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The pre-Roman elements of the Sardinian lexicon

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3 Flora

Flora is the semantic field to which the largest number of Sardinian words of proposed pre-Roman origin belong. The lemmata discussed in this chapter are divided into herbaceous plants (§ 3.1), grasses, cereals and weeds (§ 3.2), trees and shrubs (§ 3.3), and plant parts and other plant-related terms (§ 3.4).⁴² In order to minimize the risk of semantic uncertainty, the scientific names of the plant species discussed has been provided wherever possible.⁴³

Various plant species discussed are endemic to Sardinia, and it is therefore not surprising that the majority of the forms do not have any demonstrable cognates outside Sardinian. Still, the phonological and morphological features exhibited by these forms may inform us about the specificities of their source language.

3.1 Herbs

3.1.1 Annual mercury (*Mercurialis annua*); goosefoot (*Chenopodium sp.*)

Reconstruction	Forms
* <i>katòne</i>	DES (I: 259): <i>kaḏòne</i> , <i>koḏòne</i> (Log.), <i>kaḏòni</i> (Camp.) ‘annual mercury (<i>Mercurialis annua</i> L.), goosefoot (<i>Chenopodium album</i> L.)’
	Paulis (1992: 374–375): <i>kaḏòne</i> , <i>koḏòne</i> (Log.), <i>kaḏòne</i> (Camp.) ‘goosefoot (<i>Chenopodium album</i>)’, ‘nettle-leaved goosefoot (<i>Chenopodium murale</i> L.)’, ‘many-seed goosefoot (<i>Chenopodium polyspermum</i> L.)’, ‘stinking goosefoot (<i>Chenopodium vulvaria</i> L.)’, <i>kaḏòni</i> [<i>burdu</i>] (1: Escalaplano) ‘stinking goosefoot (<i>Chenopodium vulvaria</i>)’

⁴² The words for ‘mushroom’ have been included in this latter section, by lack of a more suitable place.

⁴³ All botanical binomial names follow the current classifications and naming conventions of the WFO Plant List (2024).

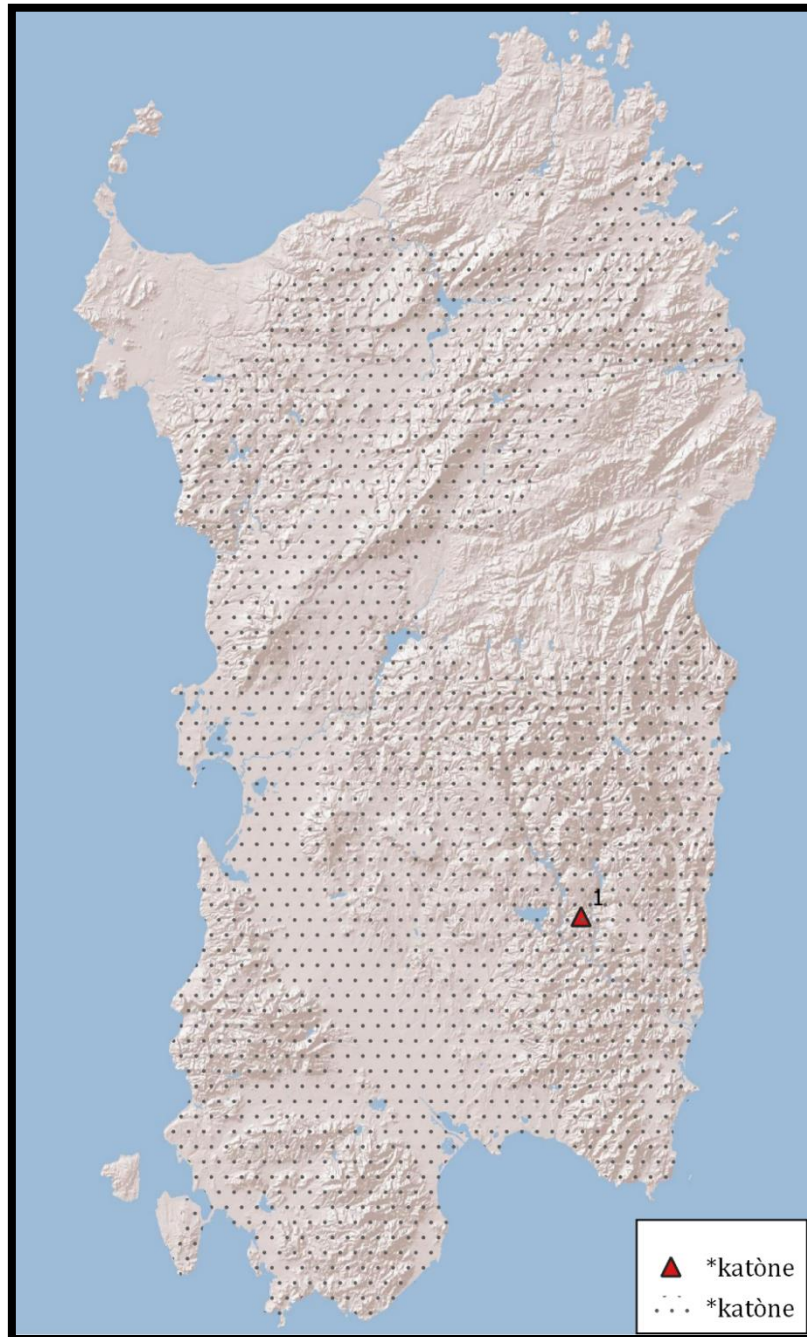


Figure 3.1.1: Annual mercury (*Mercurialis annua*); goosefoot (*Chenopodium* sp., *Lipandra polysperma*)

The leaves of all above-mentioned species of plants are known to be edible, and most species (except annual mercury) also have tiny edible seeds. This etymon, reconstructible to **katòne*, is widespread in Sardinia. Wagner does not discuss its etymology (simply noting “Et.?”). Pittau (1990: 43) compares it to Etr. *kathuni*, without giving a meaning or source for this word, making it impossible to judge its plausibility. Paulis (1992: 375) connects Srd. *kaḏòne* etc. to Lat. *catone* (abl.) ‘orache (*Atriplex* sp. L.)’ from Dioscorides’ *De Materia Medica* (Stadler 1899: 186, 219). Paulis follows André (1956: 77; 1985: 53) in deriving Lat. *catone* from *catus* ‘sharp’, on account of the pointy leaves of this plant. However, although *catus*, originally a Sabine word (Paulis 1992: 375; de Vaan 2008: 99), is generally translated as ‘sharp’, it seems to refer to sharpness exclusively in the cognitive sense; i.e. ‘sly, cunning etc.’ (Lewis & Short 1879: s.v. *catus*). This makes the derivation to ‘plant with pointy leaves’ semantically rather difficult. Moreover, the plant name *catone* ‘orache’ is attested only once, in a work that was originally composed in Greek and that is known to contain plant names from other languages. The single attestation of *catone* in a relatively late work renders its attribution to the inherited vocabulary of Latin rather tenuous.

If Adams (2007: 533–540) is correct in proposing an African origin for the Latin translation of *De Materia Medica* (Stadler 1899, 1901), an African origin is imaginable for both Lat. *catone* and Srd. **kaḏòne* too. And in fact, we do find Kb. *waktun*, *aktun* ‘goosefoot (*Chenopodium* sp.)’,⁴⁴ in which *wa-* and *a-* respectively are prefixes (cf. Brugnatelli 1998). It is likely that this Berber base *-ktun* ‘goosefoot’ is somehow related to Lat. *catone* and Srd. *kaḏòne* etc. ‘id.’, but the question is exactly how. Possibly Kb. *(w)aktun* ‘goosefoot’ < **(ā)k(ŵ)tūn* is a descendant of an earlier Berber (or Libyco-Berber) word that was borrowed into African Latin as *catone*. Alternatively, both the Berber and the Latin word were borrowed from an unattested Punic word for ‘goosefoot’. For Srd. *kaḏòne* it is in any case plausible that it entered Sardinian Latin by contact with the local Punic population, regardless whether they spoke Phoenician or Berber (cf. § 10.1, §10.2).

⁴⁴ Massinissa Garaoun, p.c., who also informs me that *aktun* is found in Djidjelli Arabic, which contains a significant Berber substrate.

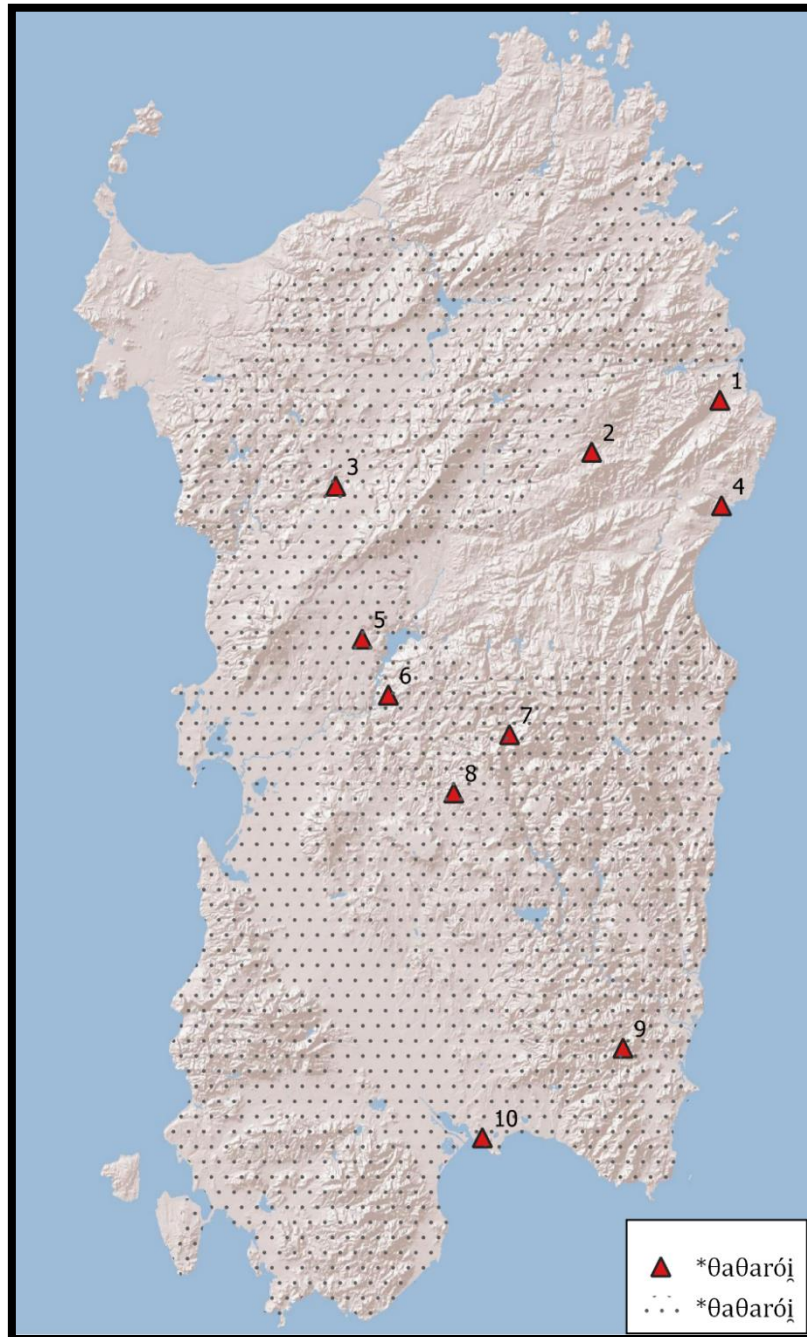


Figure 3.1.2: *Arum* (*Arum italicum*)

3.1.2 Arum (*Arum italicum*)

Reconstruction Forms

* <i>θaθarói</i>	DES (II: 552): <i>tattaróyu</i> , <i>tottoróyu</i> (Log.), <i>sattsarói</i> (Camp.), <i>θoθarói</i> (1: Siniscola), <i>θoθaróyu</i> (2: Bitti, 4: Orosei), <i>tattarógu</i> (3: Bonorva), <i>tsottsorói</i> (5: Norbello, 8: Laconi), <i>sottsoróyu</i> (6: Busachi), <i>tsottsoróyu</i> (7: Belvi) ‘arum (<i>Arum italicum</i> Mill.)’ Alessio (1949: 111): <i>sazzarói</i> (10: Cagliari), <i>tattaroíu</i> ‘id.’ Böhne (1950: 120): <i>sattsarói</i> (Sarrabus reg.) ‘id.’
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These Sardinian forms, which are found throughout the island, have generally been attributed to a pre-Roman language, due to their peculiar formation and the presence of **θ*. Within Sardinian, they can go back to **θaθarói*; the pretonic o-vocalism found in some forms are likely secondary, as well as the word-final -u. They have been connected by Alessio (1949: 110–111) to Sic. *anzara*/-u ‘arum (*Arum italicum*)’,⁴⁵ Sic. *azzaru*, *azareddu*, *anzareddu* ‘friar’s cowl (*Arisarum vulgare* O.Targ.Tozz.)’, Calab. *zara*, *anzara* (Cetraro, Verbicaro), *anzana* ‘arum; cyclamen’ (cf. Rohlfs 1932: 99), Pugl. *azara* ‘arum’, to which Hubschmid (1953: 27) has added Calab. *žanzarra* ‘arum’ (cf. Rohlfs 1932: 409; 1977: 84b, 802b). Alessio (1949: 110–111), Hubschmid (1953: 27), Wagner (DES II: 552) and Paulis (1992: 341) agree on deriving the Sardinian and South-Italian forms from a common pre-Roman substrate. This requires an analysis of Srd. **θaθarói* as < **θ-aθar-ói*, with prefixation of **θ(i)*- (§ 9.1.2) and a suffix -*í* (§ 9.2.1). The Pre-Roman Sardinian base **aθar*- would then correspond to **azar*- in the South-Italian forms. However, Pittau (1995: 107) proposes the Italian forms to be from Lat. *lancearius* ‘lancer’, due to its upright shape, with reinterpretation and detachment of initial *l*- as the article. If this is correct, the South Italian forms are of no relevance to Srd. **θaθarói*.

The situation is complicated by the attestation of the form *asaru* in the Latin version of Dioscorides’ *De Materia Medica* (Stadler 1899: 238). In this work, the plant named *asaru* is described as similar to but smaller than the arum. According to Stadler (1899: 238 fn. 1) this name should have been *arisarum* ‘friar’s cowl (*Arisarum vulgare*)’, which is what we find in the Greek version (ἀρίσαρον; cf. Dioscorides Anazarbei 1907: 234). Moreover, there is another chapter titled “*De asaro*” in the first book of *De Materia Medica* (Hofmann & Auracher 1883: 60), which corresponds to ἄσαρον in the Greek version (Dioscorides Anazarbei 1907: 14), which has the meaning ‘hazelwort (*Asarum europaeum* L.)’. In short, where the Greek original has ἄσαρον ‘hazelwort (*Asarum europaeum*)’, ἄρον ‘arum (*Arum* sp.)’, and ἀρίσαρον ‘friar’s cowl (*Arisarum vulgare*)’ (Dioscorides Anazarbei

⁴⁵ Domenico Muscianisi informs me that in Messina (Sicily), *zara* is also used for ‘arum’.

1907: 14, 233, 234), the Latin translation has [De] *asaro* ‘hazelwort’, [De] *aron* ‘arum’, and [De] *asaru* ‘friar’s cowl’ (Hofmann & Auracher 1883: 60; Stadler 1899: 237, 238). While a confusion between *asaru* and expected *arisarum* on the part of the translator of the Latin text is possible, the form *asaru*, which refers to a species of plant that is closely related to the arum and is indeed quite similar to it, is very reminiscent of the South-Italian names for the arum mentioned above. This raises the question whether *asaru* in *De Materia Medica* is in fact not the result of a mistake, but a Vulgar Latin word for a species of arum, dispersed at least in Southern Italy and Africa.⁴⁶

If *asaru* is indeed related to the southern Italian forms, this precludes Pittau’s (1995: 107) derivation from Lat. *lancearius*, as the needed phonological developments are not expected to have been completed by Dioscorides’ time already. It is unclear whether *asaru* ‘species of arum’ is etymologically related to Gr. ἄσαρον ‘hazelwort (*Asarum europaeum*)’, whence Lat. *asarum* ‘id.’. Hazelwort and arum are not closely related, but could be perceived as superficially similar because of their heart-shaped, glossy leaves and tube or jug-shaped flowers. Gr. ἄσαρον has been argued to be of Semitic origin by Lewy (1895: 47), who compares it to Aramaic *zərīr* ‘sneeze’. This is formally and semantically unconvincing.

If the Sardinian forms are to be connected to (Late) Lat. *asaru*, Sic. *anzara/u*, Calab. *zara*, *anzara*, *anzana*, *žanžarra* and Pugl. *azara*, we need to assume the addition of the Pre-Roman Sardinian affixes **θ(i)*- and *-*Ŷ*_ī to the base **aθar-*, as proposed by Alessio (1949: 111), Hubschmid (1953: 27), and Wagner (DES II: 552). In light of the necessary assumptions, and the etymological uncertainty regarding the southern Italian forms, it is safest to treat the relation between Srd. **θaθaróĭ* and the southern Italian forms, as well as Lat. *asaru*, as no more than a possibility. The connection of Sic. *anzara/-u* ‘arum (*Arum italicum*) etc. to Lat. *asaru* ‘friar’s cowl (*Arisarum vulgare*) is in any case plausible.

⁴⁶ That is, if Adams (2007: 533–540) is right in attributing this version of *De Materia Medica* to an African translator (cf. § 3.1.1).

3.1.3 Betony (*Stachys glutinosa*)

Reconstruction	Forms
1: * <i>lokáš-</i>	DES (II: 611): <i>lokáši</i> (2: Sassari) ‘hyssop (<i>Hyssopus officinalis</i> L.)’, <i>lokášu</i> (6: Nuoro) ‘ <i>Stachys glutinosa</i> L.’ Paulis (1992: 115): <i>lokášu</i> (5: Orune, 8: Sarule), <i>lokáu</i> (9: Urzulei), <i>lukéšu</i> (10: Aritzo) ‘ <i>Stachys glutinosa</i> ’
2	DES (II: 611): <i>lukréžu</i> (10: Aritzo) ‘ <i>Stachys glutinosa</i> ’
3	Paulis (1992: 115): <i>kalekášu</i> (1: Berchidda) ‘Italian strawflower (<i>Helichrysum italicum</i> (Roth) G.Don.)’, <i>kalakášu</i> (5: Orune) ‘ <i>Stachys glutinosa</i> ’
4	Paulis (1992: 115): <i>vrattakášu</i> (3: Siniscola) ‘ <i>Stachys glutinosa</i> ’
5	Paulis (1992: 115): <i>olokášu</i> (4: Lula), <i>alakášu</i> (7: Orani) ‘ <i>Stachys glutinosa</i> ’
6	Paulis (1992: 115): <i>lukkíttu</i> (11: Meana Sardo) ‘ <i>Stachys glutinosa</i> ’

Stachys glutinosa is a species of betony endemic to Sardinia, Corsica, and smaller surrounding islands. Its names in the Sardinian dialects are diverse. The forms listed here roughly cover the Barbagia and Baronie areas, with outliers in Berchidda (1) and Sassari (2). The DES follows Hubschmid (1960b: 172) who considers *lokášu* to be pre-Roman (without mentioning the other forms). Paulis (1992: 115) adds various forms that complicate the picture. He argues that any pre-Roman features of these words could have been introduced from other Sardinian phytonyms. He argues that *lukkíttu* (type 6; 11: Meana Sardo) is a loan from Cat. *lluquet* ‘bundle of dry and sulfated twigs or straw that easily catches fire’, and gives Cat. *lluqueta* ‘heart-leaved globe daisy (*Globularia cordifolia* L.)’ as a parallel. Similarly *lukréžu* (type 2; 9: Aritzo) would reflect It. *elíciso* ‘everlasting (*Helichrysum* sp. Mill.)’, with influence of Srd. *lúži* ‘light’. Paulis considers the remaining types to be derived from *lukéšu* (type 1; 10: Aritzo). Forms like *lokášu* (type 1), *kalekášu* (type 2), *vrattakášu* (type 4) and *olokášu* (type 5) would have been influenced by Srd. *kášu* ‘cheese’, because this plant’s use to remove chicken lice supposedly led to the comparison of falling lice to grated cheese (Paulis 1992: 112). It is clear that many secondary folk-etymological influences have affected the various shapes of these forms, although I am not quite convinced that Paulis’ proposals succeed to explain all forms satisfactorily. Due to the complexity of the dialectal variation and of this word and the resulting unclarity as to its original shape however, it cannot be used to provide us with any reliable information about the pre-Roman language(s) of Sardinia.

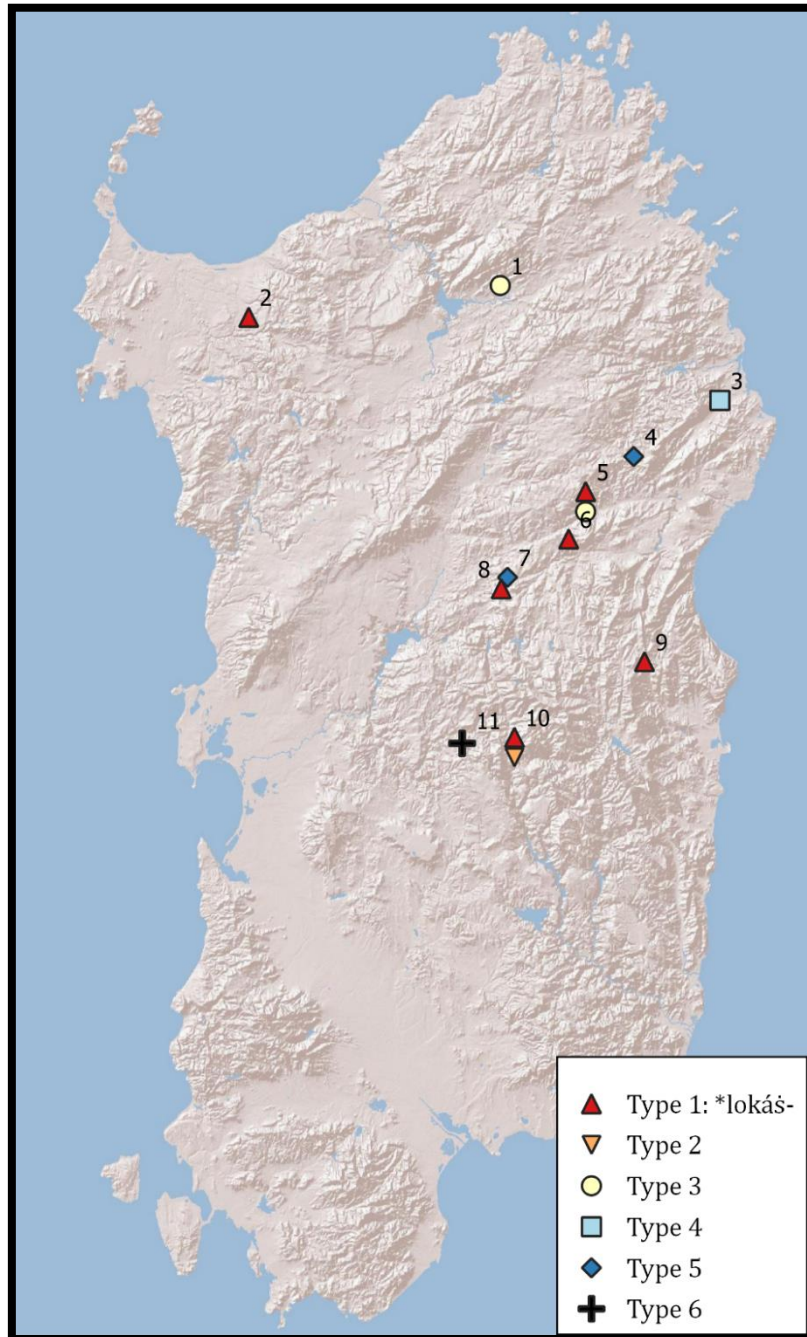


Figure 3.1.3 Betony (*Stachys glutinosa*)

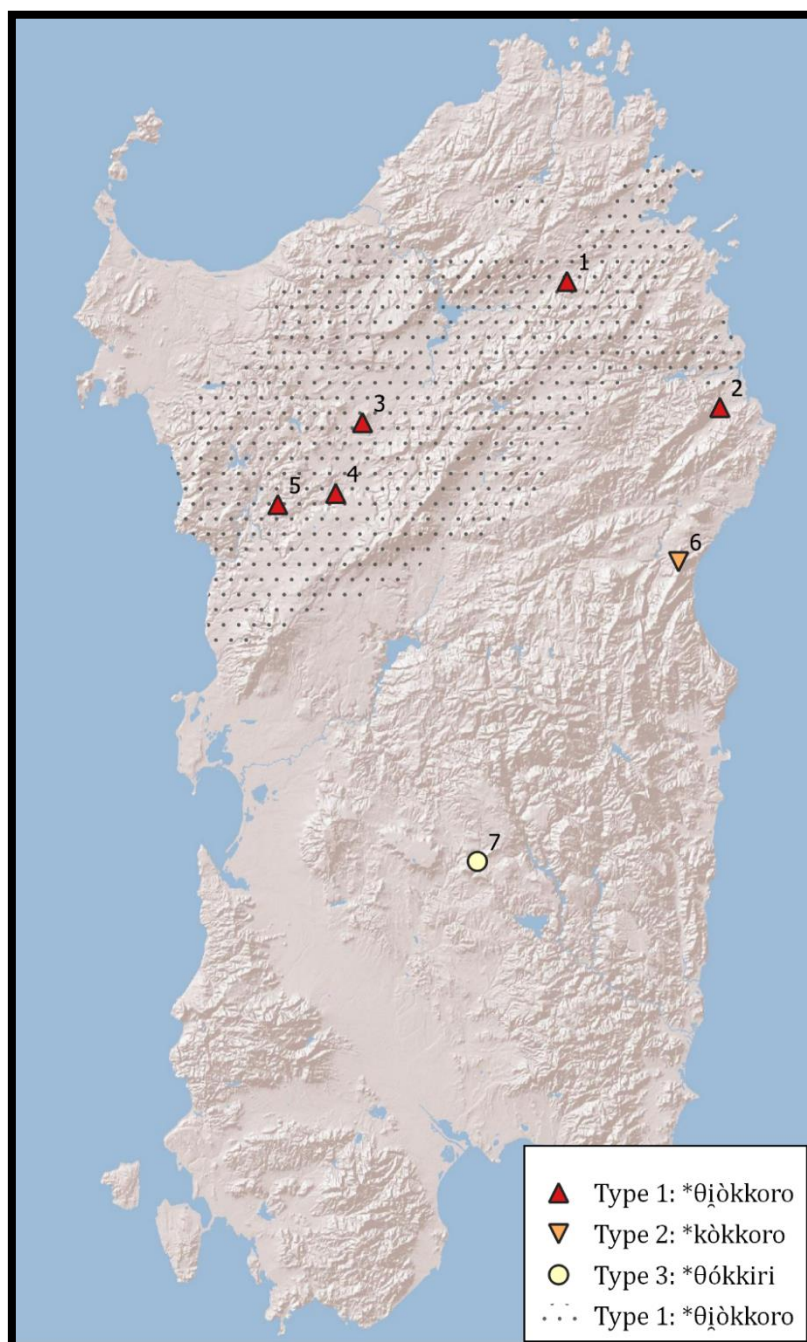


Figure 3.1.4: Bristly ox-tongue (*Helmintotheca echioides*), wild teasel (*Dipsacus fullonum*)

3.1.4 Bristly ox-tongue (*Helminthotheca echioides*), wild teasel (*Dipsacus fullonum*)

Reconstruction	Forms
1: * <i>ḡiòkkoro</i>	DES (II: 548): <i>artiòkkoro</i> (Log.), <i>išòkkoro</i> (NLog., 1: Monti, 3: Mores) <i>ḡiòkkoro</i> (Nuor., 2: Siniscola), <i>istiòkkoro</i> (4: Bonorva, 5: Padria) ‘bristly ox-tongue (<i>Helminthotheca echioides</i> (L.) Holub); wild teasel (<i>Dipsacus fullonum</i> L.)’ Hubschmid (1953: 36): <i>čòkkoro</i> (Log.) ‘bristly ox-tongue (<i>Helminthotheca echioides</i>)’
2: * <i>kòkkoro</i>	Paulis (1992: 192): <i>kòkkoro</i> (6: Dorgali) ‘bristly ox-tongue (<i>Helminthotheca echioides</i>)’
3: * <i>ḡókkiri</i>	DES (II: 548): <i>sóččiri</i> (Camp.) ‘id.’ Paulis (1992: 190, 192): <i>čóččiri</i> (7: Isili) ‘bristly ox-tongue (<i>Helminthotheca echioides</i>); wild teasel (<i>Dipsacus fullonum</i>)’

Paulis (1992: 190) suggests that these words, which are generally taken to be of pre-Roman origin (cf. Hubschmid 1953: 36; DES II: 548; Paulis 1992: 190), may originally have referred specifically to ‘bristly ox-tongue’, as it is the only Sardinian word denoting this species. Its extension to ‘wild teasel’ would be due to the fact that both plants are covered in small spines or bristles, and to the similarity of their leaves. Paulis (1992: 192) proposes the forms of type 2 and 3 to be influenced by the Sardinian reflexes of Lat. *cicer* ‘chickpea’ (> Camp. *čížiri*), as *cicer rusticum* is attested in several classical sources as one of the Latin names for ‘wild teasel’ (e.g. Dioscorides Anazarbei 1906: 18; cf. further Paulis 1992: 192). This is likely at least for Camp. *sóččiri*, *čóččiri* (7: Isili). However, Lat. *cicer* was not preserved in Logudorese and Nuorese (Paulis 1992: 281), so assuming influence from unattested **kíkere* ‘chickpea’ to explain *kòkkoro* (6: Dorgali) < **ḡiòkkor(o)* is slightly problematic. Perhaps the Dorgalese variant is the result of consonant assimilation.⁴⁷ A pre-Roman origin of this word is suggested by the sequence **ḡio-* that must be reconstructed. This cannot go back to any Latin sequence, as it would require Lat. **cḡio-/tḡio-*, which did not exist (§ 8.1.1.1). Outside Sardinian, Hubschmid (1953: 36) compares Bq. *txokorro* ‘milk thistle (*Silybum marianum* (L.) Gaertn.)’ and various other Basque and Romance forms denoting ‘trunk’,

⁴⁷ Dorgalese *kòkkoro* ‘bristly ox-tongue’ is formally identical to Barb. *kòkkoro* ‘nut’, from which *kokkoròni* (Dorgali) ‘bump’ is derived (DES I: 356–57). Establishing a semantic link between ‘bristly ox-tongue’ and ‘nut/bump’ is difficult however.

‘branch’ or ‘knot’. I share Wagner’s (DES II: 548) and Paulis’ (2008: 17) hesitation in accepting these comparisons.⁴⁸

3.1.5 Cat thyme (*Teucrium marum*), cotton lavender (*Santolina chamaecyparissus*)

Reconstruction	Forms
1: * <i>múkra</i>	DES (II: 139): <i>murga</i> [<i>de bovis</i>] (5: Aritzo) ‘cotton lavender (<i>Santolina chamaecyparissus</i> L.)’
2: * <i>múkru véru</i> (?)	DES (II: 139): <i>murgulèu</i> (Ogl., Camp.) ‘cat thyme (<i>Teucrium marum</i> L.); cotton lavender (<i>Santolina chamaecyparissus</i>); <i>murguèu</i> (11: Cagliari) ‘wine’ Paulis (1992: 118): <i>muyùdes</i> (6: Meana Sardo) ‘Massilian germander (<i>Teucrium massiliense</i> L.)’, <i>murguéu</i> (8: Seulo) ‘cotton lavender (<i>Santolina chamaecyparissus</i>)’, <i>murguèus</i> (9: Laconi) ‘everlasting <i>Helicrysum</i> sp.’
3: * <i>mámmu véru</i> (?)	Paulis (1992: 118): <i>mummuléu</i> (1: Lula) ‘cat thyme (<i>Teucrium marum</i>)’, <i>murmuréu</i> (2: Dorgali, 3: Oliena, 4: Villagrande Strisaili, 7: Arzana) ‘cotton lavender (<i>Santolina chamaecyparissus</i>)’, <i>mammuléu</i> (6: Meana Sardo, 9: Laconi) ‘ <i>Micromeria graeca</i> (L.) Benth. ex Rchb.’, ⁴⁹ <i>murmuréu</i> (10: Escalaplano) ‘species of betony (<i>Stachys glutinosa</i>)’ ⁵⁰

The various plant species referred to by the forms listed above are not all closely related, but are superficially somewhat similar in their size, shape, and the colour of their leaves. DES (II: 139) regards these words as “probably pre-Roman” because of a toponym *Murgueliai*. Paulis (1992: 118) points out that there is no evidence that this toponym is connected to the phytonym, and that the presence of a pre-Roman lexical item in a toponym does not prove its substrate origin. For the forms of type 3, he instead proposes a derivation of Srd. *mammuléu* (6: Meana Sardo, 9: Laconi) ‘*Micromeria graeca*’ from **maruléu* < Lat. **marum verum* ‘real cat thyme’, by assimilation of the *-r- in **marum* to the initial m- (Paulis 1992: 119). This formation would be parallel to Srd. *karduréu* ‘thistle’ < Lat. *carduum verum* ‘real thistle’ (cf. DES I: 300).

⁴⁸ I have not been able to verify Hubschmid’s (1953) mention of Bq. *txokorro* ‘milk thistle’.

⁴⁹ Paulis gives the scientific name *Satureja graeca* L., which is a synonym of *Micromeria graeca* (L.) Benth. ex Rchb. (WFO 2024c: s.v. *Micromeria graeca*).

⁵⁰ Paulis gives the binomial *Betonica glutinosa*. This does not exist as a scientific name in WFO (2024a) however, and should probably be interpreted as *Stachys glutinosa* instead — the common Italian name for *Stachys* species is *betonica*.

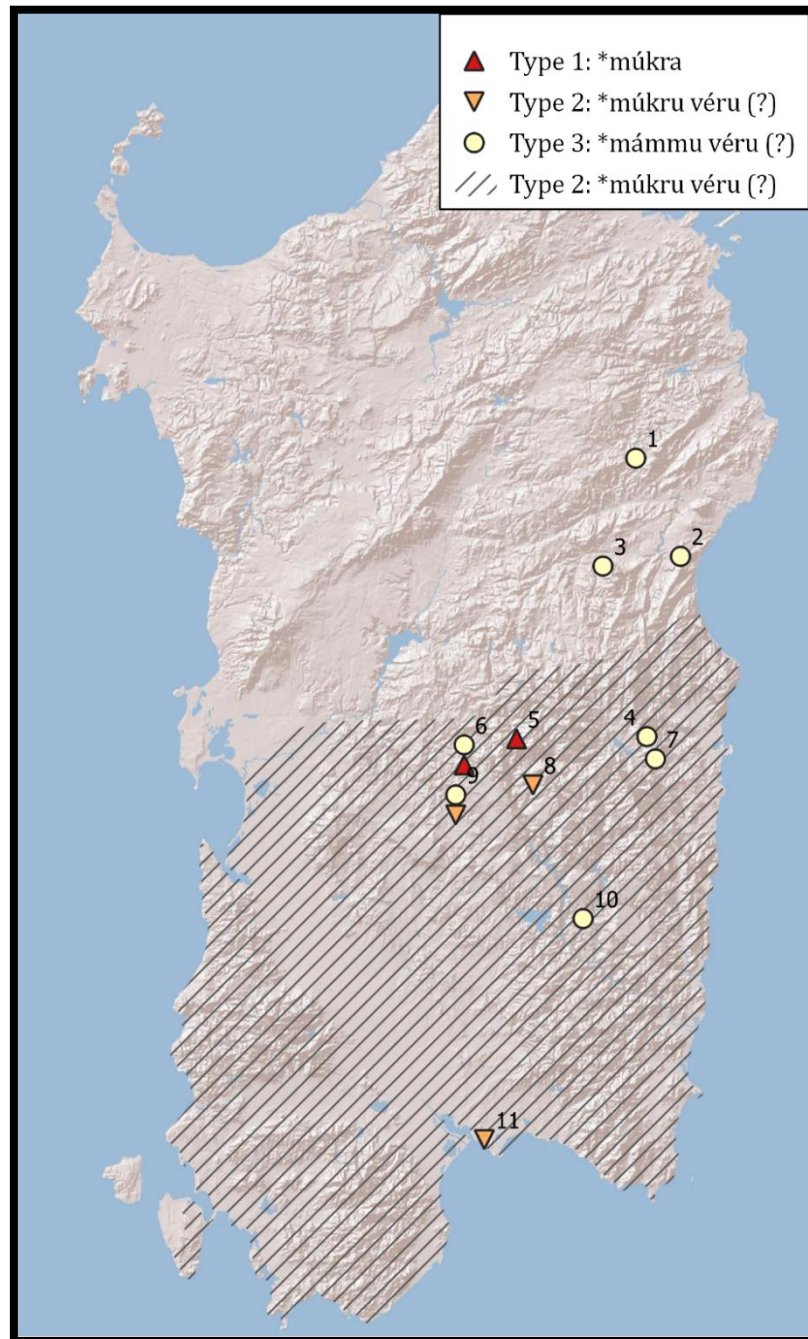


Figure 3.1.5: Cat thyme (*Teucrium marum*), cotton lavender (*Santolina chamaecyparissus*)

Concerning the development of *verum* > -(u)léu/-(u)réu/-(u)éu in types 2 and 3, there are parallels for -r- dissimilating to -l- (Wagner 1941a: 232) and -r- disappearing altogether (*ariséu* < *eriséu* ‘yesterday evening’; Wagner 1941a: 229 fn. 1). It is peculiar, however, that this development would occur in *mammuléu* < **mammuréu*, where there is no other -r- to dissimilate from. Especially since a similar dissimilation and dissolution of -r- does not occur in *karduréu* etc. ‘thistle’, whose base *kardu-* does contain an -r-.⁵¹ Paulis accounts for this discrepancy by assuming original **maruléu* < *marum verum*, which would create the conditions for a dissimilation. Note however that, if the -l- is to be explained as the dissimilatory reflex of -r- in presence of an -r- in the stem, it is all the more striking that we still find *murmuréu*. If we adhere to Paulis’ explanation of the various forms, we would need to assume the following steps to account for all attested forms:

- *marum verum* > **maruréu* > **maruléu* > *mammuléu* (> *mummuléu*)
- *marum verum* > **maruréu* > **maruréu* > **mammuréu* > **mummuréu* > *murmuréu*

While theoretically possible, it is suspicious that none of the necessary intermediate steps is attested across the dialectal variation found in this word. Moreover, the only certain example of progressive dissimilation of *r – r* > *r – l* in Wagner (1941a: 232) is *ferréli* < *ferréri* ‘smith’ in Perdasdefogu, which is outside the attestation area of the forms under discussion. These cumulative difficulties cast doubt on the possibility of the sequence -uléu/-uréu/-uéu in these words going back to Lat. *verum* ‘true’, although I cannot offer a better alternative explanation. The similarity between -uréu < *verum* in *karduréu* ‘thistle’ etc. and -uléu/-uréu/-uéu in the words for ‘cat thyme, cotton lavender etc.’ is remarkable. For now, the best option is therefore to assume *verum* as the origin of the ending -uléu/-uréu/-uéu, even though the details of the phonological development are not quite clear.

This leaves us with the first half of the word, which shows considerable variation. As mentioned before, Paulis (1992: 119) wants to derive *mammuléu* (6: Meana Sardo, 9: Laconi) ‘*Micromeria graeca*’ from Lat. *marum verum* ‘true cat thyme’. The other forms of type 3 would be due to subsequent alterations of *mammuléu* to *mummuléu* (1: Lula) by assimilation of the -a- to the next syllable, and hence to *murmuréu* (2: Dorgali, 3: Oliena, 4: Villagrande Strisaili, 7: Arzana, 10: Escalaplano) by -r-insertion, commonly found in Sardinian (Paulis 1992: 119). I have not

⁵¹ The only example of dissimilation of -r- to -l- in the word for ‘thistle’ occurs in *garduléu*, which is restricted to Siniscola (Paulis 1992: 67).

been able to find any parallel for the assimilation of intervocalic *-r-* to *-m-* that is needed to derive *mammuléu* from **maruléu* < *marum verum* (cf. Wagner 1941a: 230–232). While the derivation of *mummuléu* and *murmuréu* from *mammuléu* do not pose any serious problems, an etymological relation to Lat. *marum* ‘cat thyme’ is problematic.

For the forms of type 1 and 2, viz. respectively *murga* [*de bovis*] (5: Aritzo) ‘cotton lavender’ and *murguèus* (9: Laconi) ‘everlasting’ etc., a derivation from Lat. *marum* is even more difficult. The forms in these types are found in Campidanese, and all contain a base **mukr-*, which can in turn be from original **mukr-*, **mukl-* or **mutl-*; cf. Camp. *sórgu* < Lat. *socru-* ‘father in law’, Camp. *márga* < Lat. *macula* ‘stain’ and Camp. *múrgu* ‘tree trunk’ < Lat. *mutilus* ‘maimed’ (cf. Wagner 1941a: 157, 167; DES II: 132). There are some inherited Sardinian words that are nearly or completely homophonous with this base *murg-* found in types 1 and 2. One is Camp. *múrgu* ‘tree trunk’ < Lat. *mutilus*, which Paulis (1992: 120) thinks could have influenced original **maruléu/mammuléu* < *marum verum*, yielding *murguléu* etc. The other is Camp. *múrga* ‘dregs’ < Lat. *amurga*, *amurca* ‘id.’ (DES II: 138). The latter form cannot have yielded *muyyùdes* (6: Meana Sardo) regularly, because the *-r-* in original **-rg-* is expected to persist. Semantically the link between ‘dregs’ and the plant species discussed is difficult to understand too. Paulis further (1992: 120) proposes that Cat. *múrgola* ‘morel’ (*Morchella* sp. Dill. ex Pers.) could have exerted influence, by being applied first to dry fungi used to start fires and hence to plants used for the same purpose. Neither ‘tree trunk’, nor ‘morel’ bears a clear semantic connection to the plant species referred to by *múrga*, *murguléu* etc., and various assumptions are needed to uphold these etymologies.

In conclusion, Wagner’s (DES II: 139) assumption of a pre-Roman origin on the basis of the structure of these words is unnecessary. The ending *-uléu/-uréu/-uéu* might ultimately be the same as the *-uréu* in *karduréu* ‘thistle’ (< Lat. *carduum verum*), even though the details surrounding the development of *-r-* remain unclear. The base of the forms in types 1 and 2 (in *murg-*) may have arisen through influence from Camp. *múrgu* ‘tree trunk’ and Cat. *múrgola* ‘morel’ (cf. Paulis 1992: 120). For the forms in type 3, I do not think that Lat. *marum* ‘cat thyme’ can be upheld as an etymology, since it is based more on semantic proximity than on regular correspondence. Whether this element, which alternates between *mamm-*, *mumm-* and *murm-*, is of pre-Roman origin after all, cannot be established on the basis of the formal appearance of the forms, even though a convincing etymology is still lacking.

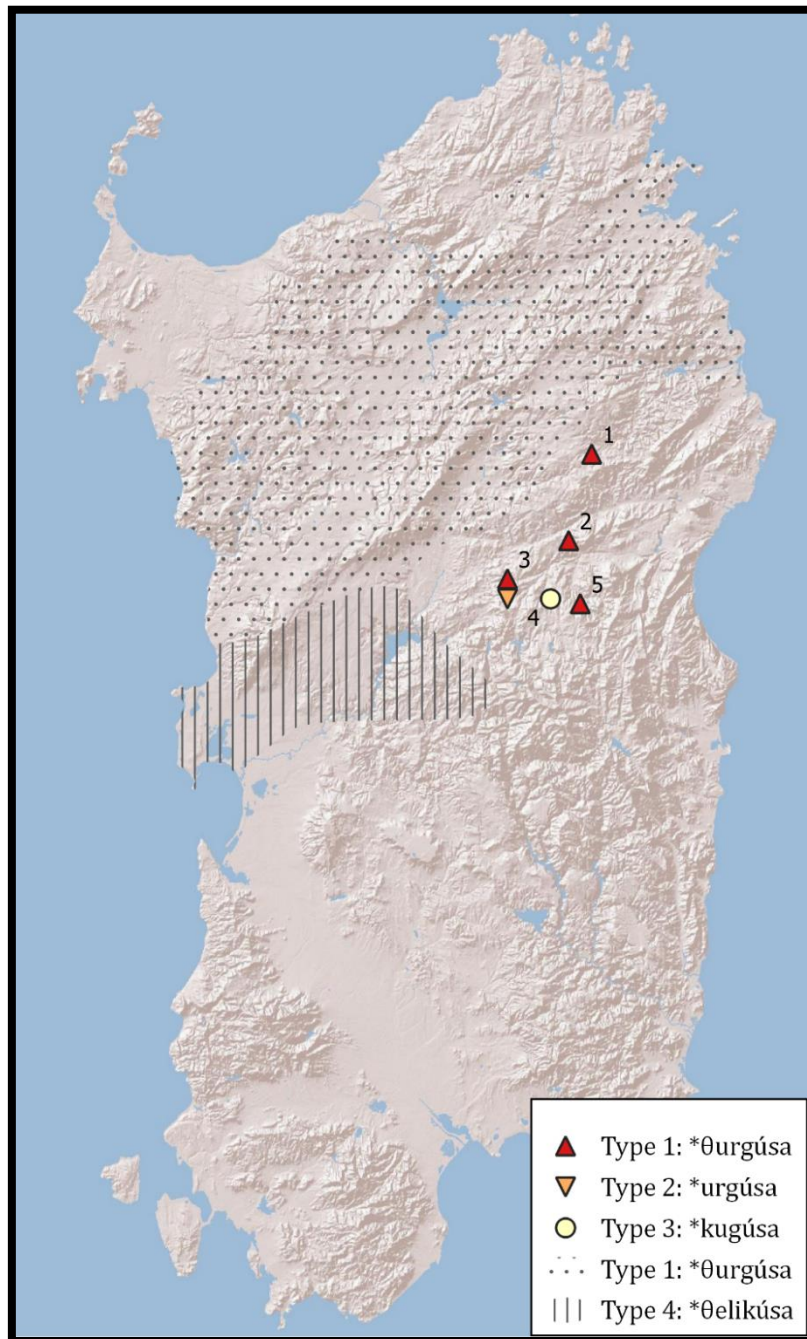


Figure 3.1.6: Celery (*Apium graveolens*), fool's watercress (*Apium nodiflorum*)

3.1.6 Celery (*Apium graveolens*), fool's watercress (*Apium nodiflorum*)⁵²

Reconstruction	Forms
1: * <i>ǵurgúsa</i>	DES (II: 555): <i>ǵurgúsa</i> (1: Bitti), <i>ǵrugúsa</i> (2: Nuoro) 'wild celery (<i>Apium graveolens</i> L.)', <i>ǵurgúsa</i> (5: Orgosolo) 'water hemlock (<i>Cicuta</i> sp. L.)' Paulis (1992: 141): <i>turgusòne</i> (Log.), <i>ǵurgúsa</i> (3: Orani) 'wild celery (<i>Apium graveolens</i>)' Puddu (2023: s.v. <i>tirgúsa</i> , <i>tzurgúsa</i>): <i>tirgúsa</i> , <i>trugúsa</i> , <i>turgúsa</i> , <i>tzurgúsa</i> , <i>tzurvúsa</i> 'fool's watercress (<i>Apium nodiflorum</i> (L.) Lag.)'; <i>turgusòne</i> , <i>tzurgúsa</i> 'celery (<i>Apium graveolens</i>)'
2: * <i>urgúsa</i>	Blasco Ferrer (1988: 175): <i>uryúsa</i> (3: Orani) 'fool's watercress (<i>Apium nodiflorum</i>)'
3: * <i>kugúsa</i>	DES (I: 422): <i>kugúsa</i> (4: Mamoiada) 'fool's watercress (<i>Apium nodiflorum</i>)', ⁵³ wild celery (<i>Apium graveolens</i>) Puddu (2023: s.v. <i>tirgúsa</i> , <i>tzurgúsa</i>): <i>cugúsa</i> 'fool's watercress (<i>Apium nodiflorum</i>), celery (<i>Apium graveolens</i>)'
4: * <i>ǵelikúsa</i>	Paulis (1992: 141): <i>tseliyúsa</i> (Arborese) 'wild celery (<i>Apium graveolens</i>)' Puddu (2023: s.v. <i>tirgúsa</i> , <i>tzurgúsa</i>): <i>tseligúsa</i> 'id.'
5: * <i>ǵikúsa</i>	Puddu (2023: s.v. <i>tirgúsa</i> , <i>tzurgúsa</i>): <i>atigúsa</i> 'celery (<i>Apium graveolens</i>)'

The cited forms refer to a number of plant species. The forms from Bitti (1), Nuoro (2), and Mamoiada (4) all refer to species of the genus *Apium*. For the variant from Orgosolo (5), Wagner gives the meaning 'water hemlock (*Cicuta* sp.)'. This meaning is not represented by Puddu, who only has 'fool's watercress' and 'celery'. The lexical forms themselves have in common that they end in *-gúsa*. If they are etymologically related, we can observe an alternation between initial *ku-* vs. *ǵur-* (*ǵru-* is due to metathesis).

Besides the forms presented by Wagner, Blasco Ferrer (1988: 175) records *uryúsa* 'fool's watercress', found only in Orani (3). Its relation to *ǵurgúsa*, also attested in Orani, is not quite clear; Paulis (1992: 141) proposes that the *ǵ-* may have been detached by confusion with the article. The alternating presence of **ǵ-* suggests the presence of the pre-Roman element **ǵ(i)-* (§ 9.1.2). An interpretation **ǵurgúsa* would preclude a direct comparison to **kugúsa*, **ǵelikúsa* etc., unless

⁵² These data are discussed in a similar fashion in Swanenvleugel (2024: 226–228).

⁵³ Older sources often use the binomial *Helosciadium nodiflorum* (L.) W.D.J.Koch, which is a synonym of *Apium nodiflorum* (cf. WFO 2021: s.v. *Helosciadium nodiflorum*).

**urgúsa* is assumed to be some kind of compound with **k/gúsa* in other forms. This is of course purely speculative. Paulis (1992: 141) lists *turgusòne* for Logudorese and *tseliyúsa* for South Logudorese, which corresponds to Virdis' Arborese variety (Virdis 1988: 912). *Tseliyúsa* 'celery' also has -*gúsa* but starts in *tse-*, which could be the element *ǵili-* that is found in various non-inherited words (cf. § 9.1.2). Puddu (2023) has many forms, most of which can be compared to the forms attested in Wagner and Paulis. An exception to this is *atigúsa* 'celery'. Its initial sequence *ati-* likely represents pre-Roman **ǵi-* (cf. Macomer *attilyèrta* < **ǵilikèrta*).

Paulis (1992: 141–142) treats *ǵurgúsa* and *kuyúsa* as unrelated words. *Kuyúsa* would be identical to *kukúsa* 'flake'. The problem is that this is expected to yield ***kuʔúsa* in Mamoiada. Paulis proposes a connection between *ǵurgúsa* 'wild celery' and *orgòsa*, *urgúsa* 'source of water' (§ 5.1.7). These words are themselves of obscure origin, so this connection is speculative. It is rather unattractive to separate *ǵurgúsa* and *kuyúsa*, which both contain *-*gúsa* and which both mean 'wild celery'. If all of the presented forms are taken to be etymologically related, we are dealing with an alternation between initial *ku-*, *ǵur-*, *ur-*, **ǵili-* and **ǵi-*. Except for the *ǵur-*, this coincides with alternations observed in some other lexical items (cf. § 9.1). Whether *ǵur-* is some variant of **ǵili-*, or a different morpheme altogether in the source language, is difficult to establish on the basis of one word. The Logudorese and Arborese forms listed by Paulis and Puddu (*turgusòne* and *tseliyúsa*) show that the distribution of this family of words for plants of the genus *Apium* must be rather larger than Wagner's attestations would suggest. Pittau (1995: 209) proposes a shared pre-Roman origin for the Sardinian forms and Lat. *cicūta* 'poison hemlock'. This is formally problematic.⁵⁴

One difficulty in the comparison of Wagner's forms to those listed by Paulis and Puddu is the reconstruction of the velar obstruent. Types 1, 2 and 3 all need an original *-*g-*, since *-*k-* would either have been preserved, or have yielded ***-ʔ-* in Mamoiada and Orgosolo (Wagner 1941a: 71). The same goes for the -*g-* in Logudorese *turgusòne*, where *-*k-* is also expected to be preserved post-consonantly (Wagner 1941a: 175). In Arborese *tseliyúsa* and probably also *atigusa* (if it is Logudorese), the -*ǵ/-g-* should go back to *-*k-*, since intervocalic *-*g-* would have disappeared in these dialects (Wagner 1941a: 79). Perhaps the preservation of -*g-* in the Logudorese and Arborese dialects is due to influence

⁵⁴ Pittau (1995: 209) also includes Srd. *aússa* 'poison hemlock' (*Conium maculatum* L.) in this comparison (see § 3.1.10). Lat. *cicūta* has been compared to Celtic forms (Pedersen 1909: 209; Wigman 2023: 193).

from forms like Camp. *kuyúttsula* ‘wild artichoke’ < Lat. *cucutium* ‘hood, cap’, as Paulis (1992: 142) suggests. It is in any case plausible that the sequence **-gusa* (or **-kusa*) in the discussed forms is etymologically one and the same pre-Roman element. The alternations of the initial sequence are not isolated, and may indicate pre-Roman morphological patterns (§ 9.1).

3.1.7 False fennel (*Ridolfia segetum*)

Reconstruction	Forms
<i>*šikkiría</i>	DES (II: 589): <i>tsikkiría</i> (Camp.), <i>tsirikkía</i> (1: Villacidro) ‘a species of dill/false fennel (<i>Ridolfia segetum</i> Moris)’ ⁵⁵

This word has been connected in DES (II: 589) to the word *σικκιρία* ‘dill (*Anethum graveolens*)’ cited in *De materia medica* (Dioscorides Anazarbei 1906: III: 58 RV) as a Punic word (i.e. “Αφροί”).⁵⁶ The close formal and semantic match between the Sardinian and the Punic forms make it very likely that the Sardinian forms go back directly to Punic spoken on Sardinia. Blau (1873: 527) does not, as Paulis (1990: 601; 1992: 167) suggests, discuss the Sardinian forms, but he does propose a connection between the Punic word and Hebr. שֶׁכָּר (*šēkār*) >> Gr. σίκερα ‘fermented liquor, strong drink’ (cf. Liddell et al. 1978: s.v. σίκερα). The descendants of Proto-Semitic **šikar-* ‘alcoholic drink’ and the related verbal root **škr-* ‘to become inebriated’ are widely attested in the Semitic languages (Kogan 2012a: 241). An etymological connection between Pun. *σικκιρία* ‘dill’ and Hebr. שֶׁכָּר (*šēkār*) therefore requires a semantic shift from ‘alcoholic drink’ to ‘dill’ on the Punic side. Whether this is accepted or not, does not alter the likelihood of a Punic origin for the Sardinian forms.

⁵⁵ DES defines this word as “a species of dill” (“*una specie di aneto*”), but gives the scientific name *Ridolfia segetum*, which is in fact ‘false fennel’ rather than ‘dill (*Anethum graveolens* L.)’. The plants are rather similar in appearance and odor though.

⁵⁶ Wellmann (Dioscorides Anazarbei 1906: III: 58 RV) has *σικκιρία*, with the accent on the final syllable. Blau (1873: 527) cites *σικκίρια* however, with proparoxytone accent and Wagner’s (DES II: 589) form is yet different, with paroxytone *σικκιρία*. Wagner’s form may have been influenced by Sardinian paroxytone *tsikkiría*. It is not clear to me whether to follow Blau or Wellmann’s edition of Dioscorides Anazarbei, but it is of little consequence to the etymological discussion of this word. There is also Pun. *σικκιρίαμ* ‘parsnip’ (Dioscorides Anazarbei 1906: III: 52 RV), which may or may not be related (cf. Múrcia Sánchez 2011: 443).

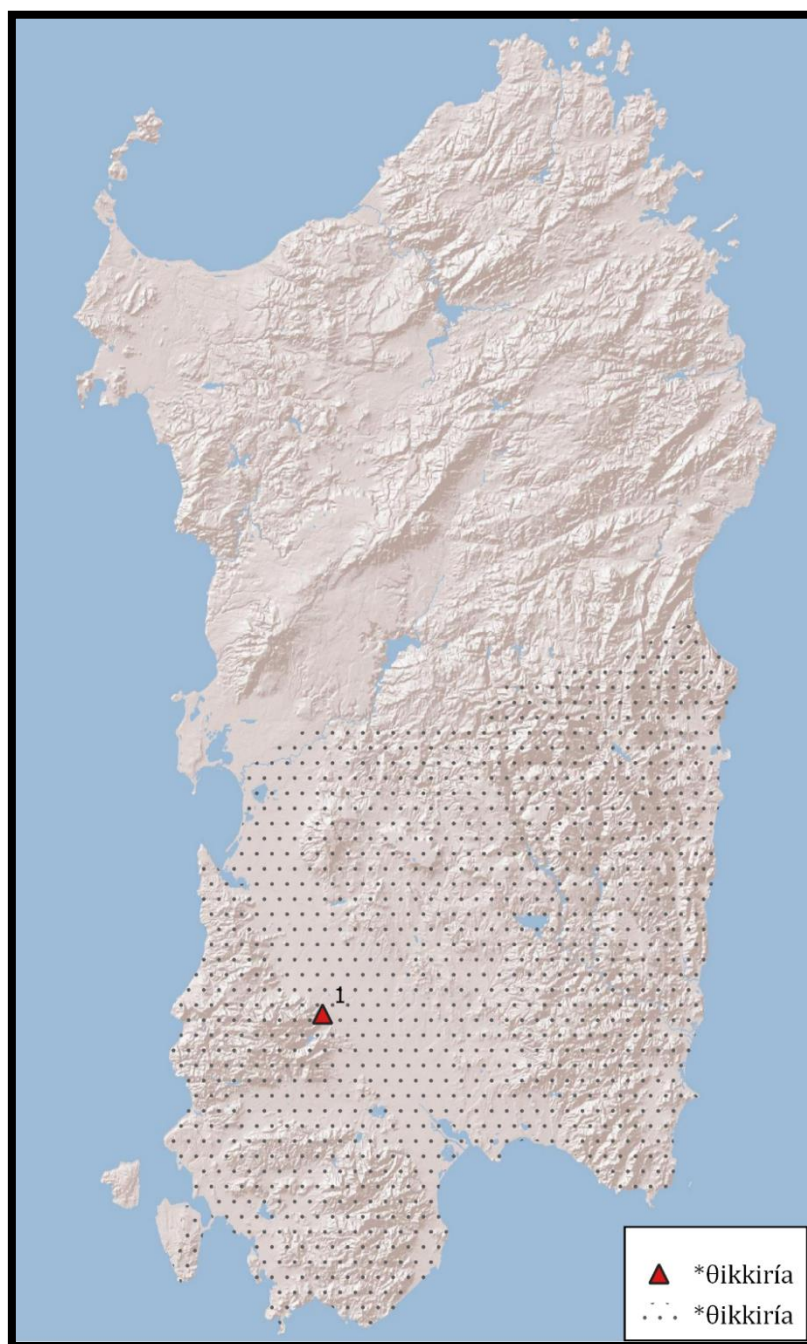


Figure 3.1.7: False fennel (*Ridolfia segetum*)

A peculiar feature of the Sardinian forms is their lack of expected palatalization, as **tsikkiría* would be expected to yield ***tsiččiría*. This does not discredit its etymology in Punic $\sigma\chi\chi\iota\rho\iota\acute{\alpha}$ though. In Berber, Múrcia Sánchez (2011: 432–433) compares Tsh. *taskra* ‘thistle with small and very prickly leaves; *Echinops spinosissimus* Turra’ (cf. van den Boogert 1998: 178, 184),⁵⁷ <*tāsakra*, *tāsikrā*, *sakrā*> ‘black chamoeleon (*Cardopatum corymbosum* Pers.)’ (‘*Umdat aṭ-ṭabīb*; cf. Tilmatine & Bustamante 2002: 433), <*taskrat*, *teskera*> ‘*Echinops spinosissimus*’ (Trabut 1935: 96). He reconstructs these forms as **tā-sīkrā* < **sīkkīryā*,⁵⁸ which would correspond to Punic $\sigma\chi\chi\iota\rho\iota\acute{\alpha}$. However, as Múrcia Sánchez (2011: 433) himself notes, the fact that the Berber forms refer to prickly, “thistle-like” plants, while the Punic and Sardinian forms refer to ‘dill’ and ‘false fennel’, renders the comparison semantically rather difficult.

It should be noted, however, that in two anonymous medieval Arabic-Berber word lists, Tsh. <*taskrā*> is defined as Ar. شِبِيتْ *šibitt* ‘dill’ (van den Boogert 1998: 178, 184; cf. Múrcia Sánchez 2011: 432 fn. 2985). This identification is deemed “incorrect” by Van den Boogert (1998: 31, 178, 184). The fact that Pun. $\sigma\chi\chi\iota\rho\iota\acute{\alpha}$ and Tsh. <*taskrā*> are formally compatible (Múrcia Sánchez 2011: 433), and are attested in the meaning ‘dill’, are evidence in favor of an etymological relationship between these forms. How exactly the meaning ‘dill/false fennel’ would have developed into that of ‘thistle’, or vice versa, is not clear to me.

3.1.8 Fleabane, yellow (*Dittrichia viscosa*)

Reconstruction	Forms
<i>*frís(s)a</i>	DES (I: 547): <i>frísa</i> (Camp.) ‘yellow fleabane (<i>Dittrichia viscosa</i> (L.) Greuter)’; ⁵⁹ <i>frísa</i> , <i>fríssa</i> ‘ <i>Artemisia</i> L.’; <i>vríssa</i> (1: Dorgali) ‘great mullein (<i>Verbascum thapsus</i> L.)’ ⁶⁰

This word occurs already in the Condaghe of San Pietro di Silki as [*erua*] *frísa* (Bonazzi 1900: sec. 309). Wagner (DES I: 547) remains agnostic about the etymology of these forms, but does consider a pre-Roman origin.

⁵⁷ Van den Boogert’s *Echinops spinosus* L. is a synonym of *Echinops spinosissimus* Turra (WFO 2022a: s.v. *Echinops spinosissimus* Turra).

⁵⁸ If one reconstructs not two but just one short high vowel for Proto-Berber, this reconstruction would be **tā-səkrā* < **səkkīryā* (cf. Kossmann 2020a: 35–36).

⁵⁹ Wagner’s *Inula viscosa* (L.) Aiton is a synonym of *Dittrichia viscosa* (cf. WFO 2022b: s.v. *Dittrichia viscosa* subsp. *viscosa*).

⁶⁰ Wagner marks the meaning of the Dorgalese form with “(?)”, presumably indicating that this meaning is not completely certain.

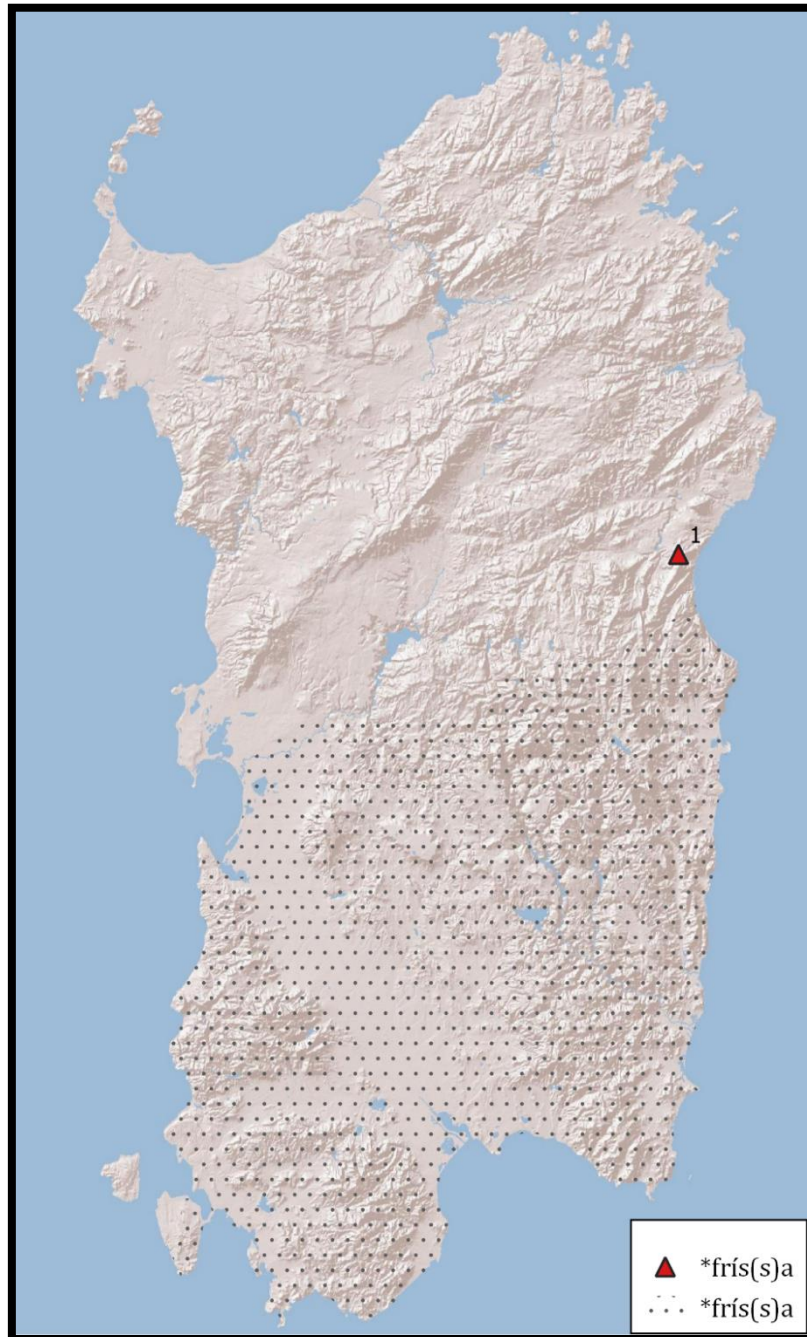


Figure 3.1.8: Yellow fleabane (*Dittrichia viscosa*)

Paulis (1992: 89) on the other hand derives the Sardinian forms from the Latin phytonym *afrissa* ‘dragon lily (*Dracunculus vulgaris* Schott), attested once in Pseudo-Apuleius’ Herbarium (cf. André 1985: 7).⁶¹ Although dragon lily and yellow fleabane are not similar in appearance, Paulis attributes the connection to the fact that both plants are known for their foul smell, as well as to some shared medical uses. The meaning ‘mullein (*Verbascum thapsus*)’ may have come about due to the superficial similarity between mullein and yellow fleabane, which are both rather tall herbaceous plants with yellow flowers. The meaning ‘*Artemisia*’, is found in Spano (1851: 221), but is not confirmed anywhere else (Paulis 1992: 89). Perhaps it is somehow the result of confusion of various scientific plant names containing *dracunculus* (cf. Paulis 1992: 89–90).

It is likely that the Sardinian forms are related to Lat. *afrissa* ‘dragon lily’. The question regarding its etymology is all but resolved however. It is not quite clear where Pseudo-Apuleius’ herbarium was composed. If it is North-African, as has been proposed (Pradel-Baquerre 2013: 20–21), this might be yet another instance of a Sardinian-African Romance isogloss, possibly due to Punic influence (cf. § 10.1). However, without direct evidence for a Punic provenance of these words and/or for the geographic origin of Pseudo-Apuleius, no reliable conclusions can be drawn.

3.1.9 Germander, yellow (*Teucrium flavum*)

Reconstruction	Forms
* <i>bunnánnaru</i>	DES (I: 240): <i>bunnánnaru</i> (1: Bonorva) ‘yellow germander (<i>Teucrium flavum</i> L.)’
	Paulis (1992: 121): [èrβa] <i>bunnánnaru</i> (1: Bonorva) ‘id.’

DES does not propose an etymology for this word, but merely notes its similarity to the toponym *Bunnánnaru* (standard Italian *Bonnanaro*). Paulis (1992: 122) suggests that this similarity may be due to chance or folk etymology, which is plausible. He proposes an etymology **kunn-án-aru*, from Lat. *cunnus* ‘vagina’ because of this plant’s apparent emmenagogue (i.e. menstruation-stimulating) properties. This would require a derivation by means of the inherited substantivizing suffix *-ánu/a* and the “phytonymic suffix” *-aru/a* (Paulis 1992: 122). Even though the semantic development needed for this etymology is acceptable, the evidence for nominalizing derivations with *-ánu/a* is scarce (Wagner 1952: 51–52), and the combination of *-ánu/a* and *-aru/a* is found nowhere else.

⁶¹ Paulis’ (1992: 89) *Arum dracunculus* L. is a synonym of *Dracunculus vulgaris* Schott (cf. WFO 2024b: s.v. *Dracunculus vulgaris*).

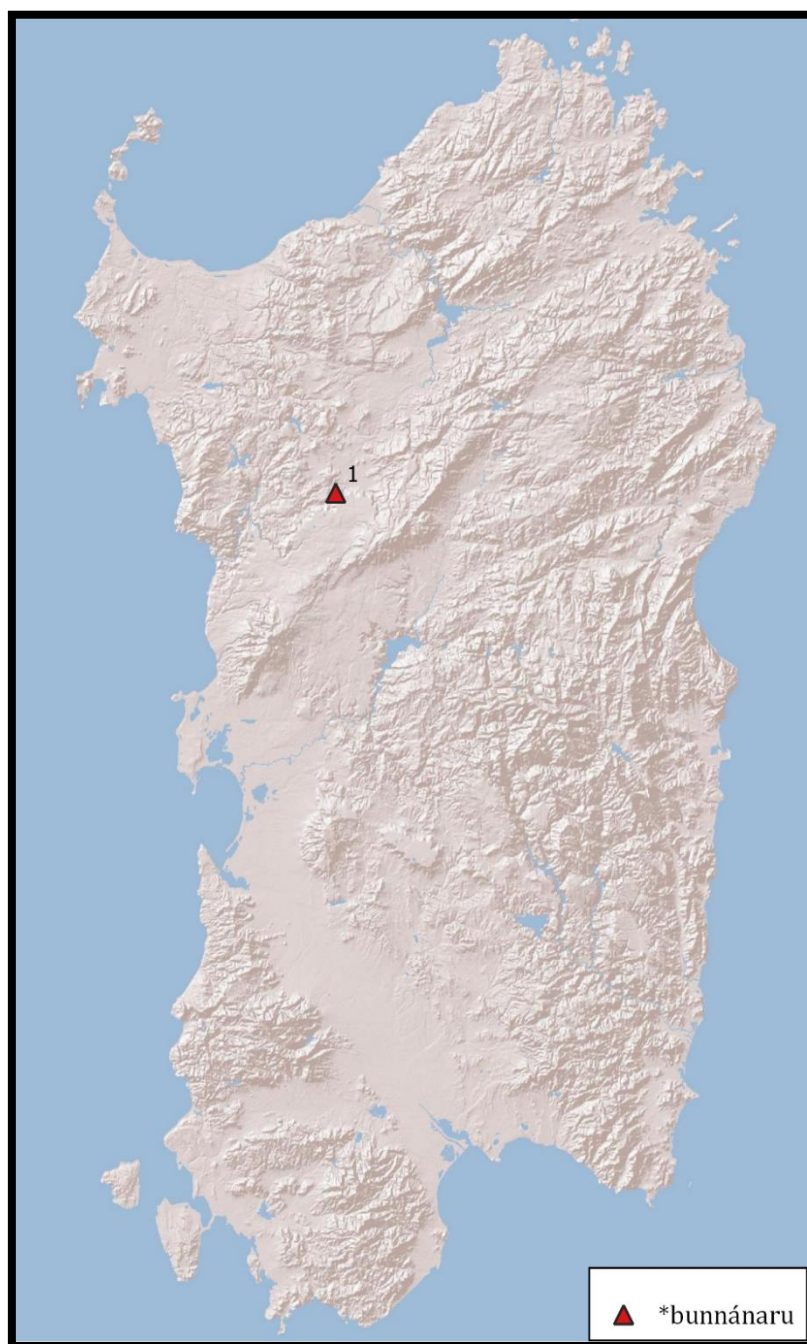


Figure 3.1.9: Yellow germander (*Teucrium flavum*)

Moreover, whereas we would need to assume reanalysis of the initial **k-* of **kunn-án-arū* through **g-* (regular in post-vocalic position) to attested *b-*, this is not paralleled in the regular reflex of Lat. *cunnus* itself, which is *kúnnu* everywhere (DES I: 433). Each of these developments is theoretically possible, but the combined number of assumptions needed to explain *bunnánnaru* ‘yellow germander’ from *kúnnu* ‘vagina’ makes this etymology all but certain. The fact that this word has no apparent cognates outside of Bonorva, makes it difficult to comparatively evaluate Paulis’ proposed etymology, let alone to propose an alternative one.

3.1.10 Hemlock (*Conium maculatum*),

Reconstruction	Forms
<i>*aCússa</i>	DES (I: 153): <i>aússa</i> (1: Villaputzu) ‘poison hemlock (<i>Conium maculatum</i> L.)’

This word is only recorded once, and the informant allegedly had to think before giving this name for ‘poison hemlock’ (DES I: 153). Wagner considers it to be “probably pre-Roman”, but does not discuss it any further. The sequence *-aú-* must originally have contained a consonant (i.e. **-aCú-*), as inherited *-au-* regularly yields *-a-*. It is formally similar to Camp. *alaússa*, which refers to various kinds of mustard and other similar plants (§ 3.1.16). Since Villaputzu is in the Sarrabus region, where intervocalic *-l-* > *-ʔ-* (Wagner 1941a: 123), *aússa* could perhaps have developed from **aʔaússa*. From a semantic point of view this shift from ‘mustard etc.’ to ‘poison hemlock’ is more difficult to understand, although both plants have a superficially similar shape. Pittau (1995: 209) connects *aússa* to *kugúsa*, *ʒurgúsa* etc. ‘fool’s watercress; celery’ < pre-Rom. **-gusa* (§ 3.1.6). This is formally and semantically imaginable, although the geminate *-ss-* in *aússa* is problematic. On the basis of a single attestation it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions.

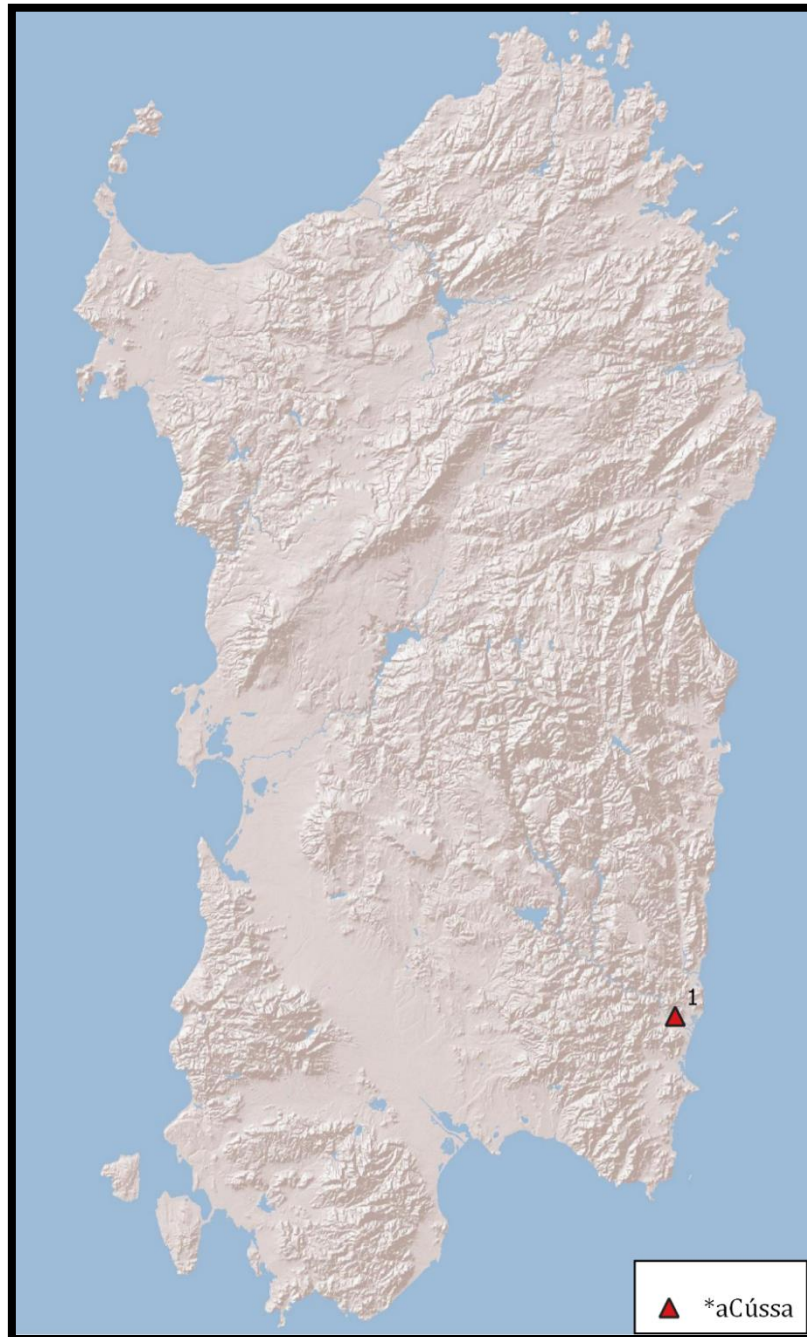


Figure 3.1.10: Hemlock (*Conium maculatum*)

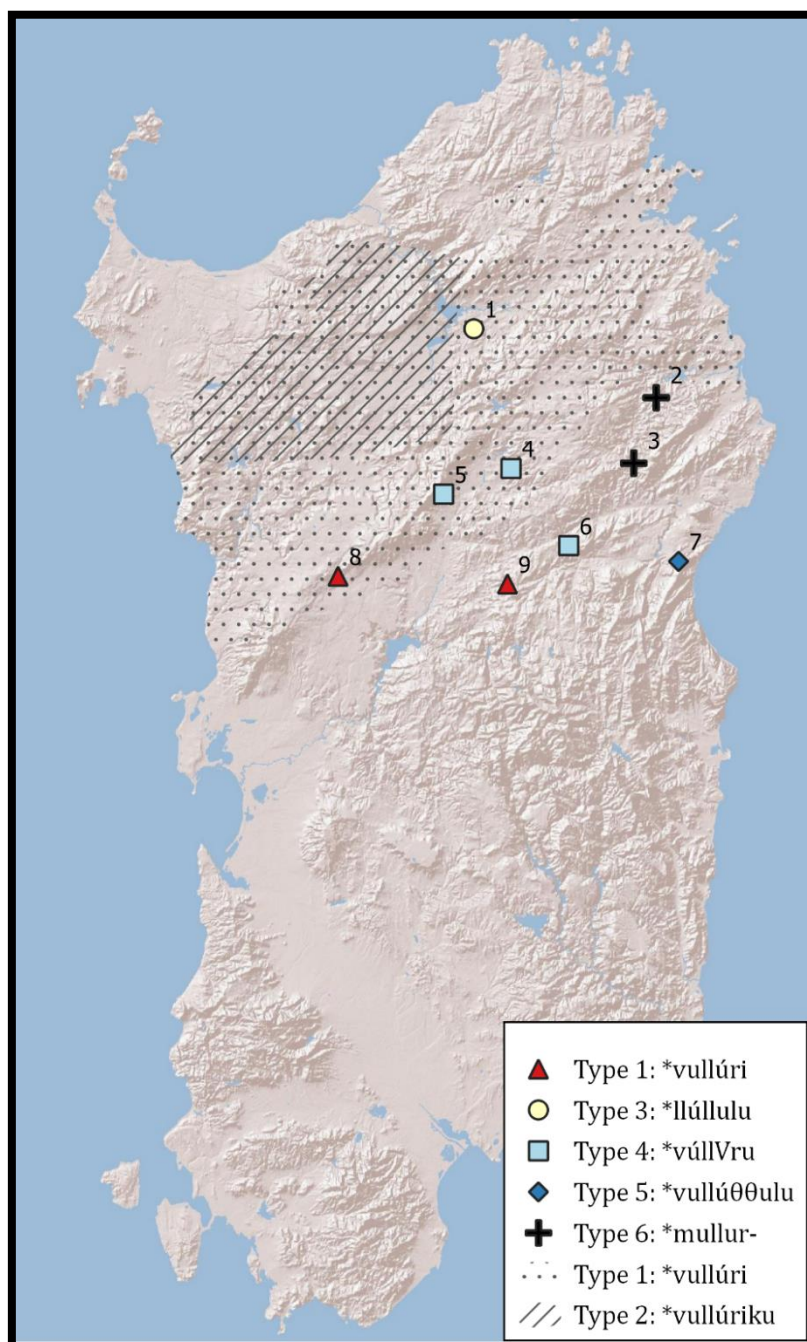


Figure 3.1.11: Hemlock (*Conium maculatum*)

3.1.11 Hemlock (*Conium maculatum*)₂

Reconstruction	Forms
1: * <i>vullúri</i>	DES (I: 204): <i>biḍḍúri</i> (Log.), <i>buḍḍúri</i> , [<i>su</i>] <i>uḍḍúri</i> (8: Macomer) 'poison hemlock (<i>Conium maculatum</i> L.)' Paulis (1992: 151): <i>biḍḍúri</i> , <i>buḍḍúri</i> (Log.), <i>vuḍḍúri</i> (9: Orani) 'id.'
2: * <i>vullúriku</i>	DES (I: 204): <i>uḍḍúriḡu</i> (NLog.) 'id.'
3: * <i>llúllulu</i>	DES (I: 204): [<i>su</i>] <i>ḍḍúḍḍulu</i> (1: Oschiri) 'id.'
4: * <i>vúllVru</i>	DES (I: 204): <i>uḍḍuréḍḍu</i> (4: Nule), <i>úḍḍuru</i> (5: Bono) 'id.' Paulis (1992: 151): <i>búḍḍaru</i> (6: Nuoro) 'id.'
5: * <i>vullúṣṣulu</i>	Paulis (1992: 151): <i>guḍḍútulu</i> (7: Dorgali) 'id.'
6: * <i>mullur-</i>	Paulis (1992: 151): <i>meḍḍure</i> (2: Lodè), <i>muḍḍuru</i> (3: Lula) 'id.'

There is quite some variation in these words for 'poison hemlock', which lack a clear Latin etymology. Most widespread is type 1, from which type 2 is derived by means of the suffix *-(i)ku (cf. Wagner 1952: 16). Types 3 and 4 are accented on the first syllable and have different suffixes than -úri found in type 1. Type 3 ([*su*] *ḍḍúḍḍulu*; 3: Oschiri) contains the inherited diminutive suffix -ulu (Wagner 1952: 35). The forms of type 4 contain -aru and -uru, which are not inherited from Latin. Unaccented -aru/a occurs with some frequency in words of suspected pre-Roman origin (§ 9.2.6.2); -uru may be due to assimilation of -aru to preceding accented -ú-. Type 5 (*guḍḍútulu*; 7: Dorgali) has -út(t)ulu < Lat. -úceu + -ulu (Wagner 1952: 35). In the forms of type 6, the place of the accent is not indicated, which makes it impossible to establish which suffix we are dealing with. As for the initial consonant, we find *b-* in types 1 and 4. The forms without an initial consonant (e.g. *uḍḍuréḍḍu*; 4: Nule) as well as with initial *g-* (in *guḍḍútulu*; 7: Dorgali) can be explained from original **b-* by reanalysis of the postvocalic form, in which the onset was regularly lost, as the base form (cf. Wagner 1941a: 206–209). The onset *ḍḍ-* in type 3 is likely due to assimilation to the following -ḍḍ-. The *m-* of the forms in type 6 is slightly more difficult to explain morpho-phonologically, but cf. Wagner (1941a: 102). All in all, most forms are most easily explained from **buḍḍ-* < **bull-/vull-*. The variant *vuḍḍúri* (9: Orani) provides evidence that *v-* may be original. Although all Sardinian dialects, except for the dialect of Bitti, generally merge inherited -*v-* and -*b-* in all positions (Wagner 1941a: 97–98), there are some traces of preservation of original -*v-* as distinct from -*b-*. For Orani, cf. *vervèke* 'sheep' vs. Log. *berβèye* 'id.' < Lat. *vervex* 'wether' (Wagner 1941a: 101; DES II: 573); *vinnínna* 'grape harvest' vs. Log., Camp. *binnènna* 'id.' < Lat. *vindēmia* 'id.' (DES II: 578). Wagner (DES I: 204) argues that Log. *biḍḍúri* is due to vowel dissimilation from older *buḍḍúri*, whose vocalism is more widely

attested across the dialects. Against this, Paulis (1992: 152) proposes that the vocalism of *buddúri* etc. may have arisen through association with *búdda* ‘gut, rectal intestine’, because of the plant’s unpleasant smell and its frequent presence in dunghills.⁶² Positing original **billúri* would allow for a comparison with Tusc. *billeri* (pl.) ‘mayflowers (*Cardamine pratensis* L.)’, as proposed by Pittau (*apud* Paulis 1992: 151; Pittau 1995: 203; cf. also Alessio 1949: 132). However, poison hemlock and mayflowers are rather different plants, especially given the fact that the latter is edible while the former is extremely poisonous. Paulis’ proposal that *buddúri* etc. was influenced by *búdda* ‘gut, rectal intestine’, does not quite explain forms such as *ddúddulu*, *guddútulu* and *mudduru*. The fact that these all have *-u*-vocalism, suggests that it may be original after all.

In conclusion, the two types that cannot be explained in terms of inherited material, are type 1 *buddúri* etc., and type 4 *búddaru* etc. The question is whether the difference in suffixation results from the existence of two differently suffixed pre-Roman forms that were borrowed into Sardinian independently, or from secondary formations within Sardinian. In light of the occurrence of both *-úri* and *-ara/u* in other Sardinian words of pre-Roman origin (§ 9.2.6), we are likely dealing with a pre-Roman base **vull-* referring to ‘poison hemlock’.

3.1.12 Mullein, great (*Verbascum thapsus*),⁶³

Reconstruction Forms

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| 1: <i>*túmbar-</i> | DES (I: 261-262): <i>túmbaru</i> (1: Monti) ‘sow thistle (<i>Sonchus oleraceus</i> L.)’, <i>túmbara</i> (4: Urzulei) ‘great mullein (<i>Verbascum thapsus</i> L.)’ |
| 2: <i>*tutúmbar-</i> | Paulis (1992: 61): <i>tutúmbaru</i> (2: Lodè, 3: Siniscola) ‘spurge (<i>Euphorbia</i> sp. L.)’ |
| 3: <i>*katúmb(u)u</i> | DES (I: 261-262): <i>kađúmbu</i> (5: Milis, 9: Oristano, 13: Usellus, 14: Mogoro), <i>kardúmmulu</i> (6: Tonara), <i>kađúmbulu</i> (7: Meana Sardo, 9: Laconi), <i>karúmbulu</i> (8: Tortolì), <i>karćúmbulu</i> (11: Gairo), <i>kardúmbulu</i> (12: Seui), <i>kađrúmbulu</i> (15: Escalaplano), <i>kađúmbuʔu</i> (16: Siurgus), <i>kadúmbuxu</i> (17: San Nicolò Gerrei, 18: Dolianova) ‘great mullein (<i>Verbascum thapsus</i>)’ |

⁶² I am however not convinced by Paulis’ (1992: 152) remark that poison hemlock’s hollow stems would necessarily remind speakers of rectal intestines.

⁶³ These data are discussed in a similar fashion in Swanenvleugel (2024: 236–239).

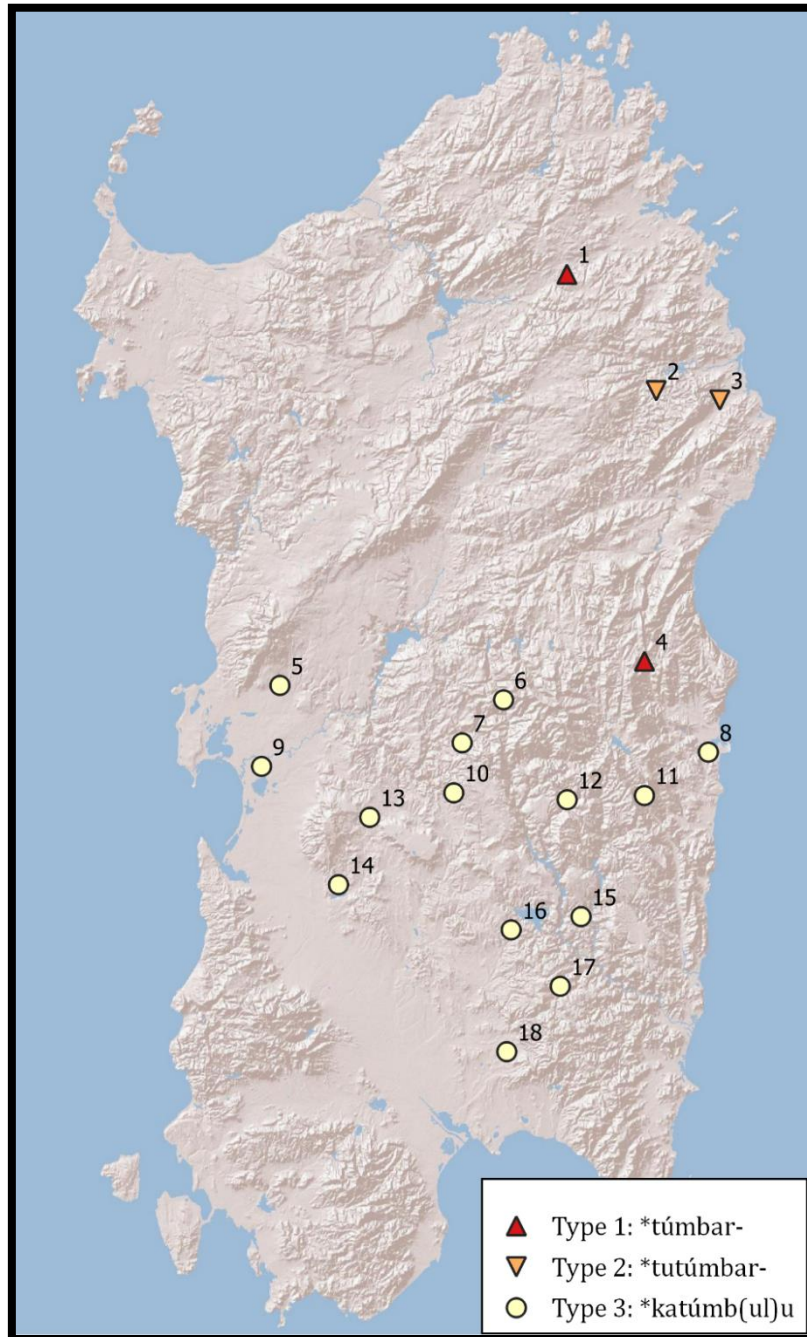


Figure 3.1.12: Great mullein (*Verbascum thapsus*)

In the meaning ‘great mullein’, we find forms of type 1 next to type 3. The latter of these invariably refer to ‘great mullein’. Type 1 *túmbara* (2) ‘great mullein’ however has a near-homonym *túmbaru* (1) that denotes ‘sow thistle’. Mullein and sow thistle are two rather different, unrelated plants. Both do have yellow flowers however, and both are used in traditional medicine. The question is whether these superficial similarities are enough to motivate a semantic shift from ‘mullein’ to ‘sow thistle’.

Paulis (1992: 61, 354–355) argues that *tutúmbaru* ‘spurge (*Euphorbia* sp.)’ (type 2) was inherited from Lat. *tithymalus* (which in turn is from Gr. τιθύμαλ(λ)ος ‘milkweed (*Euphorbia peplus* L.)’; Beekes 2010: 1483–1484). This *tutúmbaru* would have been extended semantically, on the one hand, to ‘sow thistle (*Sonchus oleraceus*)’, due to both plants’ “milk-like” sap,⁶⁴ and on the other hand to ‘mullein (*Verbascum thapsus*)’, because of both plants’ use as a piscicide (cf. Heizer 1953: 263). There are several issues with this scenario. Firstly, Lat. *tithymalus* ‘spurge’ is continued in Sardinian as Log. *titímbalu*, Nuor. *ḡiḡímbalu* (Paulis 1992: 170). This does not correspond regularly to *tutúmbaru* found in Lodè (2) and Siniscola (3), where we would also expect ***ḡiḡímbalu*. The same goes for *túmbaru* ‘sow thistle’, which Paulis (1992: 355) explains as the result of influence from Log. *túmbaru* ‘empty beehive’, on account of the hollow stem of the sow thistle, citing Wagner’s (DES II: 532) hypothesis that the word for ‘beehive’ is a loan from It. *túbolo* ‘tube’. Regardless of the likelihood of the phonetic developments needed for *túbolo* ‘tube’ >> *túmbaru* ‘empty beehive’, it is important to note that *túmbaru* itself does not mean ‘tube’. Moreover, spurges (*Euphorbia* sp.) do not have hollow stems. It is thus unlikely that this word for ‘empty beehive’ has had anything to do with the botanical terms discussed here, and the forms *tutúmbaru* ‘spurge’ and *túmbaru* ‘sow thistle’ remain unresolved. Paulis is probably right in attributing the similarity between *tutúmbaru* ‘spurge’, *túmbaru* ‘sow thistle’ and *túmbara* ‘mullein’ to popular association of these plants because of similar uses or botanical traits, but it seems more likely that it was *túmbara* ‘mullein’ that influenced the outcome of Lat. *tithymalus* ‘spurge’ in Lodè (2) and Siniscola (3).

For the forms of type 3, Paulis (1992: 355) considers two different etymologies. On the one hand he compares it to the Hesychian gloss καράμβας ‘shepherd’s staff’ (Hesychius Alexandrinus 2020: 523), and to Skt. *kaḍamba-* ‘end, point; stalk’ (Monier-Williams 1872: 245a). On the other hand, he proposes *kaḍumbu* to be a contraction of **kánn’e ḡumbu* ‘reed of the “tumbu” (one of the three pipes of the traditional Sardinian musical instrument *launèdḡas*). For the Sanskrit (and Hes-

⁶⁴ Cf. the Dutch names *wolfsmelk* ‘spurge’ and *melkdistel* ‘sow thistle’.

ychian) comparison, the geographical as well as the semantic distance are simply too great for it to be of any use. The second comparison is unlikely because *launèddas* are made of reed, which is not at all similar to mullein. The best option is still to treat this word as being of possible pre-Roman origin, and to analyze it within Sardinian before jumping to far-flung comparisons.

Within type 3, we find a large variety of forms. Most of these can be explained by secondary insertion of *-r-*. In the case of this specific word, this may have been due to influence from *kardu* ‘thistle’, but non-etymological *-r-*epenthesis is a common phenomenon in Sardinian in general (Wagner 1941a: 225–227). As such, *kaḏumbu* and its diminutive *kaḏumbulu* are the base form of this type.⁶⁵ The intervocalic *-ḏ-* in this word must go back to an original *-t-* (Wagner 1941a: 69), leading to a reconstruction **katumbu*. This leaves us with **katumbu* next to *túmbaru/a*. An apparent suffix *‘ara/u* occurs with some frequency in the non-inherited Sardinian lexicon (§ 9.2.6.2). This allows us to identify a stem *-tumb-* in both **ka-tumb-* and *tumb-ara*. Prefixed *ka-* occurs in several words of suspected pre-Roman origin (cf. § 9.1.1).

3.1.13 Mullein, great (*Verbascum thapsus*)₂

Reconstruction	Forms
<i>*trofolla</i>	DES (II: 525): <i>truèdda</i> (Gallur.), <i>travòdda</i> (1: Sennori), <i>trovòdda</i> (2: Bonorva, 3: Padria, 4: Nuoro, 8: Ghilarza), <i>trivòdda</i> (5: Macomer, 6: Scano di Montiferro, 7: Santu Lussurgiu, 10: Busachi, 11: Baunei), <i>tròdda</i> (9: Fonni) ‘great mullein (<i>Verbascum thapsus</i> L.)’

Besides the forms listed above, Wagner (DES II: 525) mentions a non-localized variant *truvèdda*, which he believes must be somewhere from the north because of its similarity to Gallurese *truèdda*. Wagner (DES II: 525) and Paulis (1992: 355–356) both follow Schuchardt (1899: 183), who derives the Sardinian forms from Lat. *turbāre* ‘to disturb’, because of the practice of stunning fish by putting mullein in the water (cf. Heizer 1953). Although this etymology would work well semantically, cf. Srd. *truvísku* ‘flax-leaved daphne (*Daphne gnidium* L.)’ < Lat. *turbiscus* (Schuchardt 1899: 182–183; DES II:530), it is phonologically and morphologically problematic.

⁶⁵ Some of the other differences are due to local dialectal developments, such as the development of **-l-* in *kaḏumbuṛu* (San Nicolò Gerrei, Dolianova), *kaḏumbuṛu* (Siurgus) < *kaḏumbulu*.

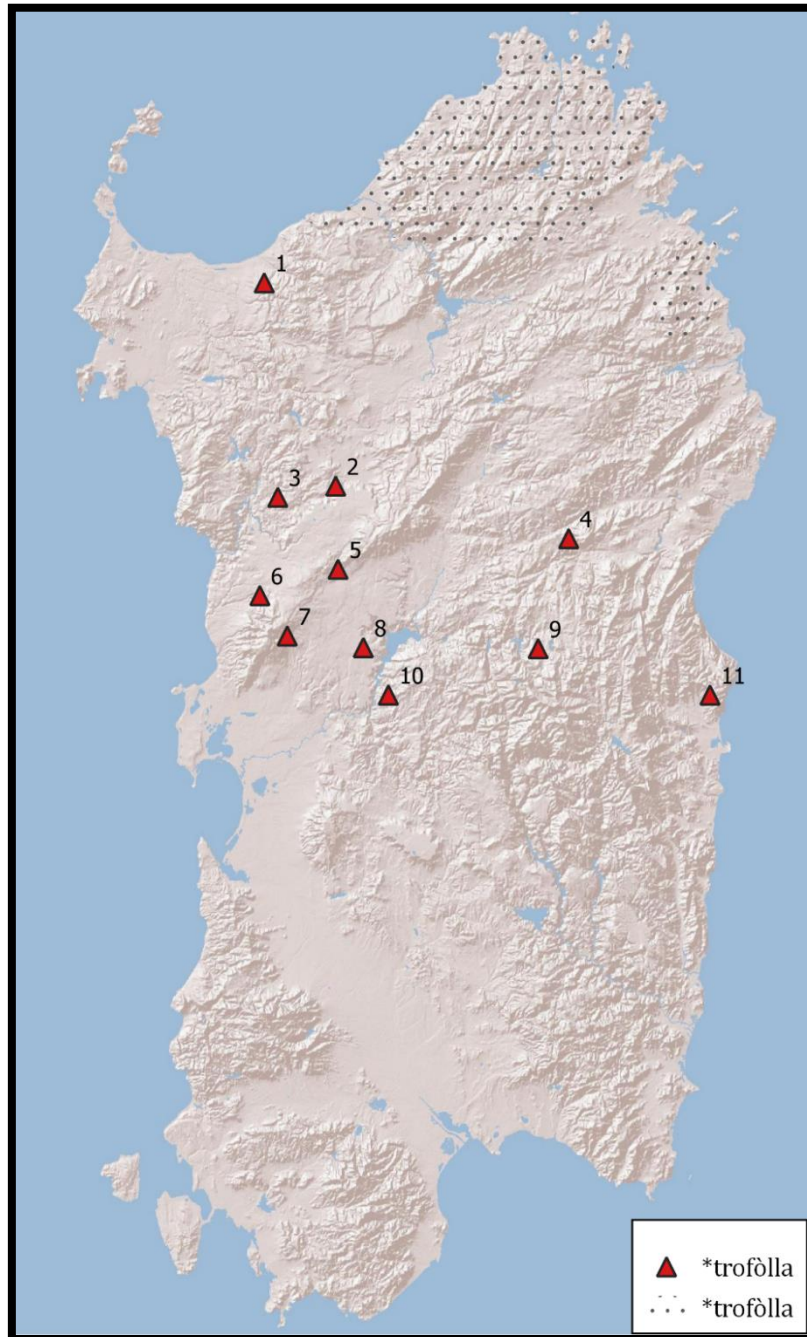


Figure 3.1.13: Great mullein (*Verbascum thapsus*)

Wagner (DES II: 525) notes that the ending *-òḍḍa*, which should go back to **-olla*, is peculiar and not found elsewhere in Sardinian. On the phonological side, there are two issues in deriving *trovòḍḍa* etc. from Lat. *turbare*. The first is that the expected vocalism would be ***truvòḍḍa*, which is attested only in the Sardo-Corsican dialect of the Gallura. Although sporadic pretonic vowel changes are common (Wagner 1941a: 24–33), we would still expect pretonic *-u-* to be preserved somewhere; cf. also Log. *truḅbare* ‘to flush, to incite (animals)’ < Lat. *turbare*, Log. *truḅísku* ‘flax-leaved daphne’ < Lat. *turbiscus* (DES II: 529–530), which preserve pretonic *-u-*. The actually attested vocalism for this word rather points to original *-o-*. The second issue concerns its consonantism. If this word were from *turb-*, we would expect *-b-* to yield *-ḃ-* in most dialects (Wagner 1941a: 98–100, 176). Even if we take into account sporadic outcomes of **-b-* as *-v-*, such as in *truvísku* ‘flax-leaved daphne’ (Nuoro) < Lat. *turbiscus* (DES II: 530), this does not explain the complete absence of this consonant in *tròḍḍa* (9: Fonni). For these reasons, it is more consistent with the data to assume an original **-f-* in this word. In the Barbaricine dialects, to which Fonni belongs, *-f-* is lost, while it becomes *-v-* intervocalically elsewhere (Wagner 1941a: 90–91).

At face value, these Sardinian words for ‘great mullein’ thus point to original **trofòlla*. The morphological and phonological difficulties described above cause Schuchardt’s (1899: 183) etymology to lose much of its explanatory power, and it is best abandoned, although there may still have been influence from *truvàre* < Lat. *turbare* in the forms *truvèḍḍa* and Gallur. *truèḍḍa*. It is in any case clear that in these forms the ending *-òḍḍa* was remade into *-èḍḍa*, which is the productive diminutive suffix < Lat. *-ella/us*. The reconstruction of *trovòḍḍa* etc. ‘great mullein’ as **trofòlla* and the rejection of its etymology mean that it is of obscure origin, just like several other words for ‘mullein’. It may be of pre-Roman origin, although there is no direct evidence beside its lack of an etymology.

3.1.14 Mullein (*Verbascum sp.*)

Reconstruction	Forms
<i>*lòkri</i>	DES (II: 34): <i>lòkri</i> (1: Busachi) ‘species of mullein (<i>Verbascum sp.</i> L.) used to make mats’
	Puddu (2023: s.v. <i>lócrici</i>): <i>lócrici</i> ‘species of mullein (<i>Verbascum sp.</i>)’

This word from Busachi is attested with an open *-ò-* in Wagner, and with a closed *-ó-* in Puddu. One wonders whether the open *-ò-* in Wagner could be due to an error. We would expect **lòkri* to yield *lókri* with closed *-ó-*, due to the following *-i*.

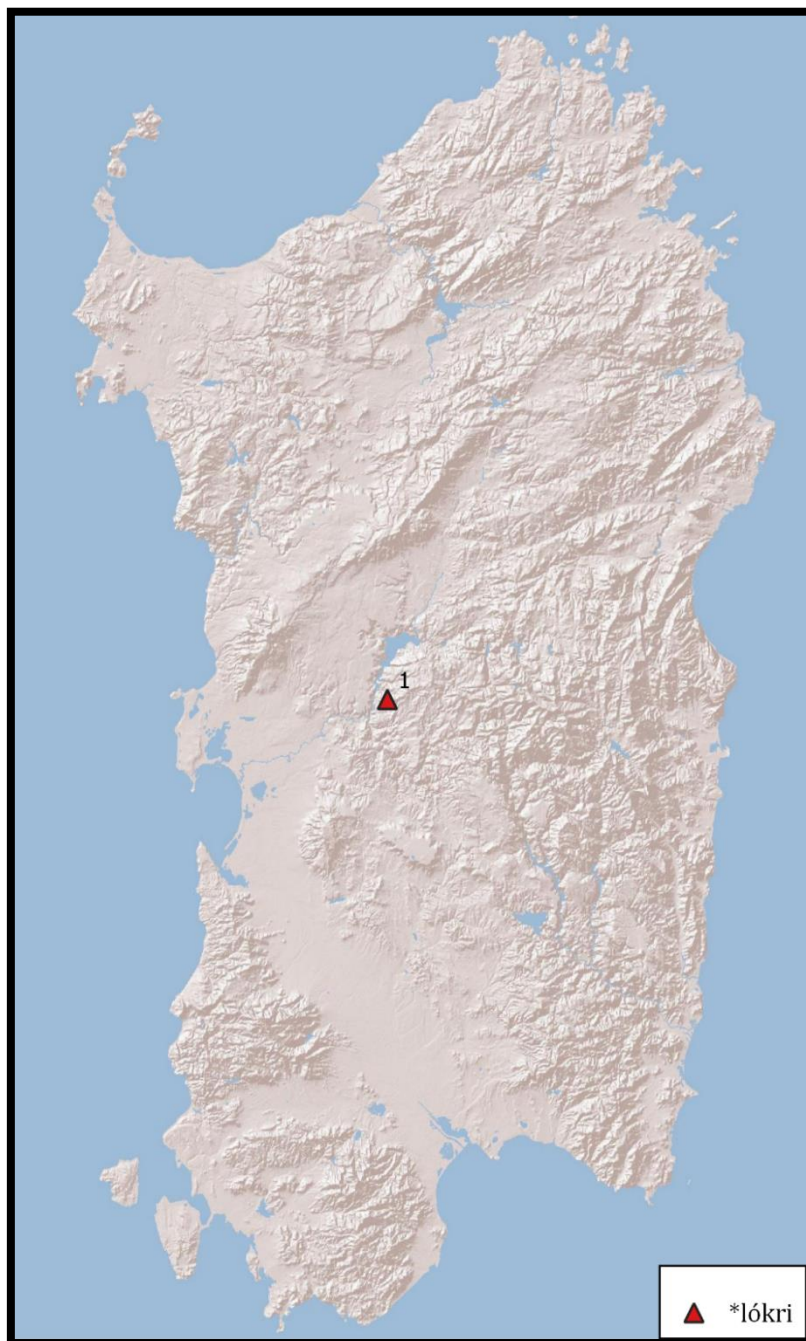


Figure 3.1.14: Mullein (*Verbascum* sp.)

Note furthermore that Busachi does not belong to the dialects that raise the unaccented mid vowels *e*, *o* to *i*, *u* (cf. Wagner 1907b: Map 1), so an original **lòkre* is impossible too. Wagner (DES II: 34) does not express any thoughts on the etymology of this isolated form. Paulis (1992: 356) proposes a back-formation from *lukréžu* ‘*Stachys glutinosa*’. This etymology is based on his assumption that *lukréžu*, which is attested only in Aritzo, goes back to Lat. *helicrysum* (Paulis 1992: 115)(cf. § 3.1.3). It is not clear to me what the motivation for a back-formation of *lukréžu* ‘*Stachys glutinosa*’ >> *lò/ókri* ‘mullein’ could have been, and by which mechanism *-éžu* was detached. In my view Srd. *lòkri*, *lócrici* remains obscure; it could be of pre-Roman origin, but this is difficult to establish on the basis of a single form.

3.1.15 Poppy (*Papaver rhoeas*)

Reconstruction	Forms
1: * <i>ánda</i>	Wagner (1928: Map 9): <i>ánna</i> [<i>e lóyu</i>] (1: Torpè), <i>ánna</i> [<i>e lóku</i>] (2: Siniscola, 3: Bitti) ‘common poppy (<i>Papaver rhoeas</i> L.)’
2: *(a) <i>ǵánda</i>	Wagner (1928: Map 9): ⁶⁶ <i>aǵánda</i> (Nuor., 4: Orune, 5: Lollove, 6: Nuoro, 7: Dorgali, 8: Oliena, 10: Orgosolo, 14: Urzulei), <i>ǵánda</i> (12: Ollolai, 13: Gavoi) ‘id.’ DES (I: 151): <i>aǵánda</i> (13: Gavoi) ‘id.’; [<i>fròre e</i>] <i>tǵánda</i> (14: Triei) ‘id.’
3: * <i>ǵránda</i>	Wagner (1928: Map 9): <i>ǵránda</i> (9: Orani) ‘id.’
4: * <i>ǵánǵa</i>	Wagner (1928: Map 9): <i>tsántsa</i> (11: Olzai) ‘id.’
5: * <i>ǵándara</i>	Puddu (2023: s.v. <i>tàndha</i> , <i>tzàndha</i>): <i>tzàndhara</i> ‘id.’

This word, which is restricted to the Nuorese and some Ogliastran dialects, is generally agreed to be of pre-Roman origin (Wagner 1922: 251; Bertoldi 1937a: 151 fn. 1; DES I: 151; Paulis 1992: 319). It shows quite some formal variation. Most common is type 2 (**ǵánda*), from which type 3 may have arisen by *-r*-insertion. In type 4 the sequence *-nd-* was replaced with *-nts-* due to assimilation to initial *ts-* < **ǵ-*. The forms of type 1 (*ánna*) lack the onset **ǵ-* altogether.⁶⁷ Puddu (2023: s.v. *tzàndha*) also notes *tzàndhara* (without location; type 5), ostensibly with the suffix *-ara* (§ 9.2.6.2).

⁶⁶ These forms are already partially listed in Wagner (1922: 251), but all instances of *-ǵ-* have mistakenly been printed as *-p-*.

⁶⁷ The realization of *-nd-* as *-nn-* is not uncommon in the Nuorese dialects (Wagner 1952: 179). According to Wagner (DES I: 151) this pronunciation was in this case reinforced by association with the female personal name *Anna*.

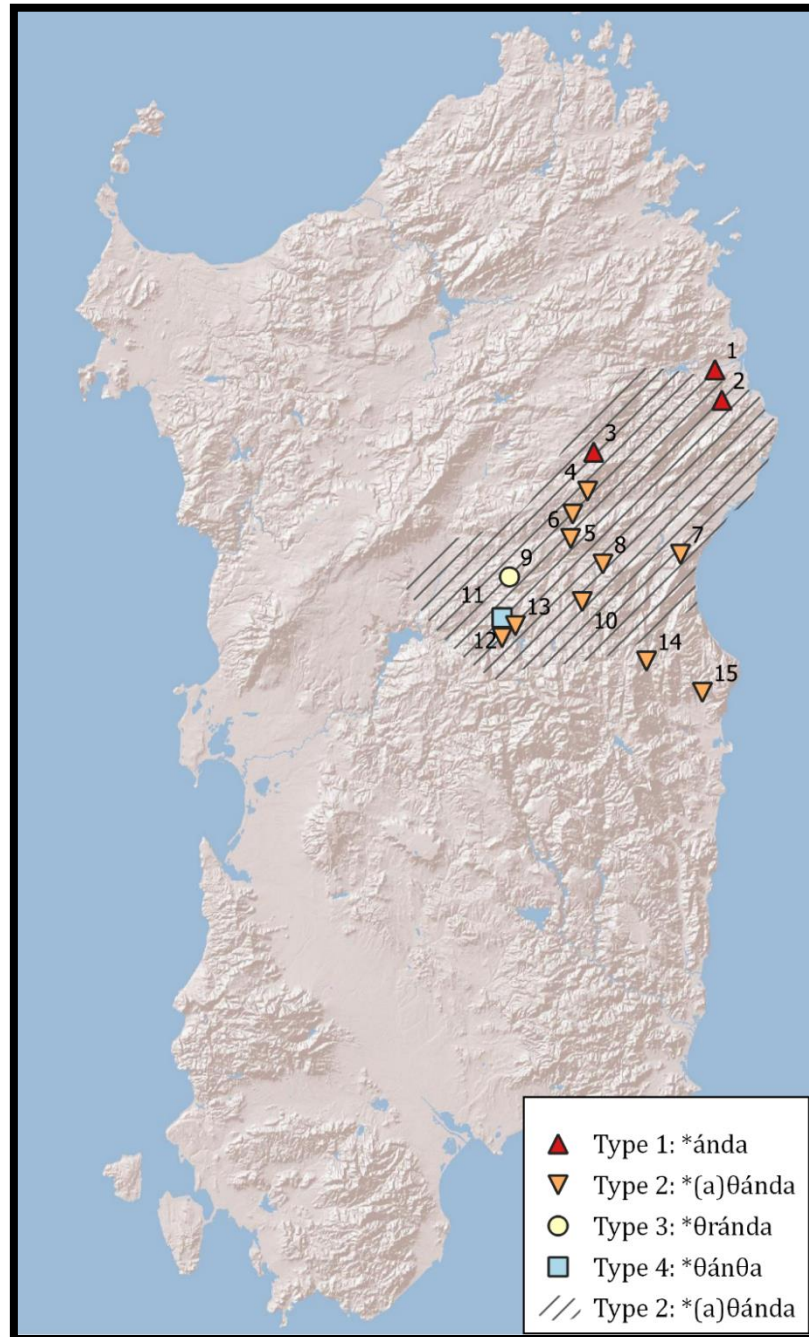


Figure 3.1.15: Poppy (*Papaver rhoeas*)

Outside Sardinia, this word has been compared to Egyptian $\nu\alpha\pi\tau\acute{\iota}$ ‘poppy’ (Bertoldi 1937a: 151 fn. 1; cf. Dioscorides Anazarbei 1906: 218), Lang. *āndèr*, *ōndèr* (dep. Lot) etc. ‘id.’ (cf. FEW XXIV: 550 fn. 21), Bq. *andere* ‘lady’ (Bertoldi apud Wagner 1932: 237; cf. FEW I: 93), and Gr. $\alpha\lambda\theta\omicron\varsigma$ ‘flower’ (Pittau apud Paulis 1992: 319; Pittau 1995: 108). All of these comparisons require the assumption that the Sardinian forms of types 2 – 5 contain the pre-Roman prefix $*\text{ǵ-}$ (§ 9.1.2), which would in that case not be part of the lexical stem (Wagner 1932: 237; Pittau 1995: 108). This is confirmed by the existence of type 1 $*\acute{a}nda$. However, Gr. $\alpha\lambda\theta\omicron\varsigma$ ‘flower’ is inherited from an Indo-European root $*h_2end^h$ - (Beekes 2010: 104–105). As Wagner (DES I: 151) notes, the Egyptian comparandum is rather difficult to unite to the Sardinian forms phonetically, especially in absence of more precise information on the provenance of this form. The comparison of Bq. *ander* ‘woman’ seems to be based more on superficial similarity than anything else; it is to be rejected on semantic grounds.

The Gallo-Romance forms for ‘poppy’ are formally similar to local words for ‘ulcer’, e.g. MFr. *enderce*, Lang. *endèrs* (dep. Aveyron) etc. < $*derbice$. This word would be related to Gaul. *derbita* ‘ulcer’, which is attested in glosses and has a cognate in Bret. *dervoed* (FEW III: 46). FEW (XXIV: 550 fn. 21) therefore regards the meaning ‘poppy’ as a semantic extension of ‘ulcer’. However, although the forms for ‘poppy’ and ‘ulcer’ in these dialects are similar, they are not homonymous everywhere: e.g. Lang. *ender* ‘ulcer’ vs. *onder* ‘poppy’ (Cahors; FEW XXIV: 550 fn. 21), *dervese* ‘ulcer’ vs. *ēdēr* ‘poppy’ (dep. Cantal; FEW III: 46, XXIV: 550 fn. 21). Moreover, a shift in meaning from ‘ulcer’ to ‘poppy’ is not easily understood. It is in my view preferable to keep the Gallo-Romance words for ‘poppy’ and ‘ulcer’ etymologically separated, although they may have exerted some influence on each other due to formal similarities. This leaves Lang. *āndèr*, *ōndèr* etc. ‘poppy’ as a possible comparandum to the Sardinian forms. It is in any case plausible that this set of Sardinian words for ‘poppy’ is of pre-Roman origin, because alternating $*\text{ǵ-}$ (and perhaps $\acute{a}ra$).

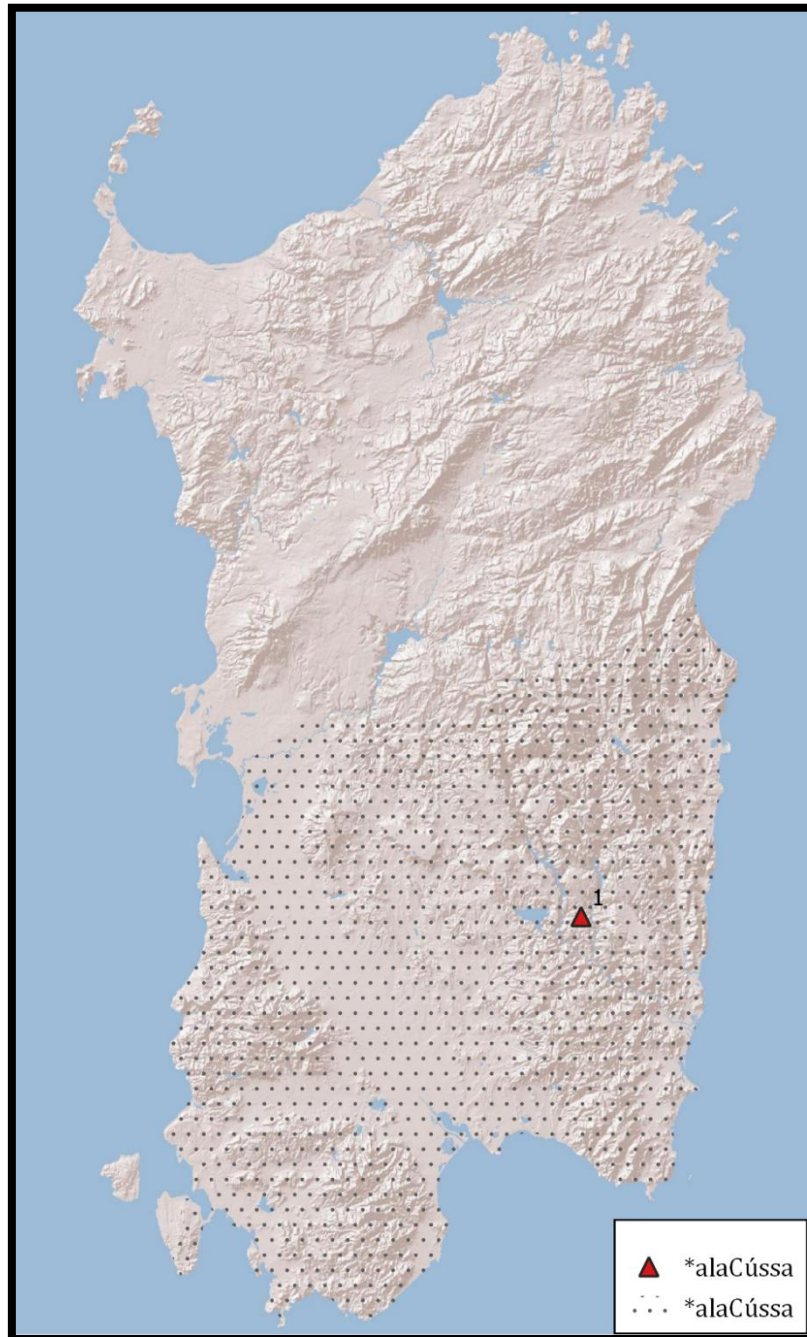


Figure 3.1.16: Mustard

3.1.16 Mustard₁

Reconstruction	Forms
* <i>alaCússa</i>	DES (I: 68): <i>alaússa</i> (Camp.) ‘white mustard (<i>Sinapis alba</i> L.), shortpod mustard (<i>Hirschfeldia incana</i> (L.) Lagr.-Foss.)’, <i>alaússa</i> (1: Escalaplano) ‘species of yellow ryegrass (<i>Lolium</i> sp. L.)’
	Paulis (1992: 236–237): <i>alaússa</i> (Camp.) ‘white mustard (<i>Sinapis alba</i>), shortpod mustard (<i>Hirschfeldia incana</i>), ⁶⁸ London rocket (<i>Sisymbrium irio</i> L.), hedge mustard (<i>Sisymbrium officinale</i> (L.) Scop.), corn rocket (<i>Bunias erucago</i> L.), common giant mustard (<i>Rapistrum rugosum</i> (L.) All.)’

All species referred to by *alaússa* bear similarity to each other by having small yellow flowers and edible seeds or leaves with a sharp taste. DES (I: 68) is uncertain as to its etymology. Paulis (1992: 237) derives *alaússa* from a hypothetical **saleús* < Lat. **sale iūs* ‘salt-sauce’, with detachment of initial *s*- by confusion with the definite article *sa*. The semantic motivation would be that mustard, with pine kernels, was commonly used to make a sauce for a specific turnip dish, for which he adduces a passage from Columella (12: 57; cf. Columella 1982: 430, 433). Even if such a specific use of the plant in question could have led to its name being derived from a name of a sauce — Srd. *fīkatu*, It. *fegato* etc. ‘liver’ < Lat. *ficātus* ‘fattened with figs’ proves that culinary culture can bring about major semantic shifts — this etymology cannot be maintained on morphological grounds. The required form **sale-ius* would be a head-final compound, whereas virtually all other compounds in Sardinian are head-initial (Wagner 1952: 137–138), in line with Romance tendencies (Forza & Scalise 2016). It is also problematic that Lat. *iūs* ‘broth, sauce’ is not continued in Sardinian; the only direct reflexes of this word are found in Gallo-Romance (FEW V: 85). The existence of such a compound is therefore unlikely. Additionally, the development of word-final *-s into geminate -ss- is unexpected. It thus remains etymologically obscure, and a pre-Roman origin cannot be excluded. Any pre-form would probably require the presence of a consonant between -a- and -ú- (i.e. **alaCússa*), as inherited -au- would have yielded ***-a-* (cf. Wagner 1941a: 13–14). The form *aússa* (Villa-putzu) ‘poison hemlock’ could perhaps be the same word (cf. § 3.1.10).

⁶⁸ Wagner’s and Paulis’ *Sinapis incana* L., and Paulis’ *Brassica adpressa* Boiss. are synonyms of *Hirschfeldia incana* (L.) Lagr.-Foss. (cf. WFO 2022c: s.v. *Hirschfeldia incana*).

3.1.17 Mustard₂

Reconstruction	Forms
* <i>ǵuspinu</i>	DES (I: 609): <i>ǵúspinu</i> , <i>ǵuspínu</i> (Log.) ‘shortpod mustard (<i>Hirschfeldia incana</i> (L.) Lagr.-Foss.)’ ⁶⁹
	Paulis (1992: 235): <i>ǵúspinu</i> , <i>ǵuspínu</i> (Log.) ‘white mustard (<i>Sinapis alba</i> L.)’

DES (I: 609) does not offer an etymology for this word. Like for Camp. *alaússa* ‘white mustard’ in § 3.1.16, Paulis (1992: 236) proposes Log. *ǵúspinu*, *ǵuspínu* ‘id.’ to be derived from the name of a specific sauce, on the basis of a recipe found in Columella (12: 57; cf. Columella 1982: 430, 433). In this case, the mustard seeds would, together with pine nuts and vinegar, be ground into a kind of sauce. The forms *ǵúspinu*, *ǵuspínu* would thus go back to Lat. *iūs pīnūs* ‘sauce of the pine’. While it is still uncertain whether Lat. *iūs* ‘sauce, broth’ was continued in Sardinian, this derivation is morphologically more plausible than the one proposed for *alaússa* (§ 3.1.16). As for the semantics, we would have to assume that mustard was so strongly associated with this sauce that it was referred to as “[herb of the] pine sauce”; cf. again Romance **ficatu* ‘liver’ < Lat. *ficatus* ‘[liver] fattened with figs’. If this etymology is correct, Srd. *ǵuspínu* probably continues the original Latin stress pattern, while proparoxytone *ǵúspinu* must be an innovation.

⁶⁹ Wagner gives the meaning: “senape bianca (*Sinapis incana*)”. However, *Sinapis incana* L. is a synonym of *Hirschfeldia incana* (L.) Lagr.-Foss., which refers to ‘shortpod mustard’ rather than ‘white mustard’. Cf. fn. 68.

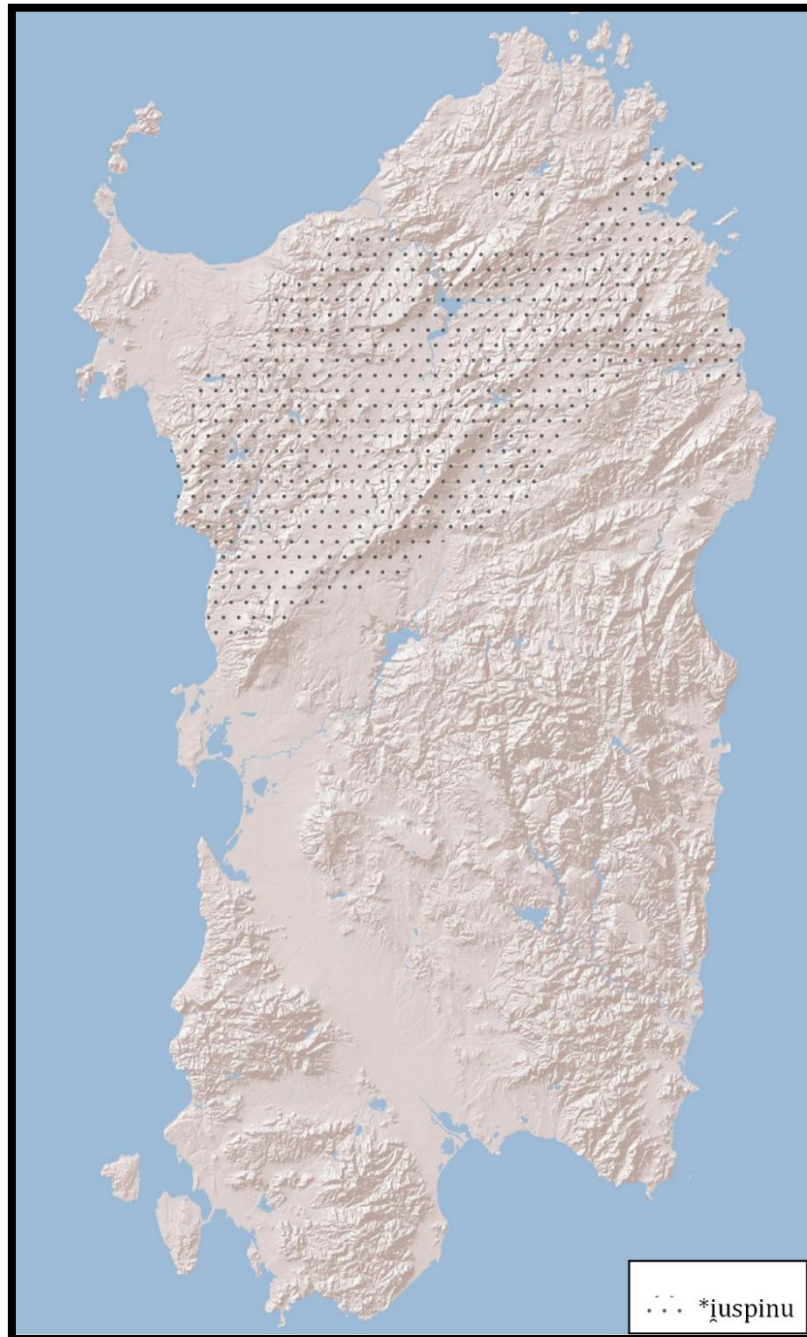


Figure 3.1.17: Mustard

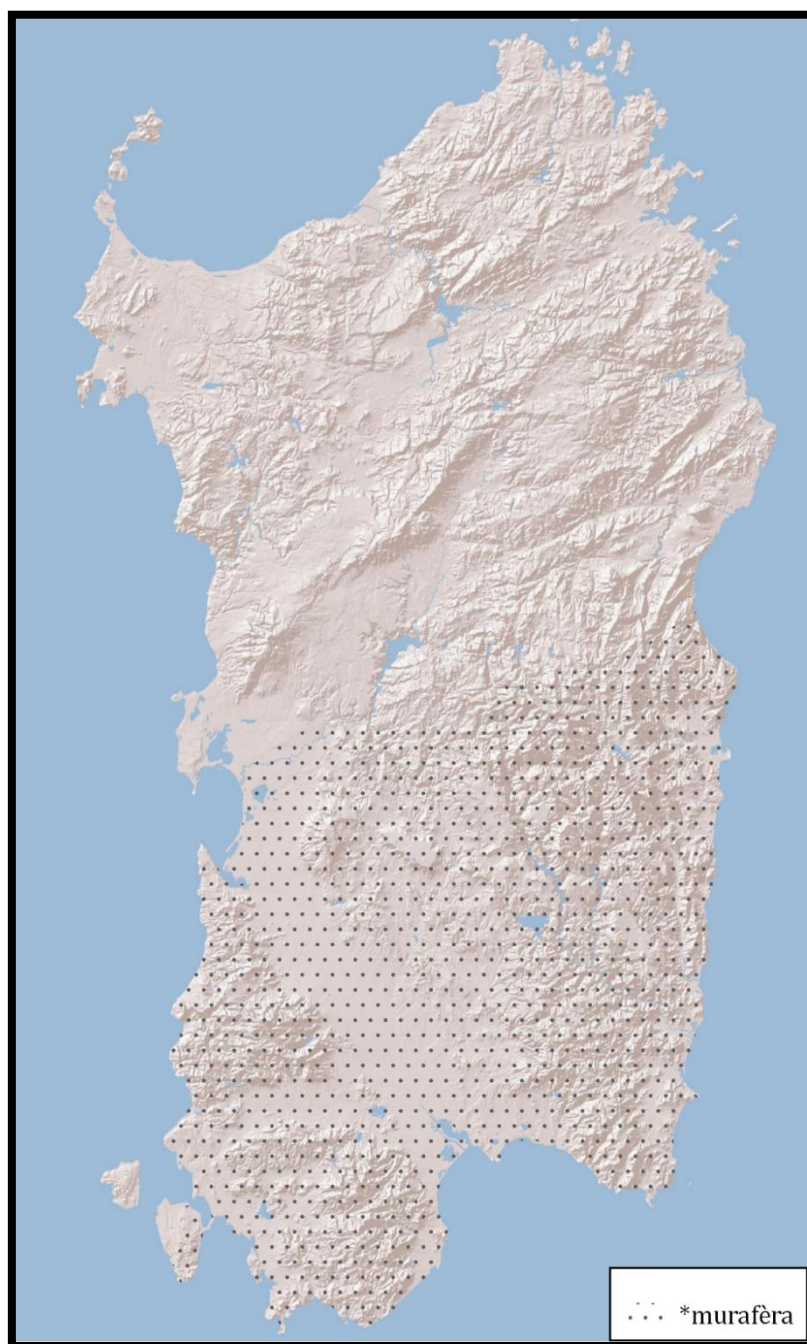


Figure 3.1.18: Black mustard (*Brassica nigra*)

3.1.18 Mustard, black (*Brassica nigra*)

Reconstruction	Forms
* <i>muraḡera</i>	DES (II: 138): <i>muravèra</i> (Camp.) 'mustard plant' Paulis (1992: 235): <i>muravèra</i> (Camp.) 'black mustard (<i>Brassica nigra</i> W.D.J.Koch)'

Paulis (1992: 235) derives Camp. *muravèra* 'black mustard' from Srd. *múra* 'mulberry' + *bèra* 'true', i.e. "true mulberry". Semantically this is quite a stretch. Paulis argues that this *Benennungsmotiv* for 'black mustard' stems from the color of mustard seeds, which would be perceived to be similar to that of mulberries. If Srd. *múra* 'mulberry' is at all involved, the second part must surely go back to Lat. *ferus* 'wild, uncultivated' rather than *verus* 'true'. This has two advantages. The first is that intervocalic *-f- regularly develops into -v- (Wagner 1941a: 93), making Paulis' assumption that *-v- in this form was retained under Italian influence unnecessary. The second is that explaining the meaning 'mustard' from 'wild mulberry' is perhaps slightly less unlikely than from 'true mulberry'. The doubts about the likelihood of a semantic shift from 'mulberry' to 'black mustard' remain however. There is no positive evidence for a pre-Roman origin.

3.1.19 Rue, fringed (*Ruta chalepensis*), cat thyme (*Teucrium marum*)

Reconstruction	Forms
* <i>kúrma</i>	Paulis (1990: 608–612; 1992: 229–231): <i>kúrma</i> , <i>kúruma</i> (1: Lodè, 2: Siniscola) 'fringed rue (<i>Ruta chalepensis</i> L.)' Farina (1987: 363; 1989: 620): <i>crúma</i> (Baronie reg.), <i>úrma</i> (3: Oliena) 'cat thyme (<i>Teucrium marum</i> L.)'

The forms listed above can all go back to **kúrma*. The variant *úrma* (3: Oliena) must probably be interpreted as /ʔúrma/, with the regular Barbaricine shift *k* > ʔ (cf. Wagner 1941a: 71). The variant *kúruma* is due to epenthesis, which is common (Wagner 1941a: 50–52; Paulis 1992: 231). Paulis (1990: 608–612; 1992: 231) convincingly connects this word to Pun. *χουρμά* 'rue', attested in Dioscorides' *Materia Medica* (Dioscorides Anazarbei 1906: 57).⁷⁰ Possible other links are Akk. *ḫurmu* 'a plant species' (CAD VI: 266) and Syrian (i.e. Dioscorides' Σύροι ἀρμαλά 'rue (*Ruta chalepensis*)' (Dioscorides Anazarbei 1906: 57).⁷¹ Múrcia Sánchez (2011: 440) ar-

⁷⁰ Dioscorides' use of Ἀφροί 'Africans' usually indicates the Punic name of a plant (Vattioni 1976: 519). See Vattioni (1976: 527–528) for all relevant glosses.

⁷¹ Paulis (1992: 230) also connects supposed Tun. *khurma* 'St. John's wort (*Hypericum perforatum* L.)', for which he cites Rolland (1903: 8). This citation is probably mistaken however. In volume 4, p. 8, Rolland discusses 'rue', for which the Arabic name is not given. St. John's wort is instead discussed in volume 3 (Rolland 1900: 178), but the

gues that a Punic form **ḥurmal* was borrowed into Berber as **(h)urmay* > **urme*, represented by Bb. <*āwurmī*> (*Umdaṭ aṭ ṭabīb*; Tilmatine & Bustamante 2002: 428), Tsh. *iwrmi* ‘rue’ (van den Boogert 1998: 84).⁷² The existence of formally similar words in other Semitic languages makes it likely that Pun. *χουρμά* ‘rue’ is of Phoenician, rather than of local North African origin.

Because of the great semantic and formal correspondence between Pun. *χουρμά* ‘rue’ and Srd. *kúrma* etc. ‘rue, cat thyme’, it is attractive to see the Sardinian word as a loan from Punic. It is surprising that this word was only preserved in the Nuorese dialects, which is much farther north than one would perhaps expect for a Punic loan. Paulis (1992: 231) notes that this word must at one time have had a wider distribution in Sardinia, but that it was lost in many places due to competition with inherited Lat. *rūta*. Whether its preservation in the Baronia is indeed due to its association with magic (Paulis 1992: 231), is difficult to prove. Paulis (1992: 231) further observes that the fact that this Punic word is attested in the northern part of the island, does not necessarily imply that Punic was actually spoken there. If we assume that **kúrma* vel sim. was at some point a general word for ‘rue’ in Punic-influenced Latin spoken on Sardinia, it may have expanded up to its present-day location during the romanization of Sardinia, after it was lost everywhere else.

Tunisian Arabic form that is given, is *hhamra*. Paulis’ *kharma* is thus probably a ghost word, and should not be used in the discussion of Srd. *kúrma*. The actual form *hhamra* is phonologically further removed from *kúrma* and *χουρμά* and may be unrelated.

⁷² This form is attested both in modern Tashelhiyt and in the 17th c. lexicon of *al-Hilālī* as <*iwrmi*> (van den Boogert 1998: 84; Múrcia Sánchez 2011: 440).

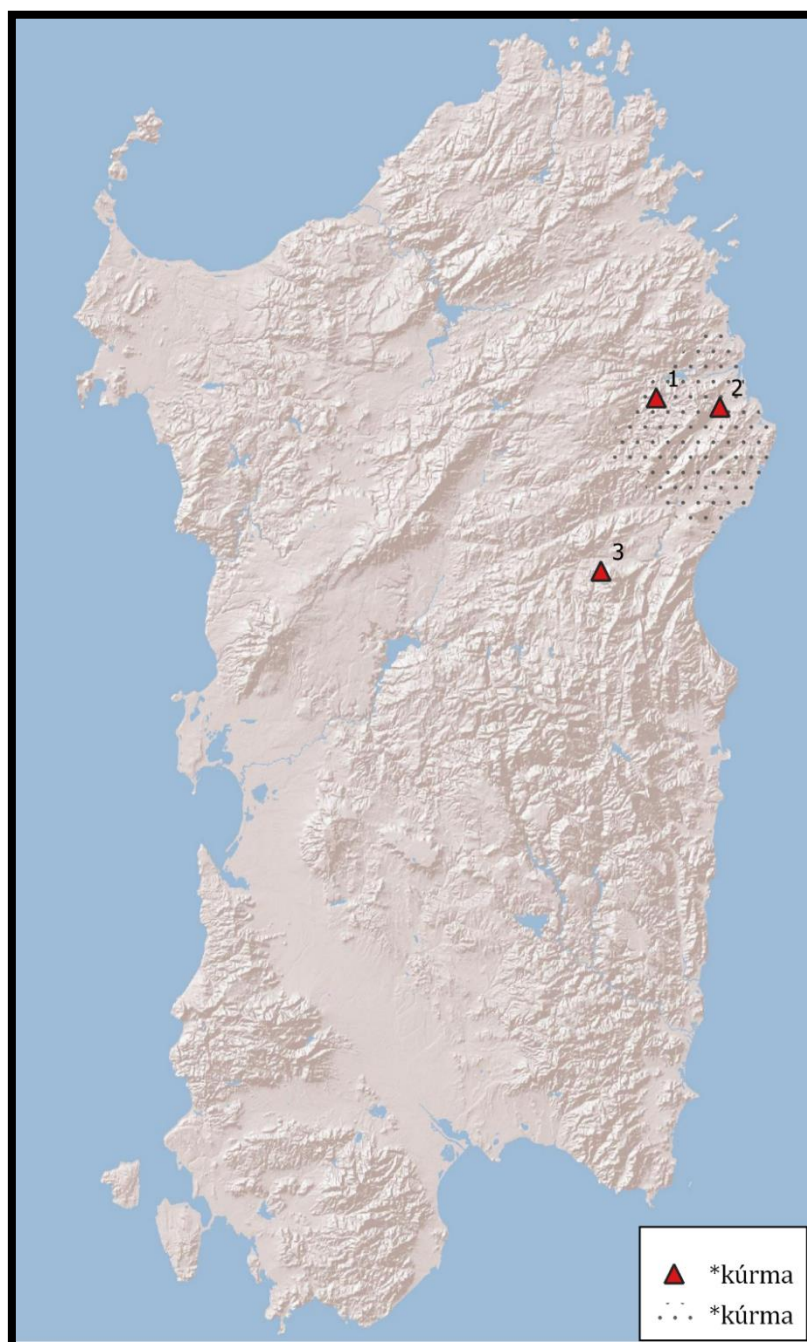


Figure 3.1.19: Fringed rue (*Ruta chalepensis*), cat thyme (*Teucrium marum*)

3.1.20 Rush skeletonweed (*Chondrilla juncea*), Sow thistle (*Sonchus oleraceus*)

Reconstruction	Forms
1: * <i>lippòrra</i>	DES (II: 31): <i>lipòrra</i> (Log.) ‘rush skeletonweed (<i>Chondrilla juncea</i> L.), sow thistle (<i>Sonchus oleraceus</i> L.)’
2: * <i>lìmpòrra</i>	DES (II: 31): <i>lìmpòrra</i> , <i>lìmpòra</i> (Camp.) ‘id.’
3: * <i>lispòrra</i>	DES (II: 31): <i>lispòrra</i> (Camp.) ‘id.’

Wagner does not express any thoughts on the etymology of these words for ‘rush skeletonweed’ and ‘sow thistle’, which are rather similar plants, other than his remark that “the suffix *-orra* leads one to presuppose a pre-Roman origin”. Paulis (1992: 62–63) proposes a derivation from the words for ‘hare’ — Nuor. *lèppore*, Log. *lèppere*, Camp. *lèppuri*, *lèppuri*, *lèppiri* (§ 4.5.8) — by means of the same hypothetical pre-Roman suffix *-orra*, which has supposedly become productive as a derogatory suffix in surnames. The association of these plants to hares has parallels in other languages (Paulis 1992: 62–63). For this, Paulis needs to assume haplology from **leppor-orra* to *lipòrra* etc., as well as a raising of pretonic *-e- to -i- and influence from other words to account for the vocalism of *lìmpòrra* and *lispòrra*. Although a derivation of the name of these plants from a word for ‘hare’ does not appear problematic semantically, the amount of assumptions needed for this etymology — i.e. derivation of a plant name from a word for ‘hare’ by means of an originally pre-Roman suffix usually present in surnames, haplology, vowel assimilation and influence from other words explaining the consonantism — significantly weaken its explanatory value. It must moreover be noted that the Sardinian lexicon does not in fact present evidence for the identification of -*Ŵrr-* as a pre-Roman suffix (§ 9.2.7). More convincing is Wolf’s (1998b: 345–346) identification of this word as a continuant of **lepórma* < **lepórīna* < Lat. *leporīnus* ‘of hares, hare-’. The irregular presence of geminate *-pp- in the Sardinian forms is also found in the word for ‘hare’ itself (§ 4.5.8).

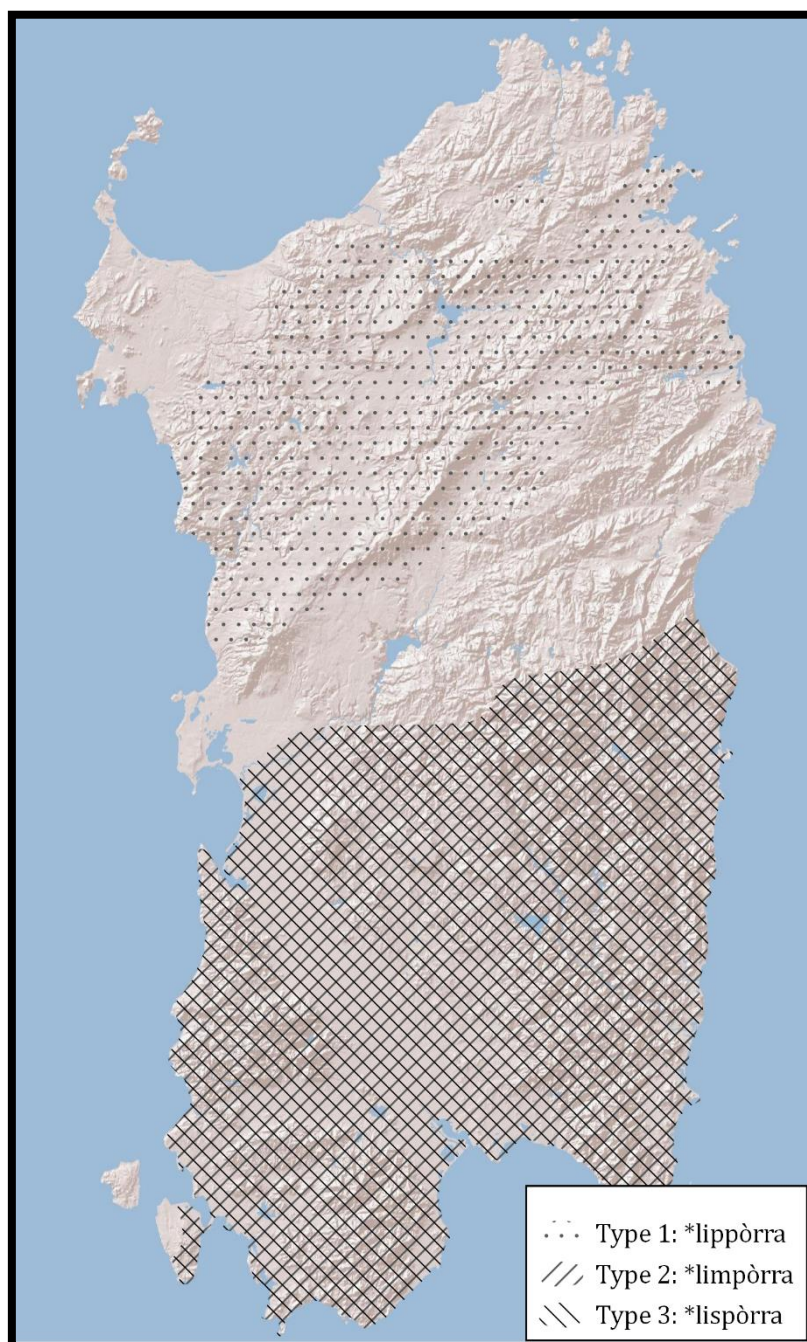


Figure 3.1.20: Rush skeletonweed (*Chondrilla juncea*), Sow thistle (*Sonchus oleraceus*)

3.1.21 Sea purslane (*Atriplex portulacoides*)

Reconstruction	Forms
* <i>tsibba</i>	DES (II: 589): <i>tsibba</i> (1: Cabras) ‘glasswort (<i>Salicornia europaea</i> L.)’
	Paulis (1992: 381): <i>tsibba</i> (1: Cabras), <i>attsibba</i> (2: Oristano) ‘sea purslane (<i>Atriplex portulacoides</i> L.)’

After Paulis (1992: 381), the Sardinian forms listed above probably do not refer to ‘glasswort’, as Wagner (DES II: 589) suggests, but to ‘sea purslane’. Both plants are halophytes and the leaves of both plants are eaten as a vegetable. Both Wagner and Paulis note that the plant in question is used in Cabras (1) to wrap boiled fish. Whereas Wagner does not propose any etymology, Paulis (1992: 381–382) compares it to Sic. *scebba*, *scerba* ‘opposite-leaved saltbush (*Salsola soda* L.)’,⁷³ Sp. *jebe*, OSp. *axebe*, *enxebe* ‘alum’ << Ar. شَبَّ (*šabb*) ‘alum, vitriol’. It is clear that the Sardinian forms ultimately go back to this Arabic word too, albeit not directly. Paulis (1992: 382) thinks it most likely that the Sardinian forms were borrowed from Spanish, with replacement of š- (= OSp. -x-) by *ts-* and -é- by -í-. One problem is that we would expect Sp. -b- to be borrowed into Sardinian as *-β- rather than -bb-; cf. Camp. *kaβelièra* << Sp. *cabellera* ‘hair’, Camp. *skaβéčču* << Sp. *escabeche* or Cat. *escabetx* ‘marinated fish’ etc. (Wagner 1997: 207, 210). Geminate -bb- is however found in Sic. *scebba* ‘saltbush’, which is also closer in meaning to the Sardinian forms than Sp. *jebe* ‘alum’. It is therefore more attractive to view *tsibba* and *attsibba* as a Sicilian loan. This is not surprising, as a good deal of Sardinian maritime terminology was borrowed from Sicilian (Wagner 1997: 251). It is in any case evident that this word is a relatively recent loan, and definitely not of pre-Roman origin.

⁷³ Paulis (1992: 381): “pianta che bruciata serve a fare il vetro, a sgrassare i panni e a fabbricare sapone: *Soda salicornia* ‘salsola’” (= “plant that, when burnt, is used to make glass, to degrease clothes and to produce soap: *Soda salicornia* ‘saltbush’”). Paulis cites Traina (1877; Paulis has 1888 however), but the page numbers cited do not exist. The word does in fact occur in Traina (1877: 384), but without the description quoted by Paulis. Note that *Soda salicornia* is not the currently accepted scientific name of this plant, which is *Salsola soda* L.

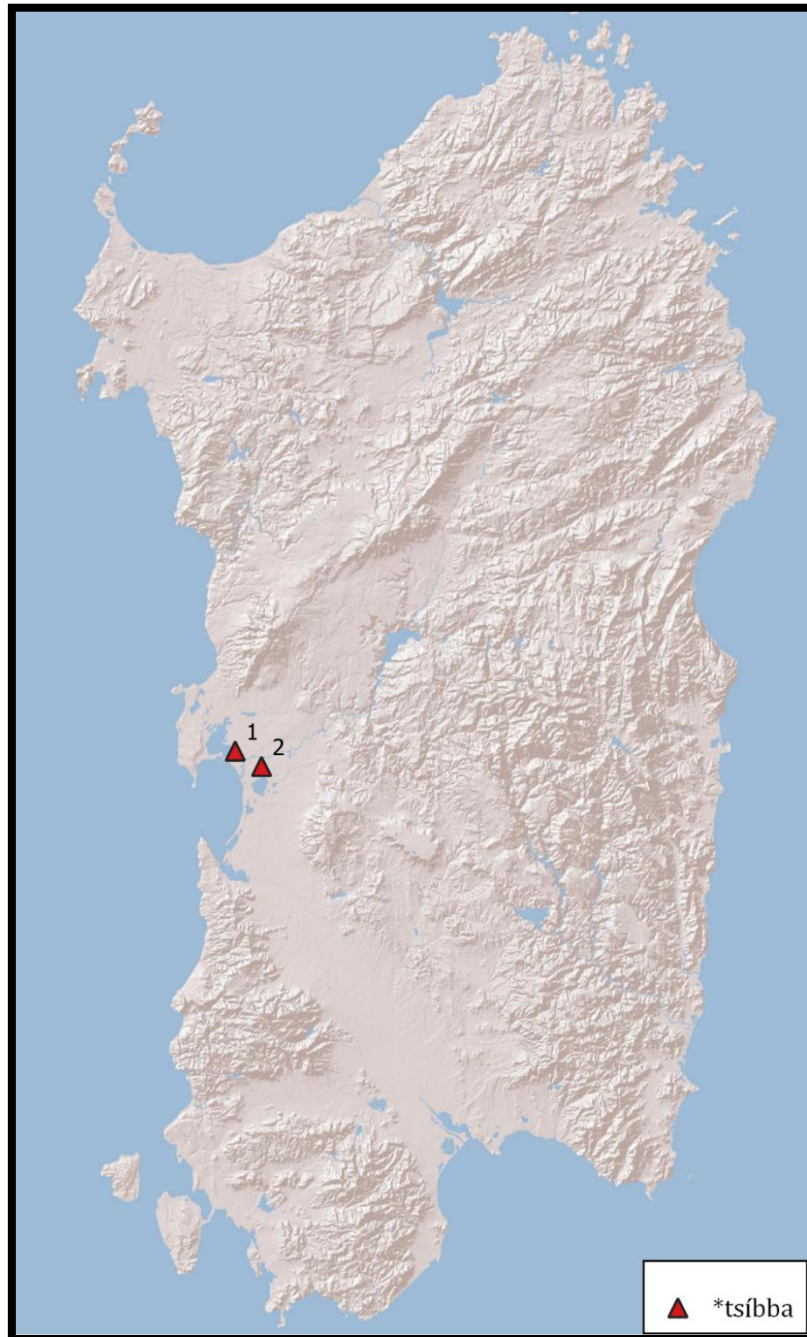


Figure 3.1.21: Sea purslane (*Atriplex portulacoides*)

3.1.22 Teasel, wild (*Dipsacus fullonum*)

Reconstruction	Forms
1: <i>*biljóttiri</i>	DES (I: 206): <i>billóttiri</i> (1: Usellus) ‘wild teasel (<i>Dipsacus fullonum</i> L.)’ Paulis (1992: 190): <i>billóttiri</i> (5: Orroli) ‘id.’
2: <i>*biljótti</i>	Paulis (1992: 190): 2: <i>billótti</i> (2: Nuragus), [<i>kanna de</i>] <i>billótti</i> (3: Isili, 4: Serri) ‘id.’

Paulis (1992: 190) rejects Wagner’s (DES I: 206) suspicion that this word is “probably pre-Roman”. He prefers to derive these forms from Camp. *baballótti*, -u ‘insect’, because this species of plants has leaves growing from the stem that form cuplike structures collecting rainwater, in which insects get trapped and dissolved for their nutrients. The phonetics would be guaranteed by the surnames *bibillótti* and *billótti* that are locally interpreted as meaning ‘insect’.

While not impossible, there are some issues regarding this etymology. Paulis cites Camp. *baballótti*, -u ‘insect’ from Wagner, but Wagner (DES I: 161) actually has *babbalótti*. It is important to observe that *babbalótti* has a singleton -l-, which would be expected to yield -ʁ- in Orroli, Nuragus and Isili, and -β/w- in Serri (Wagner 1941a: 121–122). Geminate -ll- is instead the regular outcome of *-lj-.⁷⁴ Because of this formal problem, and the fact that the forms *bibillótti* and *billótti* are not actually attested in the meaning ‘insect’, it is possible that the similarity between these words is no more than a coincidence. The interpretation of the surnames as meaning ‘insect’ may be due to formal similarity to *baballótti*, -u. Moreover, a semantic shift from ‘insect’ to ‘plant in which insects get trapped’ without any derivational morphology would be hard to understand.

For these reasons, I prefer to assume a pre-form **biljótti/-iri* ‘wild teasel’. If this word is not to be derived from forms like *babbalótti* etc. ‘insect’, which is likely at least partly of sound-symbolic nature (cf. DES I: 162), a pre-Roman origin becomes attractive again. Paulis (1992: 190) explains the suffix *’iri* as introduced from Camp. *sóččiri* ‘wild teasel’ (cf. § 3.1.22). This could be the case, but it may just as well have been originally present on this word as well. We do in any case observe an alternation between *billótti* and *billóttiri*, suggesting that *’iri* was originally some morpheme rather than belonging to the stem (cf. § 9.2.6.2).

⁷⁴ It is theoretically possible that the geminate -ll- is due to Cagliaritan influence (cf. Wagner 1941a: 125), but since this specific word does not exist in the other Campidanese dialects, I do not think this is very likely.

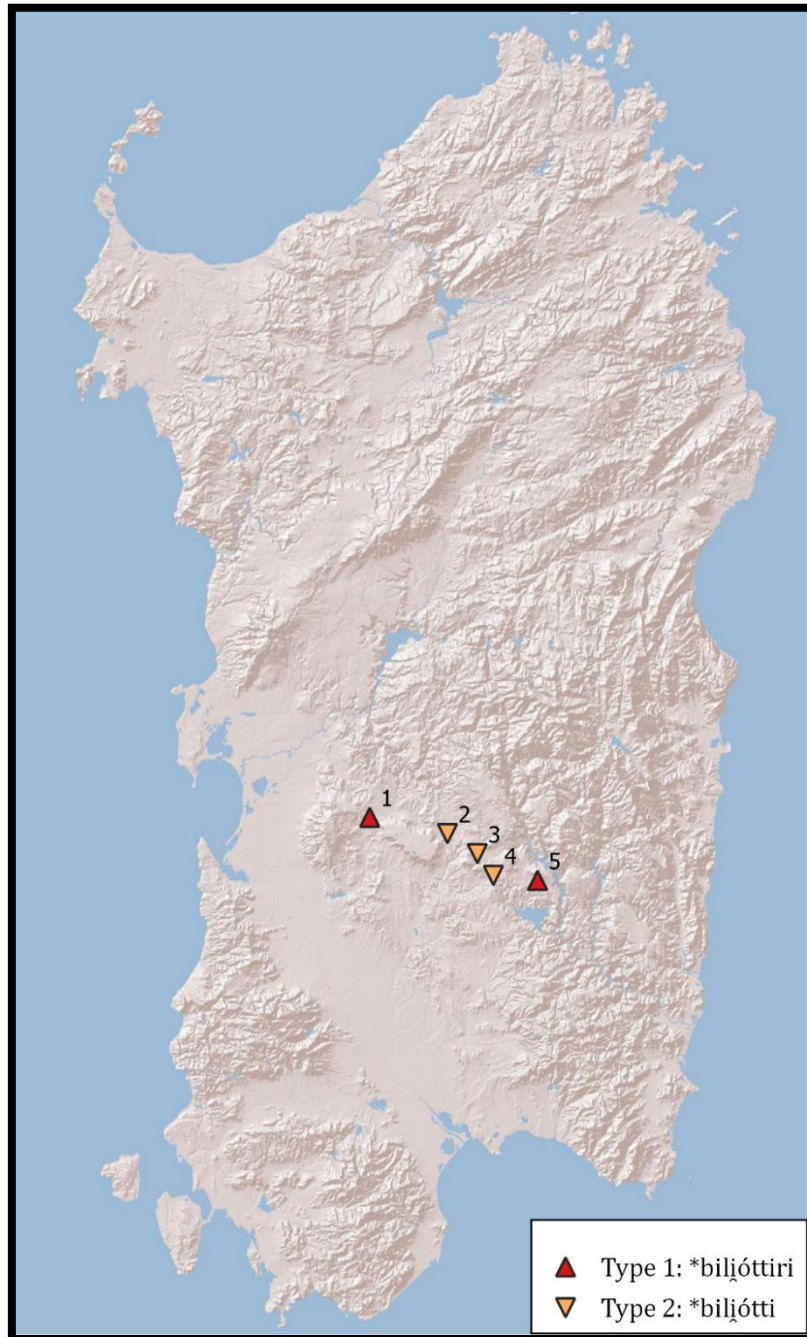


Figure 3.1.22: Teasel, wild (*Dipsacus fullonum*)

3.1.23 Watercress (*Nasturtium officinale*); butcher's broom (*Ruscus aculeatus*)

Reconstruction	Forms
1: * <i>gúspinu</i>	DES (I: 595): <i>grúspinu</i> (1: Bitti), <i>gúspinu</i> (5: Orgosolo) 'watercress (<i>Nasturtium officinale</i> R.Br.)' Paulis (1992: 241): <i>óspinu</i> (3: Bolotana) 'watercress (<i>Nasturtium officinale</i>)'
2: * <i>grúspi(n)u</i>	DES (I: 595): <i>grúspju</i> (2: Orosei), <i>grúspinu</i> (4: Dorgali) 'butcher's broom (<i>Ruscus aculeatus</i> L.)'

Wagner (DES I: 595) and Paulis (1992: 241) agree that the forms denoting 'butcher's broom' must be secondary. Wagner attributes this to the phonetic similarity between *grúspinu* etc. 'watercress' and *frúskru*, *frúskju* etc. 'butcher's broom' (cf. DES I: 553). Paulis instead proposes a semantic cause for the shift from 'watercress' to 'butcher's broom'. Because of its use to treat abscesses, which in Sardinian are called *fruskèdda* etc., watercress would have come to be associated to phonetically similar *frúskru*, *frúskju* 'butcher's broom' and hence this latter plant would have adopted watercress' original name. I am not fully convinced by this complex scenario; perhaps it was the combination of phonetic similarity between *grúspinu* 'watercress' and *frúskru*, *frúskju* 'butcher's broom', and the potential semantic association that caused this peculiar homonymy.

In the meaning 'watercress', Paulis (1992: 242) proposes this word to be borrowed from Pun. *cusmin* 'watercress', attested in Pseudo-Apuleius (Howald & Sigerist 1927: 59). This requires voicing of the initial consonant and adaptation of the cluster *-sm-* to *-sp-*, neither of which is particularly problematic.⁷⁵ In light of the semantic and phonetic correspondence of these forms, Paulis is likely correct. It is interesting to see that a word of Punic origin has such a northern distribution (cf. § 3.1.18). The dialects more to the south all have reflexes of Lat. *nasturtium* 'watercress' (cf. AIS 635).

⁷⁵ Paulis (1992: 242) suggests the change *-sm-* > *-sp-* to have taken place under influence of forms like Camp. *spinaðòppis* 'butcher's broom', again due to the same semantic association between both plant species. I rather believe it may simply be an adaptation of the cluster *-sm-* to the Latin phonological system.

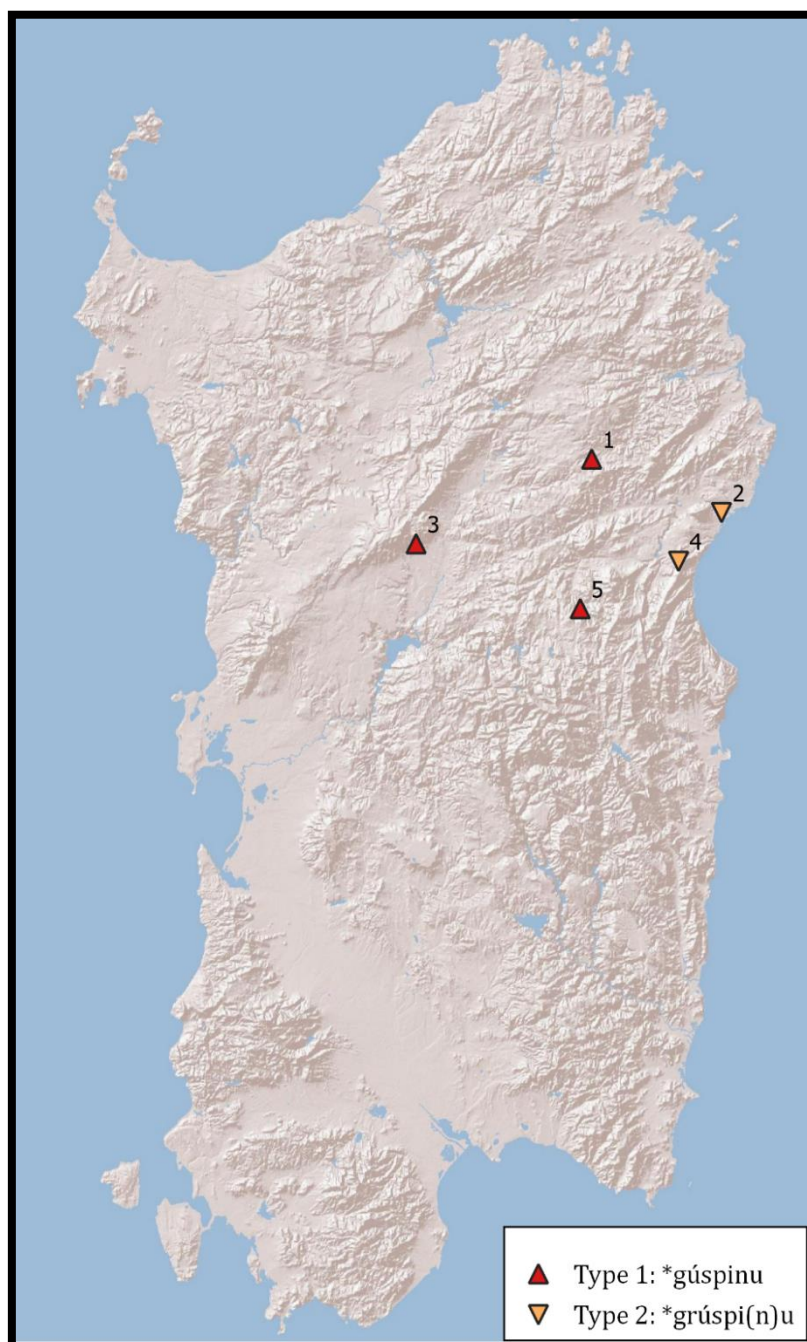


Figure 3.1.23: Watercress (*Nasturtium officinale*); butcher's broom (*Ruscus aculeatus*)

3.1.24 Watercress (*Nasturtium officinale*)₂, fool's watercress (*Apium nodiflorum*)

Reconstruction	Forms
1: *ǵúguru	DES (I: 601): ǵúru (1: Olbia) 'watercress (<i>Nasturtium officinale</i> R.Br.)', ǵúru (Log., 2: Sennori, 7: Moeres, 9: Padria), ǵúyuru (11: Fonni) 'fool's watercress (<i>Apium nodiflorum</i> (L.) Lag.)' Ferraro (1891: 90): giuru (5: Siligo) 'fool's watercress (<i>Apium nodiflorum</i>)'
2: *ǵúru-ǵúru	DES (I: 601): ǵuruyúru, [lu] yuruyúru (3: Sassari) 'watercress (<i>Nasturtium officinale</i>)'
3: *ǵúǵuru	DES (I: 601): ǵúǵúru (8: Bitti) 'fool's watercress (<i>Apium nodiflorum</i>)', ǵúǵǵuru (10: Nuoro) 'watercress (<i>Nasturtium officinale</i>)' AIS (635): ǵúǵúru (8: Bitti) 'some other species of plant growing on the banks of streams' ⁷⁶ Paulis (1992: 241): ǵúǵaru (4: Lodè), ǵuǵarédǵdu (6: Siniscola) 'fool's watercress (<i>Apium nodiflorum</i>)'

Two meanings are found for the forms listed above: 'watercress' and 'fool's watercress'. The former is found only in Olbia (1), Sassari (3) and Nuoro (10). Everywhere else this word refers to 'fool's watercress', which is therefore likely the original meaning. The confusion between both plant species, which are not closely related, is probably due to the fact that they often occur together in the same habitat, i.e. on the banks of streams. Both plants are edible, although fool's watercress is very similar to cutleaf waterparsnip (*Berula erecta* (Huds.) Coville), which is toxic.

Formally, different types can be distinguished. Type 2 ǵuruyúru is restricted to Sassari, and appears to be a reduplicated form of Log. ǵúru (type 1). Log. ǵúru and ǵúyuru (11: Fonni) in type 1 go back to *ǵúguru, with regular loss of intervocalic voiced stops in Logudorese (Wagner 1941a: 79). Type 3 requires *ǵúǵuru/*ǵúǵaru. I agree with Paulis (1992: 246) that the forms of type 3 are probably due to assimilation of the second consonant to the onset of the word, i.e. *ǵúguru >> *ǵúǵuru.

⁷⁶ Probably 'fool's watercress', since this form is included in the map dedicated to 'watercress'.

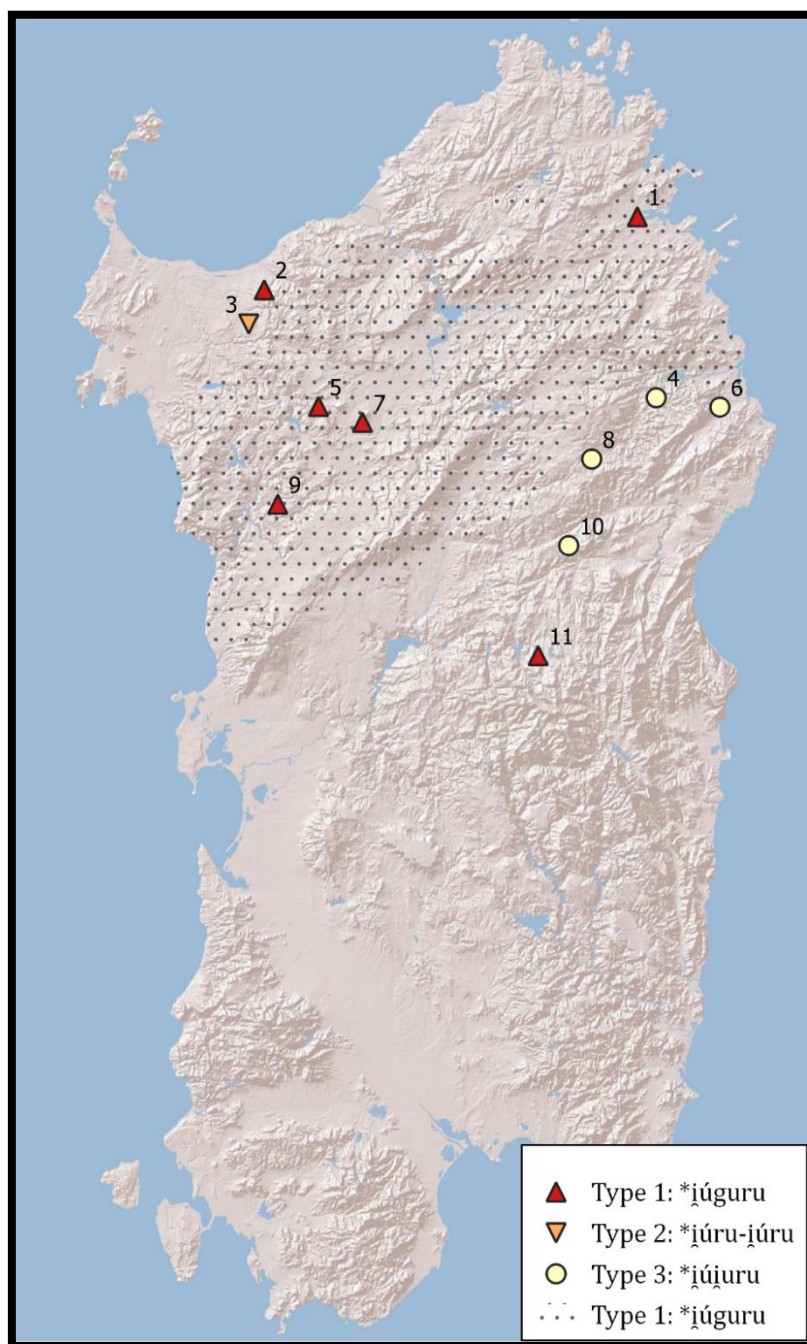


Figure 3.1.24: Watercress (*Nasturtium officinale*), fool's watercress (*Apium nodiflorum*)

Paulis (1992: 245–246) proposes these forms to be derived from Lat. *iūgis* ‘continuous’, which often occurs in the construction *aqua iūgis* ‘flowing water’ (cf. Lewis & Short 1879: s.v. *jūgis*). The reason for this would be that both watercress and fool’s watercress grow on the banks of streams. However, as Paulis (1992: 246) notes, the suffix *‘uru/‘aru* cannot be explained on the basis of inherited material and should most likely be connected to the element *‘Vr-* that is often found in words of suspected pre-Roman origin (§ 9.2.6.2). This etymology requires a semantic shift from ‘continuous’ or ‘flowing [water]’ to ‘(fool’s) watercress’. Despite the habitat of these plants, such a semantic shift is not convincing. Watercress and fool’s watercress are by no means the only plants growing on riverbanks and it is not clear to me how an adjective referring to a property of water could come to refer to a specific species of plant. Since we already need to assume a pre-Roman origin for the ending of this word, it is more attractive posit a pre-Roman origin for the entire form, as Wagner (DES I: 601) already suspected.

3.2 Grasses, cereals and weeds

3.2.1 Bermuda grass (*Cynodon dactylon*); butcher’s broom (*Ruscus aculeatus*), holly (*Ilex aquifolium*)

Reconstruction	Forms
1: <i>*(nodu)-ollásu</i>	Paulis (1992: 417): <i>oroḍḍásile</i> (1: Olzai), <i>norodḍásile</i> (2: Gavoi), <i>oroḍḍásu</i> (3: Ovodda) ‘Bermuda grass (<i>Cynodon dactylon</i> (L.) Pers.)’
2: <i>*alásu</i>	DES (I: 67–68): <i>alásu</i> (4: Urzulei, 6: Triei, 9: Villagrande Strisaili, 12: Tortolì), <i>ollásu</i> (13: Perdasdefogu, 14: Villaputzu) ‘Bermuda grass (<i>Cynodon dactylon</i>)’
3: <i>*aláse/-i</i>	DES (I: 67–68): <i>aláse</i> (6: Désulo), <i>alásju</i> (8: Belvì), <i>alási</i> (10: Aritzo), <i>olási</i> (11: Meana Sardo) ‘butcher’s broom (<i>Ruscus aculeatus</i> L.); holly (<i>Ilex aquifolium</i> L.)’ Blasco Ferrer (2019: 40): <i>aláse</i> (5: Austis) ‘butcher’s broom (<i>Ruscus aculeatus</i>); holly (<i>Ilex aquifolium</i>)’

In the material listed above, we find several similar formations for very different plants. On the one hand, there are the forms of types 1 and 2 referring to ‘Bermuda-grass (*Cynodon dactylon*)’; on the other hand, the forms of type 3 are formally nearly identical with those of type 2, but refer to ‘holly’ or ‘butcher’s broom’. Type 2 and 3 seem to contain a base **alas-*. Type 1 has been identified by Paulis

(1992: 417) as *nóđu* ‘knot’⁷⁷ + **ollas-(ile)*, which would be the same etymon as type 2 *ollásu*.

There are several issues that require attention in these forms. Most obvious is the striking difference in meaning between ‘Bermuda grass’ on the one hand and ‘holly/butcher’s broom’ on the other. Type 2 ‘Bermuda grass’ and type 3 ‘holly/butcher’s broom’, though very similar, do differ in their final vowel, with *-u* in type 2 and *-e*, *-i*, *-ju* in type 3.⁷⁸ This may suggest that these words reflect different original formations and that their similarity is the result of a coincidence rather than of a drastic semantic change.

The single form in type 1 that does not carry the suffix *-ile* (i.e. *orođđásu*), shares its final *-u* with type 2, speaking in favor of a shared origin of these types. It is difficult, however, to explain the difference between *-l/-ll-* in type 1 and *-dd-* in type 1. While *-l/-ll-* must go back to singleton **-l-*, the *-dd-* found in type 1 can only reflect original geminate **-ll-*. We are thus confronted with three reconstructions: **ollásu* ‘Bermuda grass’ (type 1), **alásu* ‘Bermuda grass’ (type 2), and **aláse/-i* ‘holly/butcher’s broom’ (type 3). Due to the perfect semantic match and phonological similarity, it is unattractive to separate types 1 and 2, even if the phonetic details cannot readily be understood. To account for the semantics of the apparent link between ‘Bermuda grass’ and ‘holly/butcher’s broom’, Paulis (1992: 418) proposes that hypothetical **alas-* may originally have referred to some other plant with spines. On the one hand this would have developed into ‘Bermuda grass’, on account of the spiny appearance of this grass species (as reflected by its scientific name *Cynodon* ‘dog’s tooth’), and on the other hand into holly, which has spiny leaves. Though imaginable, it would still be a rather striking semantic divergence of a word that occurs only in a rather limited area in Sardinia.

⁷⁷ The presence of the word for ‘knot’ would be due to the tendency of this type of grass to propagate itself through its stalks and roots, forming a very dense and tangly mat. The initial *n-* was supposedly lost due to its misinterpretation as belonging to the indefinite article (Paulis 1992: 418).

⁷⁸ The *-ju* must be secondary from **-i*, since **-s/-* regularly produces voiced *-š-* in Sardinian (Wagner 1941a: 150).

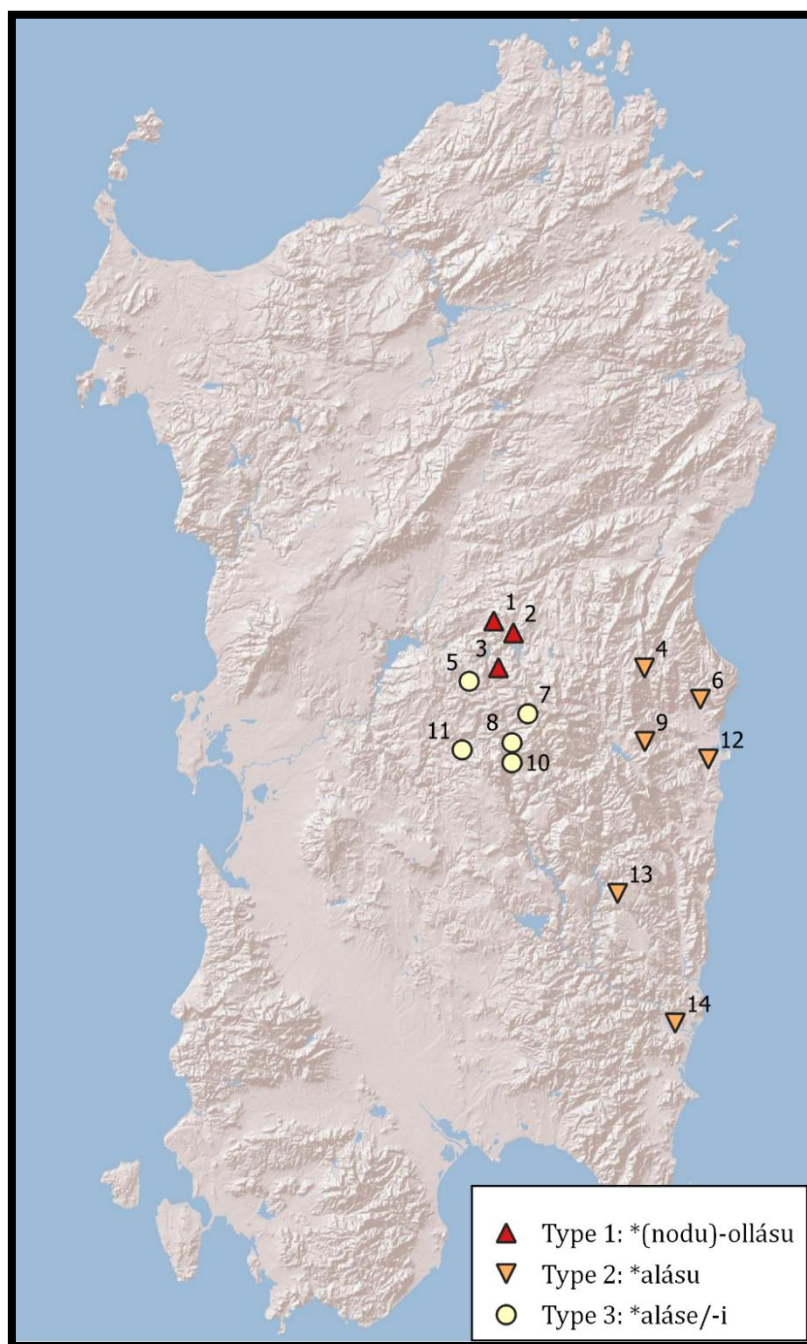


Figure 3.2.1: Bermuda grass (*Cynodon dactylon*); butcher's broom (*Ruscus aculeatus*), holly (*Ilex aquifolium*)

Outside Sardinian, these words have been compared to Sic. *alastra* ‘spiny broom (*Calicotome spinosa* (L.) Link)’, Lig. *la lastra*, *lástroga* (Bertoldi 1928: 233 fn. 3; Battisti 1960: 373), Lig. *arástra* ‘spiny broom (*Calicotome spinosa*), spiny shrub’ (Battisti 1960: 373; Paulis 1992: 418); Prov. *árę* (dep. Alpes-de-Haute-Provence) ‘broom’, (dep. Var) ‘broom, branch of broom’, Bearn. *aroû* ‘broom’ < **ala*; Auv. *alète* (dep. Allier) ‘common broom’ < **alista*; Lang. *orousto* (dep. Aveyron) ‘branch of broom’ < **alusta* (FEW XXI: 107; Paulis 1992: 418); Lat. *alaternus* ‘buckthorn (*Rhamnus alaternus* L.)’ (Battisti 1960: 374).⁷⁹ The Gallo-Romance and Italo-Romance forms suggest a base **ala* that was extended with an *-*st*-suffix in some cases, with the meaning ‘broom’. In order to connect the Sardinian forms, we would have to assume a different suffix *-*ás*- (cf. § 9.2.8), and a semantic change that could explain the coexistence of the meanings ‘broom’, ‘holly’ and ‘Bermuda grass’.

Although a connection between Srd. *aláše* etc. ‘butcher’s broom/holly’ and **ala*, **alastra*, **ali/usta* ‘broom’ seems plausible both semantically and phonologically, the existence of Srd. *alášu* etc. and *norodđásile* etc. << **ollás*- ‘Bermuda grass’, which in fact has a wider distribution than the near-homophonous word for ‘butcher’s broom/holly’, poses some serious semantic and phonological challenges. Perhaps this problem can be resolved by assuming two phonologically similar, but not quite identical forms referring to ‘holly’ and ‘Bermuda grass’ respectively. An indication for this may be the fact that the words for ‘Bermuda grass’ consistently end in -*u*, unlike the words for ‘holly, butcher’s broom’, as well as the geminate -*dd*- < *-*ll*- in *norodđásile* etc. ‘Bermuda grass’ which cannot correspond regularly to the -*l/ll*- found in *alášu*, *ollášu* ‘Bermuda grass’. Nevertheless, if the Sardinian forms (in either meaning, but most likely in the meaning ‘butcher’s broom/holly’) are to be connected to the other Romance forms mentioned above, this provides us with potentially interesting information about pre-Roman linguistic connections in the Mediterranean (§ 11). Finally, Wagner (DES I: 67) also compares Srd. *alađúli* (§ 3.3.6), which probably means either ‘butcher’s broom’ (DES I: 68), or ‘holly’ (Paulis 1992: 417).

⁷⁹ Battisti also mentions Gr. ἄλιξ in the meaning ‘holly’. According to Beekes (2010: 69), however, it means ‘groats of rice-wheat’.

3.2.2 Esparto grass (*Lygeum spartum*)

Reconstruction	Forms
1: * <i>ḡinníga</i> / * <i>ḡinníka</i>	DES (II: 547-548): <i>tinnía</i> (Log.), <i>zinnía</i> (Sass.), <i>tsinníya</i> (Camp.), <i>ḡinnía</i> (1: Orosei, 3: Triei), <i>ḡinníya</i> (2: Nuoro) ‘esparto grass (<i>Lygeum spartum</i> Loefl. ex L.)’
2: * <i>ḡónni</i>	DES (II: 547-548): <i>tsónni</i> , <i>tsónniḡa</i> , <i>sónniḡa</i> (Camp. “in the villages”) ‘id.’

The Sardinian forms for this word come in two types. Type 1 must go back to **ḡinníga*, attested in the Condaghe di San Pietro di Silki as *thinnigas* (Bonazzi 1900: sec. 425) and in the Condaghe di San Michele di Salvennor as *tinigas* (Maninchedda & Murtas 2003: sec. 164). The apparent preservation of intervocalic *-g- as -y- in Camp. *tsinníya* is unexplained; we would expect ***tsinnía*. The forms of type 2 require original **ḡónni*, to which a secondary -a was added in *tsónniḡa*, *sónniḡa*, since inherited *-nni- would have yielded ***-nḡ-* in Campidanese (cf. Wagner 1941a: 144).

These Sardinian forms have been related by Bertoldi (1950: 16) to Nef. *tsənnít* ‘esparto grass (*Lygeum spartum*)’, and *tsunít* ‘basket woven from rushes’. If we compare more Berber material however — e.g. Nef. *tsənnít* ‘esparto grass, of inferior quality for ropes, mats etc.’ (Beguinot 1942: 237), Nef. *tsunít* ‘basket’ (Beguinot 1942: 223), Tuar. *tesānit* ‘big basket with two handles’ (Ritter 2009: 434), Kb. *isni* ‘big basket made from esparto grass’ (Dallet 1982: 783), Tazerwalt *tisnit*, *tiznit* ‘basket used for work in the garden’ (cf. Murcia Sánchez 2011: 468; Argiolas 2020: 41; Laoust 1920: 37 fn. 4) — it seems evident that the original Berber meaning is ‘basket (made from rushes/esparto grass)’ and that Nef. *tsənnít* ‘esparto grass’ represents a semantic extension. The Berber forms can go back to **sānV̄y*/**sūnV̄y*/**sānī*/**sūnī*.⁸⁰

As far as the Sardinian forms are concerned, especially Camp. *tsónni* etc. may be comparable to Bb. **sūnī*. The other Sardinian forms, from **ḡinníga*, contain a -g- that is not present in Berber and that cannot easily be explained as an inherited Romance suffix either. Thus, while the comparison of Camp. *tsónni* ‘esparto grass’ to Bb. **sūnī* ‘basket made from rushes/esparto grass’ may look promising if we allow for either a semantic shift from ‘basket’ to ‘esparto grass’ independently in Sardinian and Nefusi Berber or a similar polysemy at the time of borrowing, a direct relation between Srd. **ḡinníga* and the Berber forms is much less convincing.

⁸⁰ Maarten Kossmann, p.c.

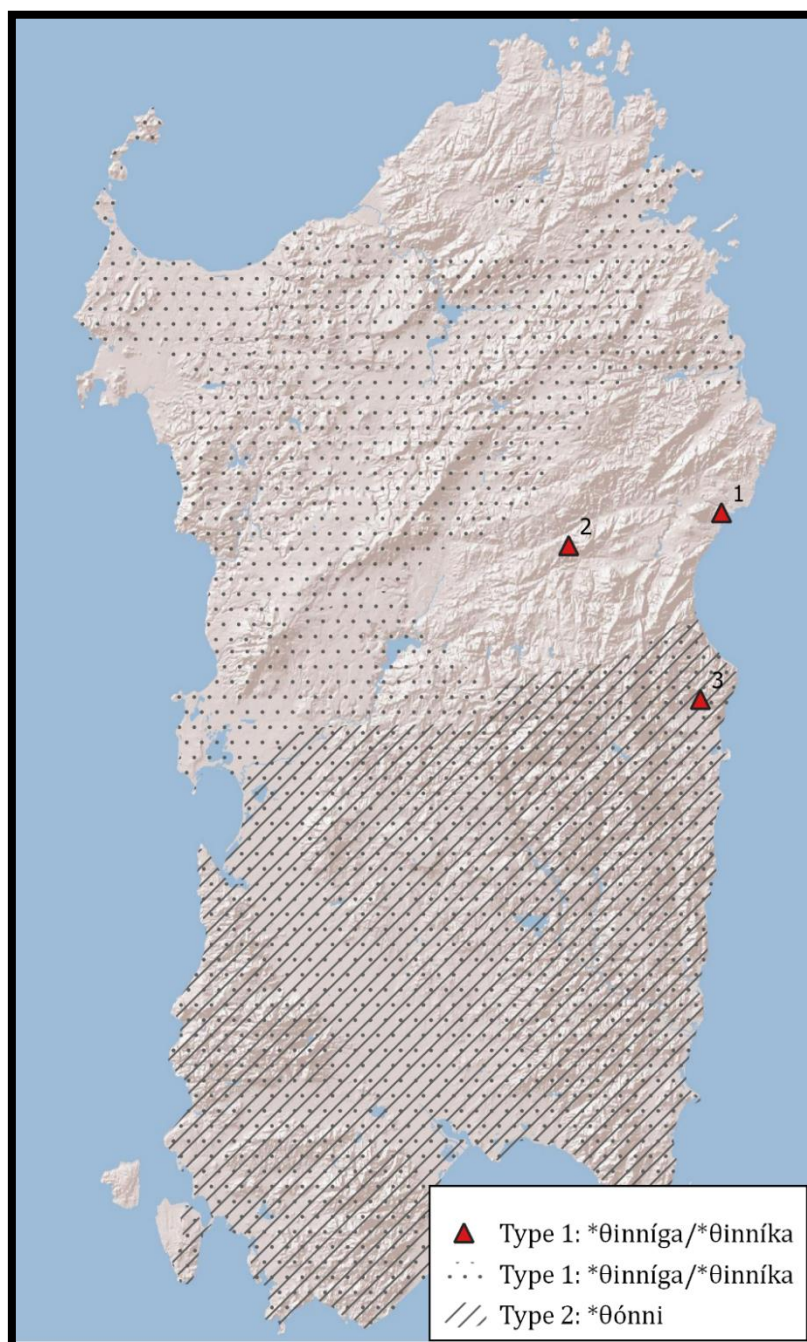


Figure 3.2.2: Esparto grass (*Lygeum spartum*)

Paulis (1992: 271) proposes a scenario in which both Sardinian types of this word entered Sardinia during Carthaginian presence in Sardinia, but that the more restricted and southerly distribution of type 2 **ǵónni* is due to it being introduced by a later wave of “Lybian” settlers in this same period. Argiolas (2020: 41) instead argues for a double introduction, at different times. The form **ǵinníga*, which has a wider distribution, would have belonged to a pre-Punic “Libyco-Berber” substrate in Sardinia. The etymologically related form **ǵónni*, restricted to Campidanese, would have been reintroduced in Sardinia during the Punic colonization, presumably through Berber-Punic language contact.

Yet, due to the phonetic problems of comparing **ǵinníga* to the Berber forms, either scenario is rather speculative. If Camp. *tsónni* ‘esparto grass’ is indeed related to a Bb. **sūnī* ‘basket’, we either need to assume that there was some unattested North-African variant containing a *-g-* that entered Sardinian as **ǵinníga*, which is unattractive because of a complete lack of evidence, or that Camp. *tsónni* and pan-Srd. **ǵinníga* are not related to each other. Alternatively, if one prefers to regard *tsónni* and **ǵinníga* as cognates, the Berber link must be rejected. As both scenarios still have their problems — the semantic development from ‘basket’ to ‘esparto grass’ needed to connect Camp. *tsónni* and Bb. **sānǃy/*sūnǃy/*sānī/*sūnī*, although probably attested in Berber, is far from trivial, but the phonetic and morphological developments explaining Srd. **ǵinníga* vs. **ǵónni* are not easily explained either. Deciding which one to accept is difficult. There is in any case no compelling reason to assume a double introduction of the same North-African word.

Decidedly less convincing are Pittau’s (apud Paulis 1992: 270) connection of both the Sardinian and Berber forms to Lat. *fūnis* ‘rope’, which is of Indo-European origin (de Vaan 2008: 250–251), and Argiolas’ (2020: 41) connection of all these forms to Gr. *θῶμυξ* ‘cord, string’. While the latter is of probable pre-Greek origin (Beekes 2010: 569), its similarity to Srd. **ǵinníga*, **ǵónni* ‘esparto grass’ is restricted to initial <ǵ>. The Vulgar Latin form **seniculum* that Múrcia Sánchez (2011: 468) posits on the basis of Cat. *senill* ‘type of reed’, is formally incompatible with the Sardinian forms.

3.2.3 Galingale (*Cyperus longus*)

Reconstruction	Forms
* <i>sèssene</i>	DES (II: 412): <i>sèssini</i> (Camp.), <i>sèssene</i> (1: Desulo, 2: Laconi), <i>sèssiri</i> (4: Villacidro) ‘galingale (<i>Cyperus longus</i> L.)’; deriv.: <i>fuišèssini</i> (3: Ballao) ‘Italian three-toed skink (<i>Chalcides chalcides</i> Linnaeus, 1758)’
	Paulis (1992: 449): [<i>mamma de</i>] <i>séssini</i> , <i>sessinàrgju</i> (Camp.) ‘purple nut-sedge (<i>Cyperus rotundus</i> L.)’
	Puddu (2023: s.v. <i>sèssene</i>): <i>sèssene</i> , <i>sèntzini</i> , <i>sèssi</i> , <i>sèssini</i> , <i>sèssiri</i> ‘galingale (<i>Cyperus longus</i>)’; [<i>su</i>] <i>sessinédhu</i> ‘kind of rope’; [<i>mamma de</i>] <i>sèssini</i> (etc.), <i>sessinàrgiu</i> ‘great bulrush (<i>Schoenoplectus tabernaemontani</i> (C.C.Gmel.) Palla)’

Galingale, also known as ‘water rush’, is a species of sedge that grows in wet places such as the banks of ponds etc. and has been used to make mats (DES II: 412). The Sardinian forms can be united in an original **sèssen(e)*. This word is generally considered to be of pre-Roman origin and has been compared to various Berber forms: e.g. Kb. *azəzzu* etc. ‘broom (plant)’ (Hubschmid 1953: 27; cf. Dallet 1982: 927); Beni Snous *tīyzzī* ‘dry esparto grass’ (DES II: 412; cf. Destaing 1914: 10),⁸¹ Beni Snous *zzīw* ‘strand’ (DES II: 412; cf. Destaing 1914: 50).⁸² The connection to the words for ‘broom’ and ‘strand’ can readily be rejected on semantic grounds, and I fail to see the similarity between Srd. **sèssen(e)* and Beni Snous *tīyzzī*. Argiolas (2020: 40–41), who has her doubts about these earlier comparisons, proposes a connection to Kb. *zzəmzəm* ‘to be slim’, *ažəmzum* ‘twig’ (cf. Dallet 1982: 945), Tmz. *azmu* ‘very fine rush used to make mats’ (cf. Täifi 1991: 807) etc. The only formally acceptable comparanda to Srd. *sèssene* ‘galingale’ are reduplicated forms like Kb. *ažəmzum* ‘twig’, which are etymologically unrelated to Tmz. *azmu* ‘very fine rush used to make mats’ and its cognates.⁸³ The semantic distance between words meaning ‘twig’ or ‘slim’ and Srd. *sèssene* ‘galingale’ is too great to confidently posit an etymological connection.

⁸¹ In Destaing (1914) and DES as *šīizzī*.

⁸² In Destaing (1914) as *zzəu*, and in DES as *ž’zeu*.

⁸³ Maarten Kossmann (p.c.).

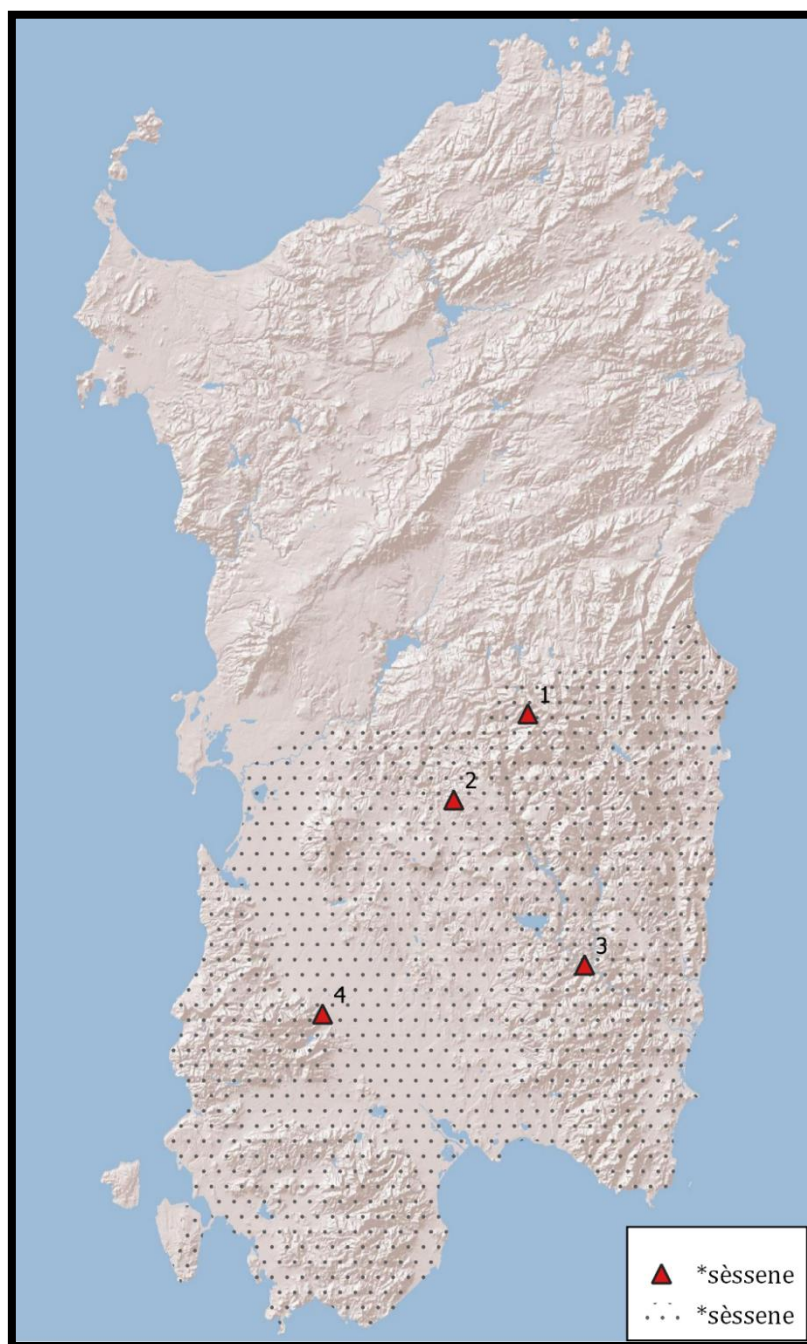


Figure 3.2.3: Galingale (*Cyperus longus*)

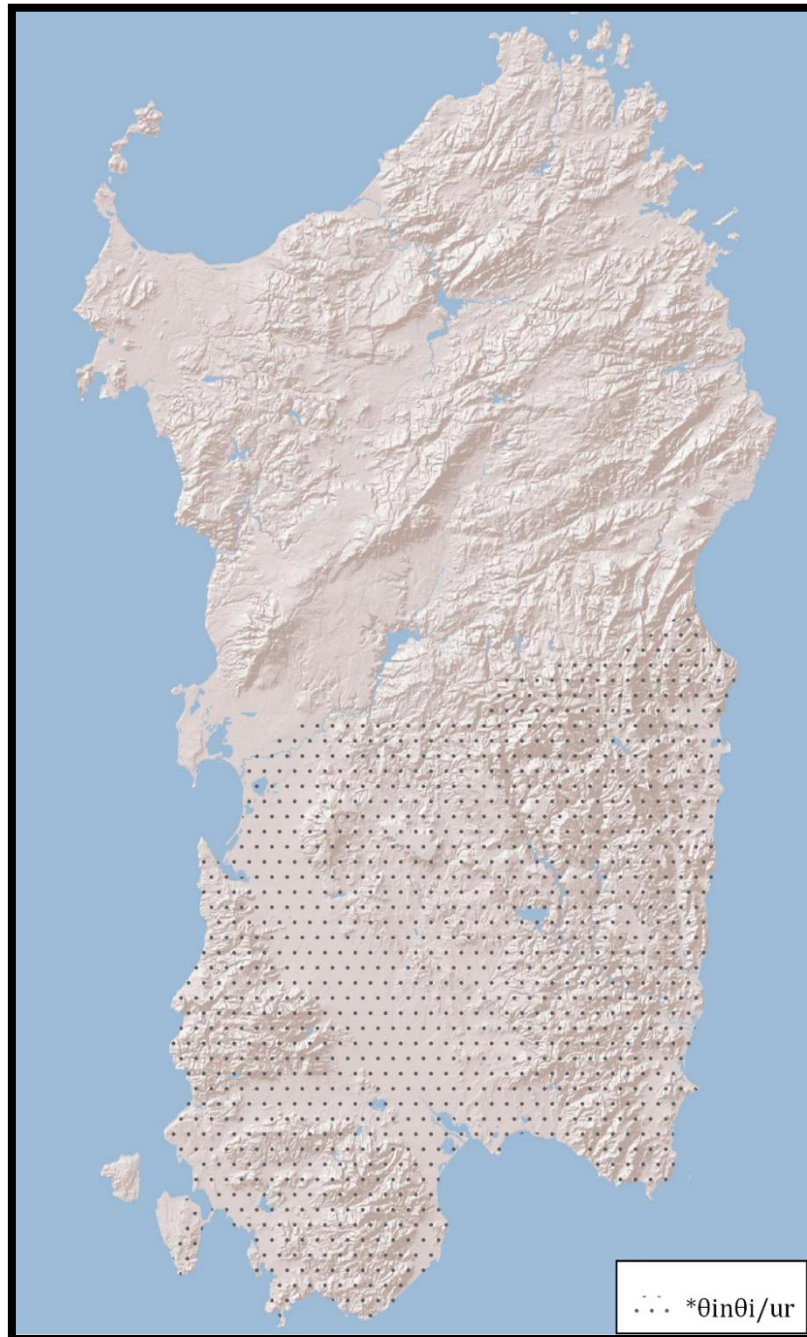


Figure 3.2.4: Knotgrass (*Polygonum sp.*); horsetail (*Equisetum palustre*)

3.2.4 Knotgrass (*Polygonum sp.*); horsetail (*Equisetum palustre*)

Reconstruction	Forms
* <i>ḡinḡi/ur</i>	Paulis (1992: 386–387): <i>síntsiri</i> , <i>sintsurru</i> ⁸⁴ (Camp.) ‘knotgrass (<i>Polygonum aviculare</i> L., <i>P. equisetiforme</i> Sm.); horsetail (<i>Equisetum palustre</i> L.)’

These Campidanese forms have convincingly been connected by Paulis (1992: 386–387) to Pun. *sensur*, *zensur*, *zunzur*, *sumsur* ‘knotgrass’ (Howald & Sigerist 1927: 55; cf. André 1985: 279). As in other instances of possible Punic loans, sibilants are borrowed into Sardinian as *ḡ- (§ 8.1.2). This is yet another interesting example of a word of Punic origin preserved in the Sardinian dialects.

3.2.5 Ropegrass (*Ampelodesmos mauritanicus*)

Reconstruction	Forms
* <i>kalkúri/</i>	DES (I: 298): <i>karkúri</i> , <i>krakkúri</i> , <i>krukkúri</i> ; <i>krukkúriju</i>
* <i>karkúri</i>	(1: Mogoro) ‘ropegrass (<i>Ampelodesmos mauritanicus</i> (Poir.) T.Durand & Schinz)’

Except for *krukkúriju*, Wagner does not provide any information on the place of attestation of these words for ‘ropegrass’. Nor does he provide any etymological discussion apart from noting that they are “probably pre-Roman”. The pretonic *-u-* in *krukkúri*, *krukkúriju* is likely due to assimilation to the following stressed vowel. Paulis (1992: 269) suggests that these forms may somehow be related to Log. *kárku*, Camp. *krákku* ‘thick, dense, packed’ and Camp. *krákkili*, *krákkiri* ‘thick bush, dense thickets’, be it etymologically or folk-etymologically. This is likely, as ropegrass forms large, thick tufts. However, the ending *-úri* is not an inherited morpheme, but is occasionally found in words of supposed pre-Roman origin. This makes one wonder if the formation of *karkúri* etc. is the result of the addition of a pre-Roman suffix to an inherited stem. Alternatively, an already existing word of pre-Roman origin for ‘ropegrass’ may have been reformed into *karkúri* etc. by influence of *kárku*, *krákku* ‘thick, dense, packed’ << *karkáre* ‘to tread, to press’ < Lat. *calcāre* ‘id.’.

⁸⁴ This form has been recorded without information about its accentuation.

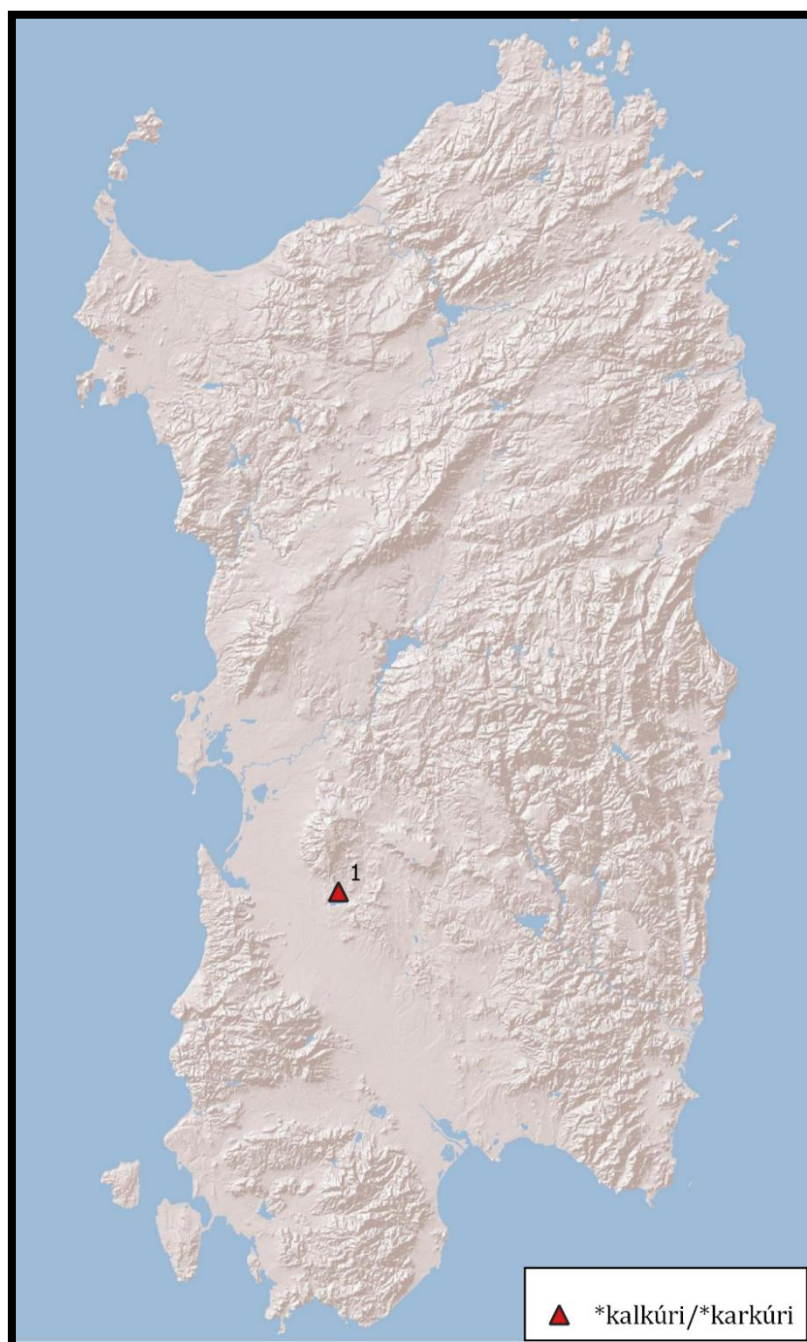


Figure 3.2.5: Ropegrass (*Ampelodesmos mauritanicus*)

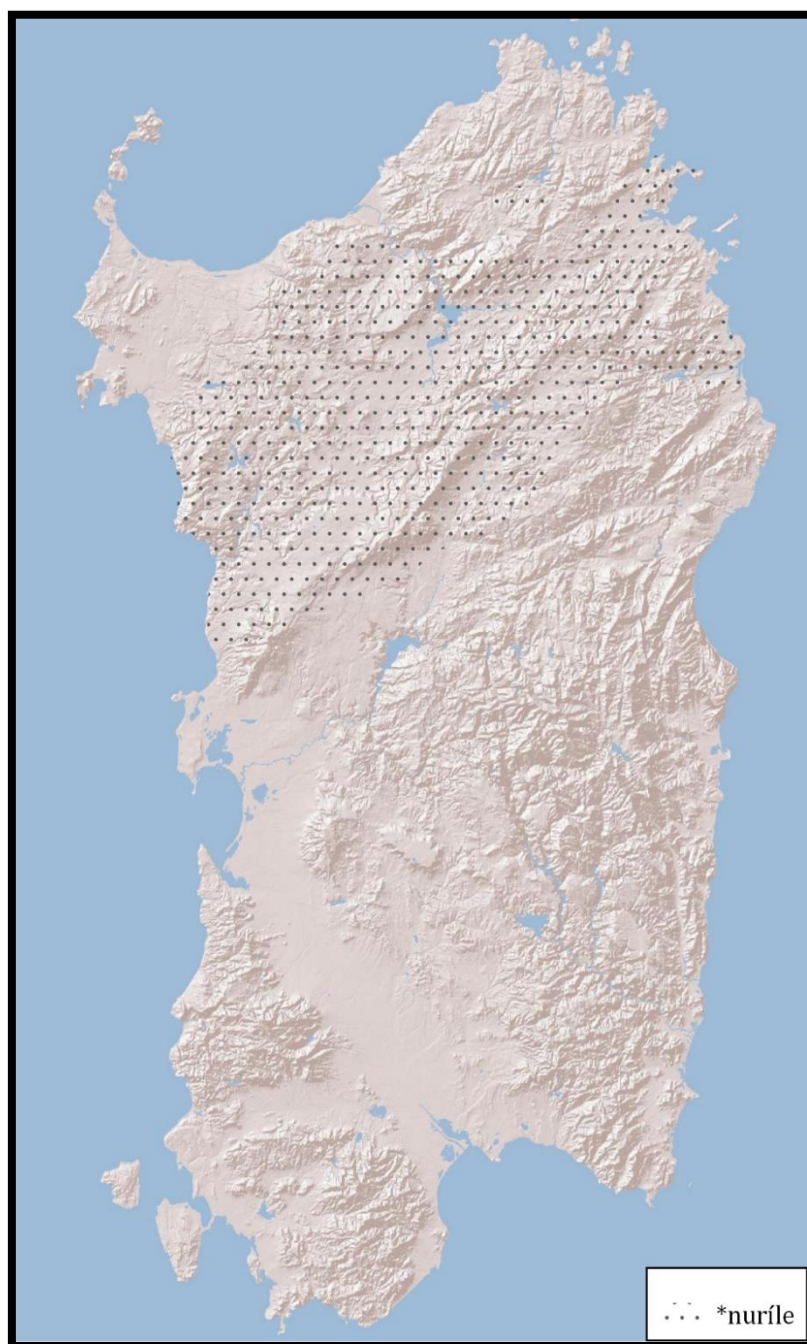


Figure 3.2.6: Weed

3.2.6 Weed (unspecified)

Reconstruction	Forms
* <i>nuríle</i>	DES (II: 179): <i>nuríle</i> (Log.) ‘weed that attaches to clods of earth that have not been cultivated for a long time’; ⁸⁵ deriv.: <i>annurilare</i> ‘hardening of the terrain, which develops crusts by lack of weeding’ ⁸⁶

Wagner believes that these forms, recorded by Spano,⁸⁷ may be of pre-Roman origin. Paulis (1992: 386), however, suggests that the rather vague definition of the forms may refer to ‘knotgrass (*Polygonum aviculare*)’, and proposes this word to be a derivation of Lat. *nōdus* ‘knot’ with the suffix *-íle* < Lat. *-ilis* (cf. Wagner 1952: 40–41). While such a derivation would semantically fit ‘knotgrass’ very well, we cannot be certain that this word actually refers to ‘knotgrass’. Moreover, it is difficult to explain the phonetic development of *-r-* < *-d-* that is needed to get *nuríle*. Paulis (1992: 386) provides parallels for *-r-* < *-d-*; e.g. *gurínu* ‘basket, wooden bucket’ < *kađínu*; Camp. *pirai* ‘to fart’ < *piđai*. However, these examples show a different development, because their *-r-* < *-d-* is the reflex of *-t-* in Lat. *catinus* and *peditare* respectively (cf. DES I: 259; II: 264). In both Logudorese and Campidanese, Latin intervocalic voiced stops are regularly lost (Wagner 1941a: 79). This means that *-d-* in Lat. *nōdus* could not have developed into *-r-*.⁸⁸ This leaves *nuríle* without etymology, but in absence of a more specific definition it is impossible to provide an alternative etymology or to confirm its pre-Roman origin.

⁸⁵ “[E]rba parassita che si attacca alle zolle di terreno da molto tempo non coltivato”.

⁸⁶ “[I]ndurirsi del terreno che mette le croste per mancanza di sarchiatura”.

⁸⁷ In Spano’s handwritten notes (*non vidi*) on his own dictionary (i.e. Spano 1851).

⁸⁸ Besides expected Log. *nóu* ‘knot’, Log. *nóđu* ‘knot’ is attested (DES II: 169). Its *-đ-* is attributed to influence from Italian however (DES II: 169), and there is no evidence for a secondary development of *-đ-* > *-r-* in this word.

3.3 Trees and shrubs

3.3.1 Bean trefoil (*Anagyris foetida*)

Reconstruction	Forms
* <i>ìòlva</i> /* <i>ìòlba</i> / * <i>ìòrva</i> /* <i>ìòrba</i>	DES (I: 608): <i>ǵòlva</i> , <i>ǵòrva</i> (Log.) ‘bean trefoil (<i>Anagyris foetida</i> L.)’, <i>ǵòlva</i> (1: Bonorva) ‘a herb’
	Hubschmid (1953: 85): <i>giolva</i> (Sassari) ⁸⁹ ‘bean trefoil’ (<i>Anagyris foetida</i>)’
	Paulis (1992: 293): <i>ǵòlva</i> , [fáβa] <i>ǵòlva</i> , <i>ǵòrva</i> (Log.), <i>fadzòrβa</i> (2: Bolotana) ‘bean trefoil (<i>Anagyris foetida</i>)’

The bean trefoil is a small tree native to the Mediterranean region, with bright yellow flowers and seeds that grow in long pods. Its leaves emit an unpleasant odor when crushed (Christian 2022). Its Logudorese names presuppose a reconstruction **ìolva* (or **ìolba*/**ìorva*/**ìorba*) (Hubschmid 1953: 85), which cannot be connected to any known Latin word. Hubschmid (1953: 85) notes that its formation looks similar to that of Lat. *malva* ‘mallow’ and other plant names they ascribe to the “Mediterranean substrate”.⁹⁰ Paulis (1992: 293) instead proposes that the Sardinian forms go back to dialectal Modern Greek forms like ἀζώγυρος, ἀζώγυρας, ἀζώουρος etc. ‘bean trefoil’ (AEG I: 295). As Paulis points out, the Sardinian forms would require a Greek form **azóuras*, with subsequent replacement of Gr. /z/ by -ǵ- and with metathesis of *-óura- to *-órua- > -ólva-. Paulis’ (1992: 293) etymology is supported by the existence of similar forms for ‘bean trefoil’ in southern Italy and Sicily going back to Gr. ἀζώγυρος: Bov. *zójero* etc., Calab. *zòjaru*, *zòjiru* etc., Sic. *azòiru*, *azòiuuru*, *zzòira*, *zzòiru* etc. ‘bean trefoil’ (Rohlf 1964: 15; Piccitto & Tropea 1977: 344; 2002: 1302).

⁸⁹ It is difficult to interpret this form. In the dialect of Sassari, we would expect ***ǵóybbu* (cf. *naybbùttsa* << Lat. *malva* ‘mallow’, *áybburu* < Lat. *arbor* ‘tree’; AIS 642, 1251). It is possible that Hubschmid (1953) is referring to the province of Sassari, which contains the region where North Logudorese dialects are spoken. Because of this uncertainty, the form is not included in the map.

⁹⁰ See also Wigman (2023: 106–108).

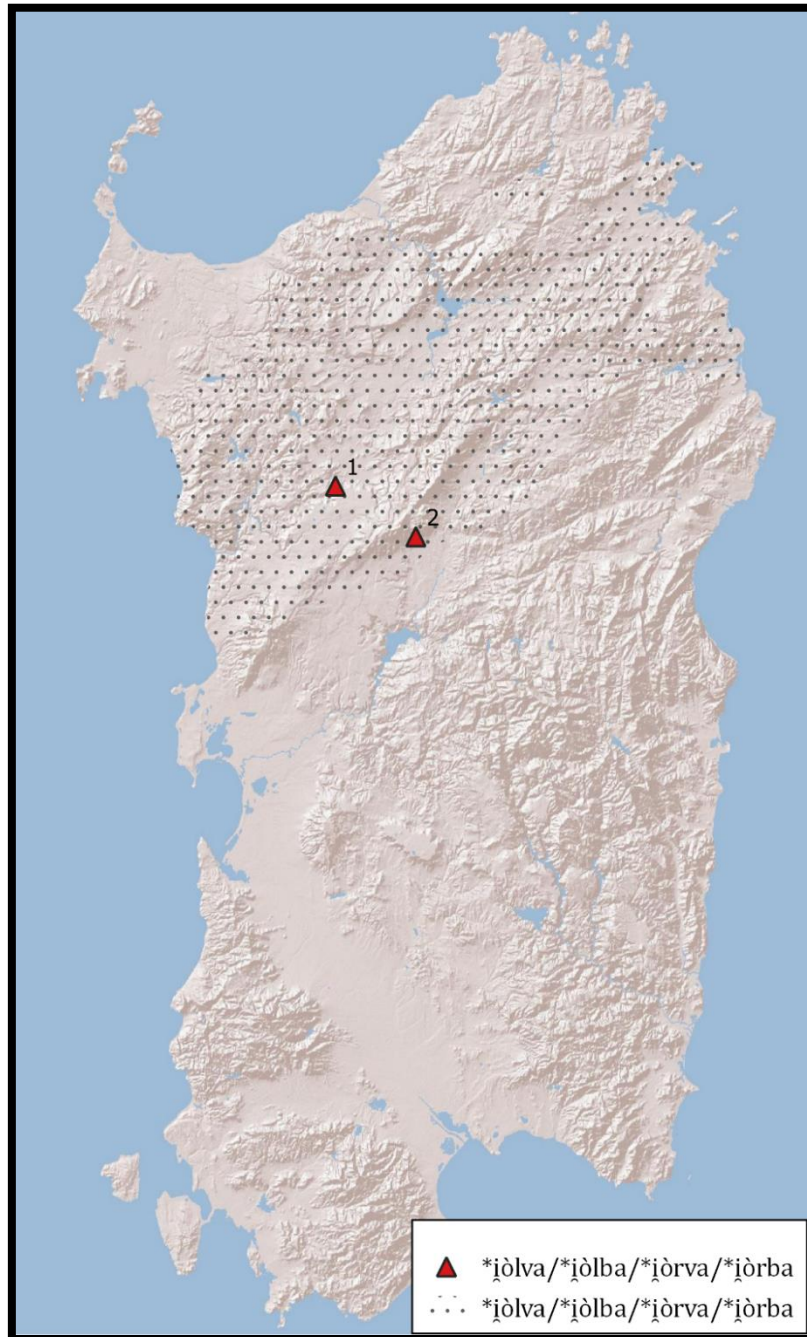


Figure 3.3.1: Bean trefoil (*Anagyris foetida*)

There are, however, some problems on the Greek side. It is unclear why classical Greek -v- was borrowed into Sardinian as /u/ rather than /y/ or /i/. While in early Greek loans -v- is sometimes represented as -u- (e.g. Srd. *túm(b)u* << Gr. *θύμον* ‘thyme’), -v- is usually borrowed as -i- in Sardinian (Wagner 1941a: 13). This is probably why Paulis points to *ἄζωυρος* from Kos, *ἄζώγουρας* from Egina and *ἄζωγίουρας* from Megara as phonetically possible sources for the Sardinian forms. However, the Greek varieties of Egina and Megara (both of which are extinct) belong to a very small group of archaic dialects that regularly continue ancient Greek -v- as /u/ rather than /i/ (Trudgill 2003: 54). It is not clear that the form of Byzantine Greek present in medieval Sardinia preserved /u/ too. Thus, although Paulis’ (1992: 293) derivation of Log. *ǵòlva* from Greek is plausible, the exact source form remains to be clarified. A pre-Roman origin can in any case be discarded.

3.3.2 Broom, spiny (*Calicotome* sp., *Genista* sp.)

Reconstruction	Forms
1: * <i>tería</i>	DES (II: 548): <i>tiría</i> [mášu] (1: Bonorva) ‘Corsican broom (<i>Genista corsica</i> (Loisel.) DC.)’, <i>tería</i> , [sa] <i>ðería</i> (4: Baunei, 5: Jerzu, 6: Perdasdefogu) ‘broom species (<i>Calicotome</i> sp. Link, <i>Cytisus</i> sp. Desf., <i>Genista</i> sp. L.)’ Paulis (1992: 297–300): <i>tiría</i> (2: Bolotana), <i>tiría</i> [búrdà] (7: Escalaplano) ‘Corsican broom (<i>Genista corsica</i>)’
2: * <i>ðería</i>	DES (II: 548): <i>ðiría</i> (Nuor.), <i>ðería</i> (3: Talana) ‘broom species (<i>Calicotome</i> sp., <i>Cytisus</i> sp., <i>Genista</i> sp.)’ Paulis (1992: 297–300): <i>ðiría</i> [ayrèste] (Nuor.), ‘bladder-senna (<i>Colutea arborescens</i> L.)’

All sources agree that the plant referred to as *ðiría*, *tiría* or *tería* is particularly spiny. The DES (II: 548) further specifies that *ðiría* etc. refers to a spiny species of broom, whereas *maðrikúšja* refers to species of broom without spines. I agree with Paulis (1992: 299) that the *ð*- in the Nuorese dialects must be secondary from **t*-, as we would expect Campidanese ***ts*- from original **ð*-.⁹¹

⁹¹ Secondary introduction of -*ð*- instead of etymological -*t*- is rather common in the Nuorese dialects, potentially because of the correspondence between etymological Nuor. -*ð*- and Log. -*t*- (Wagner 1941a: 119).

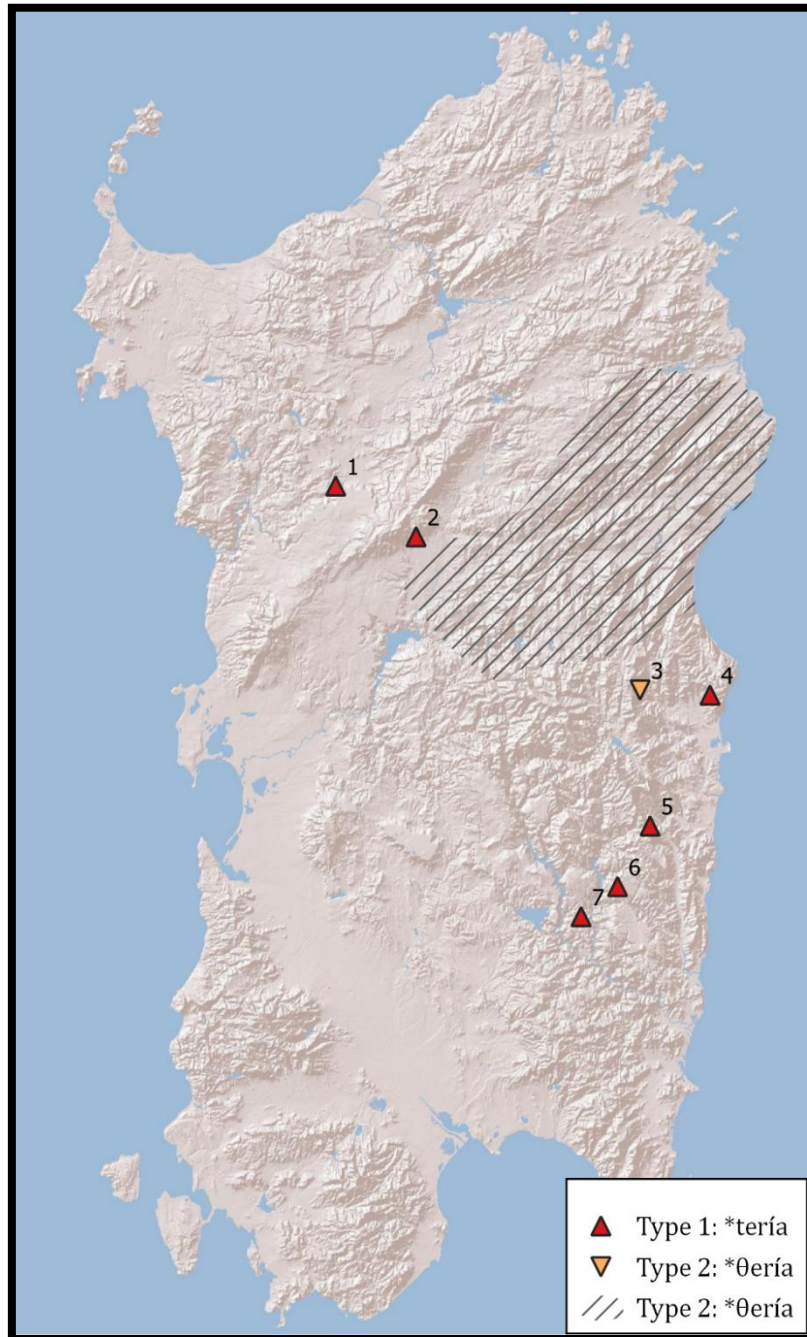


Figure 3.3.2: Spiny broom (*Calicotome* sp., *Genista* sp.)

The analysis of ϑ - (which is common in words of suspected pre-Roman origin) as secondary, removes an important factor that may have led Wagner to designate this word as “probably pre-Roman”. Paulis (1992: 299–300) analyzes Srd. **tiría*, **tería* as the outcome of Lat. *aetheria* ‘ethereal, heavenly’. This word, in turn borrowed from Gr. αἰθέριος, is attested in Caelius Aurelianus (1757: 332): “the seed of the aethereal/heavenly herb that is called *eryngion*”.⁹² *Eryngion* refers to species in the plant genus *Eryngium* L. ‘eryngo’, which are similar to thistles or teasels. According to Paulis (1992: 300) eryngo would have been considered to keep away lightning and hailstorms (whence the name *aetheria* ‘heavenly/aethereal’), and its name was later in Sardinian transferred to species of broom because of the superficial similarity between the plants caused by their spiny leaves. There are some factors that cast doubt on this etymology however. For one, the quote from Caelius Aurelianus does in my view not demonstrate that *aetheria herba* was the Latin name for eryngo, which is in fact called *eryngion* in the very same line. Secondly, we would need to assume a semantic shift from ‘eryngo’ to ‘spiny broom’ which is possible in theory, but not completely straightforward, since the similarity between both plants is based solely on the prickliness of their leaves.⁹³ Additionally, the penultimate stress in Srd. *θiría*, *tería* etc. does not correspond to the antepenultimate stress that Lat. *aetheria* would have had. Paulis (1992: 300) tries to resolve this by assuming the addition of the Greek suffix -έα, which was rendered in Sardinian as -ía. If we need to assume that the Sardinian forms go back to an unattested Gr. **αιθερέα*, the passage from Caelius Aurelianus containing Lat. *aetheria* cannot be used as conclusive evidence, as the Sardinian word must in that case have been borrowed from Greek independently anyway.

Paulis’ etymology is based on a single attestation of a Latin word in the context of a different plant than the Sardinian forms denote. In light of the uncertainties discussed above, I would like to consider another Greek word, already briefly discussed by Pittau (1995: 109), as a possible etymology for Srd. *θiría*, *tería* etc. ‘spiny broom’. For the passage from Caelius Aurelianus mentioned above, Kühn (1828: 145) proposes a correction **atheria* for attested *aetheria*. Lat. **atheria* would be from Gr. ἀθερήϊς, -ίδος ‘prickly’ (cf. Liddell et al. 1978: ἀθερήϊς), which would semantically be more straightforward in the context of *eryngion* ‘eryngo’, which is a particularly spiny plant. Whether or not this proposed connection is

⁹² “[A]etheriae herbae semine, quam *eryngion* appellant”.

⁹³ It must be noted that the species *Eryngium maritimum* is also called *sea holly* in English, which may be a parallel for transfer of a phytonym on the basis of the prickliness of the leaves. Still, the shape of the leaves of sea holly is much more similar to actual holly than to the various species of broom.

correct for Caelius Aurelianus' *De Morbis Acutis et Chronicis*, Gr. ἀθερήϊς 'prickly' corresponds well with Srd. *tería* 'spiny broom' semantically, since Wagner (DES II: 548), Paulis (1992: 298) and Puddu (2023: s.v. *tería*) all agree that Srd. *θiría*, *tería* etc. refer to species of broom that are particularly spiny. Phonologically, ἀθερήϊς may explain the penultimate stress of the Sardinian forms. Note that the suffix *-ía* in Sardinian is mainly found on abstract and collective nouns, rendering Sardinian-internal addition of *-ía* to a plant name questionable (Wagner 1952: 14). The question is which variant of ἀθερήϊς the Sardinian forms would reflect. For most of the Sardinian dialects, the non-neuter accusative and neuter plural ἀθερήϊδα would probably yield the attested forms, with loss of intervocalic **-d-*. In the Nuorese dialects however, **-d-* would have been preserved, so *θiría* would have to be analyzed as a later loan from Campidanese or Logudorese. In light of the initial *θ-* that is most likely secondary as well (Paulis 1992: 299), this does not pose a real problem.

Whether it is Gr. αἰθέριος 'heavenly/aethereal' >> **αἰθερέα* (as per Paulis 1992: 299–300) or Gr. ἀθερήϊς 'prickly' that is the origin of Srd. *tería* etc., it seems that Greek *θ-* was borrowed as *t-*. This runs counter to the treatment of Greek *θ-* observed by Wagner (1941a: 109). Wagner cites Nuor. *θíu*, Camp. *tsíu* 'uncle' << Gr. θεῖος and Old Camp. *hanazzema* << Gr. ἀνάθημα, both of which suggest that Gr. *-θ-* was borrowed as Sardinian **-θ-* > Nuor. *-θ-*, Camp. *-ts-*, Log. *-t-*. A similar treatment to *tería* is however found in Nuor., Log. *timándza*, Camp. *timòṅḡa* 'incense' << Gr. θυμίαμα 'id.' For this word, REW (8722) and Wagner (1997: 173) assume an intermediate Vulgar Latin form **thymania* (with **th-* realized as /t/). However, contrary to the reflexes of **thymania*, which is attested in multiple Romance languages, *θiría*, *tería* etc. is only attested in Sardinian, rendering the assumption of an unattested Latin form **at(h)ería* rather dubious.

Despite the many uncertainties, it remains attractive to posit a Latin **at(h)ería*, be it from Gr. ἀθερήϊς 'prickly' or Gr. αἰθέριος 'heavenly'. If both scenarios are to be rejected however, a (non-Greek) substrate origin for the name of these plant species would remain the only plausible option. Note however that this would purely be based on negative evidence, i.e. the absence of an alternative etymology, rather than positive evidence pointing to a pre-Roman origin.

3.3.3 Dog rose (*Rosa canina*)

Reconstruction	Forms
1: * <i>kulári</i>	DES (II: 195): [<i>orròsa</i>] <i>yullári</i> (1: Busachi) ‘dog rose (<i>Rosa canina</i> L.)’
2: * <i>ro/ulári</i>	DES (II: 195): <i>orroláriu</i> (2: Desulo, 6: Laconi), <i>orruláriu</i> (3: Villagrande Strisaili, 7: Perdasdefogu), <i>rullári</i> (4: Aritzo), <i>orrolári</i> (5: Meana Sardo) ‘id.’

Wagner does not provide an etymology for these words. Paulis (1992: 359) analyzes the forms in type 2 as a conflation of *ru*, *orrú* < Lat. *rubus* ‘bramble’ and an element **kulári* derived from *kúlu* ‘arse’ because of this plant’s laxative properties (cf. e.g. Fr. *gratte-cul* ‘dog rose’). There are some phonological issues with this etymology. One is Paulis’ assumption that **kulári* was derived from *kúlu* ‘arse’ by means of the inherited suffix *-ale* < Lat. *-alis*. While it is true that *-ale* would likely dissimilate to *-are* due to the *-l-* in *kúlu* (Wagner 1952: 40), we expect the final vowel to yield ***-e* rather than attested *-i*. With the exception of Laconi and Perdasdefogu, all localities in which the words listed above are attested, preserve the distinction of word-final *-e* vs. *-i* and *-o* vs. *-u* (Wagner 1907b: Map 1). This, and the fact that we also find the ending *-iu*, renders it doubtful that these words contain the adjectivizing suffix *-ale*, which in turn casts doubt on its derivation from *kúlu* ‘arse’. If we analyze the forms of type 2 at face value, they require an original **rolári* or **rulári*. Paulis suggests that the velar of original **kulári* was lost in the same way as in the word *lú(o)* ‘pergola of grapevines’ < Lat. *lucus*, which occurs roughly in the same dialects as *orrolári* etc. (Wagner 1928: 35; DES II:47). Although the development of *lucus* > *lú* is not quite expected (we would rather expect ***lúyu*) (Wagner 1941a: 69), it provides a possible parallel for hypothetical *orrolári* < **ru kulári*.⁹⁴ While there is no problem in identifying the first syllable of these forms as (*or*)*ru* ‘bramble’ — cf. *ruβu* [*berbeyínu*] (Orgosolo) and *arrú* [*yráβiu*] (Mogoro) ‘dog rose’ (DES II: 372) — the derivation of *kulári* < **cularis*, *-em* remains problematic.

⁹⁴ There is an ongoing process of further weakening of *-γ-* < **-k-* in Campidanese dialects, mainly in the adjectival suffix *-icus* and its derivations (Wagner 1941a: 75). This process has not been completed in all instances of original **-k-* though.

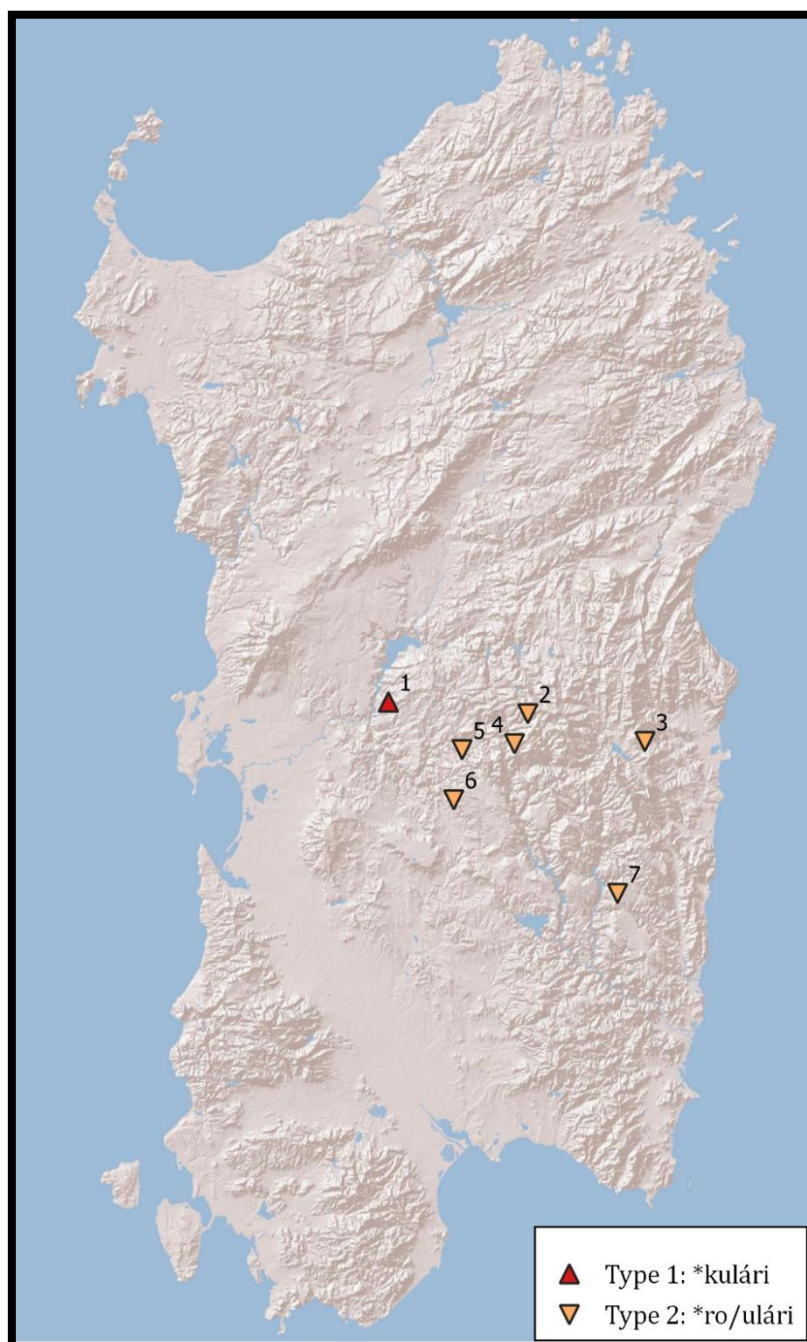


Figure 3.3.3: Dog rose (*Rosa canina*)

We thus face a dilemma between assuming **ro/ulári*, which is etymologically obscure, and assuming **rú kulári*, the second part of which would be morphologically obscure. In light of the fact that the expected outcome of the initial **k-* in **kulári* is found in only one variant (i.e. Busachi [*orròsa*] *yullári*), we may consider the possibility that this is in fact a folk-etymological back-formation from original **ro/ulári*, on the basis of *kúlu* ‘arse’, rather than an archaic formation. Irrespective of whether we reconstruct **ro/ulári* or **kulári*, it seems likely that this word does not belong to the inherited portion of the Sardinian lexicon, as Latin words with nominative in *-is* are expected to be continued in Sardinian by its original accusative in *-em* > Srd. *-e* (cf. § 8.1.5.1). Since it is not obvious that this word was borrowed from another language in a more recent stage either, it is possible that it originally pertained to a pre-Roman language.

3.3.4 Heather (*Erica scoparia*),

Reconstruction	Forms
1: <i>*fla/umíu</i>	DES (I: 539): <i>framíu</i> (Ogl.) ‘bundle of dry twigs for the oven’, <i>frumíu</i> (1: Paulilatino) ‘small wild olive tree (<i>Olea europaea</i> L.)’
2: <i>*flámmju</i>	<i>frámju</i> (Ogl.), <i>frámmju</i> (2: Tonara) ‘heather (<i>Erica scoparia</i> L.)’

Wagner (DES I: 539) believes that these words are pre-Roman in origin, with possible influence of *frámma* ‘flame’ < Lat. *flamma* in the form *framíu* ‘bundle of dry twigs for the oven’. He compares the forms referring to ‘heather’ to Sp. *firma* (Salamanca) ‘heather (branch)’. Paulis (1992: 415) does not agree with a pre-Roman origin for these forms, and instead derives all of them from Lat. *flammeus* ‘flaming, fiery’. I agree that this is attractive at least for the forms in type 2, which are in fact the regular outcome of Lat. *flammeus*. Semantically this derivation is probable because of heather’s qualities as firewood. For the forms in type 1, proposing a direct continuation from *flammeus* is more difficult. Accented *-íu* in *framíu* ‘bundle of dry twigs for the oven’ and in *frumíu* ‘small wild olive tree’ cannot go back to Lat. *-eus*.

As such, the forms in type 1 need a different explanation. If *framíu* and *frumíu* are the same formation, either the *-a-* or the *-u-* is secondary. Whereas pretonic *-a-* > *-u-* occurs occasionally in the presence of a labial consonant (cf. Wagner 1941a: 28–29), *-u-* >> *-a-* by influence of *frámma* ‘flame’ is in this case also very well imaginable for *framíu* ‘bundle of dry twigs for the oven’ (as already suggested in DES I: 539), making it difficult to judge which one is original.

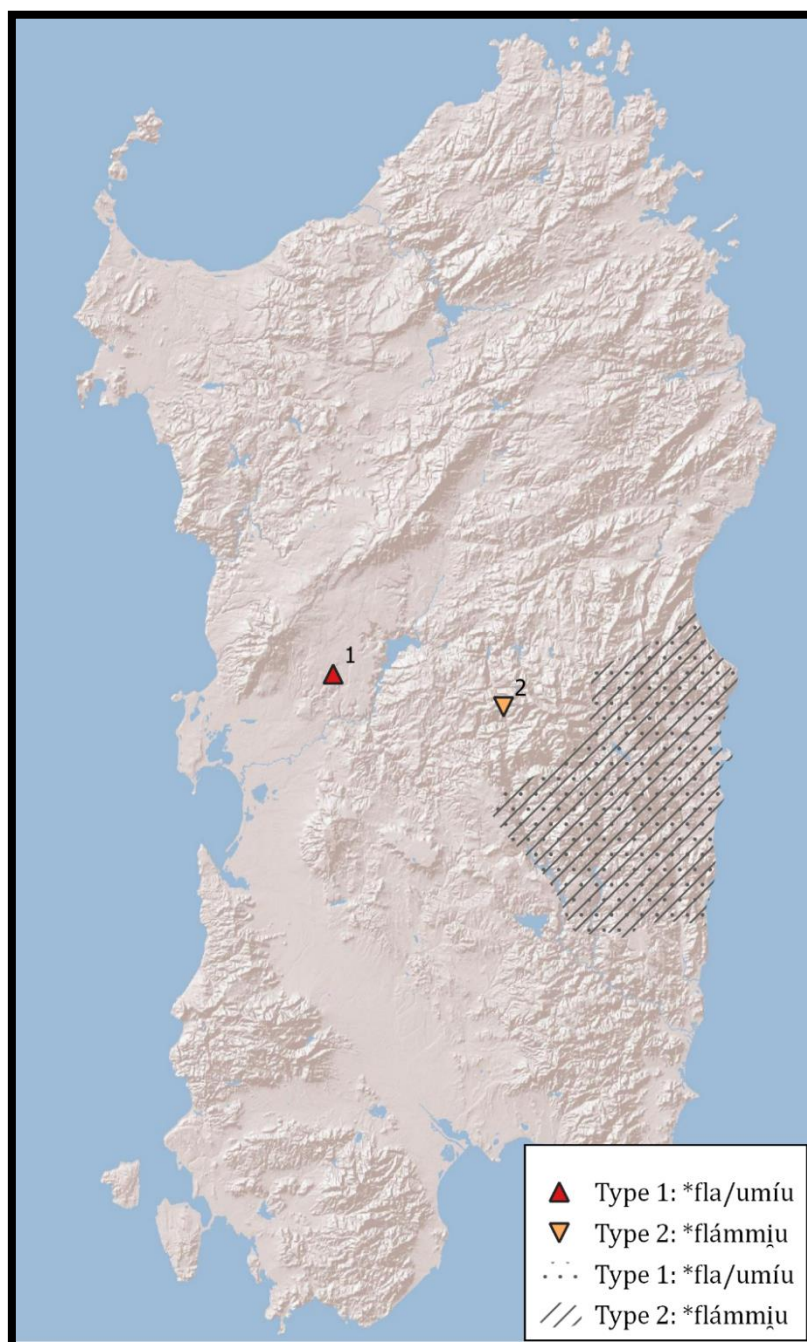


Figure 3.3.4: Heather (*Erica scoparia*)

Whatever the original vowel was, we are left with a form **fra/umíu*,⁹⁵ that refers to types of plant growth typical of Mediterranean vegetation, and which cannot be derived from Lat. *flammeus* for formal and semantic reasons. Wagner's (DES I: 539) analysis of this group of words as pre-Roman thus remains a possibility. If we assume original **fra/umíu* 'heather/some maquis shrub', remodeling after *frámma* 'flame' may have led to the creation of *frám(m)íu* 'heather' (type 2), due to heather's inflammable properties. The semantic development to 'small wild olive tree' and to 'bundle of dry twigs for the oven' can both best be understood from 'heather' as the original meaning; the first by association to olives' and heather's shared habitat and the second again because of the common use of heather as firewood. Beside the lack of a convincing etymology there are no real diagnostic features for or against a pre-Roman origin of **fra/umíu*, as the vowel alternation can be explained as secondary. Wagner's (DES I: 539) comparison to Sp. *firma* (Salamanca) 'heather (branch)' could maybe work if we assume the Sardinian forms to go back to an original **fa/urmíu*, with metathesis. Perhaps it is no more than a chance correspondence however.

3.3.5 Heather (*Erica scoparia*)₂, tree heather (*Erica arborea*)₁

Reconstruction	Forms
1: <i>*túfVr-</i>	DES (II: 540): <i>túora</i> (1: Dorgali), <i>túfera</i> (2: Urzulei), <i>tív(v)era</i> (4: Baunei, 5: Desulo, 6: Villagrande Strisaili), <i>túvara</i> (7: Seulo, 9: Seui, 10: Sadali, 12: Perdasdefogu, 13: Escalaplano) 'heather (<i>Erica scoparia</i> L.), tree heather (<i>Erica arborea</i> L.)' AIS (617): [<i>sa</i>] <i>ḏúvera</i> (4: Baunei, 5: Desulo, 8: Laconi), [<i>sa</i>] <i>túvera</i> (11: Mogoro), [<i>sa</i>] <i>ḏúvara</i> (10: Perdasdefogu, 11: Escalaplano) 'heather (<i>Erica scoparia</i>)'
2: <i>*úfVr-</i>	DES (II: 540): <i>úvvara</i> (3: Busachi, 14: Guspini, 15: Samassi, 16: Villacidro, 17: Villaputzu, 18: Narcao) 'heather (<i>Erica scoparia</i>), tree heather (<i>Erica arborea</i>)'

⁹⁵ This reconstructed form **fra/umíu* could in turn go back to earlier **fla/umíu*, **fra/umíu*, **fa/ulmíu* or **fa/urmíu*. The distinction between postconsonantal *-l-* and *-r-* is only preserved in Baunei, for which this specific word is unfortunately not attested (Wagner 1941a: 154–155).

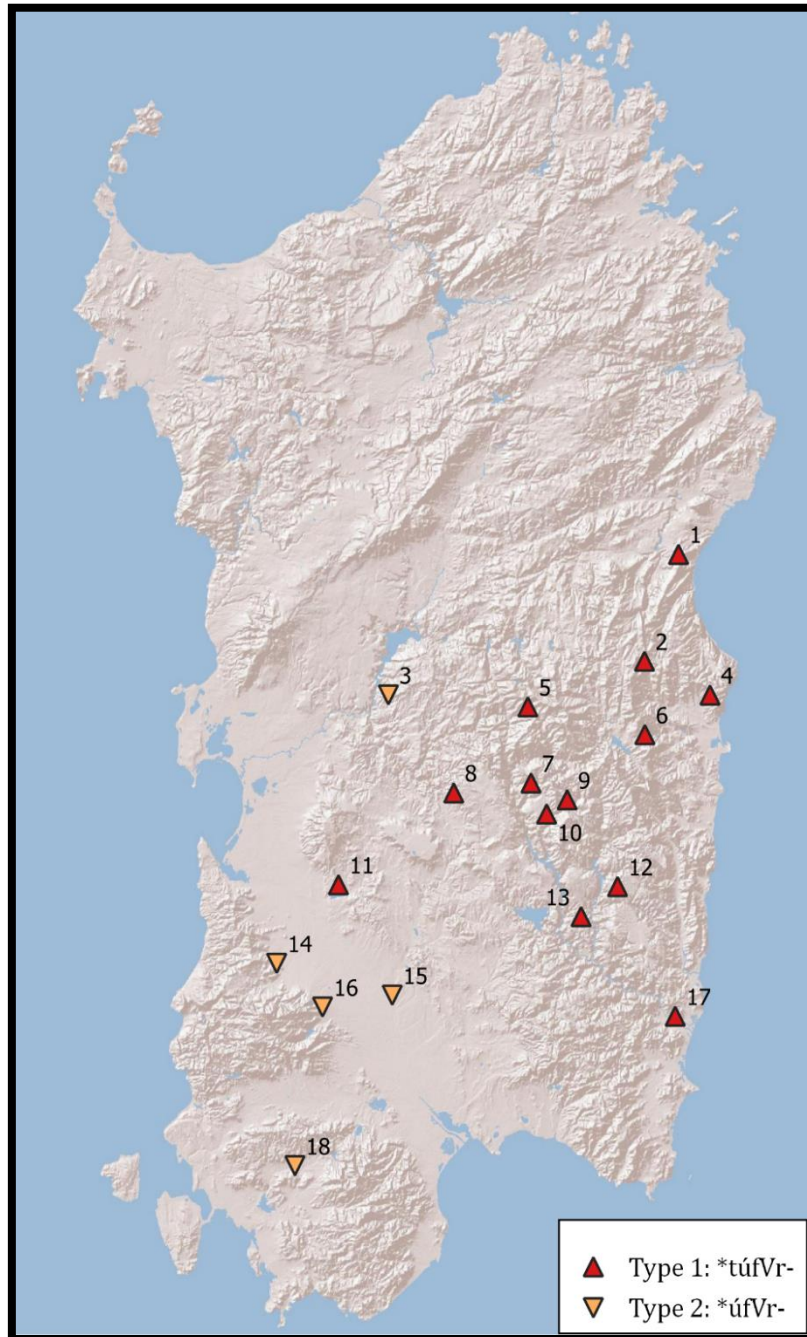


Figure 3.3.5: Heather (*Erica scoparia*), tree heather (*Erica arborea*)

Wagner (DES II: 540) rightly separates these words from Srd. *túvara* ‘species of truffle’ < Lat. **tūfer/tūber* on semantic grounds. He mentions Bertoldi’s (1934: 77 fn. 1) observation that Lat. *tūber* ‘truffle’ exists next to *tuber* ‘species of medlar’, but neither Bertoldi nor Wagner explicitly state whether they think that Lat. *tuber* ‘medlar’ is the origin of Srd. *túvara* etc. ‘heather’. I agree in any case with Paulis (1992: 415) that it cannot be, since we would expect the *-b-* of *tuber* to be lost in all Logudorese and Campidanese dialects, and because of the rather great semantic distance between ‘medlar’ and ‘heather’. Paulis instead proposes to connect the Sardinian forms listed above to Log. *túvu* ‘thicket’, which according to Wagner is from Lat. *tūfa* ‘shrub, tuft of fronds’. According to Paulis (1992: 415), the originally pre-Roman suffix **-ar-* (§ 9.2.6.2), with its putative collective meaning, was added within Sardinian to Log. *túvu* ‘thicket’ << Lat. *tūfa*. A remaining problem is the fact that the forms in type 2 (*úvvara*) lack the initial *t-* found in type 1, which is difficult to explain formally if Lat. *tūfa* is indeed the source of all these forms. I have not been able to provide a plausible solution to this issue.

3.3.6 Holly (*Ilex aquifolium*).

Reconstruction	Forms
1: <i>*alaḡúli</i>	DES (I: 67): <i>alaḡúli</i> (1: Urzulei) ‘holly (<i>Ilex aquifolium</i> L.)/butcher’s broom (<i>Ruscus aculeatus</i> L.)’
	Blasco Ferrer (2019: 40): <i>balatúle</i> (1: Urzulei) ‘holly (<i>Ilex aquifolium</i>)’
	Puddu (2023: s.v. <i>alatúli</i>): <i>alatúli</i> ‘laurel (<i>Laurus sp.</i> L.)’
2: <i>*laḡòre</i>	Blasco Ferrer (2019: 40): <i>latḡòri</i> (2: Villagrande Strisaili) ‘holly (<i>Ilex aquifolium</i>)’

Wagner (DES I: 67) notes that Pellis (ALIT 4076)⁹⁶ has registered this word in Urzulei as ‘laurel’, which is also the meaning found in Puddu (2023: s.v. *alatúli*). However, Wagner suggests that it might rather refer to ‘butcher’s broom’, which is at times called *láu spinósu* (‘spiny laurel’) in Sardinian. Paulis (1992: 417) on the other hand thinks that the translation ‘laurel’ is mistaken for ‘holly’ instead of ‘butcher’s broom’. The meaning ‘holly’ also matches that of the form *latḡòri* recorded by Blasco Ferrer (2019: 40) in Urzulei. Wagner, Paulis, and Blasco Ferrer agree that this word is likely of pre-Roman origin, presumably based on its peculiar shape and presence of **-ḡ-*.

⁹⁶ Non vidi.

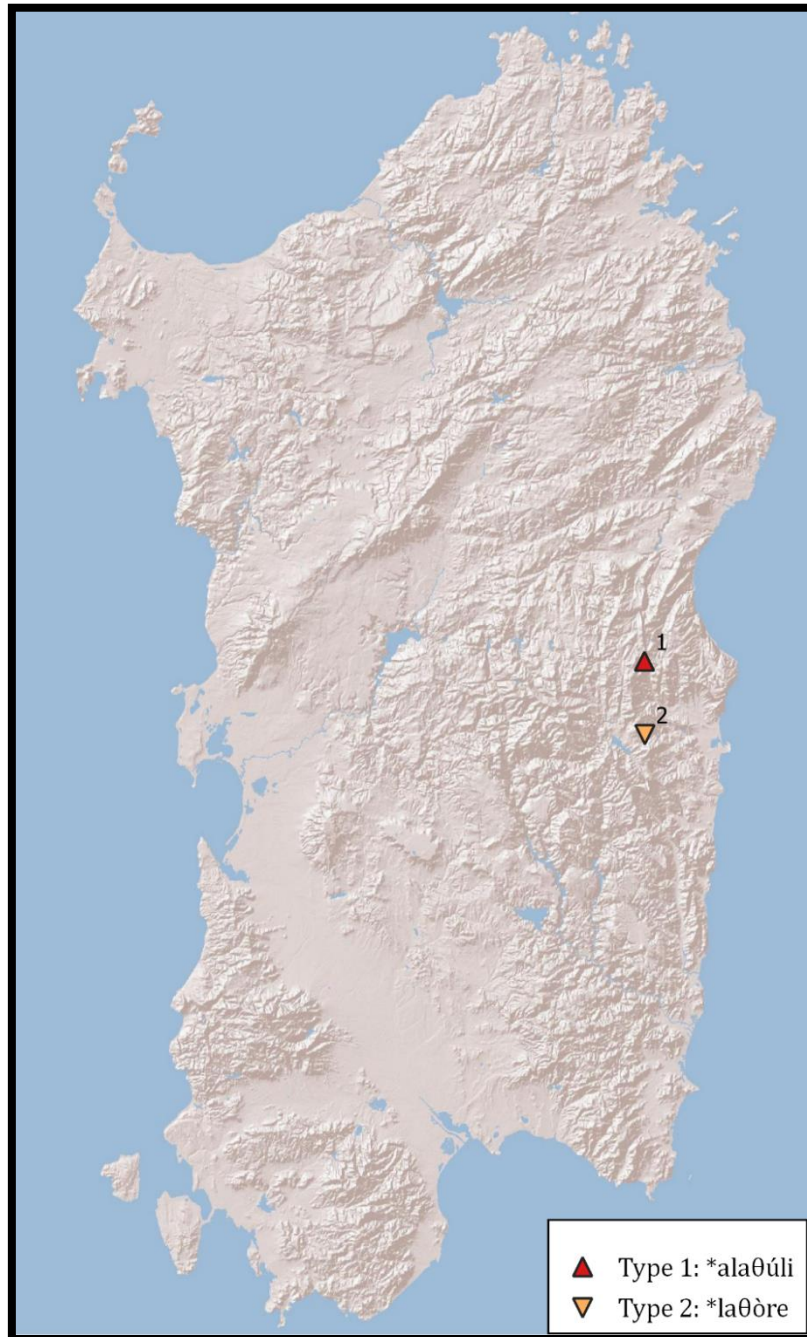


Figure 3.3.6: Holly (*Ilex aquifolium*)

Blasco Ferrer (2019: 40) proposes *alaθúli* and *latθòri* to be derived from a base **(a)laθ-* by means of two different suffixes (**-úle* and **òro/i*). It is possible however that the ending *-òri* is due to influence from the inherited agentive suffix *-òre/i*.⁹⁷ Both Wagner (DES I: 67) and Paulis (1992: 417) discuss *alaθúli* in the context of *aláse* etc. ‘butcher’s broom; holly’ (§ 3.2.1), without specifying how these forms would be related. I do not know of any other instance of a word ending in *-(θ)úli*, so a connection between *aláse* and *alaθúli* is uncertain.

Similar in shape to this word is Gr. *ὄνοθοῦρις* ‘oleander (*Nerium oleander* L.)’ (Dioscorides Anazarbei 1907: 267; Dioscorides 2005: 295), attested as *onotirum* in the Latin translation of *De materia medica* (Stadler 1901: 56). The Latin form cannot have yielded the Sardinian forms regularly, so we would need to assume a Byzantine loan with subsequent deformations. Both holly and oleanders are designated as a kind of laurel in various languages: e.g. Srd. *láu spinósu* ‘holly’ (Paulis 1992: 417); Fr. *laurier-rose*, Sp. *laurel de flor* ‘oleander’. On the basis of only two forms this connection is speculative however, and a pre-Roman origin remains a possibility.

3.3.7 Holly (*Ilex aquifolium*)₂

Reconstruction	Forms
1: <i>*golóstru</i>	DES (I: 584): <i>olóstru</i> (1: Oschiri, 2: Mores, 4: Giave, 5: Bonorva, 11: Borore) ‘holly (<i>Ilex aquifolium</i> L.)’ Paulis (1992: 362): <i>kolóstru</i> (10: Orani) ‘dog rose (<i>Rosa canina</i> L.)’
2: <i>*golósti</i>	DES (I: 584): <i>golóstiū</i> (3: Bitti, 7: Orosei), <i>olóstiū</i> (6: Bono), <i>golóstri</i> (8: Nuoro), <i>olósti</i> (9: Dorgali), <i>olóstri</i> (15: Fonni, 16: Mogoro) ‘holly (<i>Ilex aquifolium</i>)’
3: <i>*gósti</i>	DES (I: 584): <i>kóstiū</i> (10: Orani) ‘holly (<i>Ilex aquifolium</i>)’
4: <i>*golóstike</i>	DES (I: 584): <i>ʔolóstiʔe</i> (12: Orgosolo), <i>golóstiʔe</i> (13: Olzai), <i>olóstriye</i> (14: Santu Lussurgiu) ‘holly (<i>Ilex aquifolium</i>)’

⁹⁷ Even though Villagrande Strisaili usually preserves word-final *-e* (cf. Wagner 1907b: Map 1), the open *-ò-* shows that *-òri* must go back to **-òre*.

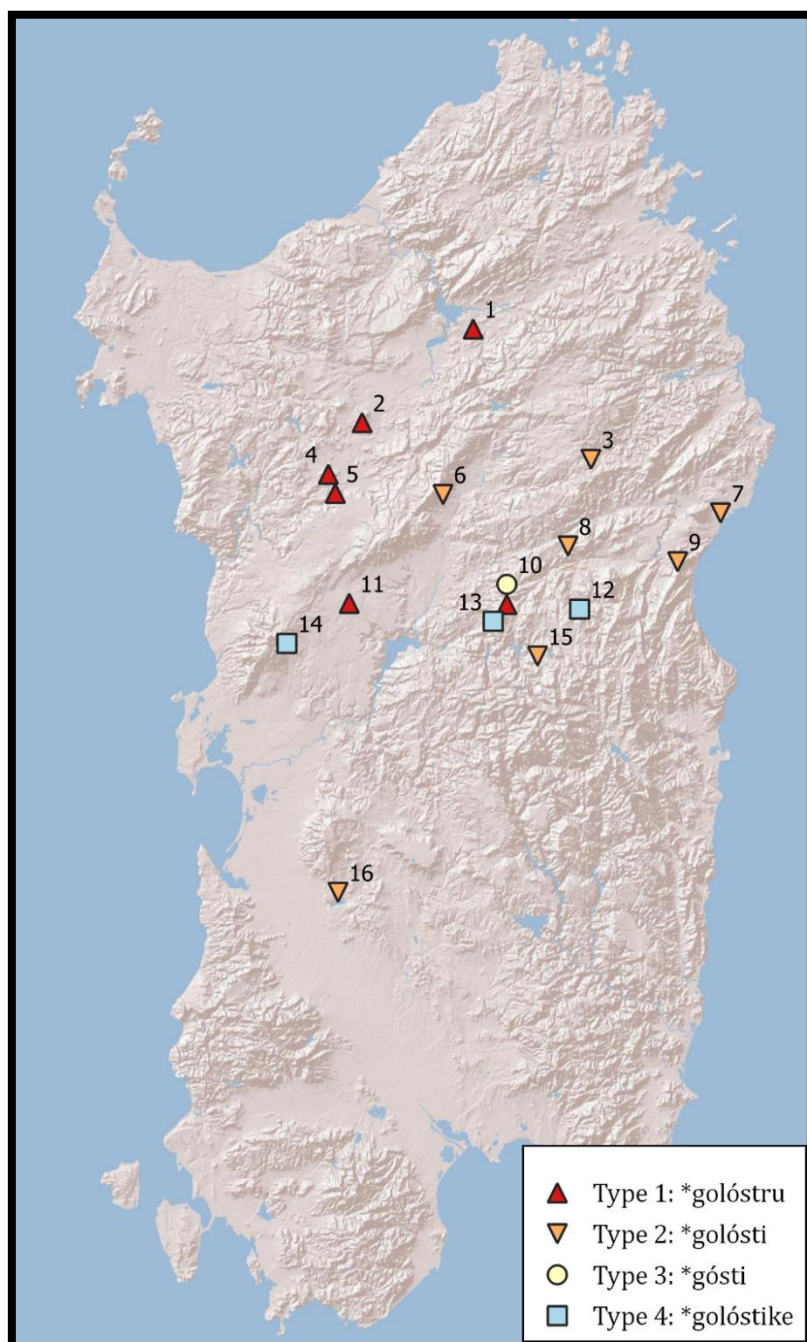


Figure 3.3.7: Holly (*Ilex aquifolium*)

All Sardinian forms of this word can be derived from an original **golósti*. The variations in the onset between *k-*, *g-* and *Ø-* are due to reinterpretations of post-vocalic forms as pausa forms and vice versa (cf. Wagner 1941a: 205–213). Type 3 *kóstĭu* (10: Orani) shows irregular loss of intervocalic *-l-*; perhaps it was influenced by Nuor. *kòstike*, Log. *kòsti* ‘maple’ (§ 3.3.9). In all types, we find various adaptations of the final syllable, all of which can be understood from original **-i*, which is rare as an ending of inherited nouns (§ 8.1.5.1). In type 1, **-i* was replaced by the masculine suffix *-u*. In types 2 and 3, it was preserved in some cases and extended with *-u* in others.⁹⁸ In type 4 we find an additional suffix **(i)ke*, which is again reminiscent of *kòstike* ‘maple’ (§ 3.3.9). All Logudorese forms for ‘holly’, as well as Nuoro *golóstri* and Orani *kolóstru*, have introduced an *-r-* in the final syllable, which may be due to analogy to the suffix *-ástru* which is present in various ‘wild’ plants: e.g. *mentástru* ‘wild mint’ << *mènta* ‘mint’; *odzástru* ‘wild olive’ < Lat. *oleástru*, *pirástru* ‘wild pear’ << *píra* ‘pear’ (Wagner 1952: 120; DES II: 200, 274). The ending *-ost(r)-* in this word is perhaps the same as the one found in *giḍḍòstre* etc. ‘tree heather’ (§ 3.3.20, § 9.2.9).

This word is certainly of pre-Roman origin. Bertoldi (1929: 261 fn. 3) noted its perfect correspondence to Bq. *gorosti* ‘holly’ < **golosti*,⁹⁹ and Hofmann (1949: 142) adduced Gr. *κήλαστρος* ‘id’ (cf. Theophrastus 1916: chap. 9:3).¹⁰⁰ Jud (1931: 439) connects Lang. *agaloussé*, *agaloussës* ‘holly’ < **agalústo-* (cf. FEW XXI: 106 for many additional forms). Hubschmid (1953: 29) further compares Navarr. *colostia*, *golostia*, *corostia*, *gorostia*. as well as several Celtic and Germanic forms — e.g. Bret. *kelenn* ‘holly’, OIr. *cuilenn* ‘id.’, and OHG *hulis* ‘id.’ — which must go back to PC **kolinno-* < **kolis-n-* and PGm. **hulisa-* respectively (Kroonen 2013: 253; van Sluis, Jørgensen & Kroonen 2023: 200).

There is evidence for the existence of a (regional) Latin word **celastru-*, formally compatible to Gr. *κήλαστρος*, continued in Lucanian *cèlastru*, Calab. *cègghiastru*, *cìstriddazzu*, Bov. *azziddastro* ‘holly’ (DEI II: 842; Rohlf’s 1977: 104, 110, 156, 694, 808).¹⁰¹ Lat. **celastru-* is considered to be a loan from Gr. *κήλαστρος* by DEI (II: 842), but it should be noted that the provenance of the Greek form is not well-

⁹⁸ Note that the ending *-ĭu* cannot be original, as **golóstiĭu* would have yielded ***golóθθu* vel sim.

⁹⁹ Trask (1997: 307) notes that Bq. *gorosti* could have **goloztri* as a pre-form, in which case the presence of *-r-* in the Sardinian forms might be original too.

¹⁰⁰ Hesychius also has *κήλάστραι* ‘vessels; or trees’ (Hesychius Alexandrinus 2020: 596).

¹⁰¹ Perhaps Bret. *kelastrenn* ‘flexible (holly) branch’ derives from Lat. **celastrum* too (cf. Deshayes 2003: 380).

understood. Gr. κήλαστρος ‘holly’ is only attested in Theophrastus (1916: chap. 9:3; Hofmann 1949: 142), and in Hesychius (2020: 596) as κήλαστραι ‘trees’. The evidence for Gr. κήλαστρος being a plausible source for Lat. **celastru-* and its descendants is therefore dubious. On the basis of the scarce Greek attestations of this form, it cannot be excluded that Gr. κήλαστρος belonged to the Greek varieties of Magna Graecia, which would explain the southern Italian attestations of this word. At any rate, Lat. **celastru-* cannot account for the vocalism of the Sardinian, Basque, Navarrese and Lengadocian forms. We are thus dealing with multiple independent loans of this pre-Roman word into the languages of the Mediterranean.

The Celtic and Germanic forms both appear to contain an element **kulis-*, which is indeed similar to the sequence **golost-/galost/kēlast-* required for Sardinian, Basque, Occitan and Greek, but it is somewhat more removed phonologically and morphologically. The potentially European-wide distribution of this group of words has interesting implications for our understanding of pre-Indo-European Europe (§ 11.2.1).

3.3.8 Hop-hornbeam (*Ostrya carpinifolia*)

Reconstruction	Forms
* <i>a(C)urri/</i> * <i>áruli</i>	DES (I: 153): <i>aúrri</i> (Barb.) ‘hop-hornbeam (<i>Ostrya carpinifolia</i> Scop.)’ Puddu (2023: s.v. <i>àrrui, àurri</i>): <i>àrrui, aúrri</i> ‘hop-hornbeam (<i>Ostrya carpinifolia</i>)’, <i>àurri</i> ‘hornbeam (<i>Carpinus betulus</i> L.)’ ¹⁰²

Between the attestations in DES (I: 153) and Puddu (2023), we find various accent shifts and vowel metatheses. Inherited *-au-* was monophthongized to *-a-* in Sardinian (Wagner 1941a: 13–14). These forms must therefore go back either to **aCurri*, with an elided consonant, or perhaps to **áruli* (cf. Srd. *meúrri* < Lat. *mérula* etc.; Wagner 1941a: 5). Wagner (1932: 231) compares it to Bq. *aurri* ‘plant with long roots and wide leaves’ (De Azkue 1905: 109) and to Bq. *aurrede* ‘osier bed, willow plantation’ (De Azkue 1905: 108). However, in EH (75), Bq. *aurri* does not occur in the meaning given by De Azkue, but rather means ‘ruins’, which would significantly weaken its comparison to Sardinian.

¹⁰² The hornbeam (*Carpinus betulus*), does not occur in Sardinia (Sikkema, Caudullo & de Rigo 2016), so this form probably also refers to the ‘hop-hornbeam (*Ostrya carpinifolia*)’.

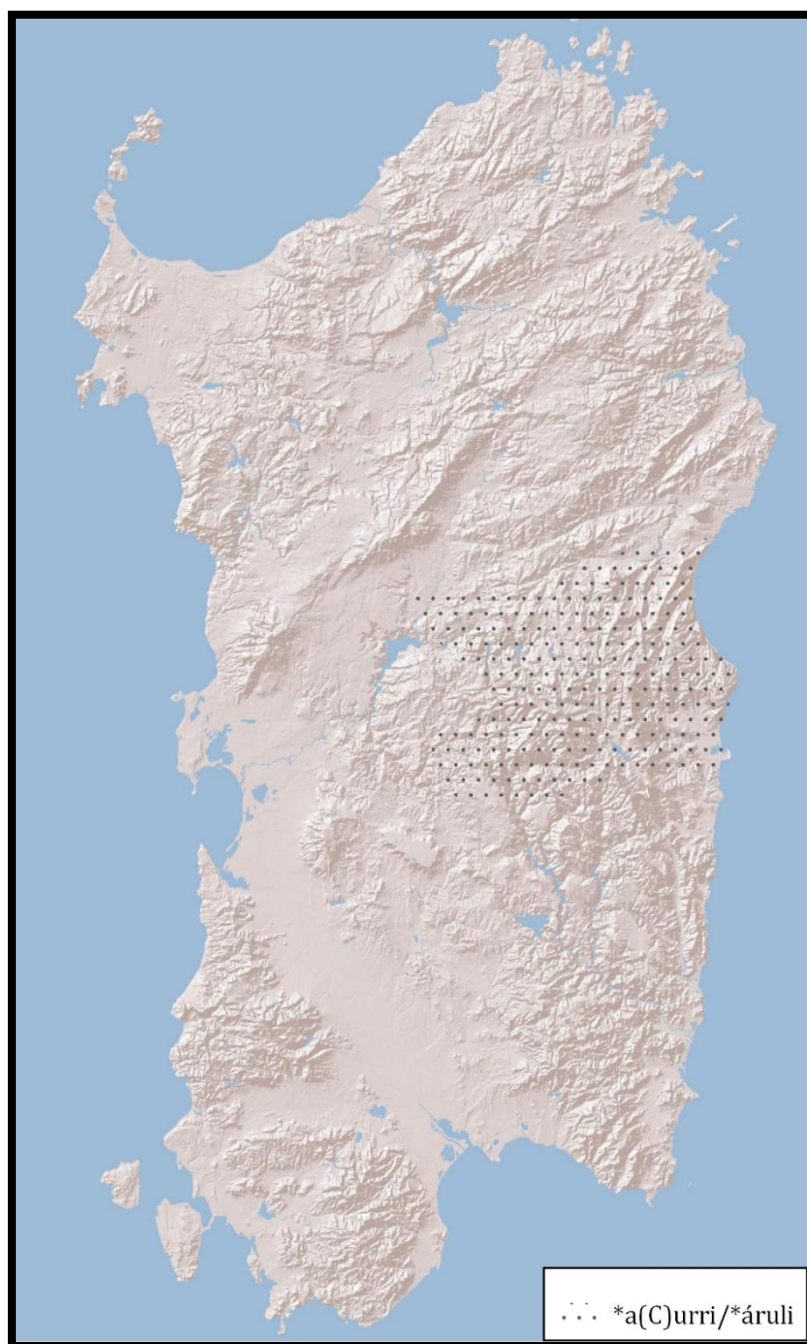


Figure 3.3.8: Hop-hornbeam (*Ostrya carpinifolia*)

Furthermore, Michelena (1958: 405–406) points out that Bq. *aurrede* is likely from Gasc. *aubredé* ‘id.’ (FEW XXIV: 295), leaving Bq. *aurri* isolated. I agree with Bouda (1949: 334) and Michelena (1958: 406) that the uncertain attestation and vague meaning of the Basque word makes the comparison to Srd. *aúrri* ‘hop-hornbeam’ rather difficult (cf. Michelena 1959: 524), even more so because **aúrri* cannot be the original shape of the Sardinian forms. Even though a pre-Roman origin for the Sardinian word is plausible on the basis of its peculiar structure, its connection to Bq. *aurri* ‘plant with long root and wide leaves’ cannot be upheld.

3.3.9 Maple (*Acer monspessulanum*)

Reconstruction	Forms
1: <i>*kòsti</i>	DES (I: 392–393): <i>kòsti</i> (Log.) ‘Montpellier maple (<i>Acer monspessulanum</i> L.)’ Spano (<i>apud</i> DES I: 393): ¹⁰³ <i>kòsti</i> ‘tree that has hard wood and clover-like leaves’ Hubschmid (1953: 81): <i>costi</i> (2: Desulo) ‘solitary and colossal box tree on the flanks of the Gennargentu-mountains (<i>Buxus sempervirens</i> L.)’ Blasco Ferrer (2019: 40): <i>kòstiu</i> (1: Orani), <i>kòsti</i> (3: Villagrande Strisaili)
2: <i>*kòstike</i>	DES (I: 392–393): <i>kòstike</i> (Nuor.), <i>kòstiye</i> (Log.) ‘Montpellier maple (<i>Acer monspessulanum</i>)’ Blasco Ferrer (2019: 40): <i>kòstike</i> (3: Villagrande Strisaili)

According to DES (I: 393), all forms can be explained from an original **kòstike*, with secondary loss of the second *-k-* in *kòsti* (cf. Wagner 1941a: 76). However, a suffix **(i)ke* must be assumed for *ʔolóstiʔe*, *golóstiye* ‘holly’ (§ 3.3.7), so perhaps *kòstike* may be analyzed as **kòsti-ke*/**kòst-ike* (Blasco Ferrer 2019: 40). In some cases, *kòsti* also refers to the box tree (*Buxus sempervirens*). The open *-ò-* of these words is surprising, as it is expected to be raised to *-ó-* due to the *-i-* in the following syllable. Blasco Ferrer’s (2019: 40) attestations do have closed *-ó-*, suggesting that *-ò-* in the DES may be mistaken. This word, which does not have a Latin etymology, has long been considered of pre-Roman origin, and has been compared to various phytonyms in other Mediterranean languages.

¹⁰³ In Spano’s handwritten notes (*non vidi*) on his own dictionary (i.e. Spano 1851).

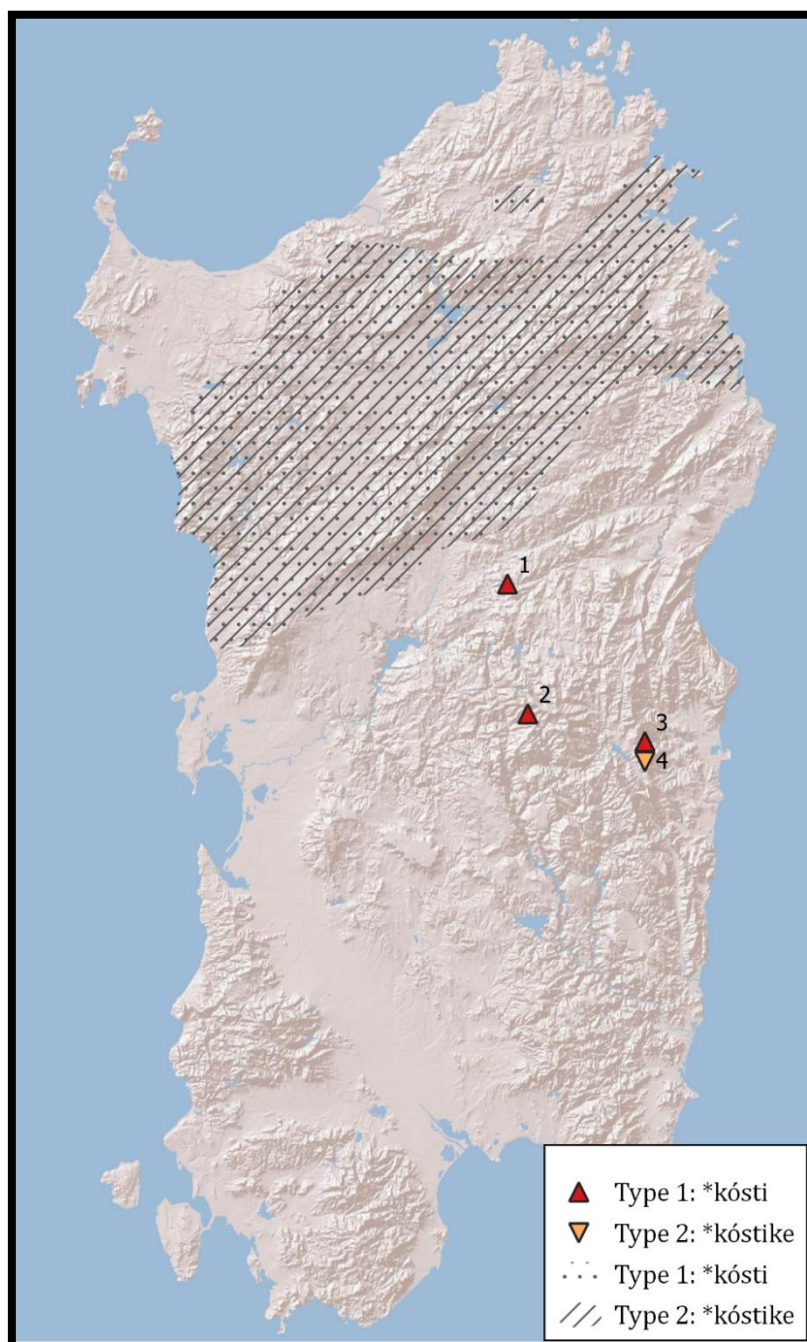


Figure 3.3.9: Maple (*Acer monspessulanum*)

Bertoldi (1931: 131) compares Bq. *gastigar*, *gastigar astigar* ‘maple’. This word is probably a compound of *(g)azt-* and *ihar* ‘maple’ (Michelena 1953: 48). The element *(g)azt-* is not attested on its own, and Michelena (1959: 525; 1990: 253 fn. 49) wonders whether its similarity to the Sardinian forms is not due to chance. If the connection between Bq. *(g)azt-* and Srd. *kòstike* ‘maple’ is correct however, this would be evidence in favor of the ending *-ik-* being a suffix (§ 9.2.2.2) (cf. Hubschmid 1953: 80–81).¹⁰⁴ Alessio (1949: 132), on the other hand, compares Tusc. *còstolo* ‘ash tree’ (*Fraxinus ornus* L.; *Fraxinus excelsior* L.) and Gr. Hes. ἄχαστος ‘maple’ (Hesychius Alexandrinus 2018: 109). Alessio hypothesizes that this gloss is originally a Massiliote Greek loan from Ligurian. This is possible, though the only evidence in favor of this is the existence of OProv. *agast* ‘maple’ and comparable forms in other Occitan dialects (FEW XXIV: 276). There is no mention in Hesychius that this was a Massiliote form. Hubschmid (1953: 82) argues that ἄχαστος consists of a prefixed *a-* and a root **kast-*, which he thinks is also present in Greek κάστανον ‘chestnut’.

In my view, a connection between Gr. ἄχαστος ‘maple’ to Srd. *kòstike* etc. ‘id.’ and possibly Bq. *(g)azt-* is formally more convincing than the often proposed relation between Gr. ἄχαστος and Lat. *acer* ‘maple’ (cf. Hubschmid 1953: 82 fn. 3; Wigman 2023: 213). Tusc. *còstolo* ‘ash tree’ is semantically slightly further removed, but in light of the Sardinian forms referring to both maples and box trees, this need not be a problem. If these connections are correct (and even if Greek ἄχαστος is of Massiliote origin), this word shows an interesting distribution across the western Mediterranean that is found in various other words as well (§ 11.3).

3.3.10 Osier (*Salix viminalis*)

Reconstruction	Forms
*θò(C)a	DES (II: 551): <i>tòa</i> (Log.), <i>tsòa</i> (Camp.), <i>attòa</i> (1: Monti, 5: Bonorva), <i>θòa</i> (2: Siniscola, 6: Orosei), <i>θòγα</i> (4: Bitti, 8: Orani), <i>θòβα</i> (7: Nuoro), <i>šòva</i> (9: Fonni) ‘osier (<i>Salix viminalis</i> L.)’
	Jud (1942: 352): <i>tòa</i> (3: Alghero) ‘id.’
	Puddu (2023: s.v. <i>atòa</i> , <i>sciòva</i> , <i>tzòa</i>): <i>atòa</i> , <i>atzòa</i> , <i>tòa</i> , <i>tzòa</i> , <i>tzòba</i> , <i>tzòga</i> , <i>tzòva</i> ‘common sallow (<i>Salix cinerea</i> L.)’; <i>sciòva</i> ‘osier (<i>Salix viminalis</i>)’

¹⁰⁴ But note that, following Michelena’s (1953: 48) analysis, this suffix is probably not present in the Basque form, as Hubschmid (1953: 80) proposes.

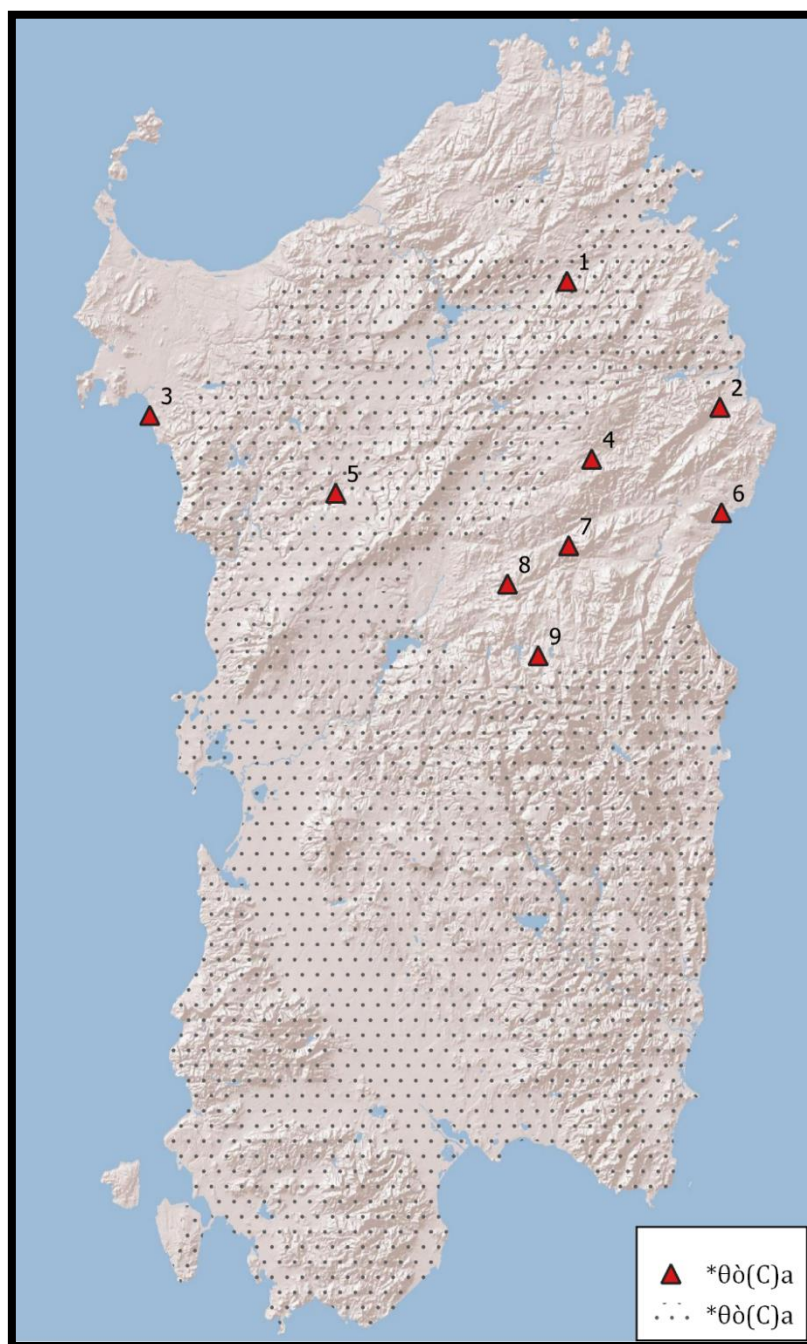


Figure 3.3.10: Osier (*Salix viminalis*)

This word for ‘osier’ is found all over Sardinia. Jud (1942: 352) compares Bq. *zume* ‘willow’, Laz. *zute* (Castro dei Volsci) ‘osier’, Sp. *zade* (Salamanca) ‘species of willow with thin stems that is grown on the banks of rivers and streams’. Wagner (DES II: 551) reasonably doubts these connections, as the comparison is essentially limited to the first consonant.¹⁰⁵ He nevertheless thinks the Sardinian word is of pre-Roman origin. Paulis (1992: 437), however, argues to have found a Greek etymology. He cites the construction “*dia iteon implastrum*” ‘a poultice made from willow leaves’, the first part of which is a Latinization of Greek διὰ ἰτεῶν ‘made of willows’. This syntagm, which was supposedly borrowed into Romance as **di’iteón* (vel sim.) would subsequently have been reanalyzed as **di teón*. This last part would, according to Paulis, have developed regularly as follows: **teón* > **tjó* > **ǵò* >> *ǵòa* ‘osier’.

This etymology is to be rejected on several grounds. Even if the Latinized construction *dia iteon* passed from the purely medical register into the common speech, it would require the unlikely scenario that speakers of Sardinian Romance using this syntagm knew enough Greek to be able to recognize Gr. διὰ as a preposition that could be detached, but did not know enough Greek to realize that ἰτεῶν was a genitive plural. It is unlikely that Sardinian speakers knowingly borrowed an oblique case form. Additionally, loss of final *-n* is irregular. We would rather expect **teón* to develop into ***ǵòno*, with a paragogic vowel as in (Log.) *sámbene* ‘blood’ < *sanguen*, *nòmene* ‘name’ < *nōmen* and *báttoro* ‘four’ < *quatt(u)or*. In absence of a better etymology, and because of the presence of the phoneme **ǵ-* which is present in many Sardinian words of obscure origin, I still hold Wagner’s hypothesis that this is a word of pre-Roman origin as the most attractive.

As Wagner (DES II: 551) notes, it is difficult to say whether the intervocalic consonants of forms like *ǵòya* (4: Bitti, 8: Orani), *ǵòβa* (7: Nuoro) and *ǵòva* (9: Fonni) are old, or merely a device to resolve vowel hiatus (cf. also Wagner 1941a: 41–42). Moreover, if they are old, it is impossible to establish whether the original consonant was labial (as in Nuoro and Fonni) or velar (as in Bitti and Orani). We must therefore content ourselves with reconstructing **ǵò(b/g/v)a*.

¹⁰⁵ Moreover, Bq. *zume* ‘willow’ has a good internal Basque etymology: *zur*, *zu-* ‘wood’ + *mehe* ‘slim’ (Michelena 1990: 412).

3.3.11 Oleander (*Nerium oleander*)

Reconstruction	Forms
1: * <i>neuláke</i>	DES (II: 165): <i>neuláke</i> (Nuor., 1: Nuoro), <i>neuláye</i> (Log.), <i>neul-áxe</i> (2: Dorgali), <i>neulági</i> (3: Talana), <i>neulağgi</i> (4: Triei) ‘oleander (<i>Nerium oleander</i> L.)’
2: * <i>leonáriju</i>	DES (II: 165): <i>lonáržu</i> (5: Oristano), <i>solìonážu</i> (7: Escalaplano), <i>leonáržu</i> (9: Sant’Antioco) ‘id.’
3: * <i>leonáke</i>	DES (II: 165): <i>leonági</i> (6: Perdasdefogu), <i>launáži</i> (8: Guspini, 10: Teulada) ‘id.’

Although not explicitly, Wagner (DES II: 165) seems to consider these words for ‘oleander’ to be pre-Roman. The ending *-áke* would be parallel to words for the same plant found in Latin glosses as *biblance* etc., and in Greek and Romance dialects of southern Calabria: Bov. *plembáci*, *pilimbáci*, *glimbáci*, Calab. *limbáci* (Melito di Porto Salvo) (Rohlf 1932: 413; 1964: 85). As Rohlf remarks, only the endings of these forms can be compared; the bases **bibl-/ *plimb-* and **neul-/ *leon-* must be kept separate. Alessio’s (1937: 313–314) reconstruction of Srd. *neuláke* < **nibláke* < **liblance* < *biblance* does not work phonetically, as **nibláke* would yield Nuor. ***niβráke/ **nirβáke* vel sim. Moreover, his assumption that *biblance* ‘oleander’ would be reformed into **liblance* on the basis of the association between Gr. βιβλος and Lat. *liber* ‘book’, is rather far-fetched. The morphophonological variation in the Sardinian forms makes it clear that some folk-etymological processes must have been involved. Wagner (DES II: 165) believes that the forms in types 2 and 3 have been influenced by It. *oleandro* ‘oleander’.¹⁰⁶ Paulis (1992: 419) suggests that there was influence from Srd. *olìoni* ‘strawberry tree’ (e.g. in *solìonážu*; 7: Escalaplano; § 3.3.16), as well as from *láu* ‘laurel’ (in *launáži*; 8: Guspini, 10: Teulada).

Both Wagner (DES II: 165) and Paulis (1992: 419–420) regard the forms of type 1 as the original ones, whence types 2 and 3 arose through folk etymology. However, whereas Wagner sees *neuláke* etc. as originally pre-Roman, Paulis proposes it to be derived from Srd. *néula* ‘mist’. The reason for this would be that, from oleander, a type of eye drops was produced that served to dilate the pupils. On the basis of this, and the fact that certain eye conditions are called *sas néulas* ‘essos òkros’ (litt.: ‘mists of the eyes’) in the Nuorese dialects, Paulis argues for a scenario in which Nuor. *néula* < Lat. *nebula* ‘mist’ was extended with a pre-Roman suffix *-áke* and applied to ‘oleander’.

¹⁰⁶ Salvioni (1909: 220) believes all the Sardinian forms are learned in origin, but this is unlikely.

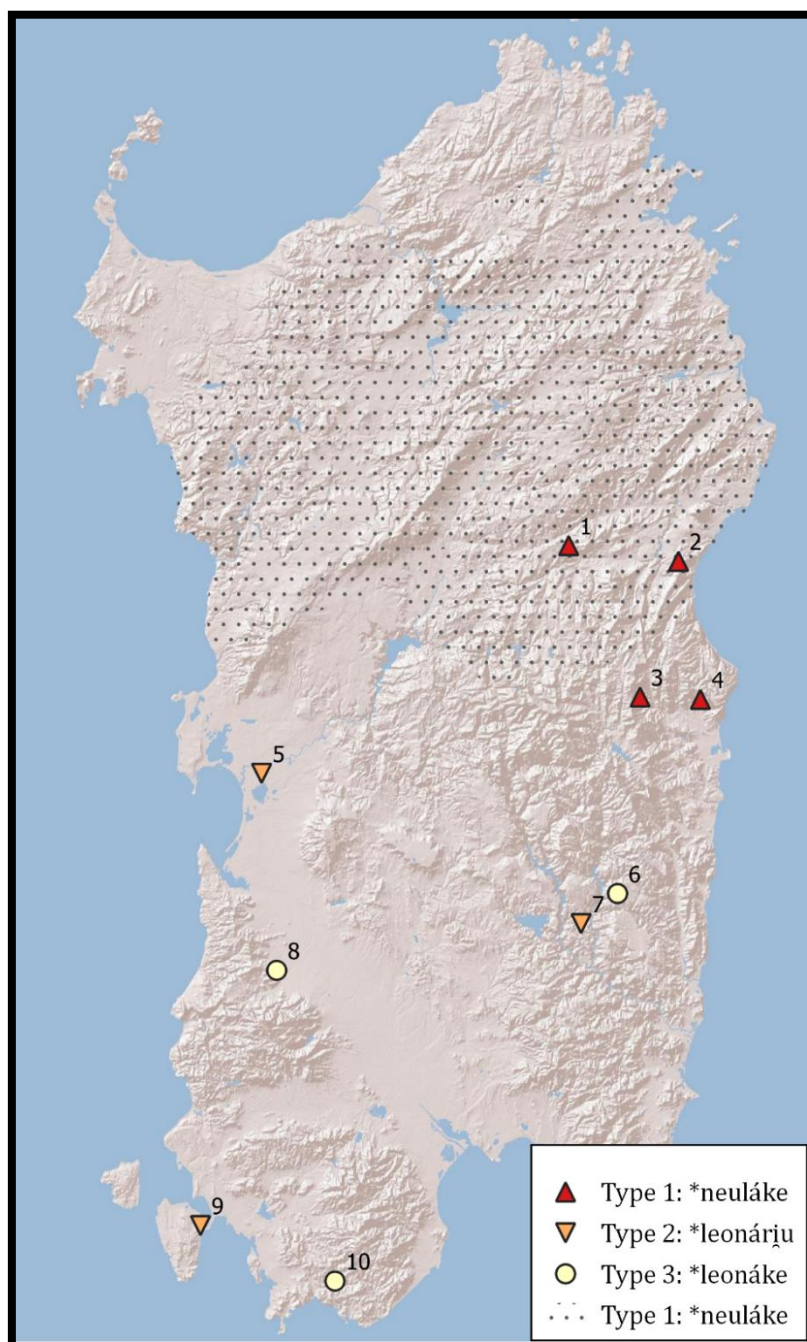


Figure 3.3.11: Oleander (*Nerium oleander*)

The problem is that, if the association between oleander and *néula* ‘mist’ indeed exists, it is still rather difficult to explain the forms of types 2 and 3. As we have seen, the vocalism of *soljonážu* (7: Escalaplano) on the one hand, and of *launáži* (8: Guspini, 10: Teulada) can most likely be explained by influence from *oliòni* ‘strawberry tree’ and *láu* ‘laurel’ respectively (1992: 419), but neither these words nor It. *oleandro* ‘oleander’ can satisfactorily explain the vocalism *-o-*, *-eo-* that we find in *lonáržu* (5: Oristano), *leonáži* (6: Perdasdefogu) and *leonáržu* (9: Sant’Antioco). With this in mind, we may consider whether **leonáke* was instead the original form, with the other forms being altered by association with *néula* ‘mist’, *oliòni* ‘strawberry tree’, *láu* ‘laurel’. This would still likely be of pre-Roman origin, as already suspected by Wagner (DES II: 165) for this word. On the hypothetical suffix **-áke*, see § 9.2.2.1. In the forms of type 2, this ending has been replaced with the reflexes of inherited Lat. *-arius*.

3.3.12 Pine tree (*Pinus* sp.)¹⁰⁷

Reconstruction	Forms
<i>*kampínju</i>	DES (I: 278): <i>kompínğu</i> (1: Iglesias) ‘pine (<i>Pinus</i> sp. L.)’, <i>kampínğu</i> (Camp., 2: Cagliari)
	Puddu (2023: s.v. <i>campínğu</i>): <i>campínğu</i> , <i>compínğu</i> , <i>cumpín- giu</i> , <i>cumprínğu</i> ‘pine’

This cluster of words refers to various species of pine-tree (*Pinus*), along with words of the type *pínu* and *oppínu*, respectively from Lat. *pīnus* and *sappīnus* ‘kind of pine/fir’.¹⁰⁸ The element *-pínğu* is the regular outcome of **píneu* < Lat. *pīneus* ‘of the pine’. The variation between **píneu* ~ **kampíneu* thus looks like an element *kV-* was added to a Latin root (§ 9.1.1). It is not immediately clear whether the *-m-* would originally have been part of the prefix, or whether it arose through secondary *m*-insertion, like in *sampunáre* (Orgosolo) << *sapunare* ‘to wash’ (Wagner 1941a: 223).

A completely different interpretation is by Paulis (1992: 443), who prefers to explain *kampínğu*, *kompínğu* as a semantic extension of original **conuspineus* ‘pine cone’. If this is correct, this word obviously does not constitute an example of **ka*-prefixation. There are two possible objections to this etymology. One is the fact that Lat. *conus* ‘(pine) cone’ is as such not preserved in Sardinian, although *kampínğu* etc. could of course be the result of a very early compound.

¹⁰⁷ These data are discussed in a similar fashion in Swanenvleugel (2024: 230–232).

¹⁰⁸ Srd. *oppínu* is due to reanalysis of the *s-* in Lat. *sappīnus* as the definite article (DES II: 272).

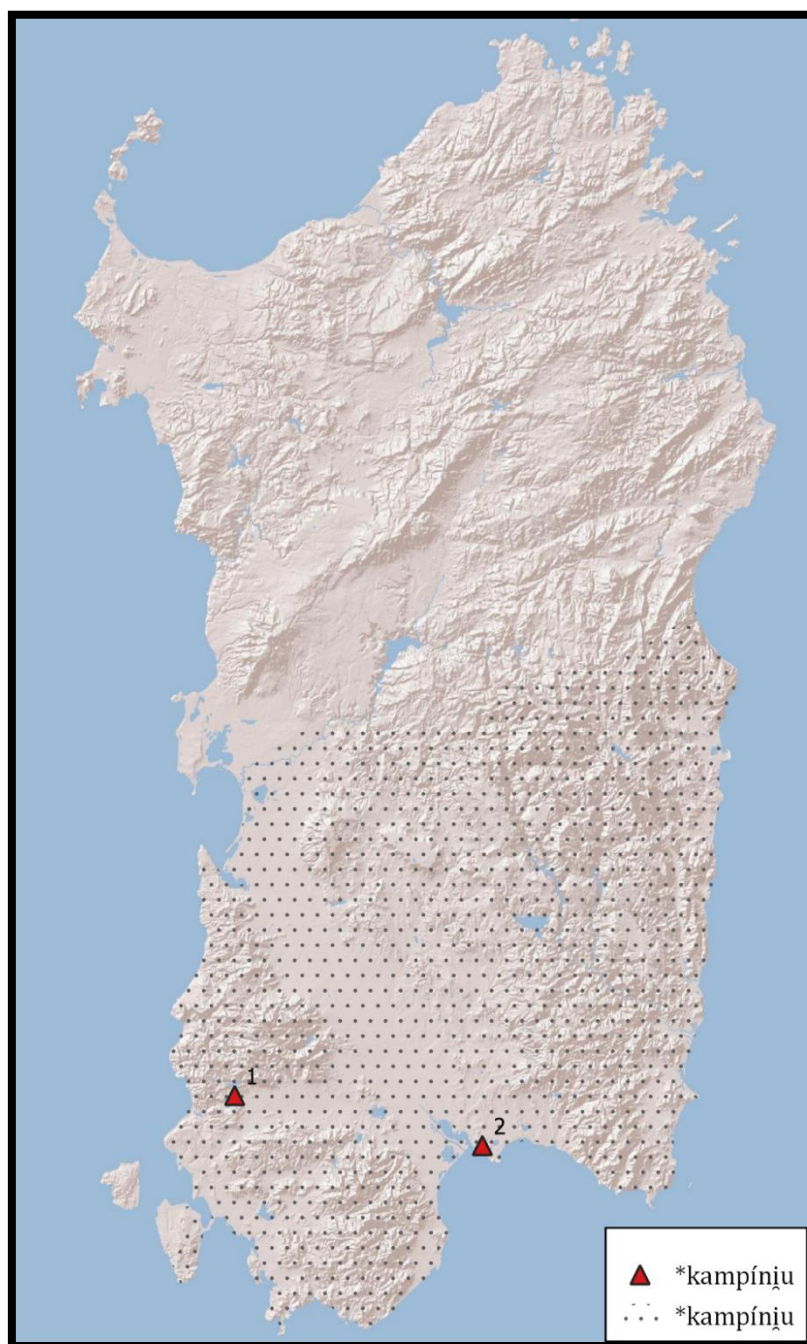


Figure 3.3.12: Pine tree (*Pinus sp.*)

The other issue is the phonetic development. We would have to assume loss of the final vowel of **kónu* (**kónu píneu* > **kónpíneu* > **kompíneu*), which is not quite regular, and subsequently the shift from pretonal *-o-* to *-a-*. This latter development, as well as the opposite development (pretonal *-a-* to *-o-*) is not without parallels (cf. Wagner 1941a: 28, 32), but if Wagner (DES I: 278) is right in attributing the form *kampínġu* to most of Campidanese, it would seem that geographically restricted forms of the type *kompínġu* (1: Iglesias) (and Puddu's *cumpínġiu* etc.) represent secondary alterations of an original **kampíneu*. Although Paulis' analysis of *kampínġu* etc. as regular reflexes of **conus pineus* 'pine cone' is semantically very attractive, I am not convinced that it could work phonologically.

3.3.13 Rockrose (*Cistus* sp.)

Reconstruction	Forms
1: <i>*mutéklū</i>	Wagner (1928: Map 25): <i>muḏéyu</i> (1: Luras, 11: Ozieri), <i>murḏéġġu</i> (5: Osilo), <i>murdéyu</i> (7: Ploaghe, 10: Torpè, 34: Norbello, 36: Bonarcado, 40: Milis, 41: Narbolia, 42: Busachi, 44: Sorgono, 45: Tonara, 49: Aritzo, 51: Meana Sardo, 52: Arzana, 54: Gadoni, 55: Lanusei, 56: Seulo, 57: Laconi, 58: Gairo, 59: Seui, 60: Ulassai, 61: Isili, 64: Perdasdefogu, 66: Siurgus, 68: San Nicolò Gerrei, 71: Cagliari, 73: Domus de Maria), <i>muḏéyu</i> (8: Olmedo, 14: Mores, 47: Atzara), <i>muḏréyu</i> (9: Posada, 16: Bono, 24: Macomer, 26: Scano di Montiferro, 29: Cuglieri, 33: Santu Lussurgiu, 39: Seneghe, 43: Baunei, 50: Cabras, 62: Terralba, 63: Mogoro, 65: Escalaplano, 69: Samassi), <i>muḏéġġu</i> (12: Pattada, 18: Padria, 27: Sennariolo), <i>mutréku</i> (13: Siniscola, 15: Bitti, 17: Orune, 19: Orosei, 20: Lollove, 21: Nuoro), <i>muḏréxu</i> (22: Dorgali), <i>muḏréku</i> (23: Oliena, 30: Olzai, 31: Ollolai, 32: Gavoi, 35: Fonni, 37: Ovodda), <i>muḏéčču</i> (26: Orani), <i>murtélʔu</i> (28: Orgosolo), <i>muḏréhu</i> (38: Urzulei), <i>muḏéyru</i> (46: Desulo, 50: Samugheo), <i>murdéyru</i> (48: Villagrande Strisaili), <i>muddéyu</i> (67: Guspini, 70: Villacidro), <i>muréyu</i> (72: Sant'Antioco) 'rockrose (<i>Cistus</i> sp. L.)'
	DES (II: 150–151): <i>muteclu</i> (OLog.), <i>mudeglu</i> (OCamp.), <i>muḏréyu</i> , <i>murdéyu</i> (Log.), <i>murdéyu</i> , <i>muḏéyu</i> (Camp.) 'id.'
2: <i>*mút(u)lu</i>	Wagner (1928: Map 25): <i>múccu</i> (2: Tempio Pausania), <i>múġġu</i> (3: Sorso), <i>múčču</i> (4: Sennori, 6: Sassari)

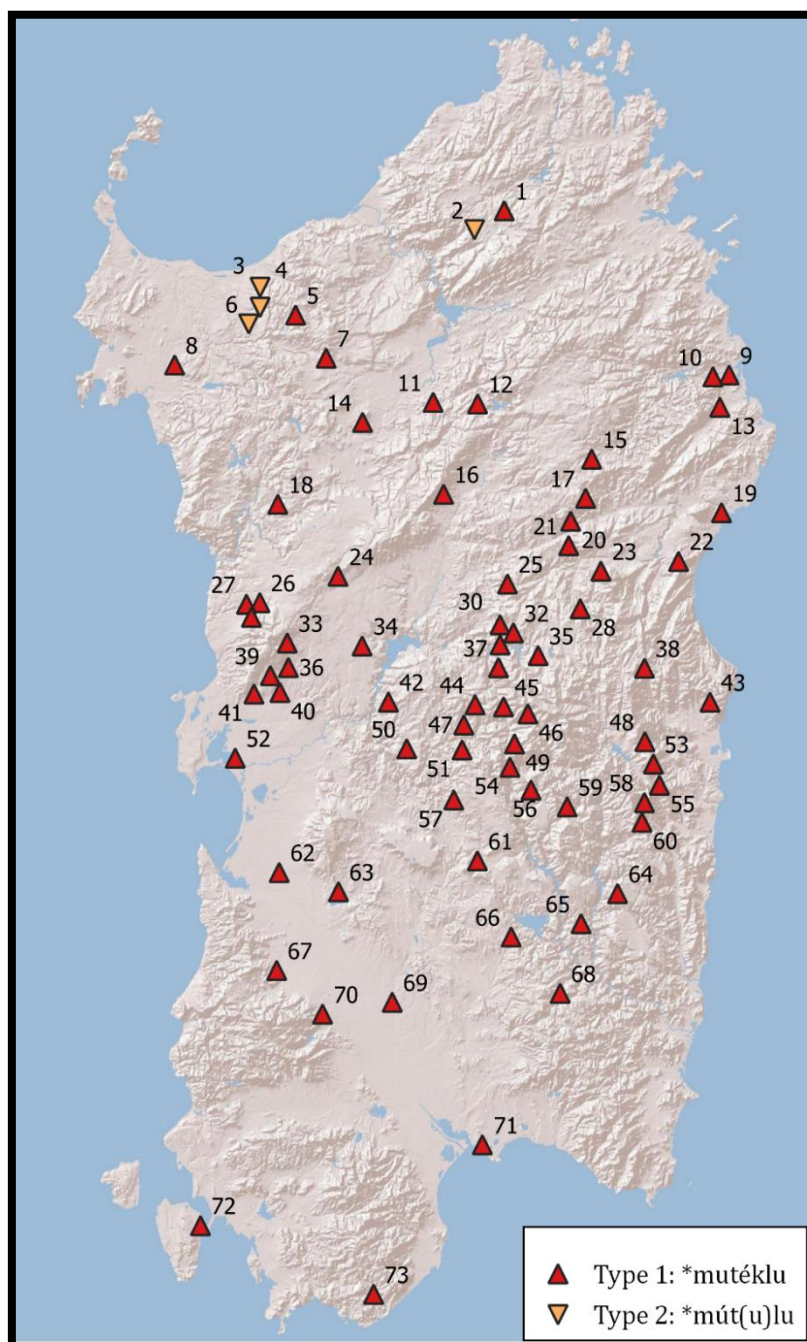


Figure 3.3.13: Rockrose (*Cistus* sp.)

All forms of type 1, which is attested all over Sardinia, can regularly go back to *muteclu*, attested in the Condaghe di San Pietro di Silki (Bonazzi 1900: secs. 207, 418). Type 2 can go back to **mútulu*, and is found in other Romance varieties as well (DES II: 150). This word has been connected by Bertoldi (1936: 312 fn. 1) to Etr. μούτουχα ‘thyme, rockrose’ (attributed to the “Θούσκοι” by Dioscorides Anazarbei 1906: 48; cf. Bonfante & Bonfante 1983: 190).¹⁰⁹ Words for ‘rockrose’ in other Romance languages that have been compared, include: Calab. *mútaca*, *múndaca*, *amùndaci*, *amùndici* etc. ‘narrow-leaved cistus (*Cistus monspeliensis* L.)’ (Bertoldi 1936: 312; Alessio 1949: 114; Rohlfs 1977: 439, 447),¹¹⁰ Lang. *mouche* (dep. Aveyron), *mouge* (dep. Gard) etc., Cat. *módega* ‘id.’ (Hubschmid 1953: 36; FEW VI/III: 306; DECLC V: 715-716) < **mútVka*; Cat. *motxera* (reg. Roussillon) ‘id.’ (FEW VI/III: 306) < **mutukária*; Lang. *moudré*, *moudre* (St-Sernin) ‘id.’ (FEW VI/III: 306) < **mútaro-*; Tusc. It. *mucchio* ‘id.’ (Bertoldi 1936: 311), Cors. *mucchju*, *múccu* (Bertoldi 1936: 312 fn. 1; DES II:150), Gallur. *múccu*, Sass. *múccu*, Calab. *mucchiu*, Salent. *muk’k’u* (Francavilla Fontana) ‘id.’ (DES II: 150) < **mútulu*.

The connection between these forms is semantically and formally likely. We appear to be dealing with a root **mut-*, extended with different suffixes. Srd. *muteclu* etc. is especially close to Etr. μούτουχα ‘thyme’ and the Romance forms going back to **mútVka*.

3.3.14 Rosemary (*Salvia rosmarinus*)

Reconstruction	Forms
<i>*ǵíppiri</i>	DES (II: 593): <i>tsíppiri</i> (Camp., 4: Desulo), <i>ǵíppiri</i> (1: Urzulei, 2: Triei, 3: Baunei), <i>síppiri</i> (5: Gairo, 6: Perdasdefogu) ‘rosemary (<i>Salvia rosmarinus</i> Spenn.)’

This word for ‘rosemary’ is present in the southern half of Sardinia, where Wagner (DES II: 593–94). It is first attested in the Condaghe di Santa Maria di Bonarcado as *cipiri* (Viridis 2003: sec. 1c). This word is likely a loan from Pun. *zibbir* ‘rosemary’, attested in Pseudo-Apuleius (80: 31; Howald & Sigerist 1927: 145; Bertoldi 1947;¹¹¹ DES II: 594).

¹⁰⁹ Wagner has: “Etr. μούτουχα ‘*Cytinus hypocistis* (L.) L.’”. *Cytinus hypocistis* is a species of parasitic plant that parasitizes rockroses. This meaning for μούτουχα is however not actually attested, but inferred by Bertoldi (1936: 311) on basis of the fact that Dioscorides (1907: 87; 1906: 48) gives Gr. θύρσιον as a synonym for both ‘thyme’ and ‘*Cytinus hypocistis*’. Wallace (2008: 9) gives the meaning ‘*Anagallis*’.

¹¹⁰ Rohlfs (1934: 73) is less certain about the precise meaning of this word however.

¹¹¹ *Non vidi*.

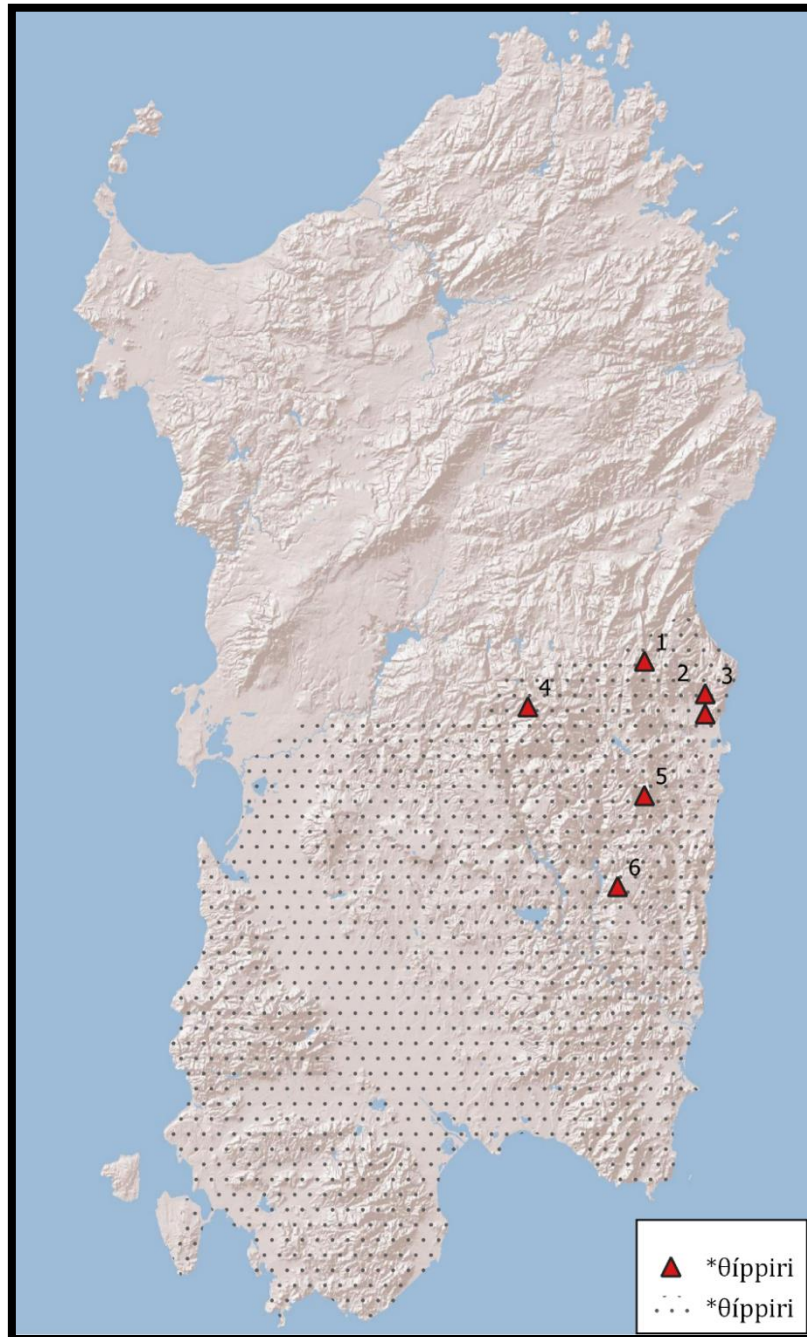


Figure 3.3.14: Rosemary (*Salvia rosmarinus*)

As in other Punic loans, the sibilant *z-* has been borrowed as **ǵ-* in Sardinian (cf. § 8.1.2); devoicing of geminate **-bb-* > *-pp-* is regular (Wagner 1941a: 192–193). Paulis (1990: 602) further notes toponymic attestations of *típpiri*, the expected Logudorese correspondent to Camp. *tsíppiri* etc., in Tresnuraghes, Bosa, Borutta, Cheremule and Torralba. For more detailed discussions of associated toponyms and personal names, cf. Wagner (DES II: 594) and Paulis (1990: 602–603). Múrcia Sánchez (2011: 428–429) has compared Berber forms like <*āzīr*> ‘rosemary’ (*‘Umdat at-ṭabīb*; Tilmatine & Bustamante 2002: 429), <*iazīr*, *aziir*, *ouzbir*> ‘rosemary’ (Trabut 1935: 223), Rif., Tnz. *azir* ‘rosemary, lavender; wormwood’, which could go back to **ā-zǵīr*.¹¹² If this connection is correct, we are likely dealing with a word of North-African origin that was introduced in Sardinia during the Punic colonization. Paulis (1992: 133) suggests that this Punic loan may have taken place in the context of trade in aromatic and medicinal herbs.

3.3.15 Smilax (*Smilax aspera*)

Reconstruction	Forms
1: <i>*tétti</i>	DES (II: 480): <i>tét(t)i</i> (1: Villanova Monteleone, 4: Orosei, 7: Dorgali, 10: Jerzu) ‘smilax (<i>Smilax aspera</i> L.)’ Paulis (1992: 220): <i>tèttu</i> (Gallur.), <i>tét(t)iu</i> (6: Bosa) ‘id.’
2: <i>*tettione</i>	DES (II: 480): <i>tittione</i> (2: Bonorva, 3: Padria, 5: Sindia, 9: Laconi), <i>tetione</i> (8: Santu Lussurgiu), <i>tintiōi</i> (10: Guasila), <i>tintioni</i> (11: Sarroch) ‘id.’

Representatives of this word are found all over Sardinia, including in Gallurese. The basis of the various forms appears to be **tétti*, which is directly continued by the forms in type 1. Final *-u* is added secondarily in *tét(t)iu* (6: Bosa) and replaces original final *-i* in Gallur. *tèttu*. The forms of type 2 must have received the suffix *-one* after the common Sardinian development **-tǵ-* > **-ǵ-*. In the Condaghe of San Pietro di Silki (Bonazzi 1900: sec. 10), we also find *tectinosu* ‘full of spiny herbs like *tét(t)i*’ (DES II: 480), but the spelling *-ct-* may be an unetymological Latinizing spelling (cf. Wagner 1941a: 170).

¹¹² Note that most forms can, but need not contain **β*. The form <*ouzbir*>, recorded by Trahut (1935: 223) and of unclear provenance, is the only form that contains a labial consonant. Maarten Kossmann informs me, however, that *b* cannot go back to **β*. Kossmann (p.c.) moreover prefers a reconstruction **zβīr* over Múrcia Sánchez’ (2011: 428–429) **zǵīr*.

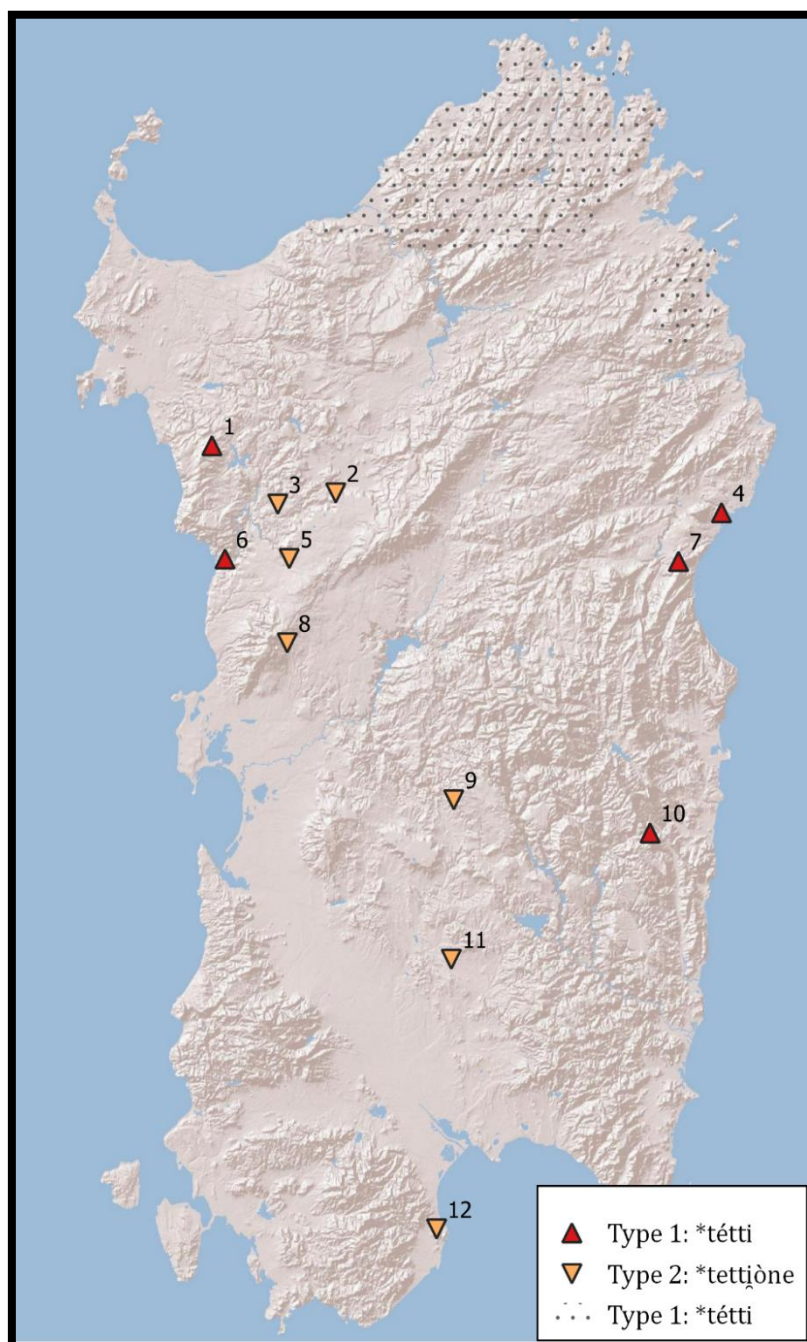


Figure 3.3.15: Smilax (*Smilax aspera*)

DES (II: 480) considers this word “probably pre-Roman” and compares various toponyms that supposedly contain the same element: *Teti* (a *nuraghe* near Ploaghe), *Teti* (a village in the Barbagia di Mandrolisai), *Tettène* (a *domus de gianas* near Perfugas) and *Tettinosa* (a *nuraghe* near Perfugas). Whether or not these toponyms actually contain **tétti* ‘smilax’, it is likely that Wagner is right in attributing it to pre-Roman Sardinian, because of its lack of an etymology and the fact that it ends in *-i*, for which there is no good source in Latin nominal morphology (§ 8.1.5.1).

3.3.16 Strawberry tree (*Arbutus unedo*)

Reconstruction	Forms
1: * <i>olidòne</i>	DES (II: 480): <i>oliòni</i> (Camp.), <i>liḍòne</i> (3: Siniscola, 5: Bitti, 6: Nule, 8: Nuoro, 12: Fonni), <i>oliḍòne</i> (13: Urzulei, 16: Baunei), <i>oliòne</i> (18: Laconi), <i>liòni</i> (19: Seui, 21: Perdasdefogu), <i>oṭṭi</i> (20: Mogoro), <i>oḃiòni</i> (23: Villacidro) ‘strawberry tree (<i>Arbutus unedo</i> L.)’ AIS (1286): [<i>lu бага</i>] <i>liòni</i> (1: Tempio Pausania), [<i>su</i>] <i>liḍòne</i> (9: Dorgali), [<i>s</i>] <i>iliòne</i> (17: Desulo), [<i>s</i>] <i>ollìoni</i> (22: Escalaplano), <i>oḃiòni</i> (23: Villacidro), [<i>su</i>] <i>liòni</i> (24: Cagliari), [<i>s</i>] <i>oriòni</i> (25: Sant’Antioco) ‘strawberry tree (<i>Arbutus unedo</i>)’
2: * <i>olitòne</i>	DES (II: 480): <i>liḍòne</i> (7: Bonorva, 10: Macomer) ‘strawberry tree (<i>Arbutus unedo</i>)’; [<i>melu</i>] <i>liḍòne</i> (4: Villanova Monteleone) AIS (1286): [<i>s</i>] <i>oliḍòne</i> (2: Ploaghe), [<i>su</i>] <i>liḍòne</i> (11: Santu Lussurgiu, 15: Busachi), [<i>su</i>] <i>liḍḍi</i> (14: Milis) ‘id.’

This word for ‘strawberry tree’, an evergreen shrub or small tree that is characteristic of the Mediterranean maquis biome, is attested all over Sardinia, and is usually taken to be from Lat. *ūnedō* ‘strawberry tree’, attested multiple times in Pliny’s *Naturalis Historia*. The forms of type 1 listed above all require a pre-form **olidone*, which in some cases lost its initial vowel (e.g. *liḍòne*, *liòni* etc.). The forms in type 2 are synchronically identical to some of those attested in type 1. However, they occur in the Logudorese dialects, where original intervocalic *-*d*- should have been lost (Wagner 1941a: 79). The easiest explanation is to assume some sort of restoration of etymological *-d-*, although the circumstances under which this could have happened are not fully clear to me.

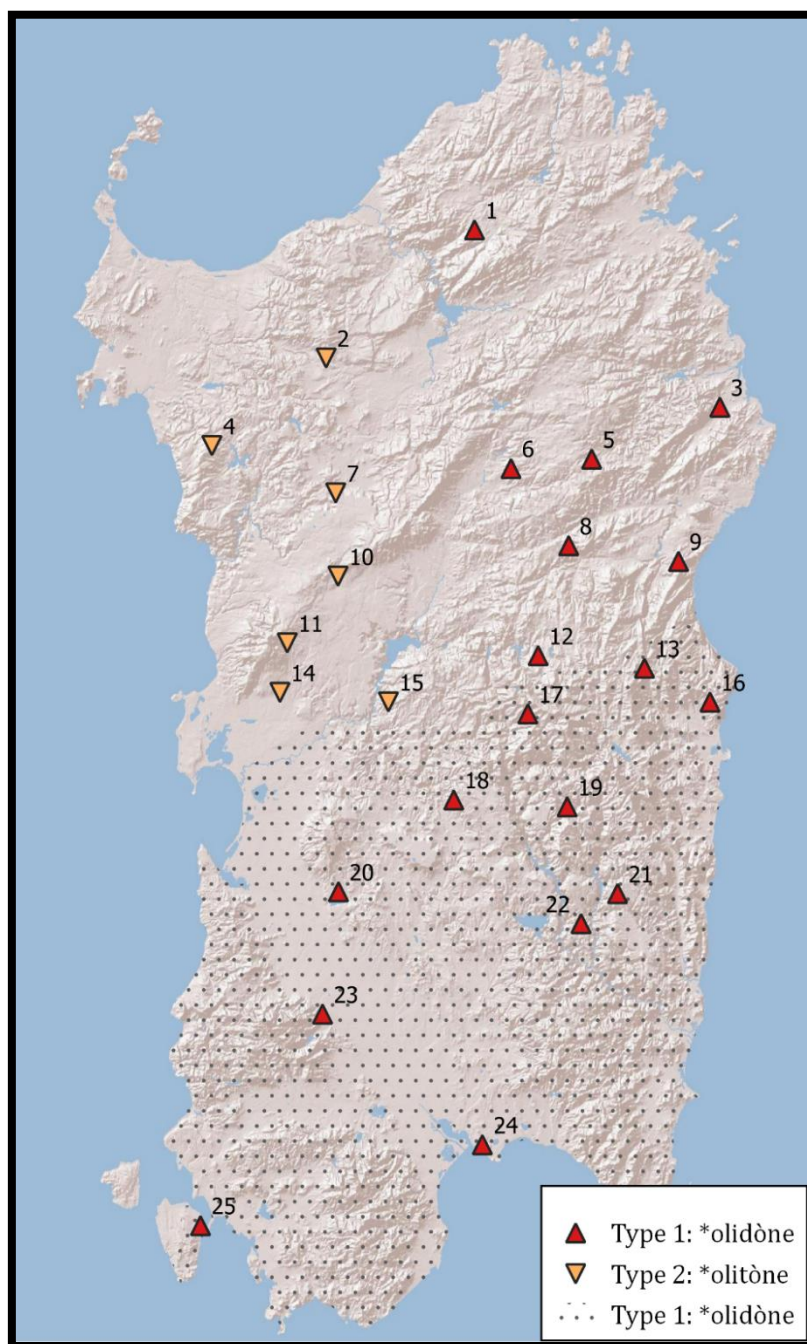


Figure 3.3.16: Strawberry tree (*Arbutus unedo*)

Lat. *ūnedō* is only attested in Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* (and later sources referring to it), where its name is said to be from *ūnum edō* 'I eat one', because of this fruit's poor taste (cf. Plinius Secundus Maior 1857: chap. 15:28). This is an evident folk etymology. Besides Srd. *olīdōne* etc., the only other Romance reflexes of this word are found in Gallo-Italian and Gallo-Romance dialects: Pied. (*l'ürion*, Saintongeais *olon*, Gasc. *auledun* (dep. Landes), Lang. *leduno* (reg. Guyenne) 'strawberry tree' (REW 9068; cf. also FEW XIV: 35). All Romance forms can be explained more easily from **olidōne* than from *ūnedō* attested in Pliny.¹¹³ In light of Pliny's folk etymology from "*ūnum edō*", Lat. *ūnedō* 'strawberry tree' may perhaps be from **olidō*. It is also remarkable that this word was preserved on such a limited territory, which raises the question what the relation was between Lat. *ūnedō* and *arbutus*, both of which refer to the strawberry tree. Given the marginal dispersion of the descendants of *ūnedō* (as opposed to those of *arbutus*, which are more widespread) and the fact that *ūnedō* is only attested in one Latin source and is likely influenced by a folk etymology, it seems that *ūnedō* (or indeed **olidō*) was not a common name for this plant. Perhaps **olidō* was a pre-Roman word that entered some varieties of Vulgar Latin, and happened to be recorded by Pliny. Its geographical distribution is similar to that of various other words of suspected pre-Roman origin, some of which are nevertheless attested in Classical sources (§ 11.2.1).

3.3.17 Strawberry tree flower (*Arbutus unedo*)

Reconstruction	Forms
<i>*a(C)íṡṡo</i>	DES (I: 64): <i>aiṡṡo</i> (1: Urzulei), <i>aiṡṡu</i> (2: Talana), <i>aíssu</i> (3: Perdasdefogu) 'flower of the strawberry tree (<i>Arbutus unedo</i> L.)'

I agree with Wagner (DES I: 64) that these forms are probably of pre-Roman origin. This is not only likely because of its lack of an etymology, but also because of its peculiar phonological structure. The final *-o* in *aiṡṡo* (1: Urzulei) can hardly be explained from Latin. In *aiṡṡu* (2: Talana) this unusual ending has been replaced with the inherited masculine suffix *-u*.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ The observation that the attested Romance forms correspond regularly to Sardinian *olīdōne* etc., was already made by Schuchardt (1904: 194).

¹¹⁴ In *aíssu* (3: Perdasdefogu) it is impossible to see whether this form contains original *-o* or *-u*, because *-o > -u* in unaccented position in this area (cf. Wagner 1907b: Map 3; Viridis 1988: 908).

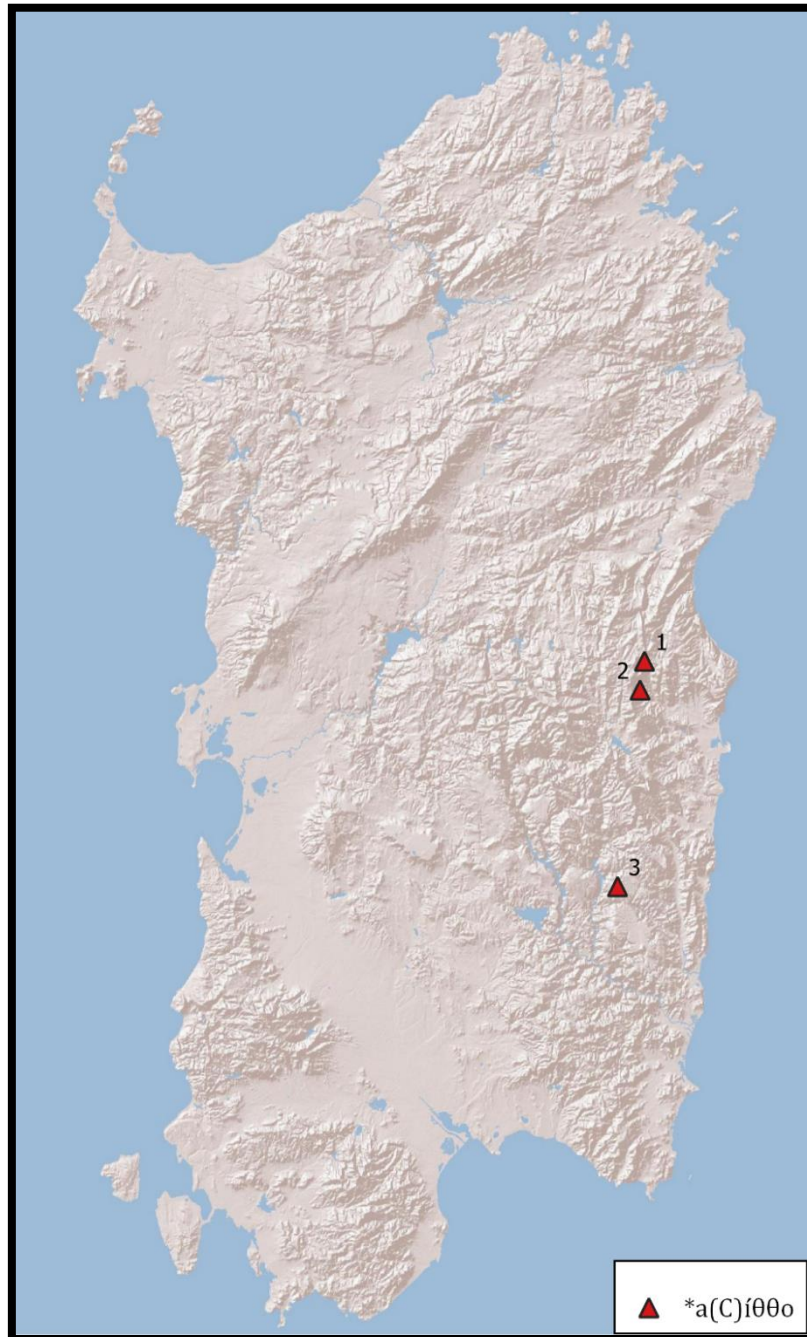


Figure 3.3.17: Strawberry tree flower (*Arbutus unedo*)

Wagner (DES I: 64) speculates that these words would have been the pre-Roman name of this plant or its flower, but given the fact that in *oliḏòne* and *liòni* (§ 3.3.16) are attested respectively in Urzulei and Perdasdefogu as the name for the tree (DES II: 185), it is more likely that the modern restriction of *áiḡḡo* etc. to the flower of this plant reflects its original semantic value.

3.3.18 Strawberry tree fruit (*Arbutus unedo*)

Reconstruction	Forms
1: <i>*bilisòne</i>	DES (II: 185): <i>bilisòne</i> (1: Urzulei), <i>pilisòne</i> (3: Baunei), <i>bilisòni</i> (6: Gairo), <i>gilisòni</i> (7: Seui) ‘fruit of the strawberry tree (<i>Arbutus unedo</i> L.)’
2: <i>*lisirione</i>	DES (II: 185): <i>lisirione</i> (2: Busachi) ‘id.’
3: <i>*kele(C)isòne</i>	DES (II: 185): <i>kelleisòne</i> (4: Tonara) ‘id.’
4: <i>*lisòne</i>	DES (II: 185): <i>lisòne</i> (5: Villagrande Strisaili) ‘id.’

These forms, that specifically refer to the strawberry tree’s fruit, bear a superficial similarity to *oliḏòne* etc. ‘strawberry tree’ (§ 3.3.16), but cannot be derived from it. Wagner (DES II: 185) and Paulis (1992: 413) believe these forms are of pre-Roman origin. Because of the variation attested among these forms, it is difficult to establish what the original base was. The forms in type 1 may have been influenced by Srd. *gilindzòne*, *elindzòne*, *bilindzòne*, *pilindzòne* etc. ‘barley bran’ < **iligione* < **siligione* < Lat. *siligō* ‘winter wheat’ (cf. DES I: 578), or have at least undergone a similar process of reinterpretation of the initial consonant. Perhaps the absence of *bi-/gi-/pi-* in type 4 *lisòne* (5: Villagrande Strisaili) is an archaism, a suspicion that is reinforced by type 2 *lisirione* (2: Busachi). The element *-iri-* in *lisirione* (2: Busachi) is also found in several other words of potential pre-Roman origin (§ 9.2.6.2), suggesting **liš-iri-òne* as an internal analysis. I do not know how to explain type 3 *kelleisòne* (4: Tonara). The sequence *kellei-* too gives the impression of being secondary, but it is unclear what its source could be. Interestingly, the Ogliastran dialects, and specifically that of Urzulei, have three etymologically unrelated words for ‘strawberry tree’ (*oliḏòne*; § 3.3.16), ‘flower of the strawberry tree’ (*áiḡḡo*; § 3.3.17) and ‘fruit of the strawberry tree’ (*bilisòne*), of which at least the last two (and perhaps all three) are likely of pre-Roman origin.

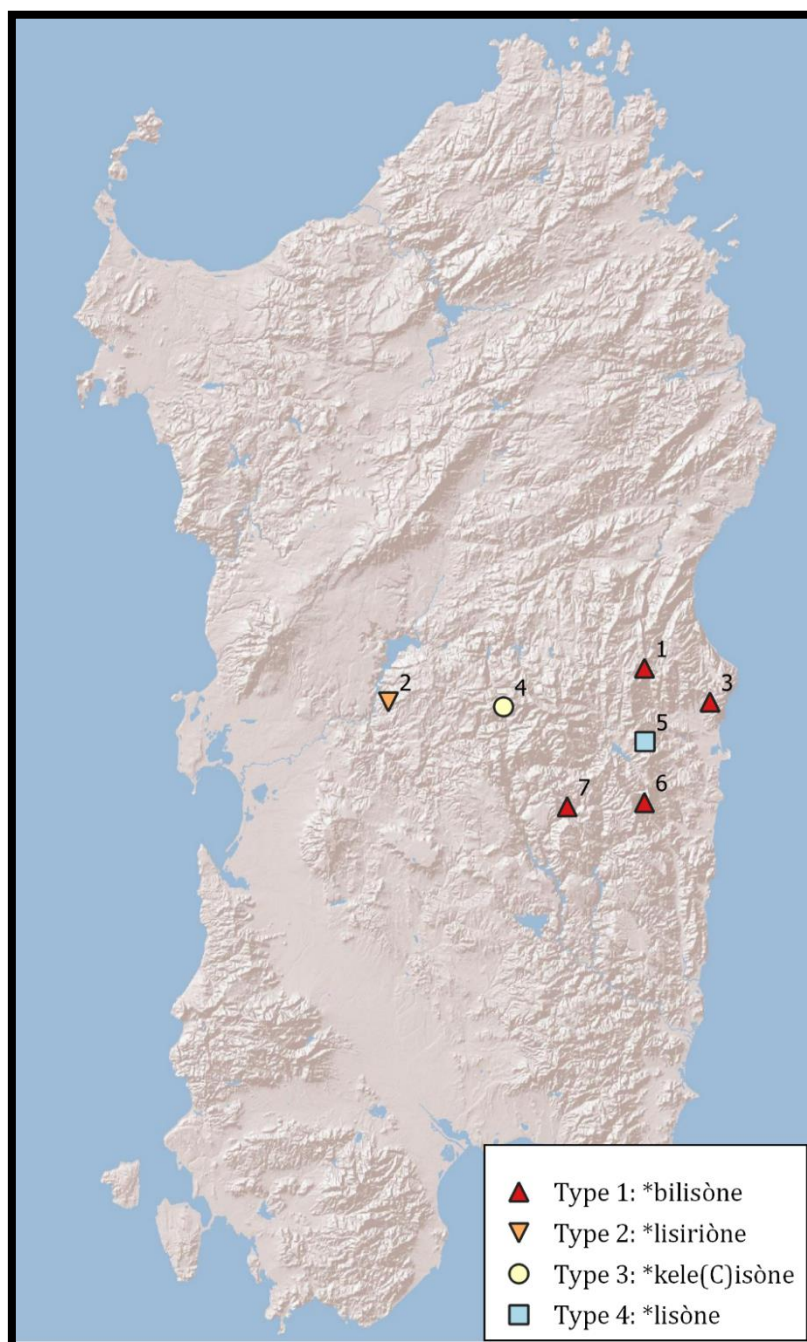


Figure 3.3.18: Strawberry tree fruit (*Arbutus unedo*)

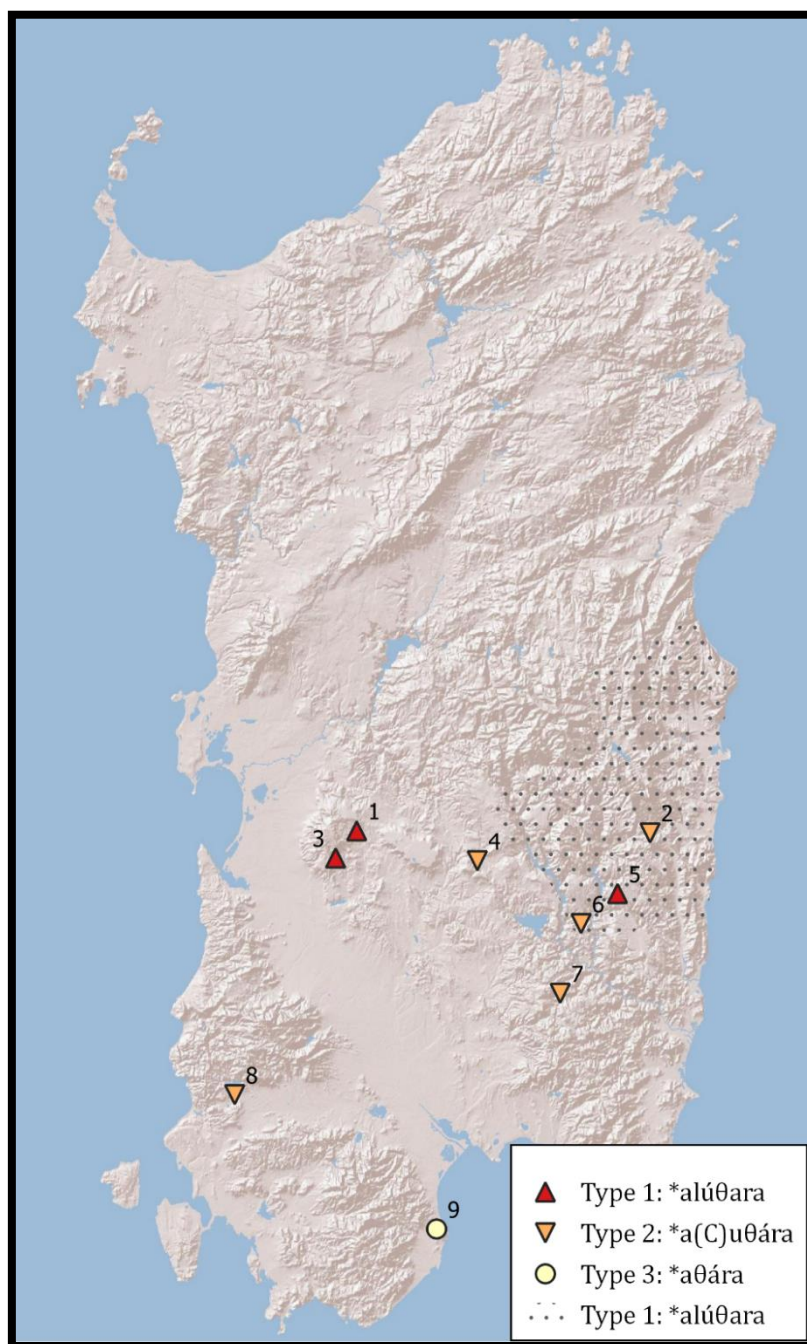


Figure 3.3.19: Traveller's joy (*Clematis vitalba*)

3.3.19 Traveller's joy (*Clematis vitalba*), fragrant virgin's bower (*Clematis flammula*)

Reconstruction	Forms
1: * <i>alúðara</i>	Blasco Ferrer (1989: 18 fn. 6): <i>a(l)úsara</i> (Ogl.) 'fragrant virgin's bower (<i>Clematis flammula</i> L.)' Paulis (1992: 182): <i>luttsára</i> (1: Villaverde, 3: Morgongiori), <i>alússara</i> (5: Perdasdefogu) 'id.'
2: * <i>a(C)uðára</i>	DES (I: 153): <i>aussára</i> (2: Jerzu), <i>auttsára</i> (4: Isili, 6: Escalaplano, 7: San Nicolò Gerrei, 8: Iglesias) 'traveller's joy (<i>Clematis vitalba</i> L.)' ¹¹⁵
3: * <i>aðára</i>	DES (I: 153): <i>attsára</i> (9: Sarroch) 'id.'

Beside the forms listed above, *tsára* and *auttsáða* have been attested in the same meaning, but no location is known for these forms (cf. DES I: 153). This word has long been considered to be of pre-Roman origin (Wagner 1941c: 321; DES I: 153; Paulis 1992: 182–183). Among the Sardinian forms there are some variations that cannot easily be explained formally, mainly concerning the shape of the first syllable. For type 1, Paulis (1992: 183) suggests influence from Camp. *lúži* 'light', because its wood would be used to start fires.¹¹⁶ Types 2 and 3 respectively have *au-* and *a-* as their initial vowel. Paulis (1992: 182) holds type 2 in *a-* to be original, because of its supposed relation to the toponym *Atzara*. While we cannot be certain of the idea that *Atzara* was indeed named after this plant, I agree that type 2 in *au-* may be an innovation, since original *-au-* (both stressed and unstressed) should regularly have yielded *-a-* (Wagner 1941a: 13–14, 22–23). Initial *au-* can therefore only be the result of the loss of an intervocalic voiced stop, or due to secondary addition of *a-* to *u-* after the common Sardinian shift from **au-* to *a-* was complete.

One possible solution to unite the three different variants could be to reconstruct **uððára* as the original form of this word. In type 2, the *a-* may have been reinterpreted from the feminine definite article: **sa uððára* >> *s'auttsára*. In type 3, pretonic **u-* > *a-* could have taken place due to assimilation to the stressed *-á-* in the following syllable. In type 1, Paulis' proposed analogy to *lúži* 'light' is easier to understand if the two words' vowels already matched. It is problematic that a variant with initial *u-* is not actually attested however. Finally, it is striking that the forms containing *-l-* (e.g. *luttsára*; type 1) are geographically rather dispersed

¹¹⁵ Wagner (DES I: 153) notes that these words also refer to smilax (*Smilax aspera*), but Paulis (1992: 182) doubts this.

¹¹⁶ I have not been able to confirm this property elsewhere.

(from Morgongiori in the west to the Ogliastro in the east), which raises the question whether an *-l-* was perhaps present in some pre-Roman forms. Yet, loss of **-l-* cannot easily be explained for the forms of type 2 and 3 either.¹¹⁷

3.3.20 Tree heather (*Erica arborea*)₂

Reconstruction	Forms
<i>*gillóstr-</i>	DES (I: 578): <i>giddòstre</i> (1: Oliena), <i>giddóstru</i> (2: Orgosolo, 3: Olzai), [sa] <i>ʔiddòstra</i> (4: Fonni), [su] <i>iddòstro</i> (5: Busachi) 'tree heather (<i>Erica arborea</i> L.)'
	Wagner (1928: 24): <i>giddòstre</i> (3: Olzai), [sa] <i>ʔiddòsta</i> (4: Fonni) 'id.'

These words for 'tree heather' are likely of pre-Roman origin (Wagner 1928: 24). The Sardinian forms require an original **gillostr-*, according to Bertoldi (1928: 233) with the same suffix found in *golóstri* etc. 'holly' (cf. § 9.2.9). There is a striking amount of variation in the listed forms' final vowel (*-e*, *-u*, *-a*, *-o*) (cf. § 8.4.1.2). Hubschmid (1953: 29) compares the Sardinian forms to Bq. *gillar*, *gilharre*, *ilharri* etc. 'heather', which would consist of the same root **gill-* with a different suffix *-ar(r)-*. However, in a later publication, Hubschmid (1958: 214) expresses doubts about the feasibility of his own comparison, as the Basque forms seem to point to an original singleton **-l-* rather than the **-ll-* that is needed for the Sardinian forms (cf. also Michelena 1990: 316–317). Trask (1997: 306) and Santano Moreno (2000: 170) reconstruct Proto-Basque **inar*, which is even further removed from the Sardinian forms. So, although the ending of *giddòstre* etc. would suggest that it belonged to the same pre-Roman layer as *golóstri* etc. 'holly', which has a plausible Basque comparandum in *gorosti* 'id.', a connection between Srd. *giddòstre* etc. and Bq. *gillar* etc. is unlikely.

¹¹⁷ The forms *urtsúla*, *úrtsula* 'fragrant virgin's bower (*Clematis flammula*), smilax (*Smilax aspera*)', discussed in DES (II: 564) and by Paulis (1992: 221), have been identified by Blasco Ferrer (2010a: 55) as a ghost word.

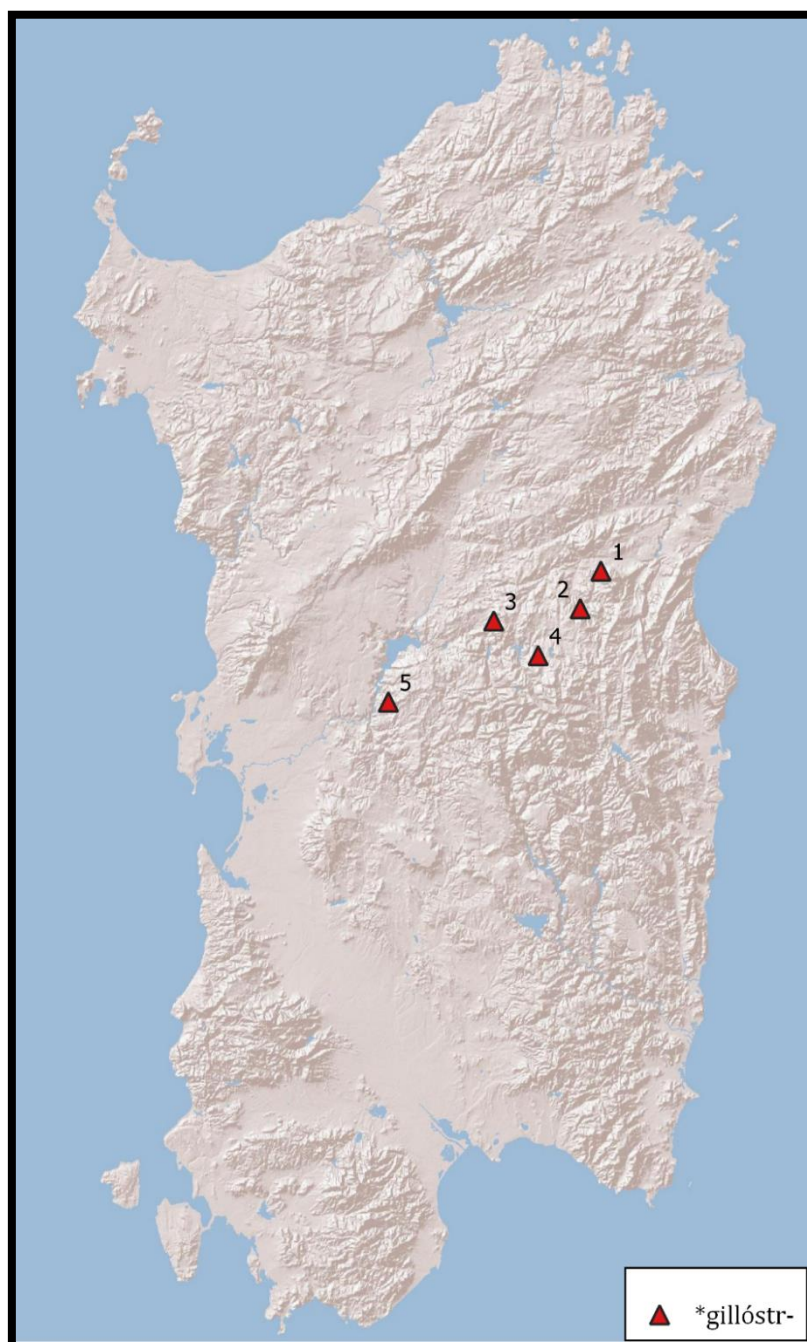


Figure 3.3.20: Tree heather (*Erica scoparia*)

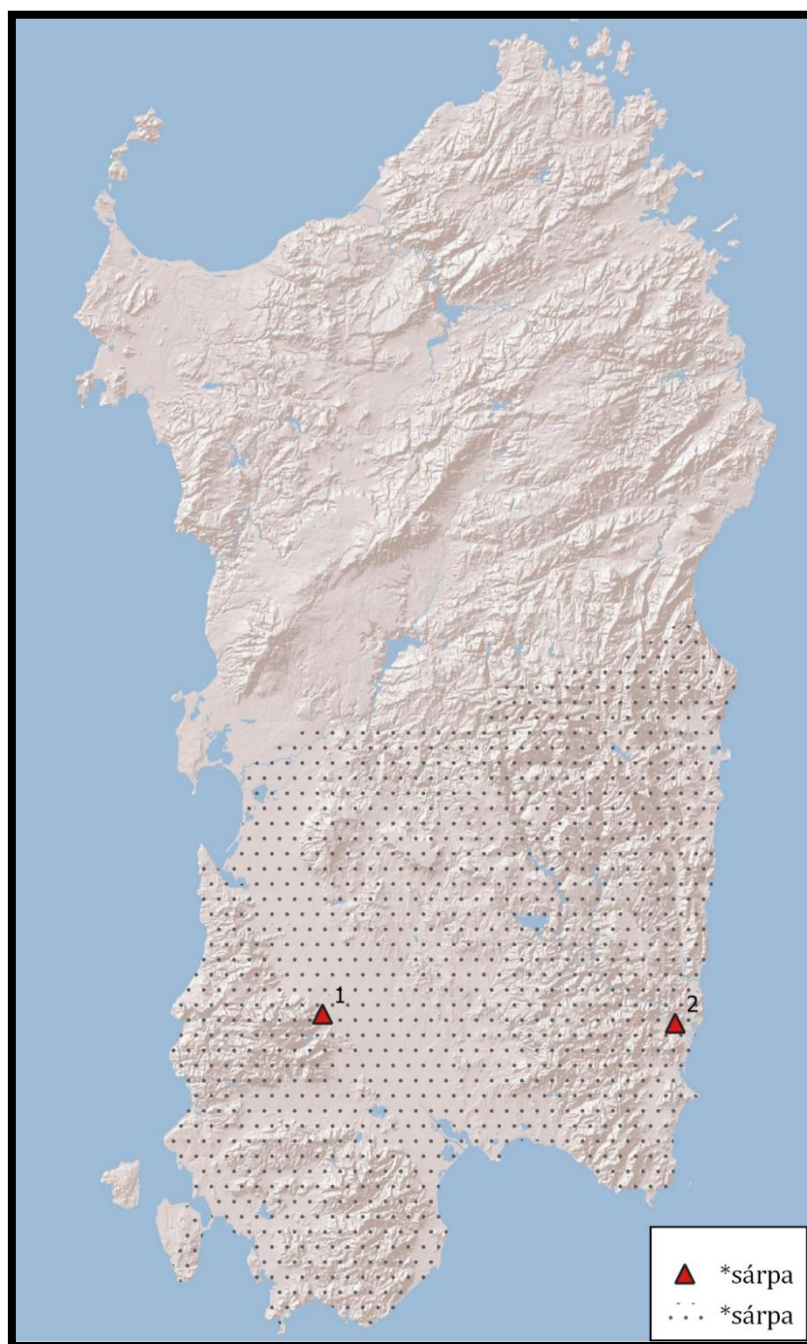


Figure 3.3.21: Willow (*Salix* sp.)

3.3.21 Willow (*Salix sp.*)

Reconstruction	Forms
* <i>sárpa</i>	DES (II: 384): <i>sárpa</i> , <i>śráppa</i> (Camp.), [sa] <i>śráppa</i> (2: Villaputzu) ‘various species of willow (<i>Salix sp. L.</i>)’ AIS (600): [sa] <i>srápa</i> (1: Villacidro) ‘id.’

Wagner (DES II: 384) is unable to clarify the origin of this word, but he does reject on semantic grounds Jud’s (*apud* DES II: 384) proposal that it is somehow related to Sp. *serpa*, *jerpa* ‘infertile grapevine shoot’. Paulis’ (1992: 437–438) hypothesis that Camp. *sárpa* etc. is from Cat. *sarga* ‘willow’ with influence from Sp. *zarpa* ‘paw’ is not convincing either. Pittau (1995: 227) proposes a connection between Srd. *sárpa* and Lat. *sirpus*, *scirpus* ‘bulrush’, both used as weaving materials. A more straightforward solution is to analyze Srd. *sárpa* ‘willow’ as a deverbal “τομή-type” derivation of Lat. *sarpō* ‘to cut off, to prune’ (cf. Weiss 2009: 300). The deverbal meaning of “a cutting” could explain both Sardinian. *sarpa* ‘willow’ and Sp. *serpa* ‘infertile grapevine shoot’, although the Spanish vocalism remains problematic.¹¹⁸

3.3.22 Yew (*Taxus baccata*)

Reconstruction	Forms
* <i>éni</i>	DES (I: 489): <i>éni</i> (Ogl., 1: Dorgali, 2: Orgosolo) ‘yew (<i>Taxus baccata L.</i>)’

This word for ‘yew’ has been connected by Bertoldi (*apud* Wagner 1941a: 45) to Bq. (*h*)*agin* ‘id.’, requiring a development **ágin* > **ágini* > **áini* > *éni* on the Sardinian side. This is theoretically possible, though it must be noted that the contraction *-ai-* > *-e-* is a tendency rather than a pervasive sound law; cf. e.g. *ispainare* (Fonni), Camp. *spainai* ‘to spread out’ < **expaginare* and Camp. *máida* ‘type of vessel’ < *magida*, where it does not happen (DES I: 673; II: 55; cf. Wolf 1998a: 218). Even though it is attractive to provide these Sardinian forms with a Basque cognate, **ágin* is only one of several possible reconstructions for the Sardinian forms, and the correspondence is essentially limited to a single consonant. It is therefore no more than a possible instance of a Basque-Sardinian lexical correspondence (cf. § 10.3). Hubschmid’s (1953: 25–26) and Alessio’s (1957: 243) connection of these words to Tashelhiyt Berber forms like Ihahan *taga*, Ouarzazate *tiqqi*, Igliwa *tiqi* etc. ‘juniper (*Juniperus sp. L.*)’ (cf. Laoust 1920: 490), and to Lat. *acinus* ‘berry’, are rather too far-fetched both semantically and phonetically.

¹¹⁸ Cf. FEW (XI: 234–236) for formally similar derivations from this verb, with the meaning ‘billhook’.

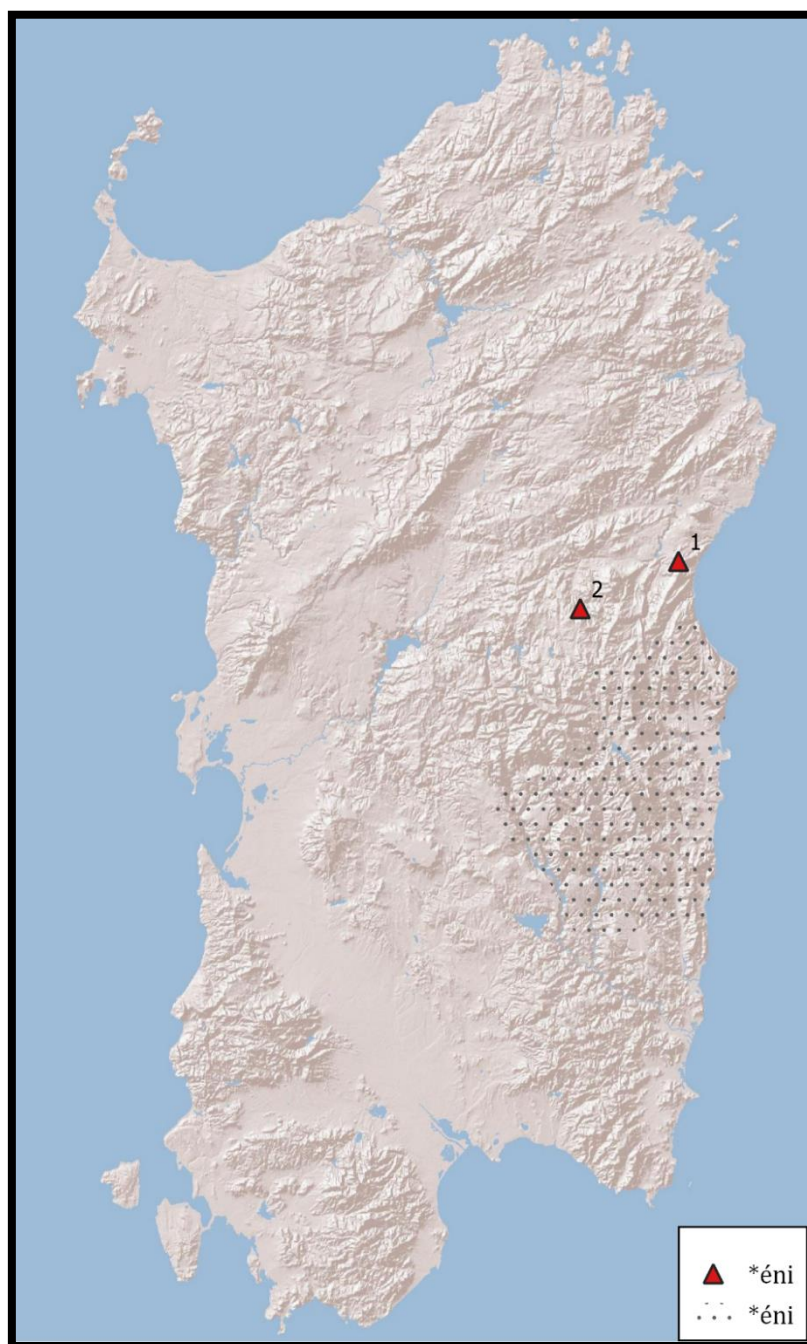


Figure 3.3.22: Yew (*Taxus baccata*)

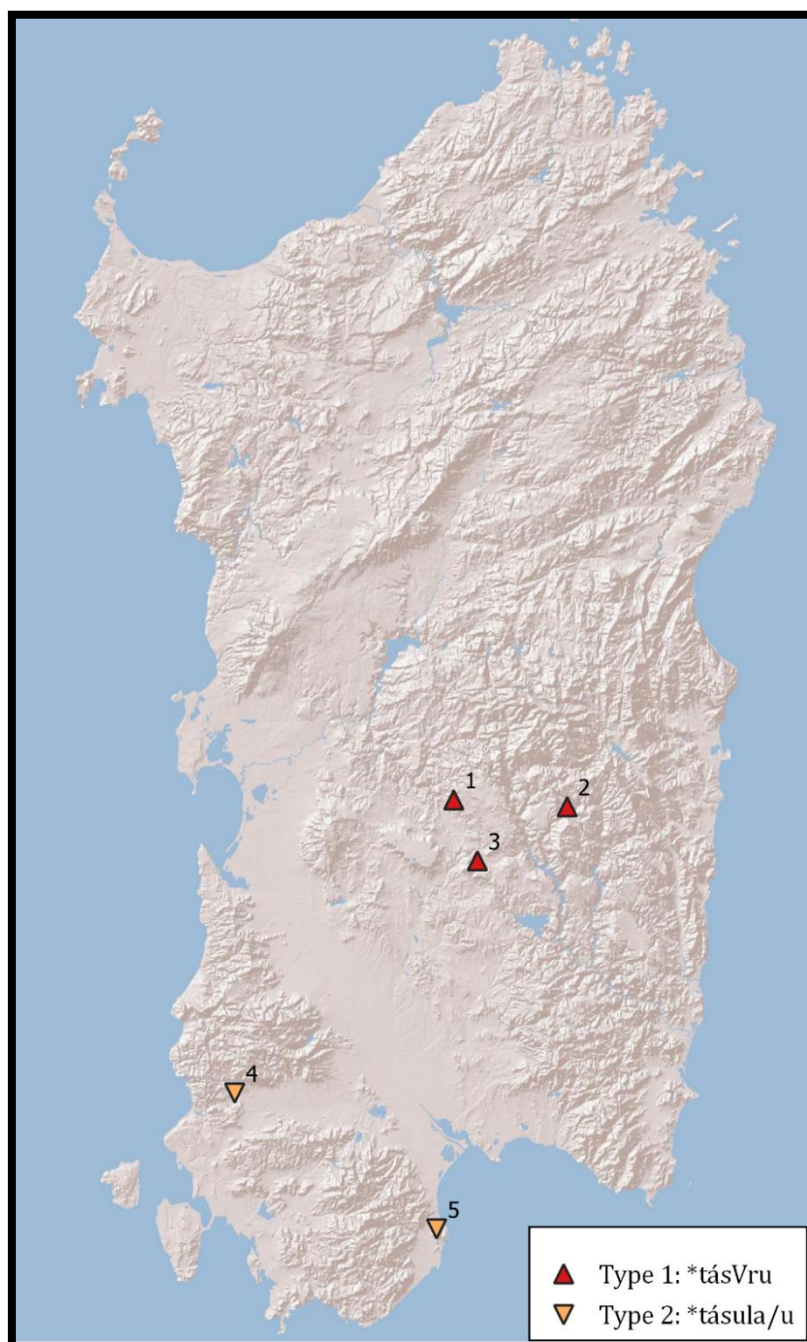


Figure 3.3.23: Yew (*Taxus baccata*); buckthorn (*Rhamnus alaternus*); spindle (*Euonymus europaeus*)

3.3.23 Yew (*Taxus baccata*); buckthorn (*Rhamnus alaternus*); spindle (*Euonymus europaeus*)

Reconstruction	Forms
1: * <i>tásVru</i>	DES (II: 467): <i>táširu</i> (1: Laconi), <i>tášuru</i> (2: Seui) ‘yew (<i>Taxus baccata</i> L.)’; <i>tášuru</i> (3: Isili) ‘buckthorn (<i>Rhamnus alaternus</i> L.)’; <i>tášaru</i> (Trexenta reg.) ‘spindle (<i>Euonymus europaeus</i> L.)’
2: * <i>tásula/u</i>	DES (II: 467): <i>tášua</i> (4: Iglesias), <i>tášulu</i> (5: Sarroch) ‘yew (<i>Taxus baccata</i>)’

Yew, buckthorn and spindle are all shrubs or small trees, with dark-green glossy leaves (or in the case of yew, needles) and fleshy, round, red-coloured fruits; both yew and spindle are poisonous (cf. Paulis 1992: 407–410). The fact that the meaning ‘yew’ is attested most widely, suggests that the meanings ‘buckthorn’ and ‘spindle’, which occur locally, are secondary from original ‘yew’. The forms listed above are also reminiscent of the inherited word for ‘yew’: Log. *tássu* < Lat. *taxus* ‘yew’ (DES II: 468). However, as Wagner (DES II: 467) observes, *tášaru* etc. cannot be derived from Lat. *taxus*, because of the voiced -š-.

Paulis (1992: 410) proposes a derivation from Lat. *Thasia*. This form is discussed in Pliny’s *Naturalis Historia* as a kind of laurel (viz. “*laurus Thasia*”), but it probably refers to ‘butcher’s broom (*Ruscus aculeatus*)’ (cf. André 1985: 140).¹¹⁹ Although the semantic shift from ‘butcher’s broom’ to the several plant species denoted by *tášaru* etc. is imaginable (butcher’s broom too has dark-green waxy leaves and round red berries), and even though the presence of -š- could explain the voiced -š- in the Sardinian forms (Wagner 1941a: 150), this etymology does raise some questions. The Latin adjective *Thasius* is generally taken to refer to the Greek island of Thasos, in the northern part of the Aegean sea (Lewis & Short 1879: s.v. *Thasus*). It is unclear what exactly would be the connection between a Greek island and a species of butcher’s broom. If we accept this meaning at face value though, it still remains puzzling that this specific word survived on Sardinia only, where its meaning shifted to ‘yew’. What makes it even more difficult, is the presence of what appears to be a suffix -Vr- (where -V- stands for any vowel). This suffix is not present on the proposed Latin comparandum, nor can it be explained in terms of inherited Latin/Romance material. Paulis (1992: 410) explains this ending as an adaptation of the inherited diminutive suffix *-ulu (as attested in the forms in type 2) to the ending of a supposed pre-Indo-European

¹¹⁹ André (1985: 149) mentions *Ruscus angustifolia*, which does not exist. However, *Ruscus aculeatus* var. *angustifolius* Boiss. is a synonym of *Ruscus aculeatus* (WFO 2023: s.v. *Ruscus aculeatus*).

word **ebura* ‘yew’ (as per Alessio 1957: 263). This idea is problematic, as there is no actual evidence for the existence of this word on Sardinia.¹²⁰

As there is no reason to assume the existence of **ebura* ‘yew’, this can not be used to explain the presence of **-Vr-* on the actually attested forms *tásaru*, *-uru*, *-iru*. Moreover, the presence of diminutive *-ula/u* on *tásulu* and *tásua* is easier to explain as the result of reinterpretation of non-inherited **-Vr-*, than the other way around. If *tásuru* etc. ‘yew’, which is the *lectio difficilior*, is to be explained from Lat. [*laurus*] *Thasia*, we need to accept the secondary addition of a pre-Roman Sardinian suffix *-Vr-* (§ 9.2.6.2). This word may be thus an instance of an inherited Latin word that received native Sardinian morphology. Finally, Paulis (1992: 407, 410) notes that Srd. *tásuru* etc. cannot be separated from Lat. *taxus* ‘yew’, despite not being regularly inherited. However, *taxus* does not seem to play a role in any part of his account of the origin of Srd. *tásuru* ‘yew’, which only involves a semantic shift from ‘butcher’s broom’ to ‘yew’ and addition of a pre-Roman suffix to inherited *Thasia*. Perhaps he believes the necessary semantic shift may have been aided by the similarity of *tássu* ‘yew’ < *taxus* to *tásuru*, but this is not strictly necessary.

3.4 Plant parts

3.4.1 Awn of wild oats (*Avena fatua*)

Reconstruction	Forms
1: <i>*salaCúspe</i>	DES (II: 378): <i>salaúspu</i> (1: Osilo, 3: Bonorva), <i>salaúspe</i> (3: Bonorva) ‘awn of wild oats (<i>Avena fatua</i> L.) and ryegrass (<i>Lolium sp.</i> L.) that attaches itself to shoes and pants’
2: <i>*salaCúspe</i>	<i>saraúipu</i> (2: Sassari) ‘butcher’s broom (<i>Ruscus aculeatus</i> L.)’

¹²⁰ Alessio’s (1957) idea that prior to the advent of Indo-European languages in Europe, a form **ebura* must have denoted the ‘yew’ over a vast swath of the European continent, is based on the existence of OIr. *ibhar* ‘yew’ and a series of assumptions on historically attested toponyms. In light of our general lack of knowledge about the original semantics and *Benennungsmotive* of these presumably pre-Indo-European toponyms, I tend to disagree with much of the methodology employed by Alessio, as well as with his conclusions (cf. § 1.3.2, § 2.1.2.2.1).

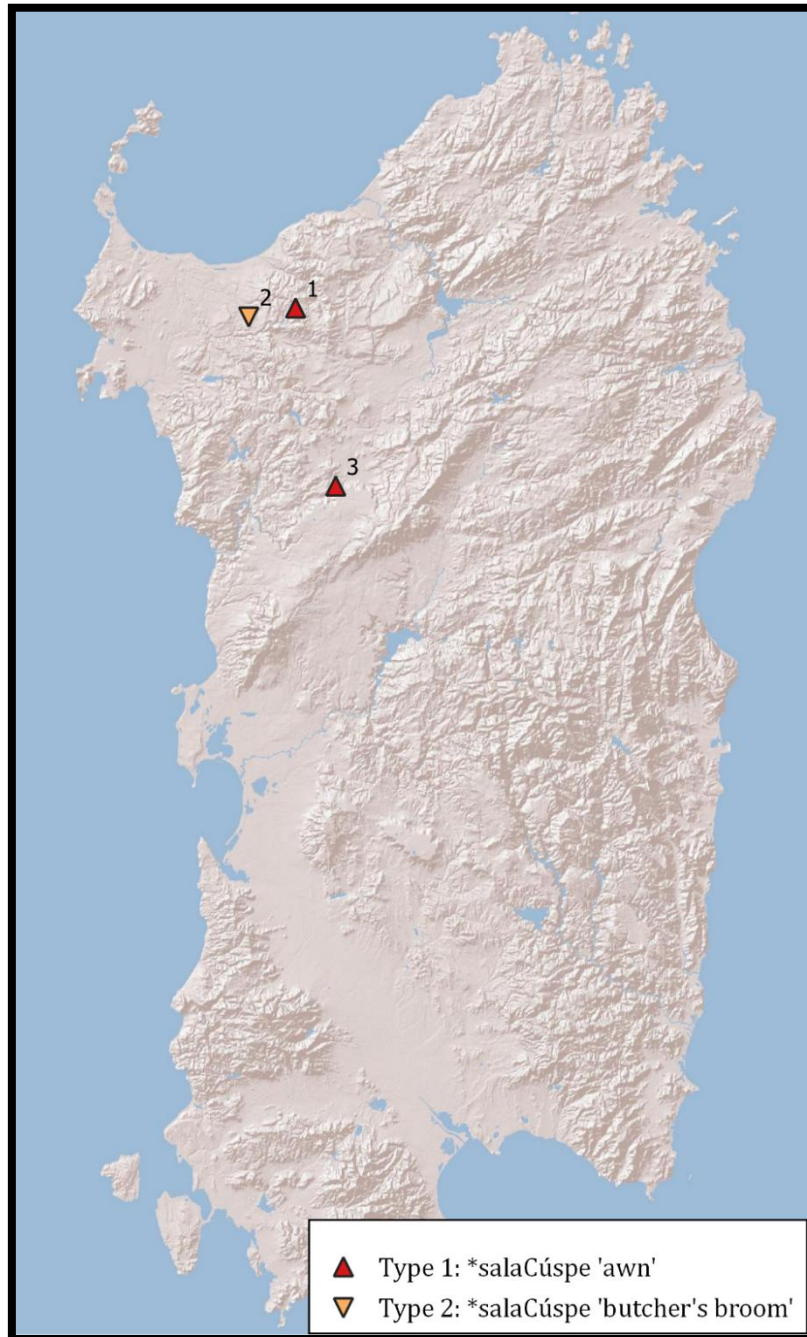


Figure 3.4.1: Awn of wild oats (*Avena fatua*)

The difference in meaning between *salaúspu/-e* ‘awn of wild oats’ in various Logudorese dialects and *saraúipu* ‘butcher’s broom’ in Sassarese is so difficult to understand, that one is tempted to see it as a mistake of some kind.¹²¹ Wagner (DES II: 378) suggests a pre-Roman origin for this word. Paulis (1992: 264), on the other hand, proposes an etymology in **ala-ulpe*. This compound, to which the article *s-* was added by misinterpretation of the definite article *su*, would consist of *ala* ‘wing’, due to the fact that this plant’s seeds disperse through the air, and of **gulpe* ‘fox’ < Lat. *vulpēs* to indicate that it is “wild” oats as opposed to domesticated oats. Such a semantic development, i.e. from a compound literally meaning ‘fox-wing’ to ‘awn of wild oats’, requires a few steps too many to be convincing. Moreover, we would also need to assume that **ala-ulpe*, which would have been feminine, secondarily acquired the masculine gender that is attested for *salaúspu*. Phonologically, a derivation from *vulpēs* ‘fox’ is all but obligatory, as the cluster *-sp-* (and *-ip-* in Sassarese) can go back to **-rp-*, **-lp-* or **-sp-* (Wagner 1941a: 190). Although there is not much positive evidence for Wagner’s classification of this word as originally pre-Roman, I do not think Paulis’ proposed Latin etymology is to be favored. The variant with final *-e* is most likely original, whereas *-u* was likely introduced because of the masculine gender of this word.

3.4.2 Branch

Reconstruction	Forms
1: <i>*kárva/</i> <i>*kárba</i>	DES (I: 311): <i>kárva</i> (Nuor., 1: Dorgali), [<i>sa</i>] <i>hárβa</i> (2: Urzulei), [<i>una</i>] <i>hárva</i> (3: Baunei) ‘tree branch’

This word for ‘branch’, which in Sardinia is restricted to the Nuorese dialects, has been compared to a range of phonologically and semantically similar words outside Sardinia, especially in northern Spain and southern France. Wagner (1932: 231; DES I: 311) compares Ast. *garbu* ‘small firewood’, *carba* (Lena) ‘scrubland’, *garbu*, *gárabu* (Cabranes) ‘small branch used as firewood’; Sp. *escarabajas* (Salamanca) ‘small firewood used to light a fire’; Bq. *karbasta* ‘stick with branches’, *karbaza* ‘stem, trunk’; Prov. (“Alpine”) *garbo* ‘hollow tree trunk’.

¹²¹ The two types in this lemma do not reflect different formations, but rather the vast difference in meaning between ‘wild oats’ on the one hand and ‘butcher’s broom’ on the other. For a similar apparent homonymy, cf. *alášu* ‘Bermuda grass (*Cynodon dactylon*)’ vs. *aláše* ‘butcher’s broom (*Ruscus aculeatus*)’ (§ 3.2.1), which may however originally be two unrelated words.

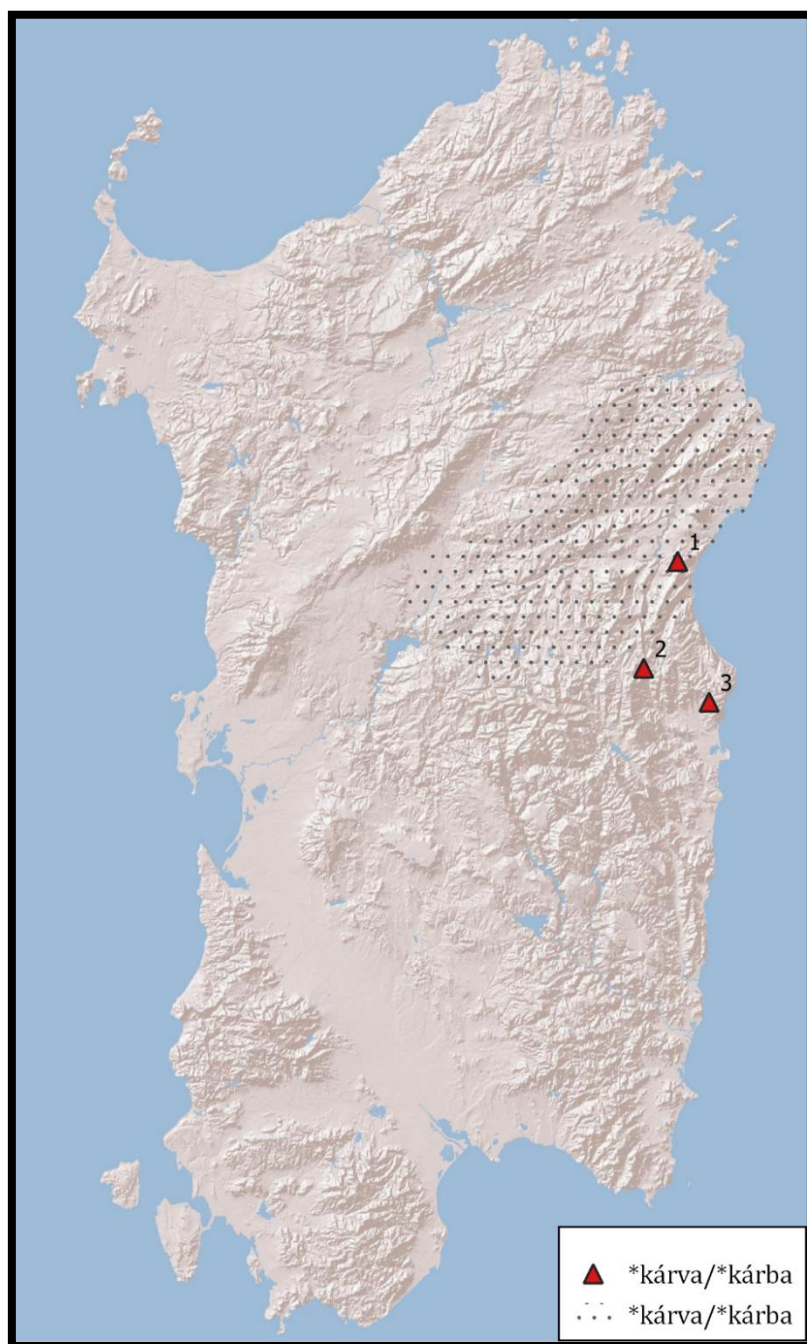


Figure 3.4.2: Branch

DCEC (I: 856) adds Sp. *carba* (Salamanca) ‘scrubland full of coarse oak trees’, *gáraba* ‘gorse (*Ulex* sp. L.) in its most woody part’; Ast. *carbana* ‘sorrel (*Rumex* sp. L.)’, *garbu*, *garbucu* (Rato) ‘small firewood’; Leon. *carvayo*, *-ajo* ‘oak’; Pg. *carvalho* ‘oak’, *gravulha* ‘dry pine needles’, *garvalha*, *gravalho* ‘fallen branches and leaves’; Gal. *carvallo* ‘oak’, *gar(r)abullos*, *carabullos*, *garabellos*, *garamallos*, *garrampallos*, *garabujos*, *garabizos* ‘dry tips of tree branches used as small firewood’; Gasc. *garbout* (Lavedan) ‘stunted plant’, *garboucha* ‘copse of trees’, *garbalhe* (dep. Landes) ‘pine needles’; Lang. *garbasso*, *garbassat* ‘young oak’. From northern Italian varieties, Jud (1931: 439) compares *skavá* (Pescarolo ed Uniti), *škravá* (Carpaneto Piacentino) etc.¹²²

The meanings of these forms can be divided into two general groups: one the one hand those referring to ‘oaks’, on the other hand those referring to ‘dry branches, leaves etc.’ and ‘firewood’ etc. In the Ibero-Romance languages, where both meanings occur, the forms meaning ‘oak’ etc. most often have a voiceless *c-/k-*, whereas the words referring to dry combustible plant material generally start in voiced *g-*; cf. Pg. *carvalho* ‘oak’ vs. *gravulha* ‘dry pine needles’, *garvalha* ‘fallen branches and leaves’. This distribution could indicate that we are dealing with two etymologically unrelated sets of words that have phonologically influenced each other. It is attractive both phonologically and semantically to connect the Western Romance forms in the meaning ‘dry branches, leaves; firewood’ to Srd. *kárva* ‘branch’. Sardinian ‘branch’ is likely the result a semantic broadening of the meaning attested in the Iberian and Occitan dialects.

Phonologically, the Sardinian forms presuppose a base **kárva* or **kárba*. The Romance forms cannot be derived from Latin, and given their Mediterranean distribution and irregular phonetic correspondences a pre-Roman origin is plausible. If the Sardinian forms are indeed related to those found in the Iberian Peninsula and southern France, the wide distribution of **karb-/garb-* has interesting implications for prehistoric language relationships in the Mediterranean. Similar in form and meaning is also Lat. *carbō*, *-ōnis* ‘piece of charcoal’ (de Vaan 2008: 91–92), which also refers to burnable material and which lacks a good Indo-European etymology. If these comparisons are correct, we are dealing with a family of words for ‘fuel for fire/firewood’ that is represented in the Iberian Peninsula, southern France, Sardinia, and the Italian Peninsula. The distribution of this word is similar to that of several other pre-Roman words attested in Sardinian and could be indicative of prehistoric linguistic ties in the Mediterranean basin (§ 11.2.1).

¹²² Cf. AIS (543) and Hubschmid (1953: 19–20).

Finally, regarding the comparison of Bq. *karbasta* etc. ‘stick with branches’ to this group of potentially pre-Roman words, it should be noted that there is also another Basque word *abar* that covers more or less the same range of meanings as the forms containing **karb-/*garb-* discussed above. Lakarra et al. (2019: 3–8) prefer to derive Bq. *garbasta*, *karbazta*, *arbazta* etc. from Bq. *arba* ‘branch’ etc., which would be a metathesized form of *abar*. Since the addition of the initial velar in *karbazta* etc. would be irregular, and *abar* cannot explain the various other Mediterranean forms of the type **karva/*karba*, perhaps the Basque forms *arba*, *arbazta*, *karbazta* etc. are the result of a conflation of inherited Bq. *abar* and the various forms of the type **karva/*karba* in the surrounding Romance languages.

3.4.3 Juniper berry (*Juniperus sp.*)

Reconstruction	Forms
<i>*bollVro</i>	DES (I: 215): <i>bòddoro</i> (1: Dorgali), <i>bòddero</i> (2: Baunei) ‘juniper berry’ (<i>Juniperus sp.</i> L.)

The final vowel *-o* of these forms is difficult to explain from an inherited point of view (§ 8.1.5.2). DES (I: 215) and Pittau (1995: 202) compare it to Sic. *bòddaru* ‘berry, grain; bump’ and Tusc. *bòllora* ‘gall (on plants)’. These comparanda are formally and semantically similar, and all three may go back to a shared pre-Roman origin. However, Paulis (1992: 444) suggests that this and other names for ‘juniper berry’ in Sardinian may originally have referred to generic ‘round things’.

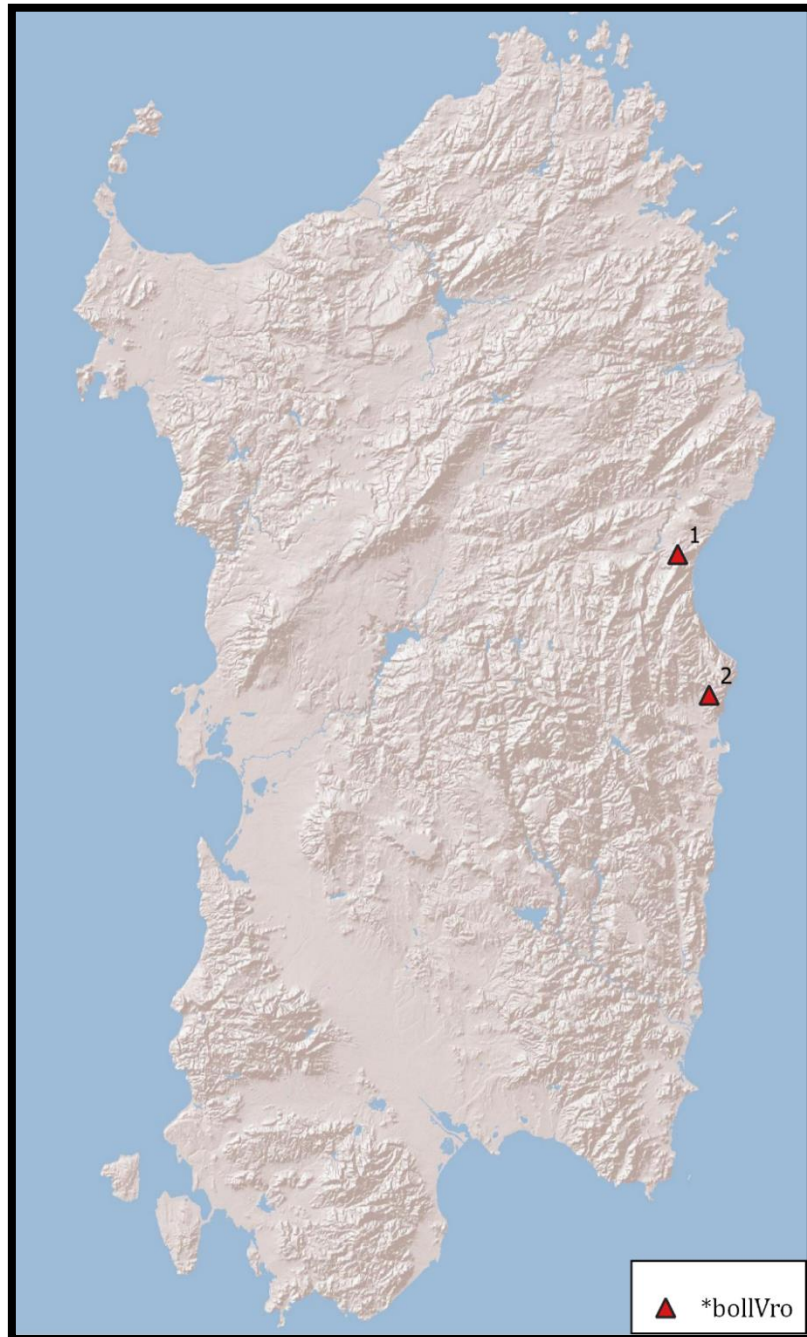


Figure 3.4.3: Juniper berry (*Juniperus sp.*)

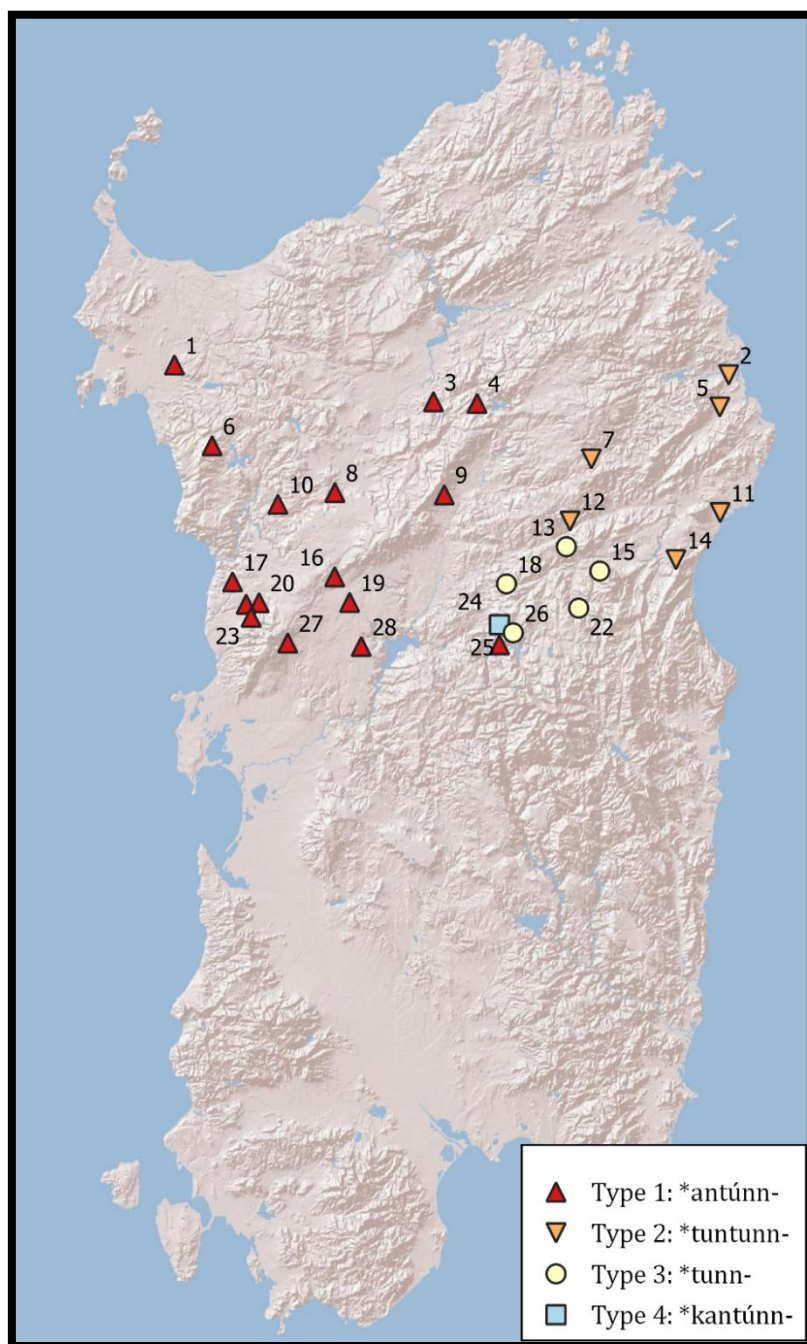


Figure 3.4.4: Mushroom

3.4.4 Mushroom¹²³

Reconstruction	Forms
1: * <i>antúnn-</i>	DES (II: 533–534): <i>antúnnu</i> (1: Olmedo, 3: Ozieri, 4: Pattada, 6: Villanova Monteleone, 10: Padria, 20: Scano di Montiferro, 23: Cuglieri, 21: Sennariolo, 17: Tresnuraghes), <i>antúnna</i> (8: Bonorva, 9: Bono, 16: Macomer, 19: Borore, 25: Ollolai, 27: Santu Lussurgiu, 28: Norbello) ‘mushroom’ AIS (621): [s] <i>antúnnu</i> (Santu Lussurgiu) ‘id.’
2: * <i>tuntunn-</i>	DES (II: 533–534): <i>tuntunnú</i> (2: Posada, 14: Dorgali), <i>tuntúnnu</i> (5: Siniscola, 7: Bitti, 11: Orosei, 12: Lollove) ‘id.’ AIS (621): [su] <i>tuntúnnu</i> (Bitti), [su] <i>tuntunnú</i> (Dorgali) ‘id.’ Puddu (2023: s.v. <i>tontonnú</i>): <i>tontonnú</i> , <i>tuntúnna</i> , <i>tuntunnína</i> , <i>tuntunnú</i> , <i>tuntúnnu</i> ‘id.’
3: * <i>tunn-</i>	DES (II: 533–534): <i>túnnju</i> (13: Nuoro), <i>tuññú</i> (15: Oliena), <i>túnna</i> (18: Orani), <i>tunnú</i> (22: Orgosolo, 26: Gavoi) ‘id.’ Puddu (2023: s.v. <i>túgnu</i>): <i>túgnu</i> , <i>túnna</i> , <i>tunnío</i> , <i>tunnú</i> , <i>túnniu</i> ‘id.’
4: * <i>kantúnn-</i>	DES (II: 533–534): <i>kantúnna</i> (24: Olzai) ‘id.’

All of the forms listed above contain the element *-tunn-*. Four types can be distinguished, on the basis of the elements present before *-tunn-*. All Logudorese dialects have type 1: *antunn-*. Type 2 **tuntunn-* appears to be the reduplicated variant of type 3 **tunn-*; both occur in the Nuorese dialects, with type 2 in a more northern distribution than type 3. Finally, type 4 is only found in Olzai, very close to the isogloss running between the types *antúnn-* and *túnn-*. Given the isolated attestation of type 4, it cannot be ruled out that it is a local and secondary variant of *antúnna*, in which case it does not tell us anything about the presence of a pre-Roman prefix **kV-* that has been identified in other words (cf. Paulis 1992: 19). This leaves us with the opposition between type 1 in *antunn-* and type 3 in *tunn-*.

Paulis (1992: 19) derives the words for ‘mushroom’ discussed here from Lat. *autumnus* ‘autumn’. But even if the phonetic variation can be explained away (the expected outcome is Nuor. ***atúnnu*, Log. ***ađúnnu*), the semantic development from ‘autumn’ to ‘mushroom’ without any identifiable derivational devices seems too big a leap. Nevertheless, even if these forms do not directly go back to Lat. *autumnus*, influence of this word is imaginable.

¹²³ These data are discussed in a similar fashion in Swanenvleugel (2024: 241–242).

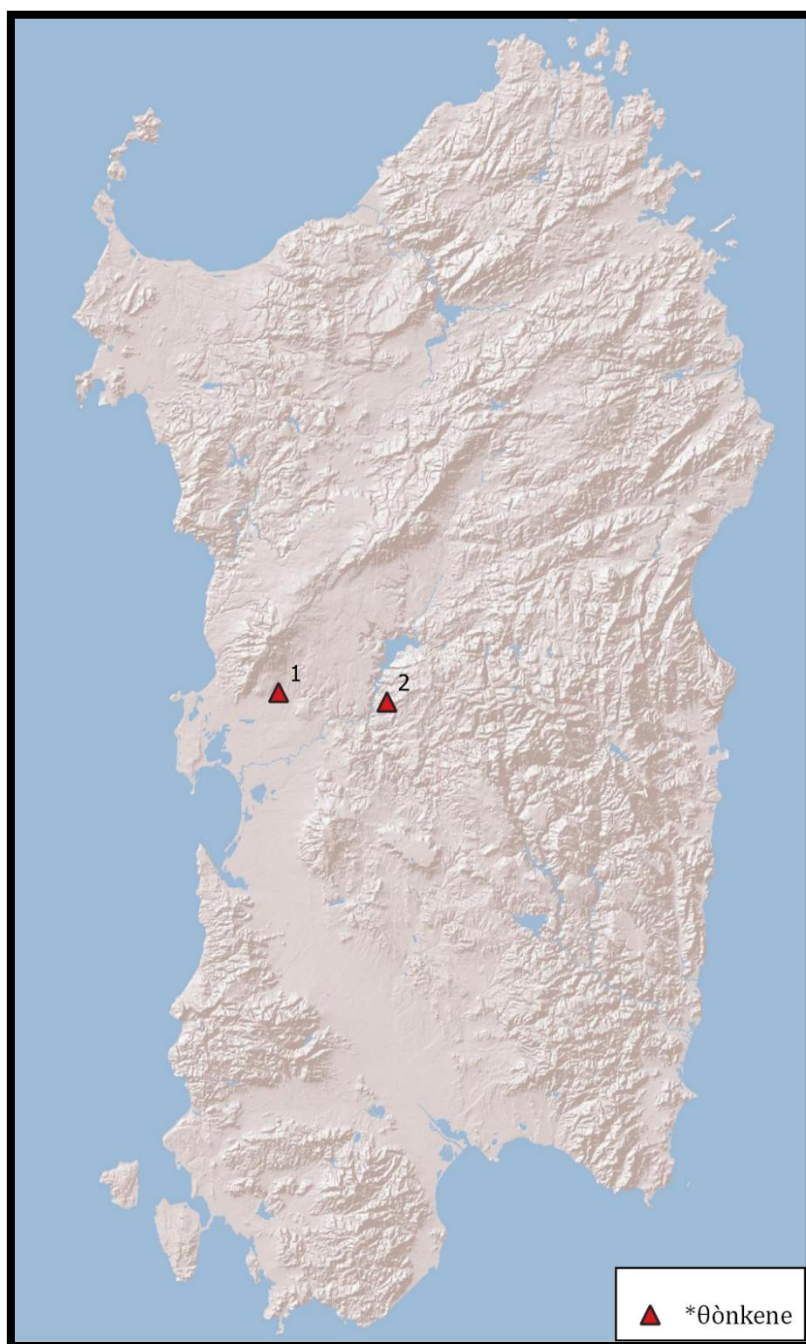


Figure 3.4.5: Resin

Note that the Sardinian words for ‘autumn’ (Nuor. *atóndzu*, Log. *atúndzu*, Camp. *atúnġu*, *atónġu* etc.) cannot be inherited and were likely remodeled after Sp. *otoño* or It. *autunno* ‘autumn’ (DES I: 150). Thus, Lat. *autumnus* does not have regular descendants in the Sardinian dialects. The phonological alternations found in the words for ‘mushroom’, such as prothetic (k)V- and variation between final *-u*, *-iu*, *-íu*, are reminiscent of the alternations found in other words suspected of a pre-Roman origin (§ 8.1.5; § 9.1.1). For irregular insertion of *-n-*, cf. Wagner (1941a: 219–223).

3.4.5 Resin

Reconstruction	Forms
* <i>ðònkene</i>	DES (II: 599): <i>tsòunki</i> (1: Milis), <i>tsònkine</i> (2: Busachi) ‘tree resin’
	AIS (568): <i>tsónkine</i> (2: Busachi) ‘id.’

Both of these forms can go back to **ðònkine*. Milis *tsòunki* < **tsònkũ* < **tsònkini* has regular loss of intervocalic *-n-* and raising of final *-e* to *-i* (cf. e.g. *páí* < *pane* ‘bread’). Paulis (1992: 345) proposes a derivation from *tsònka* ‘scops owl (*Otus scops*)’ (§ 4.4.11), caused by a complex analogy to the similarity between *kuk-kumèle* ‘resin’ and *kukkéddu*, *kukkúu* ‘cuckoo (*Cuculus canorus* Linnaeus, 1758)’ in various Sardinian dialects. I think this is rather too far-fetched, and it is moreover not clear what the ending *-ine* (< **-ene*) would be. I regard its etymology as not yet clarified.

3.4.6 Sprout, bud, shoot

Reconstruction	Forms
* <i>ðérula</i>	DES (II: 589): <i>tséurra</i> (Camp.), <i>dzeúrra</i> (1: Cagliari), <i>ntsaúrru</i> (2: Domus de Maria) ‘sprout, bud, shoot’

These Sardinian forms go back regularly to original **ðérula* (DES II: 589). Whereas Wagner (DES II: 589) does not quite know what to derive this from, Paulis (1990: 616) plausibly proposes it to be a loan from Pun. *ζερα* ‘seed’,¹²⁴ cognate to Hebr. זֶרַע *zéra*, Akk. *zēru*, *zar’u* etc. ‘seed’, which was extended in Sardinian Latin with diminutive *-ula*. For the representation of Pun. *z-* by Srd. **ð-*, cf. § 8.1.2.

¹²⁴ Attested in the compound *ζεραφοίστ* ‘flax seed’ (Dioscorides Anazarbei 1907: 177).

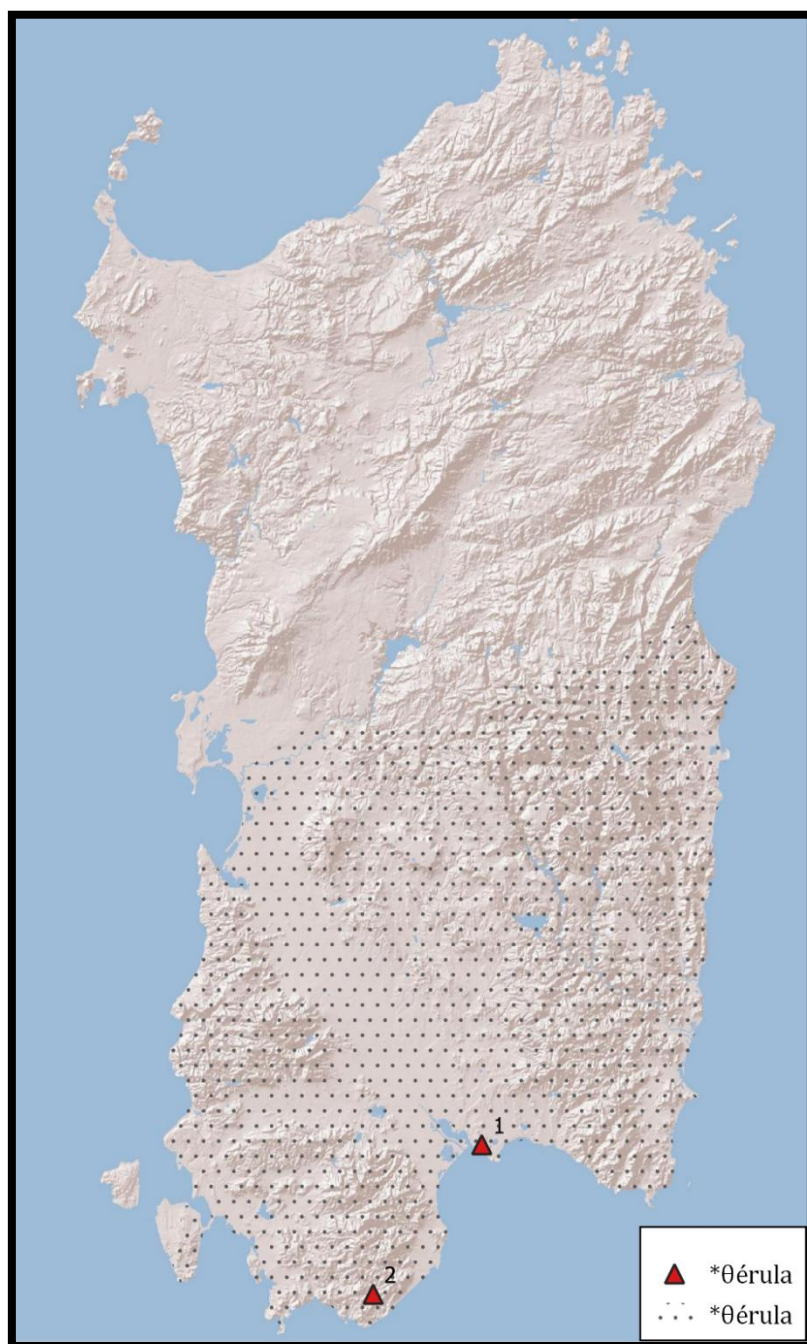


Figure 3.4.6: Sprout, bud, shoot

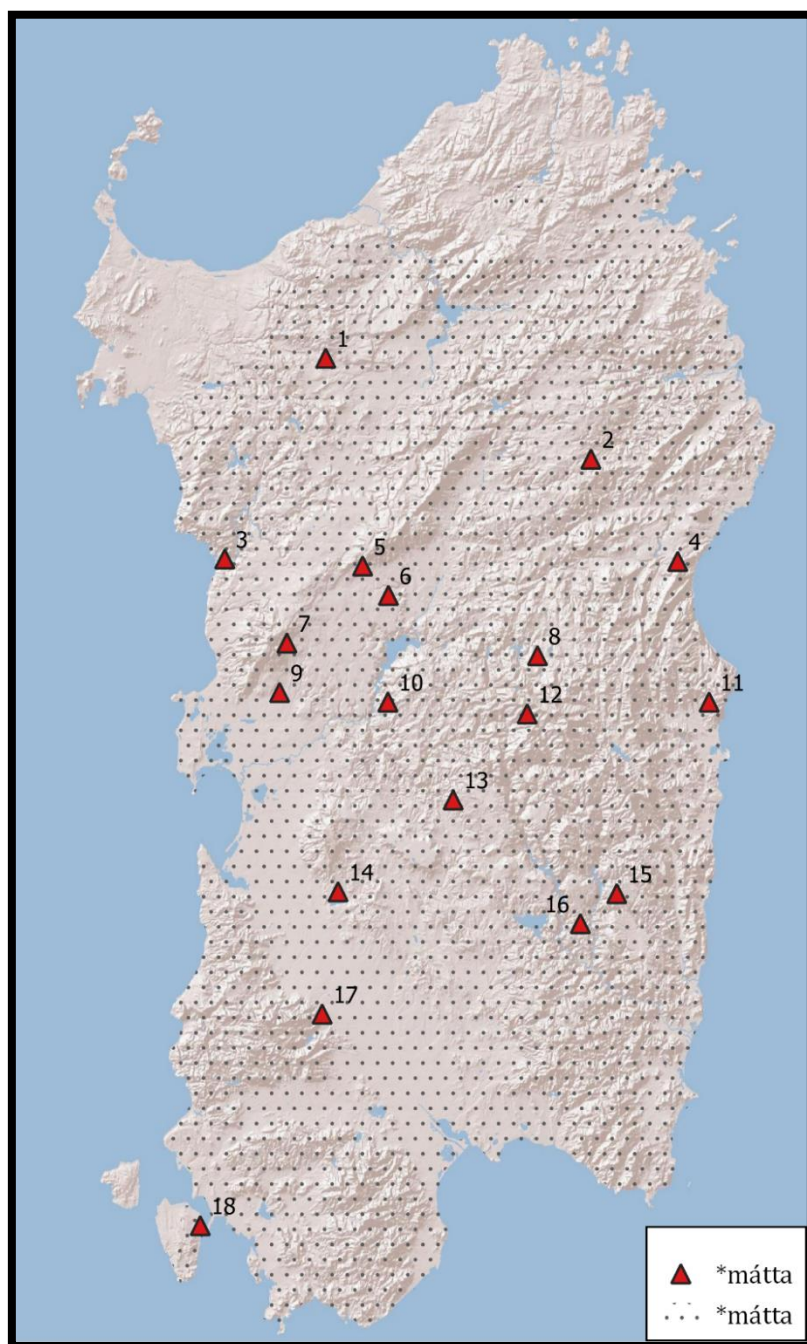


Figure 3.4.7: Tree, shrub

3.4.7 Tree, shrub

Reconstruction	Forms
* <i>mátta</i>	DES (II: 87): <i>mát(t)a</i> (Log., Camp.) ‘tree, plant, shrub’ AIS (531, 533): <i>mátta(s)</i> (4: Dorgali, 7: Santu Lussurgiu, 8: Fonni) ‘shrub(s)”; <i>mátta</i> (9: Milis, 10: Busachi, 11: Baunei, 13: Laconi, 14: Mogoro, 15: Perdasdefogu, 16: Escalaplano, 17: Villacidro, 18: Sant’Antioco) ‘tree’; <i>mattéðu</i> (1: Ploaghe) ‘shrub’; <i>mattièddas</i> (9: Milis, 10: Busachi), <i>mattièddas</i> (12: Desulo), <i>matizèddas</i> (13: Laconi, 14: Mogoro, 16: Escalaplano, 17: Villacidro), <i>matigèddas</i> (15: Perdasdefogu) ‘shrubs’ Hubschmid (1953: 33): <i>mata</i> (2: Bitti, 3: Bosa), <i>matta</i> (5: Bortigali, 6: Dualchi) ‘shrub’

This word has been connected with a large number of forms outside Sardinia, from the Iberian Peninsula, France, Italy and north Africa. The attested meanings range from ‘tree, shrub’ to ‘land covered by shrubs’ to ‘pile, bundle of wood/plants’ to ‘herd of animals’. REW (5424) and DCEC (III: 874–875) argue that all these forms go back to (late) Lat. *matta* ‘mat’, which in turn is perhaps a loan from Punic; cf. Hebr. מִטָּה *mita* ‘bed’ (DCEC III: 875). In Berber, Hubschmid (1953: 33) compares Snh., Rif. *tamaṭṭa*, ‘stack of sheaves that are to be threshed’ (cf. Renisio 1932: 385; Serhoual 2002: 329),¹²⁵ but this is most likely a loan from Moroccan Ar. *māṭṭa* ‘id.’ (de Prémare 1999: 222). Regardless of the ultimate origin of Lat. *matta*, it is most likely that the Sardinian forms, as well as all other Romance forms cited by REW and DCEC, simply go back to Latin, with various semantic developments.

3.4.8 Walnut (*Juglans regia*)

Reconstruction	Forms
* <i>kòkkoro</i>	DES (I: 356): <i>kòkkoro</i> (1: Sorgono, 2: Tonara, 3: Desulo, 4: Atzara, 5: Belvì, 6: Aritzo, 8: Seulo), <i>kòkkolo</i> (7: Meana Sardo) ‘walnut (<i>Juglans regia</i> L.)’

These forms have been compared to Tusc. *cóccoro* ‘big, round hazelnut’ (Castelnuovo di Garfagnana), Nap. *còccola* ‘walnut husk’, Laz. *kùkkere* ‘half of a walnut husk’ (Castro dei Volsci), Romagnol *cocla* ‘walnut’; Arag. *coca* ‘walnut’; Pg. *cócora* ‘cooked chestnut’ etc. (DES I: 356; Pittau 1995: 207).

¹²⁵ Cf. also Argiolas (2020: 49).

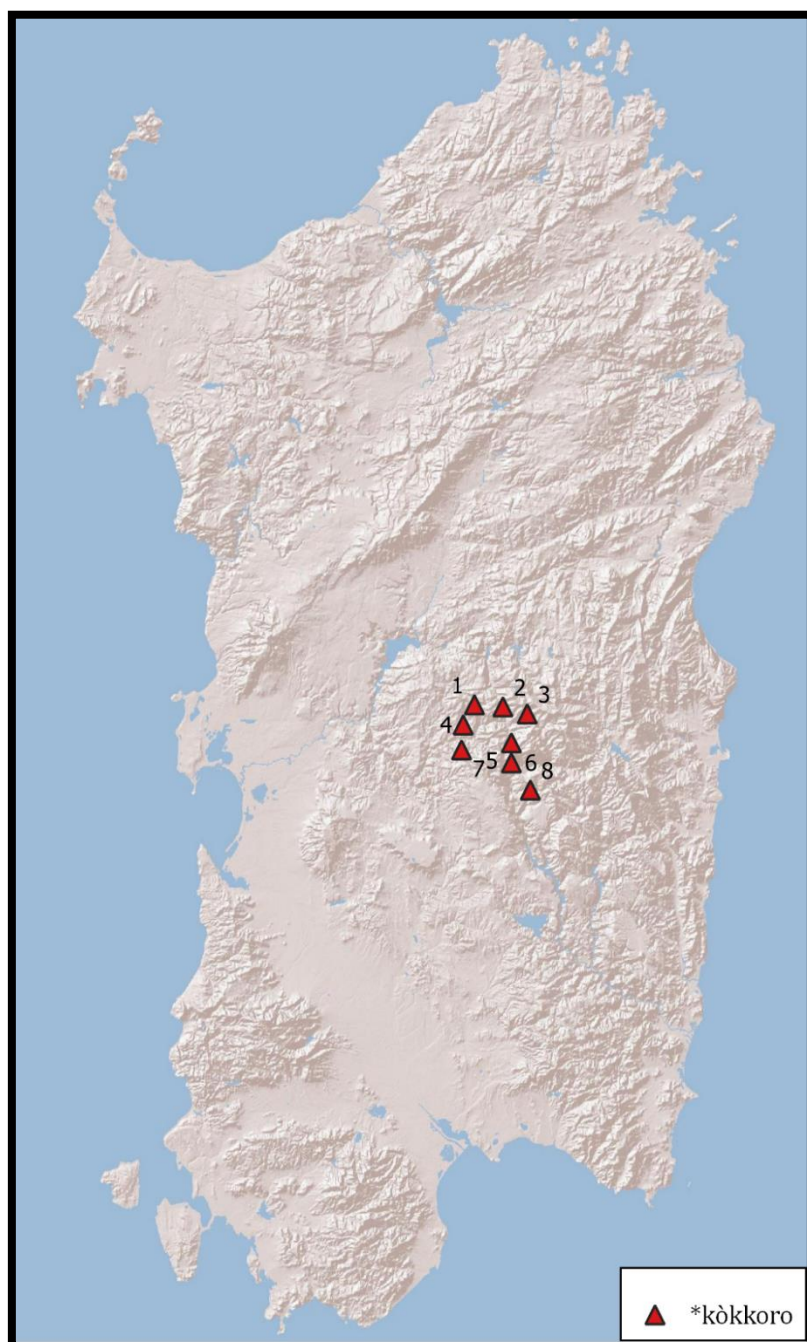


Figure 3.4.8: Walnut (*Juglans regia*)

However, on the basis of similar Sardinian forms that refer to generic round objects (e.g. Ogl., Barb. *kokoròni* ‘round object; bump’ etc.), Wagner (DES I: 357) proposes the Sardinian forms to ultimately go back to Lat. *coccum* ‘scarlet oak gall’. The non-inherited ending *-oro* could be an instance of productivity of an originally pre-Roman suffix (cf. § 9.2.6.2.5). The ending *-olo* in *kòkkolo* (7: Meana Sardo) is probably secondary.