THE DESIGNATIONS OF THE OAK
IN ROMANCE LANGUAGES

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Among the many trees that played a significant role in human life, the oak has undoubtedly been the most important. It is known throughout Europe, it thrives in many soils and, because of its sturdiness, it is little affected by climatic changes. Since the so-called 'Boreal' period (approximately 7200–5500 BC) when it first appeared, it conquered the whole Eur-Asian continent reaching a dominant position in the so-called 'Atlantic' period (5500–3000 BC).

Although in later times the increase in population and the developing agricultural habits and techniques made forests lose ground, Europe, north of the Alps, was densely covered by huge forests that the Roman conquerors and their historians described with awe. The oak's dominant height, its handsomeness and pig-fattening acorns turned it into a royal tree; for the Romans, the oak belonged to the 'arbores felices' and occupied, as readers of Sir James Frazer's *The Golden Bough* know, a central place in ancient Roman religious rites, similar to the role played in Greece by Zeus's sacred oak grove in the northern Greek city of Dodona.

Almost all the holy fires throughout Europe were made from oak-wood – the everlasting fire of the Roman Vestals used oak logs as fuel – and there is evidence of midsummer bonfires in the nineteenth century where the oak wood was compulsory. Even in 1917, when the Virgin Mary appeared to three Portuguese shepherds, 'Nossa Senhora de Fatima' chose an oak indigenous to Portugal, the *azinheira*, for her appearance. The oak, as a part of religious belief, common to all the Indo-European stock, bears names that eminent linguists such as Benveniste and Meillet have brilliantly deduced from various sources. The Germanic languages all show terms going back to a root *ayg*, from which have sprung German *Eiche*, Ndl. *eik*, and English *oak*.

2. These reasons are given by an Irish bard quoted in R. GRAVES, The White Goddess, Faber & Faber, 1961, p. 203.
3. ANDRÉ, 'Arbor felix, arbor infelix', Hommages à Jean Bayet, 1964, p. 36.
5. FRAZER, passim.
6. The respective works, concerning Indo-European words, are listed in Friedrich's Bibliography (pp. 175 ss.).
When we open the available standard dictionaries in order to look up the French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese equivalent for English 'oak', we find chêne, quercia, roble and carvalho. A homogeneous etymological picture on the Germanic side is therefore opposed, on the Romance side, by four clearly distinct terms for the one tree, where one would expect an even greater cohesion than on the Germanic side. What are the reasons for this astonishing difference? We have to expect that the fourfold designation of the oak in Romance Languages cannot be explained at a purely synchronical level. We will have to apply diachronical methods as well. We will have to keep in mind that trees are more difficult to distinguish from each other than animals: city dwellers are less familiar with plant growth than country people. The geographical and climatic conditions around the Mediterranean will have to be present before our eyes. The onomasiologist will know that tree names can vary according to the function which the tree is expected to fulfil.

The tree can be seen as a semi-divine animated being, a supplier of timber or a producer of fodder. Furthermore, with people losing direct contact with nature, the traditional terms might become 'opaque' to the minds of the users and be replaced by more ‘translucent’ functional or analytical designations. Well aware of the sometimes precarious nature of the standard vocabulary, as offered in a dictionary, we shall first study the two maps dedicated to the oak in the Italian dialect atlas 8 and the French atlas. 9

The Material. On map 591 'quercia' of the AIS, two basic terms divide the Peninsula between them, namely.

1. (striped) KWERTŠA, TŠERKWA, TŠERTSA, which are the descendants of Latin QUERCUS. They cover an area bounded on the north by the Apennines, extending over central Italy down to the heel and toe of the ‘boot’, the south west and north east parts of the Sicilian triangle and the northern half of Sardinia;

2. (squared) ROVERE, which goes back to Latin ROBORE, in a homogeneous zone covering the whole northern part of Italy down from the Alps and extending over the Apennines along the western and eastern coasts. ROVERE also holds north east Sicily and southern Sardinia. One point right at the tip of the ‘toe’ (Pt. 791) also belongs to the ROVERE territory.

Besides these two basic words, we find, at the north west border, towards France, a wedge-shaped intruder, ‘tsémo’. The points marked FT give functional terms which characterise the oak as producer of acorns or timber, while AT is the abbreviation used in points where analytical terms were mentioned to the investigators. The black areas, at the heel of the ‘boot’ and in the interior

of the 'toe', have a 'valanéa' and a 'dendron' respectively, both being Greek terms; the map supplies a strange term at the beginning of the 'toe' (Pt. 751): 'glisi', 'glist'. As shown by several other maps of the AIS, this last term must be Albanese because of its plural ending on -t, which is to be found in other maps of the AIS as well for terms supplied for the same Pt. 751. Furthermore, it is known that this region received during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a notable number of immigrants from Albania who fled before the Turkish invader. Three other points supply a type 'vuscijje', which is more widespread than the map suggests. Although these Greek, Albanese and probably Germanic designations yield interesting facts to the dialectologist of southern Italy, they are less important within the more 'macrocosmic' view this article proposes.

We now turn over to map 256, 'chêne' of the French atlas. There are three basic types, namely:

1. (squared) ROURE, thus again ROBORE, that we found in northern Italy. This word, therefore, lives on both sides of the political border and on both slopes of the Sea Alps, dominating Provence. Another spot, comprising only two atlas points, is visible to the north west of the homogeneous ROURE territory;

2. (striped) Chène, chane, kasse, which according to etymological dictionaries go back to a probably Celtic *CASSANU. The representatives of this Celtic word have penetrated into the ROURE territory, along the Rhone Valley and have taken root along the southern coast;

3. (checkered) GARIK. Geographically speaking, the 'garik' area is moun-
tainous, dry and covered with dense bush vegetation. Within the checkered area, several obscure terms are mentioned.¹¹

FT again indicates that functional terms were supplied. The crosses indicate another important tree name, appearing on the map as a type ‘souze’ from Latin ilex, which is likely to yield significant information. Let us note immediately that no offspring of Latin QUERCUS is to be found in France. Its conspicuous absence calls for an [anticipated] explanation. The importance that the oak had in Celtic religion, as Sir James Frazer and Robert Graves have pointed out, gave the pre-Roman word such a prestige that the Roman export terms did not succeed in supplanting *CASSANU.¹²

No dialect atlases having yet been compiled or completed for Spain and Portugal, the Ibero-Romance designations will have to be discussed in relationship with the terms supplied by the Italian and French map.

A. QUERCUS

This Roman term for ‘forest oak’ is difficult to use in grammatically correct forms by beginners: its ending -us looks masculine, although the word is feminine. Its declension follows a tricky pattern, as the variety of forms given by Neue-Wegener s.v. quercus indicates. Students who battle with the declension of quercus may find some comfort in the idea that the word was just as tricky for the Latin-speaking populations, who soon forced it into more accessible patterns. Quercus is visible only in the Sardinian ‘kerku’ (Pts. 938, 949) and its local variations, but there again it is used as a masculine noun. The other parts of the striped territory go back to adjective derivatives of QUERCUS; the ‘kwertsa’ type comes from an adjective *quercea, used to designate ‘what belongs to the oak’ and is turned into a noun out of a probable compound term arbor quercea, meaning ‘oak tree’. Central Italian dialects rely on a ‘Tserkwa’ type, which was produced by a dissimilation of QUERCUS.¹³ Here again an old analytical term arbore cerqua might have been the direct predecessor.

A line running from Naples to Pescara separates the former type from the

¹¹. The Pyrenees and their ‘Vorland’ are a hunting ground for the specialist in pre-Roman linguistics and the related fields, as garik shows. More to the north (Pt. 722), gomas (=oak) resembles Port. gamess (=asphodel) and seems to go back together with neighbouring terms to a pre-Roman root *gam- for plants with particularly long shoots or twigs, forming dense thickets. ‘Auri’, also within the garik-territory, could be related to Basque ar-te (=oak), visible, with another suffix, in Biarritz, as shown by HUBSCHMIED, FEW, 107.

¹². BLOCH-WARTBURG, Dictionnaire étymologique, 126; Sir James FRAZER and R. GRAVES underline the importance of the oak in Gallic religions; the priest’s name druid, derived from the Celtic *dorw- (=oak) would mean simply ‘oak man’ (Golden Bough), or ‘oak seer’ (The White Goddess, p. 21). Druid is not related with *pee, as the Ancients were tempted to presume (PAULY-WISSOWA, 1903, V, col. 1736–1737).

southern QUERCUS representative, a hypothetical *CERCEA, which produced forms such as ‘certsa’, ‘cersa’ or ‘sersa’. Both the Middle Italian dialectal form as well as the southern Italian form have relatives in the Mozarabic according to the Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch. This fact is rather important. Let us remember that the Mozarabs were those Christians who remained in southern Spain under Muslim rule. Their language, as reconstructed from several documents, therefore represents the original Romance Spanish tongue as it existed before the Peninsula was linguistically streamlined by the Christian liberation coming from the northern kingdoms of Aragon and Castile. With the institution of Castilian as ruling idiom, the derivates from *CERQUA and *CERCEA disappeared and Spain had to adopt the Castilian name for the oak, of which we have to speak later. Portugal has officially discarded QUERCUS and its dissimilated variants; Machado’s etymological dictionary does not even list it, although a diminutive cerquinho lives in Galicia and northern Portugal. On the other hand, toponyms based on CERQUUS, and on the dissimilated form *CERCEA predominant in southern Italy, are densely represented. The same is valid for Spain; feeble traces of QUERCUS can be found in dialectal sources. The toponyms going back to this type are much rarer than in Portuguese territory; only in the provinces of Almeria, Malaga and Granada, thus in the southern part of Spain, several toponyms give substantial evidence of the former strength of Mozarabic chirca ( < *CERQUA). In Ibero-Romance, the only active terms based on QUERCUS are learned terms coined to designate chemical substances extracted from certain oaks for the purpose of dyes or tanning barks. These terms are based on a form querco, which is the botanical term for oak. In Brazilian, querco, a learned word used in botany, serves as poetic term for ‘oak’.

B. ROBUR

The Latin word meant ‘strong timber’, then ‘the strong timber of the oak’ and is used by the elder Pliny as the designation for the forest oak. This Latin writer, so capitaly important for everything botanical, came from northern Italy, and, as our map shows, this region is homogeneously covered by the successors of the Latin word. The main dialectal forms are ‘ruvre’ (Genova), ‘rugula’ (Milan), ‘rut’ (Turin) ‘s’arrol’ (central Sardinia) and ‘rovare’ (Venice) which supplied the standard Italian rovere, to designate ‘a sort of an oak’, as

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15. REW 6950, and AEBISCHER, Paul: ‘La forme dissimilée’ . . .
16. PIEL, ‘Os nomes das “quercus” . . .’, passim.
17. PIEL, 326–327.
Zingarelli’s dictionary puts it. All these dialectal forms go back, as usual, to the accusative form of the generating word, robore(m). The Sicilian forms, so isolated between the two blocks of ‘certsa’, and the form at the tip of the toe seem to be due to northern influence.\(^{20}\) The Sicilian terms resemble closely the dialectal forms of Genua, and the word at the tip of the toe is almost identical to the Milanese. Another contact with northern Italy will be mentioned later. A noteworthy form is to be found north west of Ancona, on the Adriatic, namely l’arvora (Pt. 499), l’arvoya (Pt. 528). The surrounding points give ‘rovra’ (478), ‘un arovra’ (479). Compared with these, our l’arvoya and l’arvora show a metathesis of the liquid and the bilabial fricative. At first sight, an influence of ARBORE (= Latin, tree) looks inviting, but we soon remember that proparoxytons lost or weakened their second last vowel to become paroxytons, as shown by French arbre, or Portuguese arvore. An influence of ARBORE must therefore be ruled out, also because the region has its own form ählara\(^{21}\) for ‘tree’. A similar metathesis is found in Lombardy (Pt. 360), lovre. The initial a- in the two forms of Ancona is of course the agglutinated vowel of the feminine article.

The type ROBORE is the great Latin competitor to QUERCUS. As we have heard, Pliny’s authority might have helped here. Furthermore, QUERCUS, the second old Indo-European term for oak, based on a root *perkwu\(^{22}\) which is visible in Hercynia, the Celtic name for the German woods, and in the thundergod Perikanas of the Baltic countries, must have become semantically opaque, while ROBORE with its connotation of ‘strength’ was naturally open to designate a tree and a timber whose obvious qualification was strength, as we know from the adjective ‘robust’ and more learned terms such as ‘to corroborate’. This semantically more translucent term proved to be most successful. Its Spanish product, which has become standard, is rob/e. It is, however, a form generalised later, the first representative being robre, documented in 1325,\(^{23}\) while the standard roble does not appear in writing before the sixteenth century. The toponyms are more outspoken: Robredo (=oak grove) is known from the twelfth century onwards, while Robleda, Robleda and Robledilla were formed at a later stage. I have not found traces of QUERCUS in the available Spanish dialect sources.\(^{24}\)

MACHADO, the Portuguese etymological dictionary, explains roble as ‘a sort of oak, very hard oak, oak timber’, then quotes from Morais dictionary’s second edition of 1813, where roble was still used in a figurative sense close to

\(^{20}\) ‘siz. ruvulu, (wohl aus obit.)’, FEW X,433.
\(^{21}\) As shown in AIS 533.
\(^{22}\) FRIEDRICH, 133-140.
\(^{23}\) COROMINAS, Diccionario critico etimologico de la lengua Castellana, Bern, 1970, IV,41.
\(^{24}\) alcornoque (cork oak) is supposed to go back to a Mozarabic form, based on ‘quer-nus’, adj. of quercus; quernus is not found in any of the Romance idioms (Corominas, I,102).
the original Classic meaning of 'strength, hardiness, vigour'.\textsuperscript{25} Roble, however, is not indigenous to Portuguese, but a loan from Spanish.\textsuperscript{26} Quite different is the situation when it comes to toponyms. The old Latin collective ROBORETUM, found in Latin glosses and in the Antonine Itinerary, produced most Spanish place names based on groups of oaks and was fertile on Portuguese soil as well.\textsuperscript{27} Why should ROBUR have been inactive here, while the Latin collective proved so successful? We possess little evidence of the Portuguese Romance tongue under Arab domination. When Portugal was reconquered from the north, the northern term was brought down south and rather firmly established. When the Spanish roble was within reach, the northern term carvalho, of which we will have to speak later, had already become common. The possible collective term, carvalheudo, is phonetically less accessible than roboredo. ROBORE, as we saw, appears in France as well, but already at the turn of the century, when the ALF was compiled, the French ROBUR territory was limited to the south east and represented by the type ‘roure’; the forms with preserved bilabial (‘roubé’, ‘rouvé’) are peripheral to the west and the south. This territory is, furthermore, in the process of being split up by the type ‘tchaine’, which comes down along the Rhone Valley and is the standard word chêne (<CASSANU) adapted to local habits of pronunciation. The assumption that these terms are intruders is proved correct by the fact that the south does not palatalise initial Ka-; tchaine appears in places where the standard language has formed secondary lexical strata.\textsuperscript{28} The French ROBUR territory is clearly shrinking; many place names in northern France based on ROBUR and its derivatives, such as Rouvray (close to Dijon, Burgundy) and Rouvroy (close to the Belgian border)\textsuperscript{29} show that ROBUR had been used earlier in northern France as well.

*CASSANU, as a pre-Roman word, must have been used concurrently. Why then the disappearance of ROBUR in the north? The answer to this question might lie in botany: the tree called rovere in Italian seems to be 

\textit{Quercus sessiliflora} or \textit{Quercus robur}, while CASSANU was the \textit{Quercus pedunculata}, the common oak. The early inhabitants of northern France probably did distinguish the two trees, while later more urbanised populations were unable to do so and accepted the representatives of *CASSANU\textsuperscript{30} as their sole designations.

\begin{itemize}
\item 26. PIEL, 316; COROMINAS.
\item 27. PIEL (318) gives Roboredo and, as a result of a dissimilation, Reboredo as Portuguese place names.
\item 30. FEW, X,434.
\end{itemize}
As shown by the map, the hypothetical etymon *CASSANU, a Gallic word, dominates most of the French linguistic territory in the three forms ‘chêne’, the standard term irradiated from Paris, the considerable ‘chane’ section and finally the south west ‘kassé’. This last is the clearest successor to the ancient word, because the absence of any palatalisation of the initial k- has preserved a word image close to the original form. The Gallo-Roman proparoxyton Cassanu is modified regularly through a weakening of the interior syllable to a casnu, which produced O.Fr. chasne. This correctly developed form is maintained in the big central area of our map. Old French, however, also has a form chaisne, with a diphthong not to be explained phonetically. This O.Fr. chaisne, which eventually gave the standard chêne, is the result of a paronymous influence of fraisne > frêne (< FRAXINUS = ash), a much debated question in French historical phonetics. The CASSANU territory must have been even larger in the past; within the garik territory, place names indicate that terms such as ‘casser’ must have retreated before garik forms.

The Ibero-Romance dialect source shows, at a first glance, no direct influence of CASSANU. There is, however, in texts of the twelfth century, a cassigo, later a caxiga, today quejigo, distributed thinly over the Castilian territory, but without any relations in Portuguese or Catalan. This term, translated by ‘small robust oak’, if really a descendant of CASSANU, would lead to interesting views on the distribution of Gallic words on the other side of the Pyrenees. If quejigo is really an ‘import’ from Gallic territory, the substitution of the suffix -anu by the Iberic suffix -ik that we know from gar-ik is difficult to explain. It is assumed nowadays that quejigo is not a ‘son’ but a ‘brother’ to CASSANU, both being generated from a common root, to which two different suffixes were added. Outside the former Gallo-Romania, derivatives of CASSANU are found in north east Sicily, in the ‘imported’ rure territory, where ‘u kassanu’ (Pt. 838), ‘kassaelu’, ‘kossu’ (Pt. 818) are explained as ‘young oak’. These, together with other terms, must have been brought to Sicily by Piemontese immigrants after the victory over the Arab conquerors.

CASSANU therefore is limited to the Gallo-Roman part; outside this territory, it was introduced by later migrations of Gallo-Romance speakers.

31. According to ALESSIO and HUESCHMIED, *CASSANU would be a pre-Indo-European sideline of the pre-Greek κάσσανος (COROMINAS, IV, 1068).
32. FEW IIa, 462, BLOCH-WARTBURG, 126, are in favour of this paronymous influence of FRAXINUS.
33. FOUCHE (Phonetique historique du francais, 816) rejects any influence and advocates an etymon caxims, TUAILLON, ’chêne et frêne’ ... proves solidly that this paronymous influence had worked and that it had even produced unexpected forms for FRAXINUS.
34. COROMINAS III, 939–942 discusses the various theories formulated by scholars, and concludes that there is an indirect relationship only.
35. AIS 592, commentary.
36. FEW, IIa, 461, ROHLFS, Estudios, 20.
"Garik" is familiar to every friend of southern France, where la garrigue is the well-known term for the dry and untiiled land with its odorous herbs and low, evergreen trees. This designation extends beyond the present Provence: O.Fr. jarrie (=untilled land) is documented far in the north around Orléans. An obvious relation unites the dry land and the low trees which manage to grow on it. Garik very probably goes back to a pre-Roman root *CARRA in the meaning of 'stone, stone heap, sturdy tree, oak'. This pre-Roman root *CARRA is visible in berber 'akarrs' and in the dialects of the southern tip of Italy, where half a dozen 'certsa karrigne' or 'karro' are to be found as names for the oak or for a local species of the tree. The Latin name for a specific oak, Cerrus, comes from the same root. Vitruvius, Columella and Pliny, who mention it, are known to use Iberic words frequently. CERRUS, this second-stage Latin word, was then exported again. This *CARRA extends over the Pyrenees: our garik is common in Catalan, while Spanish and Portuguese know a carrasca, which would be our root enlarged by the old Ligurian suffix -ask. Carrasca is in Spanish 'a usually small holm oak'. Portuguese knows only the masculine form, carrasco, which Laudelino FREIRE translates as 'untilled land with thin vegetation', then secondly as 'stony path' and thirdly as 'wood tree, a sort of oak'. Portuguese, having preserved the triple meaning of the root word *CARRA, was therefore compelled to allot a specialised term to the tree by adding its practical tree suffix -eiro to the inherited word, thus obtaining carrasqueiro. Garik, the low oak growing on stony and uncultivable land, and its brother names carrasca and carrasco, seem to be derivatives of an Iberic relic. There are two other names for oak trees on the Iberic Peninsula which might be related to this root, namely, Portuguese carvalho, the standard designation of the forest oak which, according to Machado, is 'of unknown origin', and in the Spanish provinces of Leon and Aragon a carvajo, also in the meaning of 'common oak'. Corominas decides for a pre-Roman origin, but refuses to admit a direct relationship with *CARRA and suggests a pre-Roman *CARBA, still recognisable in Salamanca carva, 'place

37. FEW, II, 408-412, AIS 592, commentary.
38. COR I, 709 clearly states that the Latin cerrus must be the Latinised form of an old Iberic word, and not the inverse. The necessary phonetic change from Cerr- to carra-, given by Domingos Vieira, Thesouro de linguaportuguesa (1871), would be phonetically impossible. The Iberic origin would answer Emout-Meillet's 'probably a foreign word'.

WALDE-HOFMANN (I, 207), based on SCHUCHARDT's studies, suggest a Hamitic origin for cerrus, but the presence of *CARR- (=stony ground) in the Swiss Alps shows that we are in the presence of a widespread designation which might have produced Lat. cerrus without any Hamitic influence.
41. I, 522.
42. COROMINAS, I, 673.
where the cattle rest\textsuperscript{48} and distributed in derivatives all over the Mediterranean, with a general meaning of ‘branchwork, small trees’.

Thus, from its original home in the north west of the Peninsula, \textit{carvalho} was carried to southern Portugal, where it must have ousted the imported Latin terms. That \textit{carvalho} is a term of the north is proved correct by the fact that the word is found as early as the ninth century, at a time when the south still lived under Arab domination. The pre-Roman term \textit{carvalho} was generalised only after the liberation of the south.

\textbf{E. \textit{ILEX}}

Speakers interviewed in southern France supplied the authors of the \textit{ALF} in the Provence and neighbouring regions with a number of secondary terms, marked on the map by a cross (see fig. 2). The commentary equates them with \textit{chêne vert}, ‘green oak’ or ‘evergreen oak’. Two types are to be found, namely a proparoxyton \textit{\'euze} and a paroxyton \textit{\'alzina}. The first type is localised within Provence and the southern coast of France, and the second occurs more in the south west and mountainous parts, closer to the Spanish border. The tree thus designated is the evergreen \textit{quercus ilex}. Its botanical name contains the origin of the dialectal expressions: it is Latin \textit{ilex}, a term known in all those parts of the Romania where the evergreen oak has its natural habitat.

The study of the phonetic structure of the \textit{ilex} descendants shows that Latin must have had two forms for the word, namely \textit{ilex} and \textit{\textepsilon lex}. As usual, the Romance idioms used only the accusative form, \textit{ilice(m)} and \textit{elice(m)}. The former of these, \textit{ilice}, is to be found almost unchanged in the southern regions of Sardinia, where we have ‘\textit{ilige}’, and in northern Calabria, where a ‘\textit{yilit\&eacute}’ lives, both regions being known for their conservatism. In Spain, the toponym \textit{Las \textit{Iles}} also goes back to the first Latin form. The second Latin form, \textit{elice},\textsuperscript{44} established itself in northern Apulia, where the form ‘\textit{elice}’ is a true descendant of the Latin form, while the other regions which used \textit{elice} have dropped the middle syllable and generated an ‘\textit{erce}’ in Latium, the region surrounding Rome, and an ‘\textit{elce}’ im Umbria, around Perugia. The southern French from \textit{\'euze} is again \textit{elice}, with the middle syllable dropped and the velarisation of the \textit{l}. This Provençal \textit{\'euze} was incorporated into the French phonetic system and transcribed \textit{\textepsilon use}.\textsuperscript{45} This ‘Frenchified’ term, however, did not reach standard status because of the tree’s limited geographical extension; the analytical \textit{chêne vert} (=evergreen oak) was selected for the standard language, because it clearly demonstrated the relationship of this tree with the oak.

\textsuperscript{43} Ibidem.

\textsuperscript{44} To be found in the writings of Gregory, bishop of Tours (538–594), according to COROMINAS. The \textit{Thes. L.L.}, VII,1; 327,11 mentions \textit{elicem}, but later gives \textit{iliicem} for the same author. Is the co-existence of these two forms due to a mistake by the copyist or does it represent the actual phonetic situation? Latinists might prefer the first answer; Romance scholars are in favour of the second.

\textsuperscript{45} FEW IV,545.

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The second French dialectal term, 'alzina', a suffixed form as the ending -ina shows, is related with Spanish encina and Portuguese enzinha. These forms must go back to a Latin adjective ilicinus, which was used in the combination arbore ilicina (= the ilex tree), that is, an old analytical formula, which has created many Romance tree names. This Latin analytical expression, exported to the conquered territories at a stage when arbor was still of the feminine gender, was transmitted as ilicina, and after the usual loss of the unstressed syllable and after agglutination of the article vowel, became alzina. Ilicina or licina became in Aragonese lecina, lezina. A propagation of the nasal produced lenzina, which, after deglutination of what was believed to be the article, resulted eventually in encina, the modern Spanish standard for 'evergreen oak', and in Portuguese enzinha, which was refused standard status.

The use of the analytical terms formed according to the formula 'noun + ilicina' produced dangerous confusions, because the name of the acorn was often formed on the same pattern, namely glans ilicina (= ilex acorn). This expression for acorn resulted in a Romance term absolutely identical to the tree name, a confusion for which antidotes had to be found, since the distinction between oak as timber and acorn as fodder is essential.

The original confusion is still visible in Aragonese, where lecina is the acorn and lezina the tree. A similar form, lezina, after agglutination of the article, produced Portuguese azinha. Is this Portuguese azinha the descendant of arbor licina or of glans licina, is it the tree or the acorn? Domingos Vieira's Thesaurus of 1871 explains azinha as 'the same as azinhaira', while the more recent dictionary by Laudelino Freire of 1957 explains azinha as 'the fruit of the azinhaira'. Both works agree that azinhaira is the quercus ilex. What can we deduce from the two explanations?

Azinha has been transmitted to Portuguese both as fruit and as tree name. As a remedy for this confusion, Portuguese expanded the available suffix -eiro, inherited from Latin combinations such as arbor ficaria (= fig tree), modified it to figueira, and attached it to the confusing 'monolithic' tree names, the latter being retained as designations for the fruit. Spanish resorted to an even more practical solution, seconded partly by Portuguese: they both thrust Latin

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46. TLL, VII, col. 330; COROMINAS, II, 259.
47. What we have discovered in the Romance idioms, namely that the inherited terms become 'opaque', must have happened in Latin as well, ilex having become 'opaque', some Romans preferred the more 'translucent' arbor ilicina. The same applied to arbor ficaria replacing the simplex ficus, and many others.
48. Fr. arbre (m.), Ital. albero (m.) received their gender only in Late Latin (see STEMPPEL, 234).
50. COROMINAS, II, 259.
51. In French, peuple (= poplar < POPULUS) which had become a homonym of peuple (= people < POPULUS) was given the same suffix for the purpose of dissimilation, so that it is now peuplier, with an ending usually reserved for fruit trees.
glande to the background and took over from Arabic their bellota and bolota, both in the sense of 'acorn'. Although Portuguese azinha, as the recent dictionaries show, still exists as fruit, the azinheira, the producer of the acorn, nowadays, for the man in the street, produces only bolotas, just as the encina in Spain bears only bellotas.

Ilicinus or licinus, however, in spite of their productivity, were not the only adjectival Latin forms. Similar to the adjective querceu, which produced Italian standard quercia, there must have been an iliceu (MEYER-LÜBKES suggestion is taken up by ERNOUT-MEILLET's *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*) resulting in Italian leccio, the keyword for the AIS and explained as 'the Italian name for quercus ilex'. This term, however, is an Italian 'invention' as far as the masculine gender goes, because its feminine, leccia, is explained as both acorn or tree, which does not surprise us, now that we know more of the Latin analytical term that generated the Romance forms.

Faced by the ambiguous, but etymologically correct leccia, meaning both tree and acorn, Italian resorted to its own method of differentiation by gender: in Italian, the trees are masculine throughout, while the fruit is feminine. This system, although not followed in all dialects, was applied to leccia, which remains as name of the acorn, while the tree is masculine, leccio.

Leccio, the form prevalent in Florence, is the standard tree name. Elce, the Umbrian dialectal form, is supported by the authority of Petrarch, who used it in his poetry. Modern poets, such as Carducci, used ilice, the Italianised Latin name, which shares with elce the honour of being the official botanical term for the Aquifoliaceae (holly), a family not known to the Romans who used ilex for the green oak. It is worthwhile noting that Italian accepts three different versions of ilex as standard, while with quercia only one dialectal form has officially been adopted.

F. FUNCTIONAL AND ANALYTICAL TERMS

The two dialectal maps contain some forms of the type 'arve de ghianna' (=acorn tree, akkerboom) in south east Italy (Pts. 719, 728) and the type 'pedi de ghianna' (=acorn tree; in this region pedi = foot stands for 'tree') in Sicily (Pts. 851, 846).

The tree is seen not as an individual being, but as the producer of the important acorns, so useful as pig fodder. Southern France expresses a similar concept. On the left bank of the Rhone River we find the type 'roure aglan-

54. STEMPPEL's masterly study arranges all the many exceptions and regional particulars into a clear picture, more complete than this paper can be, although he limits his article to the names of fruit trees.
55. DEVOTO-OLI, I,878.
dier' (Pt. 855) and a 'glandusier' approximately 30 km to the north east (Pt. 847). Both terms are derived from gland (= acorn) and clearly show which role the tree plays in rural economy. Another point in south east Italy (Pt. 729) named a straightforward 'la gnanna' when asked to designate the oak: here, the product stands for the tree as such.

Few functional terms live in Spain and Portugal, Latin glandem not having given any derivative such as S.Fr. aglandier.

Portuguese knows a provincialism, lundeiro, explained by Caldas Aulete's dictionary as 'designation for the oak and other trees when they bear a lot of fruit'. As mentioned before, Spanish bellotero, however, is a typical functional designation (= a tree which bears acorns) based on the purely Ibero-Romance bellota (= acorn), a word of Arab origin. Its Portuguese counterpart, bolota (= acorn) has created no functional terms in direct relationship with the oak.

The oak as fodder tree does not appear in northern Italy. Here the available functional terms stress the timber: in the north east, towards the German-speaking Tyrol, we find a type 'lön de rol' (Pts. 312, 314, 316) which is in standard Italian legno di rovere (= oak timber). The north west (Pt. 150), in Piemonte, has a 'boske da riil'. Boske is not standard Italian bosco in the sense of 'wood, forest', but the Gallo-Italian bosk in the meaning of 'wood, timber'. Close to Lyons (Pt. 818) the single term 'mayir' occurs; its origin lies in Latin MATERIA and it could be translated by 'felled oak, ready for use as timber'. Latin MATERIA had as fundamental semantic content the idea of 'timber', a meaning preserved in Spanish and Portuguese, where 'wood' is madera, madeira. In one point of the ALF, thus, direct contact is established between a French dialect and the Ibero-Romance standard languages.

It is noteworthy that the functional terms are peripheral. The poorer southern regions stress the function of the tree as supplier of fodder, while the northern regions produce long-boled and strong trees more suited for building purposes. In south east Italy, several informers supplied purely analytical terms of the type 'arvore de certs' (Pts. 718, 719, 739), thus the equivalent of 'oak tree'. The substitution of the inherited simple term by an analytical compound term is a phenomenon that can be observed in Afrikaans as well, where the simplex 'eik' is replaced by the analytical 'eikeboom', as the Groot Afrikaanse Woordeboek shows by explaining compound terms such as 'eikemeeldou' with 'siekte van die eikeboom'.

56. REW 3774 traces it back to a Latin adjective GLANDARIUS, but the neighboring term glandusier, with its unusual suffixation, seems to indicate that there is no need of going back to a Latin explanation.
57. 'Gallo-Italian' describes the linguistic phenomena which northern Italy shares with France.
58. FEW VI, 481.
59. The other Latin meaning were carried all over Europe from the Scholastic philosophy onwards in more or less learned forms, one of the most important being OFR materia carried over to the British Isles by the Normans where it became matter.
For Italian-speakers, in the points mentioned, as well as for the Afrikaner, the simplex ‘certsa’ and eik became ‘opaque’ and had to be replaced by ‘translucent’ analytical terms, a process that must have happened in Late Latin, when the simplex quercus and ilex were replaced by analytical terms such as arbor quercea or arbor ilicina.

G. THE GENDER

In Romance onomasiology, the problems of the significance of the grammatical gender have received great attention. Is the use of the gender based on purely arbitrary considerations or is it the result of a concrete, almost biological ‘Anschauungsweise’?

In Latin, tree names had mostly been of the feminine gender, which is plausible because of the obvious relationship between the tree as mother and the fruit as child, which was usually neuter. However, this biologically obvious gender system was not followed strictly, and, furthermore, changes in gender occurred.60 Late Latin and Proto-Romance simplified the complex Latin structure by replacing the traditional tree names with analytical terms such as arbo ilicina instead of ilex. In the fifth or sixth century, however, the old feminine arbo was classified as masculine. The disappearance of the Latin endings made matters worse; both feminine and masculine finally became identical. This produced a general confusion as regards the gender of tree names. The map ‘Quercia’ of the AIS pictures this confusion clearly. In south east Italy, the singular ‘tser ts’ is often followed by a plural ‘tser ti’, only the Florentine ‘kwert sa’ has a regular feminine plural ‘kwert se’. The same, with even more force, can be said of the Rovere territory. Where the singular is feminine, the plural almost certainly is masculine. In this area, many regional rovere forms are masculine even in the singular. Standard Italian, rovere, ‘a sort of an oak’, has officially both genders,61 as is the case with elce, the one term for ‘holm-oak’. This was likely to become confusing and invited Italians to develop a system which should cause designations to fall into a clear pattern. The old Latin feminines however, which were preserved, such as POPULUS (=poplar) or QUERCUS in Sardinia, were presumed to be masculine. This resulted in the generalising of the masculine gender for the wild trees, whose fruit is neither very essential to human use nor very conspicuous. Trees, however, whose fruit was important, were usually named after the fruit. A clear distinction between fruit and tree therefore had to be established. So Tuscany, as the linguistically central dialectal region, developed a differentiation based on gender: the trees became masculine, while the fruit became feminine. We

60. Many Latin tree names ending on -us (fourth declension) were feminine, but in later periods these names were understood as masculine (second declension).
61. Tiglio/tiglia (=lime-tree), also has both genders, with two distinct forms, while rovere and elce have both genders in one form.
have seen this applied to leccio. French took over the masculine gender of arbore, and this made things easy here. All the French tree names were made masculine, except yeuse, the Frenchified Provençal word for ilix, éouze, which was of both genders. The French transcription, however, with its ending known from the feminine form heureuse (=happy), was classified as feminine. In Portuguese, the situation is more complicated, because this language has preserved the Old Latin arbore as feminine arvore. Domingo Vieira’s Thesouro of 1871 (p. 693) gives the following:

- azinha: the same as azinheira
- azinheira: common name for the quercus ilex
- azinheiro: the same as azinheira
- azinho (old): contraction of azinheiro, the same as azinheira.

The more recent Novissimo dicionario by Laudelino Freire (1957) published in Rio, has the following:

- azinha: fruit of the azinheira
- azinheira: =azinha + eira, quercus ilex, which gives the azinha, the acorn
- azinheiro: the same as azinheira
- azinho
  1. fruit of the azinheiro
  2. the same as azinheiro.

The variation enzinha is given by both in the feminine only, the older dictionary explaining it as ‘the same as azinheira’ while the more recent says that enzinha is ‘the same as azinho’. What must we do with this confusing picture?

We have here firstly very good evidence for the attempts to organise tree names into a system. This Portuguese system is based on identity of gender between fruit and tree: azinha is always related to azinheira, and azinho to azinheiro. By adding up the information of both dictionaries, we obtain for azinha, the first item in alphabetical order, two meanings, namely, ‘the fruit of the azinheira; the azinheira itself’. Azinha therefore combines, as we could expect, the meanings of ‘acorn’ and ‘oak’. The same is said for azinho in the Brazilian dictionary. Azinho is said to be old; it is the result of the first attempt at systematisation, which assigned to all wild trees the masculine gender. The second system uses the suffix -eiro, -eira for the trees, a suffix added to the fruit name. Azinha having been used chiefly for the fruit, the tree came naturally to be called azinheira. Since many important texts were written before this

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62. Where necessary, this was done by suffix. O.Fr. peuple (< POPULU) and teille (<TILIA) were given the suffix -ier (<ARIU) so productive in Romance tree names, and transferred from the feminine to the masculine gender.

63. There is of course no contraction, but a suffixation.

64. STEMPEL, ‘Zur Frage ...’, pp. 237–238, has clearly defined this system and shown how it is applied to all Portuguese fruit tree names.
system was generalised, dictionaries are compelled to list the simple and suffixed terms in their confusing meanings.

The Pyrenean carrasca quite naturally remained feminine in Spanish, thus falling in line with encina; the Portuguese equivalent is first mentioned as masculine, carrasco; some time later, in the fifteenth century, the feminine carrasca is documented. This vacillation was terminated in the nineteenth century, when the triple meaning of carrasco (antilled land-stony path-wild oak) called for a differentiation. At this time the Portuguese arboreal name system was applied and the newly made carrasqueiro functioned to everybody's satisfaction.

Portuguese carvalho and Leon. carvayo, as forest oak thriving in the north west part of the Iberic peninsula, were mainly confined to the masculine gender, although a feminine carvalha is documented in a text of the twelfth century; but when in the nineteenth century the suffix tree system was employed, only a masculine derivative carvalheiro was coined, which is sufficient proof of the persistence of the masculine gender when people spoke of the wild forest oak.

CONCLUSION

Thanks to the extraordinary tenacity with which the Romance populations have preserved their tree names, we can attempt to sketch the fate of terms that were carried by the Roman soldiers over their vast empire.

QUERCUS, the old Indo-European name, brought by the Indo-Europeans from their settlements in southern Russia to their new Mediterranean homes, was the first 'export' into the new Roman colonies. It is preserved in the traditionally conservative Sardinian idioms, but stood little chance in France, because of the great prestige of the indigenous *CASSANO, the holy oak of the Druids. Because of its difficult declension and labile phonetic structure, QUERCUS was modified by metathesis or replaced by analytical terms based on the formula 'arbore + qualifying adjective' derived from QUERCUS, such as arbore quercea. This innovation spread over central and southern Italy, but in Spain it was stopped short by the Arab invasion. As a whole, as arbore quercea shows, that is, the formula in which the term 'tree' clarifies the position, the basic QUERCUS had become semantically 'opaque'. This paved the way for the next 'export term'.

ROBORE, with its connotation 'strength, vigour' was semantically clearer when applied to a tree whose main quality is the hardness of the wood used in the building trade. ROBORE had a great appeal and conquered a good half of France and two-thirds of Spain. The toponyms derived from ROBORE

65. MACHADO, I,518.
66. MACHADO, I,522.
indicate that the original expansion was far greater in France and Portugal than it is now.

In many areas ROBORE found powerful competitors, many of them well entrenched, the most important being the Gallic *CASSANU. Around the Pyrenees, very old designations of a root *CARRA (=stone, hardy tree) could not be ousted by the Latin export terms.

The Gallic *CASSANU, although thrust back by the Latin ROBORE, recovered from its initial defeat and expanded powerfully over French territory in its three main variants chêne, chane and kassé. When the northern chêne had the chance of becoming the main designation in the standard language, it made deep incursions into the ROBORE territory where it submerged the autochthonous designations of these regions. Through Savoy and Piemont, representatives of CASSANU found their way to northern Italy, and when after the Arab domination of Sicily this island called for immigrants, Piemontese colonists brought their kassanu (=small oak) to north east Sicily. Of the descendants of the Iberic root *CARRA, only the north west carvalho had the good fortune to become standard in Portuguese. French garik, as a designation for a particularly hard tree typical for the local vegetation, gained some ground against the southern representatives of kassé.

The evergreen holm-oak, limited to the southern parts of the Romance countries, shows the unity of name which the common oak lacks, perhaps because Latin ilex itself goes back to an old Mediterranean root. But here again, the same observation can be made as for the analytical substitutes of an older semantically 'opaque' term. The simple Latin form ilice had only a limited power of expansion; the newly fashioned analytical terms such as arbore ilicina and arbore ilicea were more successful and conquered the Ibero-Romance and the central Italian areas.

The four terms given as translation for 'oak' in the Romance languages are artificial standardisations of a much more complex onomasiological situation. A considerable gap separated the spoken languages from the official languages at the time when the two dialect atlases were compiled. That French chêne received standard status is understandable, but the choice of quercia, a form alive only in a very small area, was not based on quantitative reasons. Florence benefited from the prestige of her three great sons, Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio, and succeeded in obtaining standard status for its dialectal quercia, plural querce. Spanish roble became standard thanks to the Reconquista, the conquest of the former Arab dominated territories, because the Castilians, as the principal architects of the victory, carried their already well-developed language down to Grenada. Also fortunate was carvalho, the term of the northern Portuguese reconquistadores.

In the two latter countries, however, the presence of the ever-green oak encina and azinheira did not allow any single term to dominate the speaker's mind as absolutely as in France or Italy.
ROBORE would have been a good choice to bridge the gaps in name forms between the four Romance Languages, since it occupies substantial portions of Italy and France, is standard in Spanish and a well-known Hispanism in Portuguese. ROBORE would have been for the four Romance Languages the common factor that Indo-European *ayg was in the Germanic group of languages.

And now we can formulate the answer to the question from which we set out: why is the homogeneous Germanic terminology based on *ayg opposed by a fourfold set of synonyms on the Romance side?

The neat separation of the four Romance standard languages does not exist at the dialect level. The types ROBORE, GAR-IK and ILICE are to be found on both sides of political borders. Mountain ranges such as the Pyrenees and the Alps, instead of being frontiers, were real liaison territories. The isoglosses for the various designations of the oak never stop short at the foot of these two mountain ranges. But the standard languages, based on the concept of nationality, have to ignore this fact in order to obtain a clear and distinct separation.
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