

# Pomme de terre “potato” in French

## -A Geolinguistic Analysis of Lexical Variation-

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### Summary

Notwithstanding the relatively recent introduction of potatoes to Europe, fairly large lexical variation can be observed in French dialects. In this study, we first retrace briefly the history of potatoes in France, from which there appears an intricate relationship between *pomme de terre*, *topinambour* and *patate*. Next, we review three studies of potato in the *Atlas linguistique de la France* and then examine its evolution in l'*Atlas linguistique et ethnographique de la Champagne et de la Brie*. The comparison of two linguistic atlases turned out to be problematic in some respects.

### Keywords

geolinguistics, pomme de terre, topinambour, ALF, ALCB

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## Introduction

Today potatoes are one of the most popular ingredients in ordinary French dishes. Everyone knows what *frites* are made of. The well-known home-style *pot-au-feu* cannot spare potatoes. Potato *mousseline* is often served as a topping. Potatoes are also an indispensable ingredient for *hachis Parmentier*. Though the Auvergne region is today famous for its *aligot* made from cheese blended into mashed potatoes, it is really surprising to discover that at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, potatoes were rarely used in cooking in the Tulle area of the neighboring prefecture of Corrèze (Chastanet 2010). When Leo Spitzer treated dialect forms of potatoes in 1912, he thus entitled his paper as “Die Namengebung bei neuen Kulturpflanzen im Französischen (Denomination for new crops in French).” In fact, the cultivation of potatoes in France is not very old and their use in the human diet much more recent than we could imagine.

In the first section of this paper, we will provide a general sketch of the history of potatoes in France. Next, three previous contributions, namely those of Leo Spitzer (1912), Albert Dauzat (1922) and Charles Bruneau (1932), will be recapitulated, and their geolinguistic analyses reviewed. The third section will be devoted to investigating the delicate relationship between *pomme de terre* “potato” and *topinambour* “Jerusalem artichoke” from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries through several contemporary dictionaries and studies of agronomy. Finally, as a case study of lexical variation through time, we will outline the dialectal situation of l’*Atlas linguistique et ethnographique de la Champagne et de la Brie (ALCB)* which was published more than sixty years after The Linguistic Atlas of France (*Atlas linguistique de la France (ALF)*) and demonstrate how complex and problematic the lexical variation of potatoes is.

### 1. History of potatoes in France

Historically speaking, potatoes have a long history before their introduction to France. Potatoes originated from South America, and were brought to Europe for the first time by Francisco Pizarro in 1532 (Matsubara 1974: 34)<sup>1</sup>. The existence of potatoes has been known since the famous book by Olivier de Serres (1539-1619), but under the name of *cartoufle*. He writes “Cartoufle. It is a shrub, called Cartoufle, bearing fruit of the same name, similar to truffles, and named such by some. It came from Switzerland, in Dauphiné, a little while ago. (Cartoufle. C'est arbuste, dit Cartoufle, porte fruit de mesme

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<sup>1</sup> According to another source, this plant began to be cultivated from 1526 in the city of Avila of Spain (Bruneau 1932: 59).

nom, semblable à truffes, & par d'aucuns ainsi appellé. Il est venu de Suisse, en Dauphiné, depuis peu de temps en çà.), [sic]" (de Serres 1600: 563). Olivier de Serres was growing potatoes in his garden at Villeneuve de Berg in the prefecture of Ardèche. Advocating potatoes as a part of the human diet, he adds that "As for the taste, the cook prepares them in such a way, so that little diversity is recognized from one to the other. (Quant au goust, le cuisinier les appareille de telle sorte, que peu de diversité y reconnoit-on de l'un à l'autre. [sic])" (de Serres 1605: 564).

The name of *pomme de terre* is based on the Latin expression MALUM TERRAE "fruit of ground," but its meaning was far from potatoes for a very long time. *Trésor de la Langue Française Informatisé (TLFi)* explains that in 1240 it designated "edible tuber" or "squash." Since then, there have been several attestations of *pomme de terre* referring to various other plants, e.g. "mandrake root" in 1488, "cyclamen bulb" in the fifteenth century, "birthwort (*artistolochia*)" in 1562 and "Jerusalem artichoke" in 1655.

*Pomme de terre* indicating SOLANUM TUBEROSUM, i.e. potatoes, was attested for the first time in *Matière Médicale et Suite de la Matière Médicale*, published in 1750, the French translation of *Tractatus de materia medica* by Stephano Francisco Geoffroy (1672-1731): "Pomme de terre ou la Batate commune des jardins, Solanum tuberosum esculenium [sic] (t.X. 1750, p.94)" (Tolmer 1946: 298). Consequently, *Thresor de la langue francoyse, tant ancienne que moderne* (1606) of Jean Nicot had no entry for *pomme de terre*. As evidenced above, the meaning of *pomme de terre* has changed considerably over the course of time, with many twists and turns.

Gaspard Bauhin (1560-1624) was cultivating potatoes in Basel in 1596. It was Bauhin, with John Gerard, who first recorded the term *potato* in their books (Salaman 1985: 77). Potatoes existed in France, England, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, Italy and Spain around the end of sixteenth century. There is written proof that potatoes were grown in the Royal Garden in 1665 (op. cit., 121-122) and according to the description in Sébastien Vaillant's *Botanicon parisiense* (1669-1722), potatoes seemed to be grown around Paris (Vaillant 1727: 188). As far as France is concerned, the first introduction of potatoes took place in the Franche-Comté and Vosges regions via Switzerland (Roze 1898: 117). Nevertheless, historical documents are in general lacking evidence to demonstrate how potatoes propagated later in neighboring regions. Potatoes were not appreciated in most of France, but in the north-east of France, potatoes took possession of French soil before the middle of the sixteenth century (Clos 1874: 138). Potatoes spread rapidly in the Franche-Comté, Vosges, and Bourgogne regions around 1592. The description of potatoes was fairly mottled in the following centuries. Anne Robert Jacques Turgot (1727-1781), a man of the Enlightenment, writes that *pomme de terre* is widespread in the prefecture of Tarn in Languedoc region, while almost inexistent in Toulouse in 1761. Dominique Villars describes in 1787 the cultivation of potatoes from the low plains of the Provence region to the plateaus of the Alps (Roze 1898: 160-161).

Claret de la Tourette also tells us in 1770 that potatoes were grown in the Pilat region of the Massif Central and the Lyonnais region. He appreciates the potato, expressing that “its tuberous root provides good and healthy food; its taste is preferable to the *truffe* and *Jerusalem artichoke* of Englishmen (sa racine tubéreuse fournit un aliment bon et sain ; son goût est préférable à la truffe du Taupinambour des Anglais [sic])” (op. cit., 161).

For France, potatoes were made popular in particular thanks to Antoine-Augustin Parmentier (1737-1813). It is said that his passion for potatoes arose from his personal experience. Since the age of twenty, he had been an assistant pharmacist in the army of Hanover. He remained in Germany during the seven-year war. Captured five times, he was able to appreciate the nutritional value of potatoes during his difficult days as a captive. Wounded, he spent a significant amount of time at Francofort and learned chemistry. Finally released in 1763, he returned to Paris and wrote several reports on potatoes. In 1766, he was working at the pharmacy of the Hotel Invalid (Hôtel des Invalides), which he became the director of in 1772 (Feytaud 1949: 26). There had been some worrisome news for several years about the shortage of crops in Central Europe, where famine was threatening. The Academy of Sciences, Literature and Arts of Besançon proposed as a subject of competition the “Study of food substances which might alleviate the calamities of famine.” Its laureate was Parmentier with his chemical study of potatoes (op.cit., 27).

Nevertheless, even after the success of Parmentier’s chemical work, Denis Diderot (1713-1784) still remarks in his *Encyclopédie* that potatoes cannot be easily considered as food. He wrote that “This root, in what manner it may be prepared, is bland and farinaceous. It cannot be counted among pleasant foods; (Cette racine, de quelque maniere qu’on l’appête, est fade & farineuse. Elle ne sauroit être comptée parmi les aliments agréables; [sic])” (D’Alembert & Diderot 1750 tome 13: 4). In Chapter IV of his *Eléments d’Agriculture*, Henri-Louis Duhamel du Monceau (1700-1782) describes *pomme de terres* as “Roots which we cultivate for the pasture of livestock. (Des racines qu’on cultive pour la nourriture du bétail. [sic])” (Duhamel du Monceau 1779: 188). The use of *pomme de terre* as part of the human diet, not as pasture, took a very long time to be realized. As we mention above, potatoes are classified among newly cultivated crops in France. This delay in the establishment of potatoes was partly reinforced by superstitions and precautions about potatoes. It was a superstitious belief that eating potatoes would cause leprosy, and this was the main reason Gaspard Bauhin gave up the cultivation of potatoes in the Franche-Comté region (Roze 1898: 122). It is true that we must be cautious with potatoes at the time of their germination, because germinating potatoes can contain the alkaloid toxin called solanine.

*Encyclopédie* explains that the *pomme de terre* was used as food in Germany, Switzerland, Great Britain, and Ireland (D’Alembert & Diderot 1779 tome 34: 351). In his *Traité sur la culture et les usages des pommes de terre, de la patate, et du topinambour*,

Parmentier reports in detail how to prepare *pomme de terre* for eating (Parmentier 1789: 234-299). In spite of the utility of potatoes, emphasized by Turgot, and of Parmentier's efforts to make potatoes popular in France, superstitions still remained in the countryside in the nineteenth century. For instance, in Dinan, a town in the prefecture of Côte-du-Nord, a servant ate too many potatoes and started to call down curses so that potatoes did not grow for six years in that town. In the Poitou region, people did not cook potatoes and shallots at night. If they did, they would never be cured from the rabies (Sebillot 1985: 124 and 135).

## 2. Previous studies

### 2.1. Leo Spitzer (1912)

To my knowledge, Leo Spitzer (1887-1960) was the first to interpret the map of potatoes, No.1057 “Peler LES POMMES DE TERRE (Peel POTATOES)” of the *ALF*. He distinguished three main lexical forms on the map: *patate*, *pomme de terre* and *truffe* (see the map in Appendix 1).

*Patate*, indicated by the light brown area, is located generally along the west coast. *TLFi* recounts that *pattates*, as attested in 1582, means “plant of warm areas grown for its large edible tubers with sweetish flesh (plante des régions chaudes cultivée pour ses gros tubers comestibles à chair douceâtre)” which probably refers to sweet potatoes, and *patate* in 1601-03 with the same meaning. *Patate* is a loanword through the intermediary of the Spanish word *patata* and originally refers to sweet potatoes. It appears safe to declare that *patate* is a relatively old name for potato in France. The word *patate* was circulated by virtue of the maritime trade on the west coast and spread gradually in the dialects of the western region, Ile-de-France, the central region, and Champagne. In *Dictionnaire universel, Contenant généralement tous les mots françois* (1727), Antoine Furetière wrote “POMME DE TERRE. See PATATE. It's the same thing. (POMME DE TERRE. Voyez PATATE. C'est la même chose. [sic])” (Furetière 1727: 957).

The following interesting excerpt from the *Encyclopédie* may express geographical variation in the words for potatoes. “At the beginning of January 1771, I was sending *pommes de terre* from Ireland. From Bordeaux to Lyon, we declared it *patates*, while in the consignment note for Lyon, we declared it *truffes* at Toulouse (...) (Au commencement de janvier, 1771, les *pommes de terre* que j'avois fait venir d'Irlande étant en route, sous le nom de *patates*, de Bordeaux à Lyon, on les désignoit à Toulouse, dans la lettre de voiture pour Lyon, par celui de *truffes* (...) [sic])” (D'Alembert et Diderot 1779 tome 34: 351).

It was in the second edition of *Eléments d'Agriculture* (1779) by Duhamel du Monceau that *pomme de terre* was consecrated and differentiated from *truffe* and *patate* (Roze 1989: 142). Spitzer thought that *pomme de terre* has its root in Paris (see white

area on the map). He distinguished two different epicenters of *pomme de terre* and *patate*. *Pomme de terre* spread directly from Paris, while *patate* spread from the west coast (Spitzer 1912: 153). Following the principle of lateral areas in linguistic geography, it appears legitimate to regard the penetration of *pomme de terre* in northern France as a recent innovation, and on the contrary, the area of *patate* as an older innovation.

The third term, *truffe* (see light blue area in Appendix 1), covers a fairly wide surface of the South of France. Today *truffe* means generally a fungus of luxury of Périgord region, called often *black truffe*, TUBER MELANOSPORUM in Latin. Even before the arrival of potatoes, there were many kinds of tubers in France. *Truffe* might have been a generic name to represent all those different tubers, so that in *Encyclopédie*, the entry of *pomme de terre* was also redirected to that of *truffe* (D'Alembert & Diderot 1789 tome 26: 659). But, in southern dialects, *truffe* signifies nothing more than potato. Describing *L'Ecole du Jardin potager* published at Lyon in 1749 by De Combles, Roze explains that *pomme de terre* was called *truffe* by the author, because *truffe* or *patate* were the only known terms (Roze 1898: 128). The city of Lyon is part of the area covered by the term *truffe* (see Appendix 1).

In short, the map in Appendix 1 can be examined to explain what has happened in French dialects over the course of the dynamic lexical variation of potatoes. The innovation of *pomme de terre* begins gain ground at the cost of both *patate* and *truffe* in French dialects. *Patate* will be pushed aside in the periphery of the western coast, while *truffe* will resist strongly against the new innovation and finally succeed in stemming the intrusion of *pomme de terre* into the South.

Based upon the treatment of initial vowels, Spitzer subcategorized further *truffe* into three different subtypes (see Appendix 2). There is a variation among several terms such as *tartifle*, *tartufle*, *tartuffe*, etc. (see the red and blue areas in Appendix 2). Each variant comes from the Italian word *tartuffoli* or the German word *Tartoffel*. The memory of this variant can be found today in the name of popular dish *tartiflette*. In the south of France, whether can we observe many variants or not, the most representative one is *truffe*. The third term *trük* or *trüş* is attested mainly in the regions where potatoes do not grow (see the yellow and light green areas in Appendix 2).

## 2.2. Albert Dauzat (1922)

Ten years after Spitzer's article, Albert Dauzat (1877-1955) gave a brief interpretation of the map of *pomme de terre* in *Géographie Linguistique* (1922). Confirming that even before Parmentier, potatoes were introduced into France, he added different types to Spitzer's classification without giving us his own interpretative map.

Dauzat remarked that each region borrowed the term for potatoes from its neighboring region or foreign importer. For instance, the Spanish term *patata* penetrated into Gascony and the English *potato* on the west coast and in Normandy (see light brown



area of *patan* and *patate* in Appendix 1). The term *Grundbirn* represented by *kröpir* in Appendix 1 is attested in Belgium. We can find *Kartoffel* of the standard High German in French-speaking Switzerland and *tartuffola* of the old Italian in the south-east. Dauzat considered Spitzer's analysis as an example of the phenomenon of linguistic endosmosis of neighboring foreign names of potatoes in France (Dauzat 1922: 155). This sort of linguistic endosmosis can occur frequently in the process of naming some recently integrated foreign material, and potatoes are a good example. As for the origin of the term *pomme de terre*, Dauzat believes in accordance with Spitzer that the spread of *pomme de terre* throughout France started from Paris.

### 2.3. Charles Bruneau (1932)

Another ten years after Dauzat, Charles Bruneau (1883-1969) analyzed the names of potatoes in Belgium. He asserted that the map of *pomme de terre* in *ALF* is one of the most obscure and mysterious maps.

Bruneau suggests that Belgium played an important role in introducing potatoes in France. Because *patate douce* “sweet potato” had never been cultivated in Belgium, the term *patate* could refer exclusively to potatoes without any confusion with sweet potatoes (Bruneau 1932: 59). In fact, even today, French people call potatoes *patate*. *Patano* is observed in the East of the Pyrenees and a part of the Massif Central.

From this geolinguistic ground, Bruneau thinks that it is the area where potatoes were introduced in the earliest period. However, this appears to be a pure hypothesis.

In the Champagne region, potatoes were cultivated as early as 1754 in Saint-Dizier. In his *Traité de la Culture des terres*, Duhamel du Monceau cited a passage from the journal of a land-owner of Villiers en Lieu near Saint-Dizier. “On April 1754, I planted corn and potatoes in four areas (Dans le même mois d’Avril 1754, j’ai fait planter du maïs & des pommes de terre dans 4 journaux [sic])” (Duhamel du Monceau 1754: 61). As mentioned above, Duhamel du Monceau is regarded as the first advocator of the term *pomme de terre* in France. Bruneau therefore considers the region of Saint-Dizier to be the epicenter of *pomme de terre*.

Similarly to Dauzat, Bruneau speaks of *crompire* or *crombire*, French forms of German word *Grundbirne* which means “pear of the ground” (see the above map of potato lexical forms in the Linguistic Atlas of Germany depicted by Werner König). We can



König (1978) p.206

find *Grumbeere* right next to Belgium. However, Bruneau remarks that this *crompire* found in the *ALF* refers to the Jerusalem artichoke, not the potato.

*Trük* appears only at point 183 on the map of Belgium. Bruneau gives the example of *trouffe* at G rouville and he explains this form as a mixture of *truffle* and *tartoufle* (Bruneau 1932: 63).

The last term, *canada*, does not signify potato, but rather Jerusalem artichoke. The Jerusalem artichoke was from Canada, but was confused with potatoes even in the eighteenth century.

### 3. Dangerous relationships between potatoes and Jerusalem artichokes

As already mentioned occasionally in this paper, potatoes were not made popular until relatively recent times. It is for this reason that potatoes are often confused with other tubers, including Jerusalem artichokes.

In 1605, Jerusalem artichokes were discovered in Canada by the French explorer *Samuel de Champlain*, and he brought them back in 1607. Its French name *topinambour* comes from the name of a group of people from the Americas, *Toupinambou* (*Tupinambas*), six of whom came to Paris in 1618 and were officially invited to the Royal Court (Bruneau 1932: 67). The English name is based upon its taste similar to artichoke. Louis L mery (1677-1743) in his *Trait s des aliments* wrote that “its taste approaches that of the artichoke (d’un go t approchant de celui de l’Artichaud [sic]).” “*Topinambours* are *poires de terre*, because they are born in the earth, attached to the branches of the root that carry them. Their origin comes from the country of *topinambours* in the West Indies. They are used for food fairly commonly there. (Les *Topinambours* sont appellez des *Poires de terre*, parcequ’ils naissent dans la terre, attachez aux branches de la racine qui les porte. Leur origine vient du pays des *Topinambours* dans les Indes. Ils sont ici assez en usage parmi les aliments. [sic])” (L mery 1705: 161-162). It is said that *topinambour* has spread quickly in Europe because it is easy to cultivate. The rapid and early diffusion of this tuber seems to have caused complications and confusion. In *Addenda au FEW XIV (Orientalia)*, we find a series of subcategorized names for *topinambour*: *artichaut de J rusalem*, *artichaut d’hiver*, *archichaut de terre*, *artichaut d’Inde*, *artichaut du Canada* (Arveiller 1999: 181-182). Be that as it may, Jerusalem artichokes were doubtlessly established among French people much earlier than *pomme de terre*, so it would be easy to understand why the newcomer *pomme de terre* was often confused with Jerusalem artichokes. As noted by Bruneau, *canada* and *crompire*, attested in the extreme North of France or Belgium, do not represent potatoes, but Jerusalem artichokes.

The following example demonstrates the perplexity of the dictionary editor faced with the terms for potatoes in French. In the 1690 edition of *Dictionnaire universel*



*françois & latin*, Antoine Furetière (1619-1688) does not provide entries for *patate*, *pomme de terre* and *topinambour*, but does for *truffle* and *truffe*. In the 1727 edition, the entry for *pomme de terre* was redirected to that of *patate*. And in the entry of *patate*, he explains: “Potatoes are very common in Ireland, and the inhabitants have always made great use of them. They are also commonly found in England, the Netherlands, and elsewhere. (Les *patates* sont fort communes en Irlande, & les habitans en ont toujours fait grand usage. On les trouve assez communément aussi en Angleterre, dans les Païs-Bas, & ailleurs. [sic])” (Furetière 1727 tome 3: 769). There is also the entry for *topinambour* with additional information: “of a sweet & agreeable taste, which is similar to that of artichoke when they are cooked. They are accommodated in different ways to eat them. In Latin *helianthemum indicum tuberosum*. (d’un goût doux & agreeable, approchant quand ils sont cuits, de celui de l’artichaud. On les accomode de diverses manieres pour les manger. En Latin *helianthemum indicum tuberosum*. [sic]).” (Furetière 1727 tome 4: 649). In the 1732 edition, the entry of *topinambour* still existed, but the entry of *pomme de terre* was eliminated. And in the new 1771 edition, this entry was curiously redirected to *topinambour*.

The same kind of disorder can be found in *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française*. In the third edition, there are no entries for either *patate* or *pomme de terre*, but *topinambour* has a new entry (*Dic.Acad.* 3<sup>rd</sup> 1740: 782). In the fourth edition, we find the entry *patate*, but redirected to *batate*. And in the fifth edition, the entry *patate* is defined as a “sort of *pomme de terre* (Espèce de *pomme de terre* [sic])” (*Dic.Acad.* 5<sup>th</sup> 1798: 244), but curiously there is no entry for *pomme de terre*. In the sixth edition, *patate* means “Plant of the genus Bindweed, which has large tuberous roots similar to *pommes de terre* (...) (Plante du genre des Liserons, qui a de grosses racines tuberculeuses semblables à des pommes de terre. (...)) [sic]” (*Dic.Acad.* 6<sup>th</sup> 1835: 366). And in the most recent edition, there an entry for *pomme de terre* appears for the first time with the following definition: “Plant of the genus *Solanum*, the roots of which are furnished with a multitude of tubers good to eat, (...) (Plante du genre des *Solanums*, dont les racines sont garnies d’une multitude de tubercules bons à manger, (...)) [sic]” (*op. cit.*, 454).

Viewed from the evolution in the entries of *Dictionnaire de l’Académie*, the emergence of *pomme de terre* took place between 1740 and 1835. There are several important historical facts which favor of the establishment of the term *pomme de terre*. First, on December 7, 1772, the Faculty of Medicine of Paris officially approved Parmentier’s intelligent work and declared that the consumption of *pomme de terre* was safe. Bruneau thought that *pomme de terre* triumphed over *topinambour* in this year (Bruneau 1932: 77). Second, in the second edition of *Eléments d’Agriculture* (1779), Duhamel du Monceau consecrated the term *pomme de terre*, distinguishing it clearly from *truffe* and *patate* (Roze 1989: 142). In the same year, *Encyclopédie* paid attention to the fact that “*Pomme de terre*, as it is properly called, is not *patate* or *Jerusalem artichoke*,

as we shall see, although several authors have confounded these three kinds of fruit. (*La pomme de terre* proprement dite, n'est ni la patate, ni le topinambour, comme nous l'allons faire voir, quoique plusieurs auteurs aient confondus ces trois sortes de fruits de terre. [sic])" (D'Alembert & Didedrot 1779 tome 34: 347). And finally, with continuous chemical investigations, Parmentier endeavored to popularize *pomme de terre* all over the country and published in 1789 his *Traité sur la culture et les usages des pommes de terre, de la patate, et du topinambour*, the conclusion of which is a kind of declaration of the victory of *pomme de terre*. He declared that "there is no food plant more generally useful than pommes de terre. (Il n'existe pas de plante alimentaire plus généralement utile que les pommes de terre [sic])" (Parmentier 1789: 385).

### Concluding remarks

What should we learn from this complex history of potato and from the distribution of several dialect forms in the *ALF*? First, it is important to understand that the triumphant emergence and generalization of *pomme de terre* all over the country since the nineteenth century will not constitute the end of our long story. The dialect situation of the *ALF* shows explicitly the lexical variation of potato at the end of the nineteenth century: besides *pomme de terre*, there is a tapestry of *patate*, *truffe*, *tartouffe*, *crompire*, *canada*, *truc*, *pmot*, and *kmot* (Poirot 1913), in which *topinambour* is possibly hidden, presumably in the areas of *crompire* and *canada*. Thus, instead of forming a hasty conclusion, it would be better for us to continue to more closely analyze another regional atlas published after the *ALF*. For this purpose, we will choose the region near Paris, which is included in the white colored area (*pomme de terre*) in the *ALF*.

In the 1960s, that is, more than sixty years after the inquiry of Edmond Edmont for the *ALF*, Henri Bourcelot conducted his dialectological survey in the regions of Champagne and Brie. The result of *pomme de terre* given in Appendix 3 is far from what could be imagined from the *ALF*, for the lexical variation appears to be complex enough still, even in the region next to the capital. Recall that Bruneau considers the map of *pomme de terre* as one of the most obscure and mysterious ones in the *ALF*.

*Canada* covers a prolonged area to the south into the prefecture of Marne (see dark brown area in Appendix 1 and the symbol # in Appendix 3). *Tartouffe* remains still in almost the same area (see dark blue in Appendix 1 and the symbol × in Appendix 3). However, a striking and strange difference can be observed. The diffusion of *pomme de terre* seems here impeded by the western strong wall of *patate* in the prefectures of Seine-et-Marne, Aube, and Yonne (see the symbols ○ ● ⊙ and △ in Appendix 3). Geolinguistically speaking, the innovation of *pomme de terre* does not seem to take place from Paris, but from the East. In this regard, as mentioned in Section 2.3, potatoes were cultivated as early as 1754 at Villiers en Lieu next to Saint-Dizier. If we accept Bruneau's

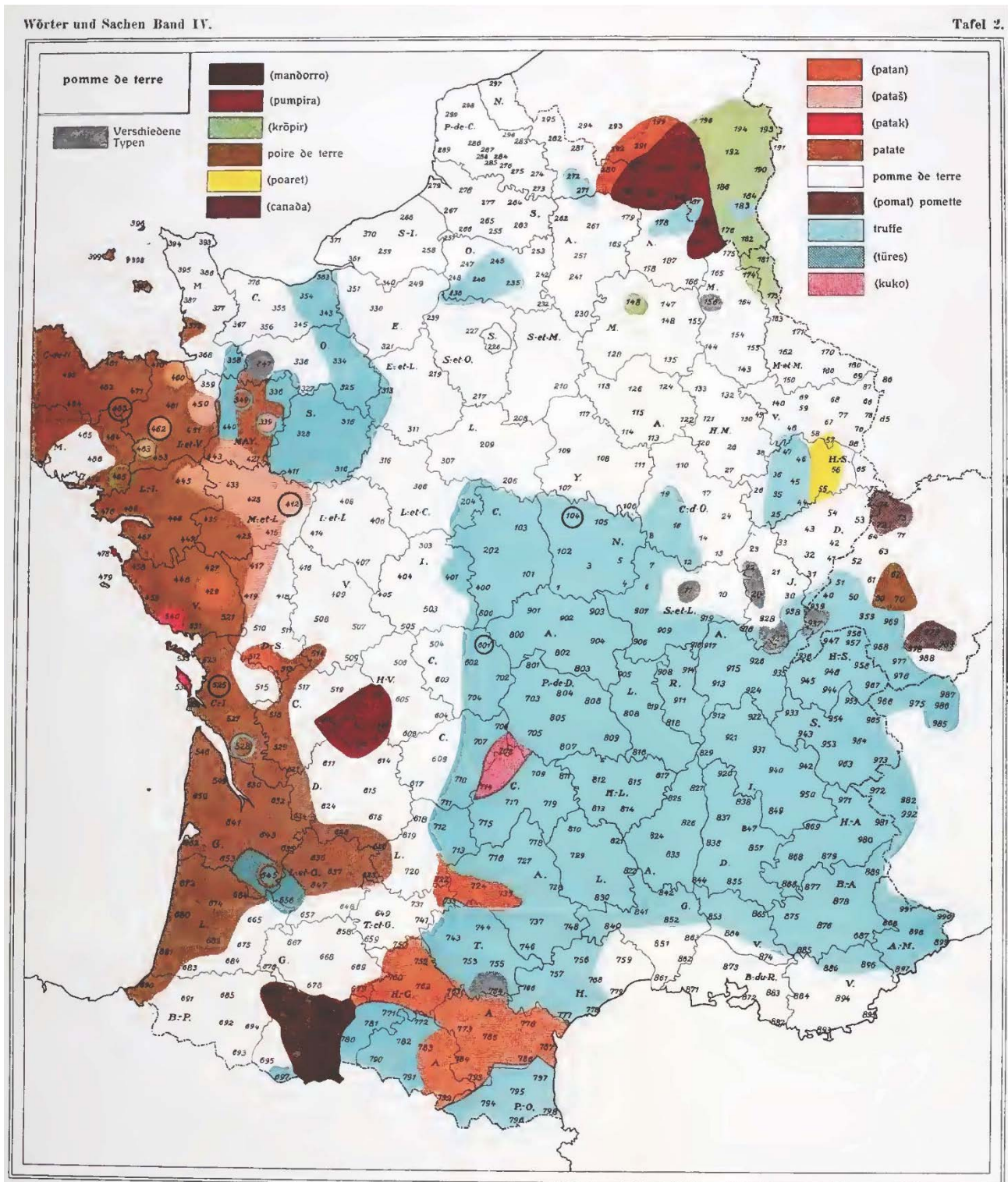
assumption, the starting point of the propagation of *pomme de terre* was not Paris, but rather in the east of Champagne. The distribution of *pomme de terre* in the *ALCB* will more accurately reflect the dynamic nature of this innovation, the new wave of *pomme de terre* launching from the east of Champagne being confronted with great hindrance of its regional rival *patate* near Paris. In the *ALF*, the prefecture of Haute-Marne is occupied with *pomme de terre*, while on the contrary, the term *treuffe* permeates the same prefecture in the *ALCB*. We can observe here that the principle of chronological and geographical continuity is violated, since the earlier *ALF* appears to show a more recent situation than the later *ALCB*. In addition to this embarrassing discovery, the most mysterious thing lies in the fact that, apart from the above-mentioned regional forms, Bourcelot has found the form *cartoffe* at all points of his survey. This variant that apparently originates from the German *Kartoffel* was never attested, for reasons we do not know, in the enquête of Edmont. This phenomenon is a real riddle. We have been in full pursuit of the final stage of the lexical variation or evolution of potatoes from the sixteenth century up to today. However, this discovery sends us right back to the initial stage from which this evolution started, with the term *cartoufle*, named as such by Olivier de Serres in 1600. The map of potato of the *ALF* is, as declared by Bruneau, one of the most mysterious maps.

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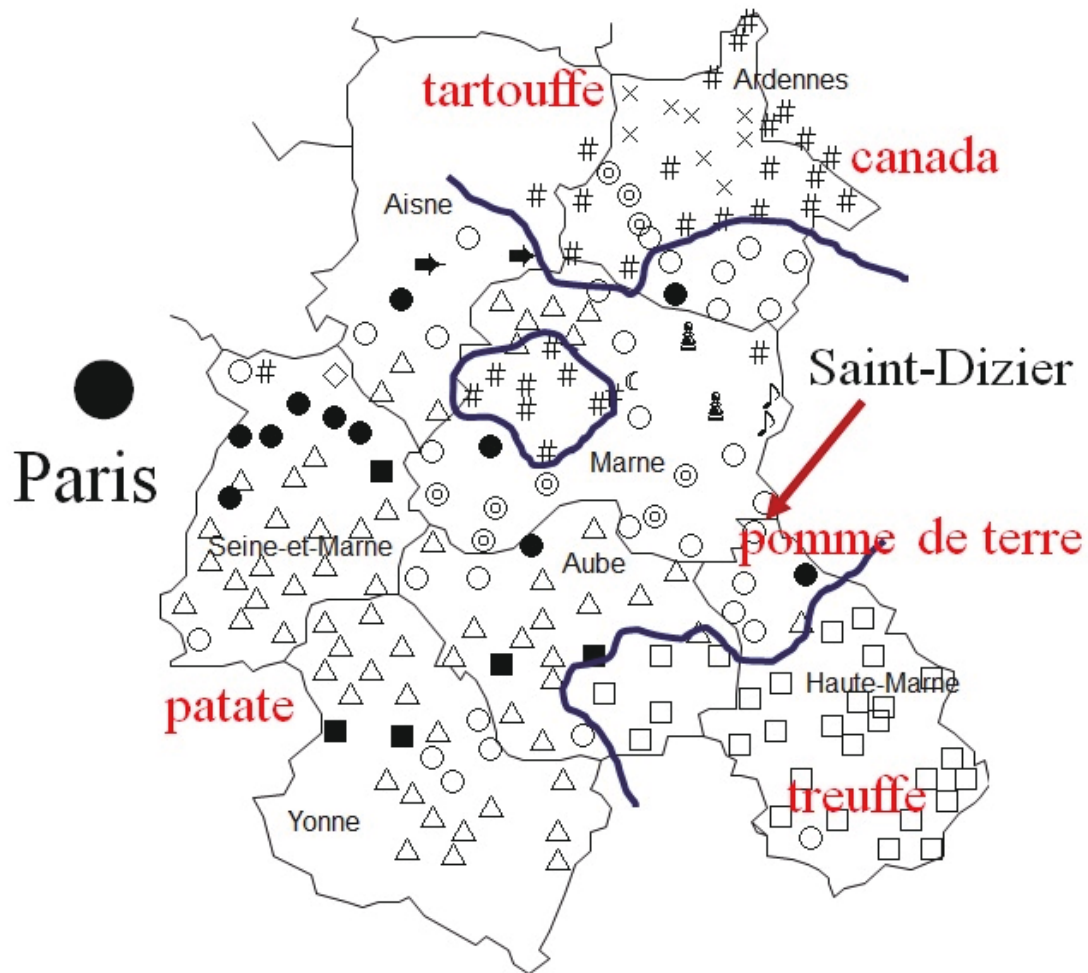




Spitzer (1921) Tafel 2







ALCB No.686 pomme de terre

- |                  |                                   |
|------------------|-----------------------------------|
| △ patate         | × tartouffe                       |
| ○ pomme de terre | ♪ eiry = citrouille ?             |
| ● pomme terre    | ➔ fouilleuses (longues et jaunes) |
| ⊙ pomme-né-terre | ♣ cartoufle                       |
| # canada         | Ⓒ crompire                        |
| □ treuffe        | ◇ treffe                          |
| ■ truffe         |                                   |