we likely see in *capanna* > *cabane*. This lenition would make the ⟨b⟩ in *-abulus* accord well with another term for ‘maple’ that Vendryes had observed to be similar in form, yet which he summarily discarded: *opulos*.

2.2 Vocalism

The Gaulish *-os* desinence was routinely replaced with *-us* in a Latin context (which is where we find *acerabulus*), and so the *-us* ending will have no bearing on our phonological study. The other two vowels demand our attention, however.

The vocalism of *acerabulus* does not perfectly accord with either **aballo-* or *opulos*. Both options pose their own difficulties.

The penultimate ⟨u⟩ is never addressed in the literature, yet it is quite a sticking point for relating this to **aballo-*. While Delamarre finds two Iberian toponyms that might support a penultimate *u* in Celtiberian,²⁷ Ptolmey is not known for his accuracy in spelling nor can we be sure if this term is indeed related. Even if this does accurately represent **aballo-* in Celtiberian, in Gaulish every example connected to **aballo-* has a penultimate ⟨a⟩, as it does in British. This should cast considerable doubt on connecting *-abulus* to **aballo-*, particularly since this likely would have been the tonic syllable in Gaulish and thus more likely to retain its vowel shape than not. Penultimate ⟨u⟩, on the other hand, fits perfectly with *opulos*.

The initial ⟨a⟩ is the strongest point in favor of relating *-abulus* to **aballo-*. It does not pose an insurmountable problem for *opulos*, however. The initial syllable should have been pretonic in Gaulish, and thus theoretically less prone to preservation over time. There are no regular sound laws established that would point to pretonic *o* > *a*, but that does not rule out that it could have happened in certain environments.

As a composition vowel in ancient times, Gaulish overwhelmingly would have preferred *-o-* here,²⁸ which is a point against relating it with *opulos*. However, in spite of that there is an instance of *-a-* being the composition vowel in a somewhat similar compound:²⁹

EPADVMNACA < **epo-dumn-aca*

Here, Sims-Williams suggests the transformation of an atonic *o* > *a* is to achieve “vowel harmony” (presumably with the preceding ⟨e⟩.) If we can find such a transformation even in ancient attestations, then perhaps this could allow us to understand how the *o* in *opulus* might have become *a* over time after it had been compounded with *acer-*.

²⁷Delamarre 2003.

²⁸Sims-Williams 2013.

²⁹Sims-Williams 2013.

There are more examples of composition vowel harmonizations in Gaulish, albeit without a preceding ⟨e⟩.³⁰

**caro-* > *cara-* (*Caratacus*, *Caraddunnus*, *Καράτινος*)
**dano-dinnus* > *Dannadinnus*

All of these examples from relatively early periods are a good basis to suggest that vowel harmonization could likewise explain *acerabulus* < **aceropulos*.

Besides incidental vowel harmonies, there is also a *uo* > *wa* sound law known in British and Gaulish,³¹ which occurs frequently in pretonic positions due to the **uo-* prefix. For example:³²

**uo-bero-* > **ua-bero-*

From which we supposedly receive numerous toponyms, *Vavre*, *Vaivre*, *Vaure*, *Voivre*, *Woèvre*, *Waber*, etc.³³ This sound change would not apply to *acerabulus* of course, but it does provide another example of pretonic *o* > *a* in Gaulish that would further bolster the notion that such a vocalic shift is hardly inconceivable.

Besides the Gaulish-internal evidence that could resolve the disagreement between *-abulus* and *opulos*, we should keep in mind the context from which we receive our forms: an Anglo-Saxon glossary and the modern French language. Both of these are environments ripe for West Germanic linguistic influence. Perhaps the Germanic *o* > *a* merger is thus relevant in our consideration of *opulos*, which in turn could be in some way related with the *mapuldur* that *acerabulus* is glossed with (see appendix for further discussion of that English term.)

3 The Meaning of *Opulos*

We receive *opulos* from both Varro^{34–35} and Pliny^{36–37} in the 1st Centuries BCE and CE, respectively. Varro informs us that this is a tree used by the inhabitants of *Mediolanum* ‘Milan’ (whom we understand to have Celtic origins), as makeshift trellises for their grapes. Pliny expands on this description slightly, referring to it also as the *rumpotinus* and saying that the vines climb to the fork of the tree and then up its branches to cover its “broad,

³⁰Delamarre 2003.

³¹Schrijver 1995.

³²Delamarre 2003.

³³Delamarre 2003.

³⁴Loeb, Goold, and Hooper 1934.

³⁵Varronis 1934.

³⁶Rackham, Jones, and Eichholz 1938a.

³⁷Secundus 0077.

circular stories,” but he offers no other description of the tree itself. He lists it separately from *acer*, but there is no indication that he really knew which species *opulos* was. Today, we regard it as meaning ‘maple’ because (*l*)*oppio* is a common name for *Acer campestre* in Italian and northern Italian and Rhetian dialects.³⁸ We can also note how the common name for *Acer opalus* is *opalo* in Italian. *Opulus* has also been applied to *Viburnum opulus*, and this is probably for that shrub’s maple-like leaves. At least, it seems clear that Varro and Pliny were not referring to a shrub, nor can we understand why *viburnum* would have been used as a trellis for grapes.

André suggests that *opulos* is « probablement terme de substrat de l’Italie du Nord. » Delamarre, who cautions that « [la] celticité du mot est mal assurée », defines *opulos* as ‘érable,’ offering an interesting etymology for it. He relates it to Latin *pōpulus*, postulating a **pok^wolos* proto-form, which could also have reflexes represented by the Ogam *OQOLI* and OIr. [*Mac*]*Ochail*.

Poplar and maple are significantly different trees, but the semantic divergence is not insurmountable. For one, Pliny mentions that the elm and poplar were used as trellises in a similar manner to *opulus*.³⁹ Additionally, Pliny elsewhere compares the appearance of poplar’s bark and “mottled wood” to that of maple.⁴⁰ If the **pok^wolos* was identified by the appearance of its wood grain, its bark, or its use as a trellis, then that could explain how speaking communities North and South of the Po grew to apply the term to an *Acer* and *Populus* species, respectively. It is unclear what the Goidelic reflexes would have referred to, since maple did not generally inhabit Ireland. But the term is only found in personal onomastics and fell out of use relatively early on in Irish, so perhaps it had no currency as a phytonym there and was merely a vestige from pre-Insular Celtic names.

The form ⟨*opulos*⟩ is not testified in later periods in Gaulish or outside of this Cisalpine context. One could alternatively see that as pointing to a Cisalpine regionalism, or as further adding fuel to the question of whether 9th Century *-abulus* could be *opulos* in a post-lenition context.

4 The Issue of *Acer-*

The notion that *acerabulus* represents a bilingual compound with Latin *acer-* is constantly taken for granted. While it is a perfectly understandable reading given the apparent formal and semantic agreement of the roots, we now know that *acer* ‘maple’ is not an etymon restricted to Latin. There is a cognate in Ger. *Ahorn* ‘maple’ < OHG *ahorn*, *ahurn*, *acharn*, which Kroonen postulates reflects a Proto-Germanic **ahurna-*, which he describes as

³⁸Adams 2007.

³⁹Rackham, Jones, and Eichholz 1938a.

⁴⁰Rackham, Jones, and Eichholz 1938b.

“a European word, possibly of non-IE origin.”⁴¹ And since it is present in both Latin and Germanic, we should consider it could have existed in Celtic too, where it could be disguised by having the same appearance as the Latin reflex.

Some authors try to relate Latin *acer* ‘maple’ to the homonym *ācer* ‘sharp’ < PIE **h₂ekro-* on account of the points of its leaves, or for the supposed usage of its wood in fashioning spears. Both of these explanations are unimpressive, regardless of whether maple was ever a choice wood for spears. I would favor the view that these homonyms are coincidental and unrelated.

Not unrelated to *ācer*, though, is the Proto-Celtic **akro-* from which we receive Gaul. *axro*⁴² and OIr. *ér* ‘high, noble, great.’⁴³ Matasović also postulates what could be a closer Celtic relative, in either **ak-ero-* or **ak-aro-* > OIr. *aicher* ‘sharp, violent, fierce’ (if it is not simply a loan from Latin.)⁴⁴

If ‘sharp’ could have any relation to the hardness of the wood, that might be relevant. OIr. *ér*’s meaning of ‘high, noble, great’ could also be recommended, if there is an *Acer* species that is particularly larger or deemed more true or superior in some way to the other species that grow in the area. So there could perfectly well have been a Celtic term with the exact same form as what we find in Latin, as well as either the same meaning or a suitable alternative one. As such, there is no reason to resort to the assumption that this is an unusual bilingual compound (while I do not mean to rule that out either.) In the end, though, it is perfectly plausible to investigate *acerabulus* as having only Celtic roots.

It would seem there are two species of maple native to France that are much larger in their height and foliage than the others: *Acer platanoides* and *pseudoplatanus*. These can grow to more than double or triple the height of the other species,⁴⁵ *A. campestre*, *monspessulanum*, and *opalus*.⁴⁶ They are both also mountain-loving (*A. pseudoplatanus* moreso than *platanoides*) and grow at high altitudes, although that could probably be said to a lesser degree of all these maples aside from *A. campestre*, the ‘field maple.’⁴⁷ In this context, **axropulos* or **aceropulos* could sensibly have been a Gaulish compound name in reference to the ‘great’ or ‘tall maple’ species, or even in reference to the lofty habitats in which they grow. Perhaps there was also some wordplay or punning involved with the hypothetical homonyms outlined above. If such a redundant ‘maple-maple’ compound really did

⁴¹Kroonen 2013.

⁴²Delamarre 2003.

⁴³Toner et al. n.d.(b).

⁴⁴Matasović 2009.

⁴⁵Lagacherie and Cabannes 2003.

⁴⁶*Acer opalus* is so-named by great coincidence, as its Linnæan name appears derived from the Italian term for the plant, *opalo* < **opulus*

⁴⁷Lagacherie and Cabannes 2003.

form, it would seem easier to explain in a bilingual context than as being originally Celtic, but this is a less parsimonious explanation.

5 Conclusion

Whatever the case may be, suffice it to say that *acerabulus* in the sense of ‘maple-apple’ is almost certainly a ghost word. Such **aballo-* compounds are not sufficiently demonstrated to have been practiced in Celtic, the semantics are patently wrong for this tree genus, and neither do simple phonological facts support it. All this would militate against the **aballo-* theory, in spite of the great popularity it undeservedly enjoys in literature. Whatever the source of *acer-*, whatever the origin or reason for this compound’s formation, whatever its precise meaning, we know it is not actually ‘maple-apple.’ That could have long ago been put to rest as being phonologically and semantically unworkable, and it must be put there now—not paraded as a fact in influential linguistic works. We can also confirm that the second member of the compound is currently best proposed as *opulos*. There is no better etymological alternative known thus far. The phonological difficulties in connecting the word to *opulos* are trivial and no etymologist could ask for more fitting semantics.

6 Appendix

6.1 Consideration of the *Mapuldur* Gloss

Though several recent sources apparently remain puzzled by the formation of Old English *mapuldur*, I would propose that it is a parallel formation to *mapul-treów* ‘maple-tree.’ *-Dur, -der, -dor*, could be variants from the PIE **dor-u-* ‘tree, wood,’ from which we also receive Proto-Celtic **daru-* ‘oak’ (or perhaps they represent a borrowing of the latter.) *Mapul-* is too close in form and meaning to *-abulus, opulos* for us not to investigate a potential connection in it. The initial *m* is difficult to account for, but Kroonen has some ideas about it being an influence related to the Proto-Germanic root **masura-* ‘burl,’ as burlwood is prized material notably associated with maples.⁴⁸ We could also wonder whether there was a semantic motivator at play, to try and differentiate similar sounding words which apply to dramatically different trees (maple, apple.)

⁴⁸Kroonen 2013.

6.2 Dialectal Descendants of *Acerabulus* Per *FEW*⁴⁹ (some of which seem dubious):

afr.	<i>esrable</i>
fr.	<i>érable</i>
wallon	<i>doiâ(b), érab</i>
lütt.	<i>ayab</i>
nam.	<i>äiaube</i>
rouch.	<i>erèle</i>
St-Pol	<i>erāp</i>
Châteauneuf	<i>rouable</i> (m.)
Percy	<i>rable</i>
hmanc.	<i>arable, araby</i>
saint.	<i>erabte</i>
centr.	<i>arabe, arable</i>
bourb.	<i>arobe, durable</i>
morv.	<i>ériaule, ouriaule, aihâble</i>
Griolle	<i>éhaule</i>
bourber.	<i>uxrawl</i>
Vouth.	<i>euilj' râie</i>
metz.	<i>oxeroille</i>
Rémilly	<i>žrōy</i>
Montbél.	<i>ôserale</i>
Pierrec.	<i>ozrawl</i>
bourn.	<i>užrāl</i>
verdch.	<i>ériaule</i>
Doubs.	<i>userole, iserole</i>
schweiz.	<i>izerabto</i>
neuenbg.	<i>oserabye</i>
blon.	<i>izerabto</i>
Val d'Auniviers	<i>īžerablo</i>
sav.	<i>izrablo, durèl</i>
lyonn.	<i>iserôblo</i>
dauph.	<i>iserablo</i>
Ch.	<i>alezabre</i>
piem. Alpen	<i>izalabre</i>
npr.	<i>arabre, jarabre, arjalabre, alesabre</i>
Barc.	<i>alabre</i>
Seyne	<i>jalabre</i>
vel.	<i>avazabrə</i>
Lallé.	<i>eisalabre</i>
aveyr.	<i>grasál</i>
rouerg.	<i>auseral</i>
lang.	<i>azeraul</i>
périg.	<i>asarau</i>
gask.	<i>auseral, ausero</i>
bearn.	<i>aserou</i>
Bagnères-de-L.	<i>awderó</i>

⁴⁹Wartburg 1928.

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