



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

The pre-Roman elements of the Sardinian lexicon

Swanenvleugel, C.

Citation

Swanenvleugel, C. (2025, February 12). *The pre-Roman elements of the Sardinian lexicon*. LOT dissertation series. LOT, Amsterdam. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/4180290>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/4180290>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

4 Fauna

Like plant names, animal names figure prominently among the Sardinian lexicon of putative pre-Roman origin. The lemmata discussed in this chapter are divided into invertebrates (§ 4.1), fish (§ 4.2), reptiles (§ 4.3), birds (§ 4.4), and mammals (§ 4.5). The scientific names of the animal species discussed have been provided wherever possible.¹²⁶

4.1 Invertebrates

4.1.1 Ant

Reconstruction	Forms
* <i>kal̥iar-</i>	DES (I: 270): <i>kallarèd̥da</i> (1: San Nicolò Gerrei) ‘small light-coloured ant (“ <i>piccola formica bionda</i> ”), [<i>sa vrúmmiya</i>] <i>yallái</i> (2: Sant’Antioco) ‘small black ant’
	Puddu (2023: s.v. <i>callarèdha</i>): <i>callài</i> , <i>callagàlla</i> , <i>callarèdha</i> ‘type of ant; small ant’

These forms appear to go back to **kal̥iáre/i*, which has been extended with diminutive *-èd̥da* in San Nicolò Gerrei (1). Wagner (DES I: 270) suspects that this is a pre-Roman word. Apart from the lack of an etymology, there is no positive evidence for this.

¹²⁶ All zoological binomial names follow the naming conventions of the International Code of Zoological Nomenclature (ICZN 2024).

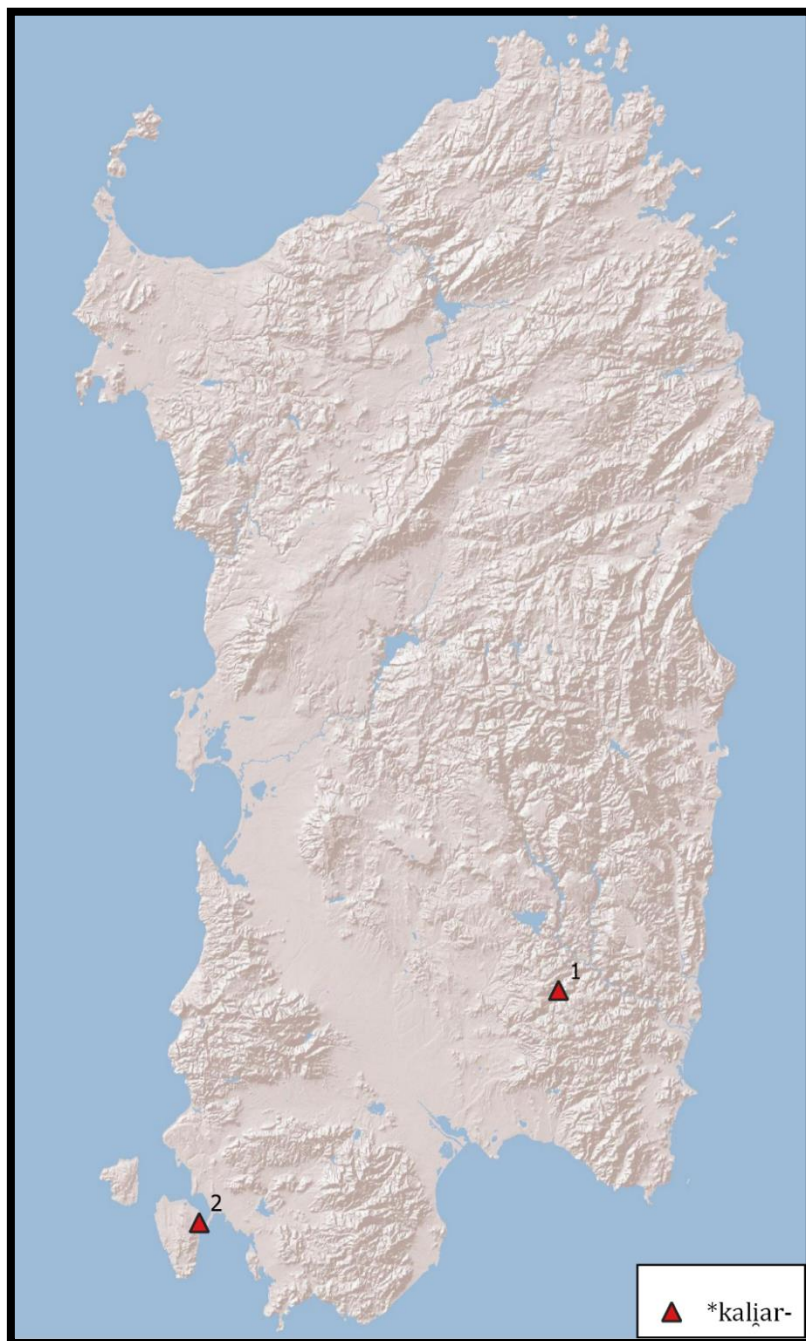


Figure 4.1.1: Ant

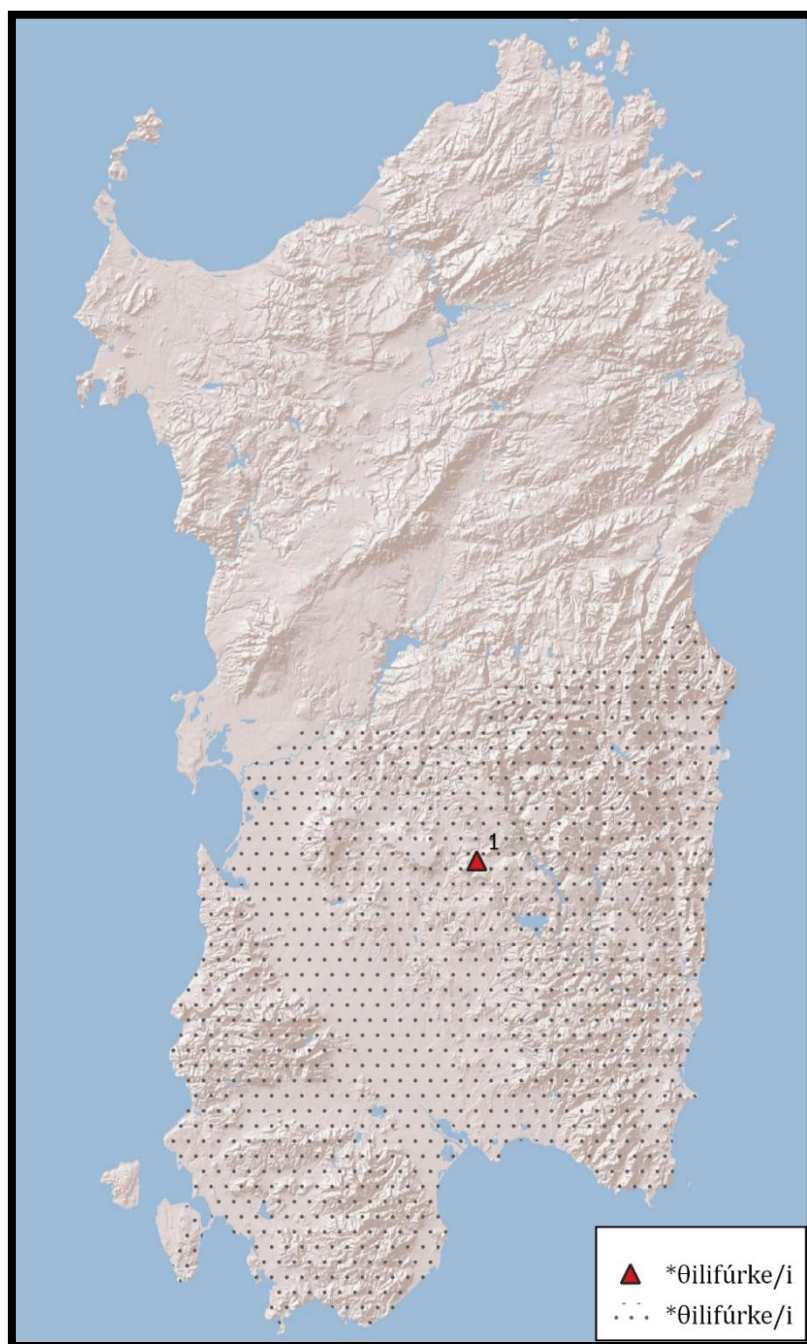


Figure 4.1.2: Backswimmer (*Notonecta glauca*)

4.1.2 Backswimmer (*Notonecta glauca*)

Reconstruction	Forms
* <i>ḡilifúrke/i</i>	DES (II: 595): <i>tsirifrúci</i> (Camp.) ‘backswimmer (<i>Notonecta glauca</i> Linnaeus, 1758)’ Marcialis (2005: 70): <i>zirifrúci</i> (1: Isili) ‘id.’

DES (II: 595) does not attribute this word to a specific location, other than Campidanese in general. Marcialis (2005: 70), however, specifically mentions that it is a word from Isili. Wagner (DES II: 595) suggests that the second part of this word (*-frúci* < **fúrči*) is derived from Srd. *fúrka* ‘pitchfork’ (cf. mainly Camp. dim. *furčidda* ‘fork’ and *fručiddai* ‘to bifurcate’; DES I: 559).¹²⁷ Although this is semantically imaginable on the basis of the shape of this animal, it is not clear why the final vowel would become *-i* or *-e* (both of which could be the source of *-i*). The initial part *tsiri-* is reminiscent of various other presumed pre-Roman words starting in *ḡili-*, *tili-*, *tsili-* etc., that often refer to native fauna (§ 9.1.2). In Isili, original intervocalic *-l-* is realized as pharyngeal /ʁ/ (Contini 1987: 559), which may have been transcribed by Marcialis as *-r-*.¹²⁸ In light of the typically pre-Roman element *tsiri-* < **ḡili-* and the formal difficulties in regularly deriving *-fruči* from Lat. *furca* ‘fork’, I suspect that this word is the result of a folk-etymological alteration of a substrate word starting in **ḡili-* and perhaps ending in *-(č)i*, with secondary remodeling after *fúrka*, dim. *furčidda* etc. ‘fork’.

4.1.3 Bed bug (*Cimex lectularius*)¹²⁹

Reconstruction	Forms
1: * <i>rústa</i>	DES (I: 428): <i>rústa</i> (1: Luras, 2: Olbia, 3: Monti, 4: Berchidda, 7: Pattada, 8: Buddusò, 11: Nule, 12: Orune, 14: Nuoro), <i>riúta</i> (6: Ozieri) ‘bed bug (<i>Cimex lectularius</i> Linnaeus, 1758); noxious animal, fox’
2: * <i>kurústa</i>	DES (I: 428): <i>kurústa</i> (5: Posada, 9: Siniscola, 10: Bitti, 13: Orosei), [<i>sa</i>] <i>ḡurústa</i> (15: Oliena), <i>koròsta</i> (NLog.) ‘bed bug (<i>Cimex lectularius</i>)’

This word generally refers to ‘bed bug’, but in some places to ‘pest’, and more specifically ‘fox’. The forms can be reduced to two bases: **kurústa* and **rústa*, neither of which can be explained in terms of Romance material. The vocalism *-o-* instead of *-u-* in *koròsta* is difficult to explain however. Wagner notes that

¹²⁷ Cf. Wagner (1941a: 235) for the common occurrence of *-r-* metathesis in Sardinian.

¹²⁸ Cf. Wagner’s (1941a: 122–121) transcription of this sound as *-r-*, and his description of it as “a shortly rolled uvular trill (*einen kurzgerollten uvularen Zitterlaut*)”.

¹²⁹ These data are discussed in a similar fashion in Swanenvleugel (2024: 239–241).

koròsta is attested by Casu in North Logudorese. But Casu (2011: s.v. *coròsta*) does not specify any information of this kind, so it is difficult to establish what the exact provenance within Logudorese of this word could be. Note that in North Logudorese we would also expect *-st-* to yield *-tt-*, which would most likely have been written as ***koròlta*. This form and its localization are thus somewhat uncertain.

Paulis (1990: 614) proposes to derive Srd. *kurústa* and *rústa* ‘bed bug’ from Lat. *crusta* ‘crust’, possibly influenced by *kúrma*, *kúruma* ‘rue (*Ruta graveolens*)’. Besides the semantic issues discussed in DES (I: 438), there are some formal objections to deriving *kurústa*, *rústa* from Lat. *crusta*. The regular outcome of Lat. *crusta* would be ***krústa* (cf. Srd. *krás* < Lat. *cras* ‘tomorrow’). Paulis argues that *rústa* could have behaved like Lat. *crux* ‘cross’, whose onset consonant was voiced early on to *gruke*, eventually yielding Nuor. *rúke*, Log. *rúye*, Camp. *grúzi*. However, there is only a handful of words that, like *crux*, show initial voicing early enough to be continued as such in all Sardinian dialects (Wagner 1941a: 206). Moreover, neither *crusta* nor **grusta* can easily explain *kurústa*. Paulis’ suggestion that this word would have undergone influence from *kúrma*, *kúruma* ‘rue’ (because this plant was presumably used to fight bed bugs), does not solve much, because we would rather expect initially stressed ***kúrusta* vel sim. Moreover, Wagner observes that Srd. *kurústa*, *rústa* does not refer to ‘bed bugs’ everywhere. This makes a derivation from Lat. *crusta* ‘crust’, as well as influence from *kúruma* ‘rue (used to fight bed bugs)’ semantically more difficult. As such, Lat. *crusta* can in the end probably not be the source of this word. I rather prefer to follow Wagner’s suggestion that this may be a word of pre-Roman origin. Taken at face value, the coexistence of *kurústa* and *rústa* suggests the presence of an element **kV-*, which is also found in other words of suspected pre-Roman origin (§ 09.1.1).

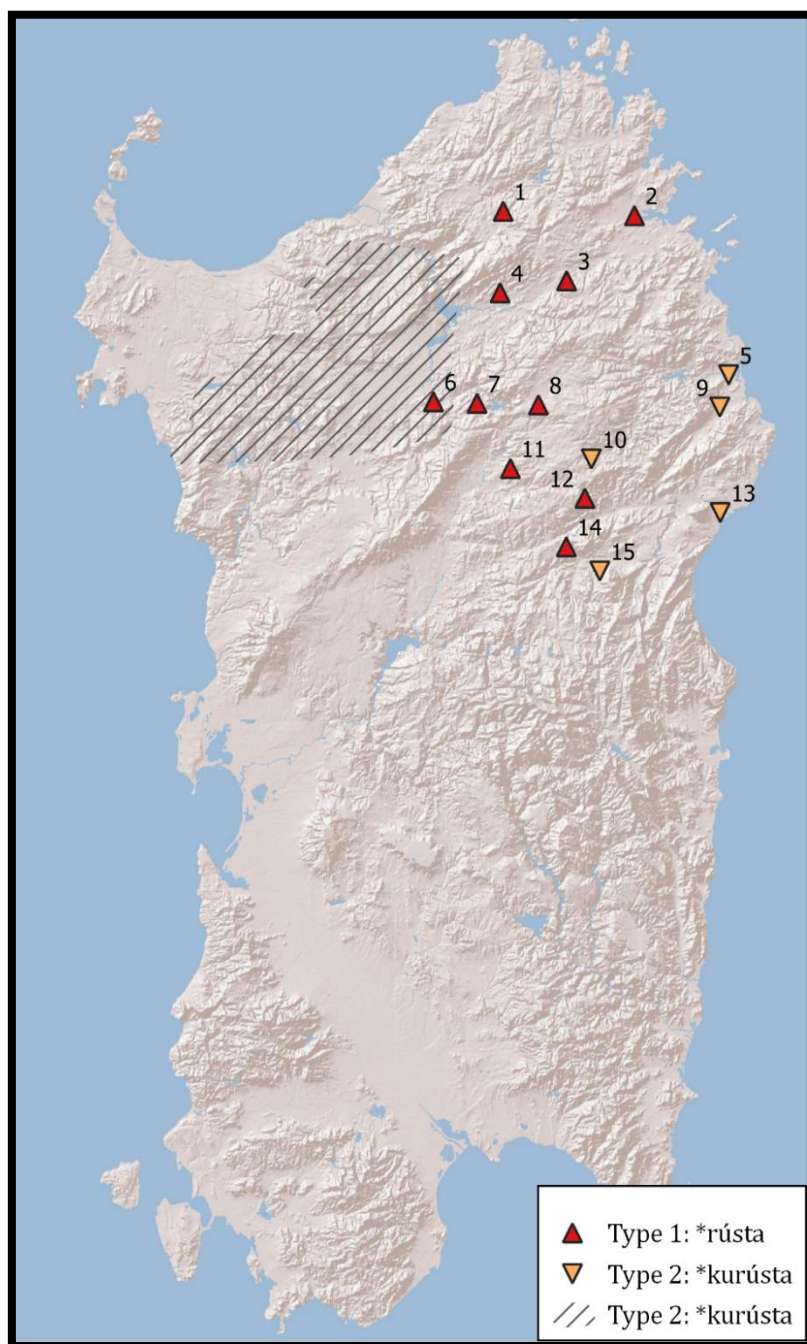


Figure 4.1.3: Bed bug (*Cimex lectularia*)

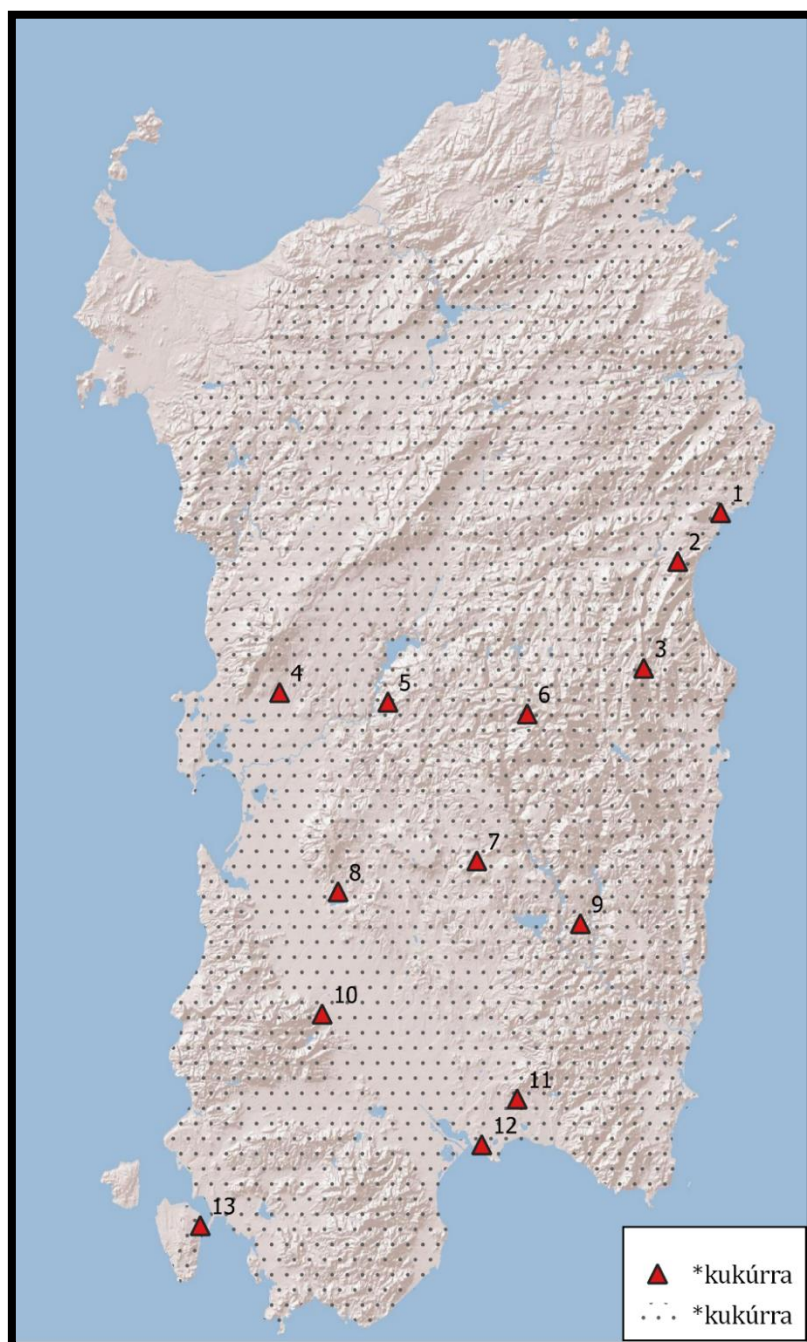


Figure 4.1.4: Caterpillar; earwig (*Forficula auricularia*)

4.1.4 Caterpillar; earwig (*Forficula auricularia*)

Reconstruction	Forms
* <i>kukúrra</i>	DES (I: 419–420): <i>kukúrra</i> (Nuor.), <i>kuyúrra</i> (Log., Camp.) ‘caterpillar, earwig (<i>Forficula auricularia</i> Linnaeus, 1758)’; <i>kukúrra</i> [<i>vóina</i>] (1: Orosei), <i>kuhúrra</i> [<i>bóina</i>] (2: Dorgali), [<i>sa</i>] <i>huhurra</i> [<i>óina</i>] (3: Urzulei) ‘scorpion’; <i>kuyúrra</i> (Planargia reg., Camp.) ‘security knot on a noose that prevents it from strangling a draft animal; slipknot; tangle’
	AIS (468; 481): [<i>sa</i>] <i>yuyúrra</i> (4: Milis, 5: Busachi, 6: Desulo, 8: Mogoro, 10: Villacidro, 12: Cagliari), [<i>sa</i>] <i>yuyúrra</i> [<i>vručiddáða</i>] (9: Escalaplano) ‘earwig’; [<i>sa</i>] <i>yuyúrra</i> (8: Mogoro, 10: Villacidro, 13: Sant’Antioco) ‘caterpillar’
	Marcialis (2005: 34): <i>cugúrra</i> ‘caterpillar, earwig’, <i>cugurra</i> [<i>a coa frucidada</i>] (7: Isili) ‘large earwig’, <i>cugurra</i> [<i>de centu peis</i>] (11: Sinnai) ‘millipede’s
	Casu (2011: s.v. <i>cugúrra</i>): <i>cugúrra</i> ‘noose, knot that prevents a noose from tightening; earwig’

The basic meaning of this word appears to have been ‘caterpillar’ (Schuchardt 1910; DES I: 419–420). It was extended to other oblong arthropods such as ‘earwigs’ (at times specified by *fručiddáða* ‘forked’), ‘scorpions’ (with addition of *bóina* ‘bovine’) and ‘millipedes’. The meaning ‘tangle; security knot on a noose’ can probably be understood as a further semantic extension. Wagner (DES I: 419–420) rejects Schuchardt’s (1910) proposal to derive all of these forms from Lat. *cōchlea* ‘snail’, since this word is already continued regularly in Sardinian as *kròka*, *kròga* ‘snail’. Instead he proposes a pre-Roman origin, because of the presence of the supposed suffix *-úrra* and of the fact that *Cugurra* is attested in the Condaghe di Santa Maria di Bonarcado as a personal name (Virdis 2003: secs. 104, 115, 136). These are not the strongest arguments, but the peculiar structure of this word makes a pre-Roman origin plausible nonetheless. Wagner (DES I: 419–420) further compares Prov. *coucouro* ‘cockchafer (*Melolontha melolontha*)’ and Prov., Sp. *cuco* ‘caterpillar’. However, Gallo-Romance forms similar to *coucouro* are derived by FEW (II: 1563) from Lat. *curculiō*, *gurguliō* ‘corn-worm’. For the comparison to Sp. *cuco*, an analysis of Srd. *kukúrra* as **kuk-úrra* is essential, but the evidence for *-*úrra* as a suffix is very slim (cf. § 9.2.7). As such, Srd. **kukúrra* remains isolated. Superficially similar in form is Lat. *curculiō*, *gurguliō* ‘corn-worm; weevil’, which is regularly inherited in Sardinian as Log. *gruyudzòne*, Camp. *gruyullòni* etc. ‘weevil’ (cf. DES I: 594), but this may be due to coincidence.

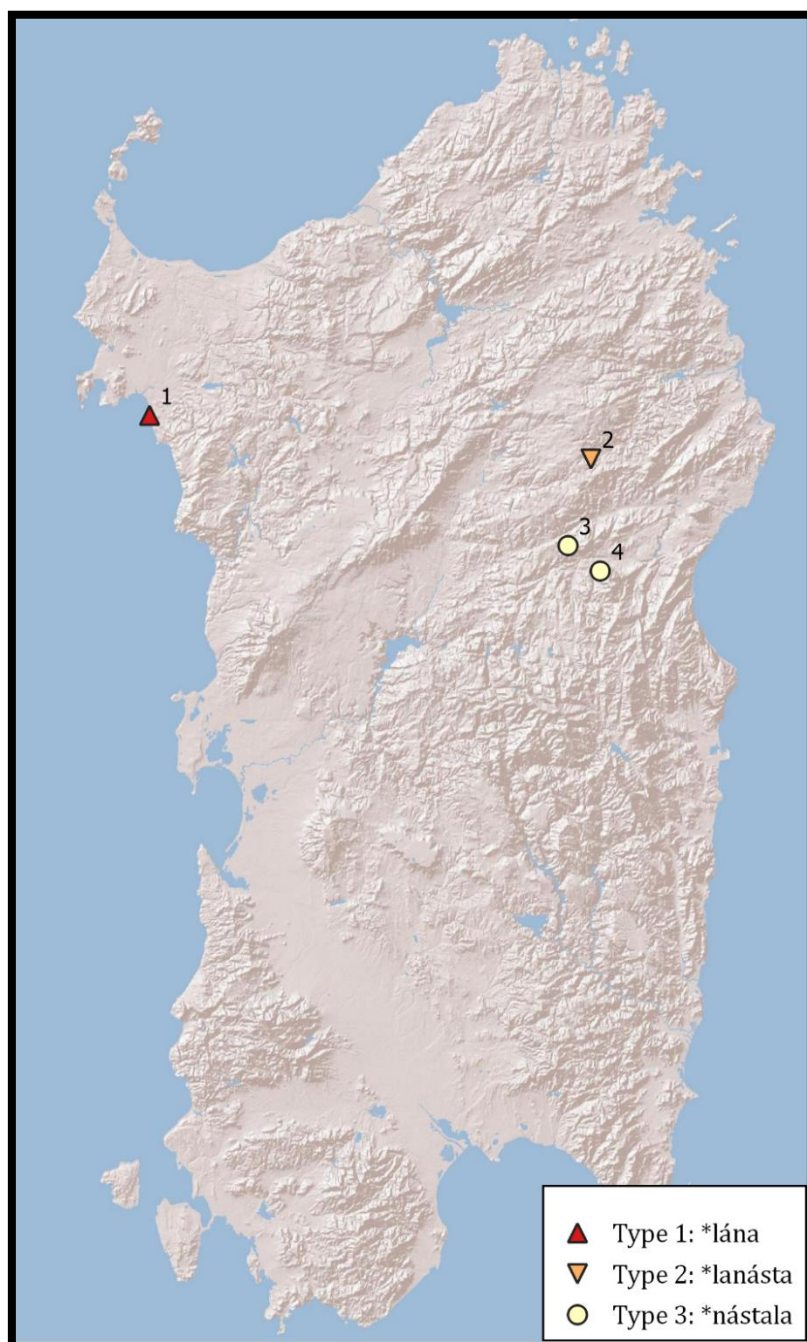


Figure 4.1.5: Clothes moth (*Tineidae* sp.)

4.1.5 Clothes moth (*Tineidae*)

Reconstruction	Forms
1: * <i>lána</i>	DES (II: 9–10): <i>lána</i> (1: Alghero) ‘woodworm’
2: * <i>lanásta</i>	DES (II: 9–10): <i>lanásta</i> (2: Bitti) ‘clothes moth (<i>Tineidae</i> Latreille, 1810)’
3: * <i>nástala</i>	DES (II: 9–10): <i>nástala</i> (3: Nuoro, 4: Oliena), <i>nástula</i> (3: Nuoro) ‘clothes moth (<i>Tineidae</i>)’

Hubschmid (1949: 245) analyzes type 2 as a derivation from type 1, with addition of a pre-Roman suffix *-st-* (§ 9.2.9). *Nástala* ‘clothes moth’ would be the result of a metathesis from *lanásta*. One can but agree with Wagner (DES II: 9–10), however, that it is more attractive to assume that inherited *lána* ‘wool’ played some role in *lanásta* ‘clothes moth’, as these animals feed on wool. Since type 2 is somewhat more restricted in its distribution and since the proposed development *lanásta* >> *nástala* is more complex than only a metathesis, it is tempting to see *lanásta* as an innovation from original *nástala*, aided by the association of these animals to *lána* ‘wool’. If this is correct, the connection to *lána* ‘woodworm’ must be abandoned, as well as the identification of a **-st-* suffix. It must be stressed however that the attestations for all three forms are rather restricted, which makes detailed analysis of the possible origins of these words difficult. It is in any case clear that neither *lanásta* nor *nástala* goes back to a Latin source. Nor can *lanásta* have been derived from *lána* wool, since *-st-* is not a productive suffix in Latin or Sardinian (and even the evidence for it being a pre-Roman suffix is slim; § 9.2.9). A pre-Roman origin for this word is possible, but there is little positive evidence for it. Similar in structure are the forms going back to **lakasta* and **ladaska* ‘tick’ found in Occitan dialects, whose origins are not fully clarified (FEW V: 127–128; Hubschmid 1949: 244–245; Bertoldi 1952). It is formally difficult, however, to explain them and the Sardinian forms from a common source.

4.1.6 Cockroach (*Blatta orientalis*); cockchafer (*Melolontha melolontha*); darkling beetle (*Blaps sp.*)

Reconstruction	Forms
* <i>meláke</i>	DES (II: 101): <i>meláye</i> (2: Oschiri) ‘cockroach (<i>Blatta orientalis</i> Linnaeus, 1758)’
	Casu (2011: s.v. <i>melàghe</i>): <i>melàghe</i> ‘cockchafer (<i>Melolontha melolontha</i> Linnaeus, 1758), beetle’
	Marcialis (2005: 43, 44): <i>malangoni</i> (1: Tempio Pausania), <i>melogi</i> (3: Ozieri) ‘darkling beetle (<i>Blaps sp.</i> Fabricius 1775)’

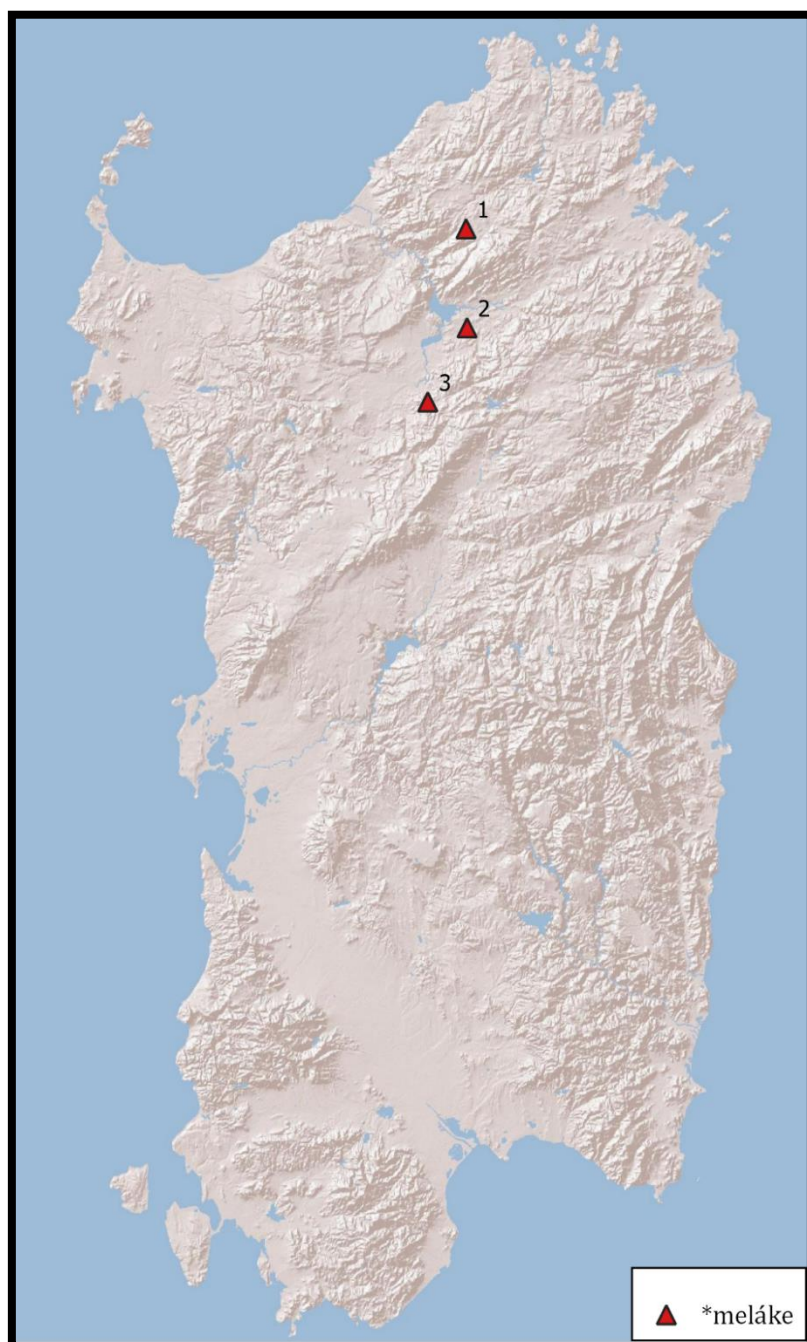


Figure 4.1.6: Cockroach (*Blatta orientalis*); cockchafer (*Melolontha melolontha*); darkling beetle (*Blaps sp.*)

Wagner (DES II: 101) proposes the words above to be derived from Gr. μέλας by means of a pre-Roman suffix *-ake*, supposedly from the ancient Greek that was spoken in the colony of Olbia, in the island's northeast corner. The element *-áke* appears in several other words of potential pre-Roman origin as well (§ 9.2.2.1).¹³⁰ However, there are several problems with this proposal. The stem of Gr. μέλας is not μέλα- or μέλ-, but μέλαν- (cf. gen.sg. μέλανος), so we would rather expect ***melanáke vel sim.*, if the derivation was made within Greek. Moreover, Greek μέλλαξ, μέλακες is in fact attested, but it means 'young man' (Chantraine 1933: 379–380), which is difficult to connect with 'beetle/cockroach'.¹³¹ Paulis (1983: 52), on the other hand, suggests a Byzantine Greek origin, noting that similar forms refer to the same animal species in southern Italy: Salento *melôta*, *malòke* etc. 'cockroach' (cf. also AIS 472). This scenario is probably more attractive than a loan from ancient Greek, as Wagner (DES II: 101) proposes.

4.1.7 Cockroach (*Blatta orientalis*)₂; giant darkling beetle (*Blaps gigas*)

Reconstruction	Forms
1: * <i>sisáia</i>	DES (II: 421): <i>sisáya</i> (1: Olbia, 3: Monti, 5: Siniscola, 8: Bitti, 14: Nuoro, 16: Dorgali, 17: Oliena), <i>sesáya</i> (4: Ploaghe, 10: Bonorva), <i>sasáya</i> (6: Mores, 12: Orosei), <i>sisáddza</i> (9: Nule, 13: Bolotana), <i>sisáġa</i> (11: Bono), <i>sašáġa</i> (15: Bosa, 18: Macomer) 'cockroach (<i>Blatta orientalis</i>); giant darkling beetle (<i>Blaps gigas</i> Linnaeus, 1767)' Marcialis (2005: 59, 60): <i>sašáya</i> ("northern"), <i>sasaġa</i> (15: Bosa), <i>sisaiia</i> (17: Oliena) 'darkling beetle (<i>Blaps sp.</i>)'
2: * <i>seisèi</i>	DES (II: 402, 412): <i>sèsè</i> (18: Macomer) 'butterfly', <i>seisèi</i> (19: Seui) 'longhorn beetle (<i>Cerambycidae sp.</i> Latreille, 1802)' Marcialis (2005: 60): <i>sei sèi</i> (Ogl.) 'longhorn beetle (<i>Cerambycidae sp.</i>)'
3: * <i>babbasáiu</i>	DES (II: 421): <i>babbasáyu</i> (2: Tempio Pausania), <i>babbasáu</i> (7: Thiesi) 'cockroach (<i>Blatta orientalis</i>); giant darkling beetle (<i>Blaps gigas</i>)'

The base form of these words meaning 'cockroach, darkling beetle' is likely continued by type 1, which is most widely attested.

¹³⁰ Greek *-ακ-*, *-ᾱκ-* too is considered to be pre-Greek by Chantraine (1933: 376) and Beekes (2014: 31).

¹³¹ For the homonymy between cockroaches and beetles, going back to classical times, see Beavis (1988: 80–81).

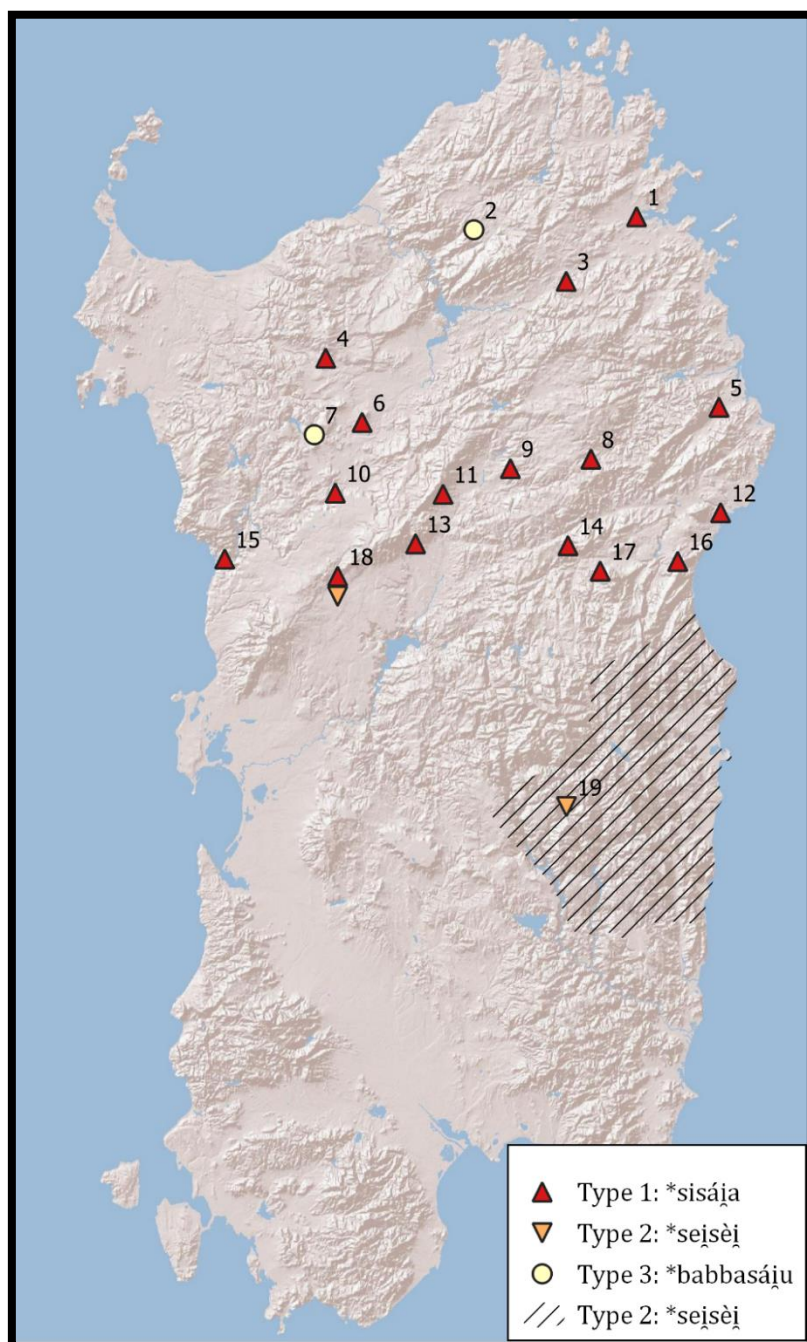


Figure 4.1.7: Cockroach (*Blatta orientalis*); giant darkling beetle (*Blaps gigas*)

The pretonic vowel alternations found in *sešáya*, *sašáya* etc. can be explained as the result of assimilation of the *-i-* to the accented syllable. *Babbašáyu* and *babbašáu* contain the element *babba-* that is often found in words for insects (cf. DES I: 161–62). Wagner (DES II: 402) considers this word pre-Roman, with which I tend to agree, on the basis of its peculiar phonological shape. Rather similar in shape is type 2. Wagner (DES II: 402) explains it as an “infantile formation”. However, in light of the similarities of this word to *sisáya* etc. and their close semantic proximity, it is unattractive to separate these two words. The variant *seišèi* may indicate that this word originally ended in a diphthong *-éi*, which is also found in numerous pre-Roman Sardinian toponyms (§ 9.2.1) (cf. Wolf 1998a: 53–55). Finally, there is also *sèšè* ‘butterfly’ in Macomer (18), which is similar to Ogl. *seišèi* ‘longhorn beetle’. However, the meaning ‘butterfly’ is further removed, and in Macomer we also find *sašáġa* ‘cockroach’. We must probably depart from an original **sisèi*/**sisáġi* ‘cockroach, beetle’ to explain the forms discussed above. Secondary remodelings of “infantile” nature (cf. DES I: 402) cannot be excluded. Wagner (1997: 256–257) compares Bq. *sits*, *sats* ‘(clothes) moth’ and *sats* ‘trash’.¹³² Mayer Modena (1989: 11–12) further compares Akk. *sāsu*, Hebr. *sās* ‘moth’ < PSem. **sā/ūs-* (cf. Kogan 2012a: 213).¹³³ Semantically, the Sardinian forms are farther removed, referring to cockroaches and beetles rather than to moths, although associations between cockroaches and moths are historically known (Beavis 1988: 80–84). Formally, the corresponding sequence is too short (viz. **sVs-*) to confidently rule out chance correspondence between the forms involved.

¹³² For the meaning of these words, cf. EH (566b, 574b).

¹³³ Gr. *σῆς* ‘moth’ may be a Semitic loan (Lewy 1895: 16–17).

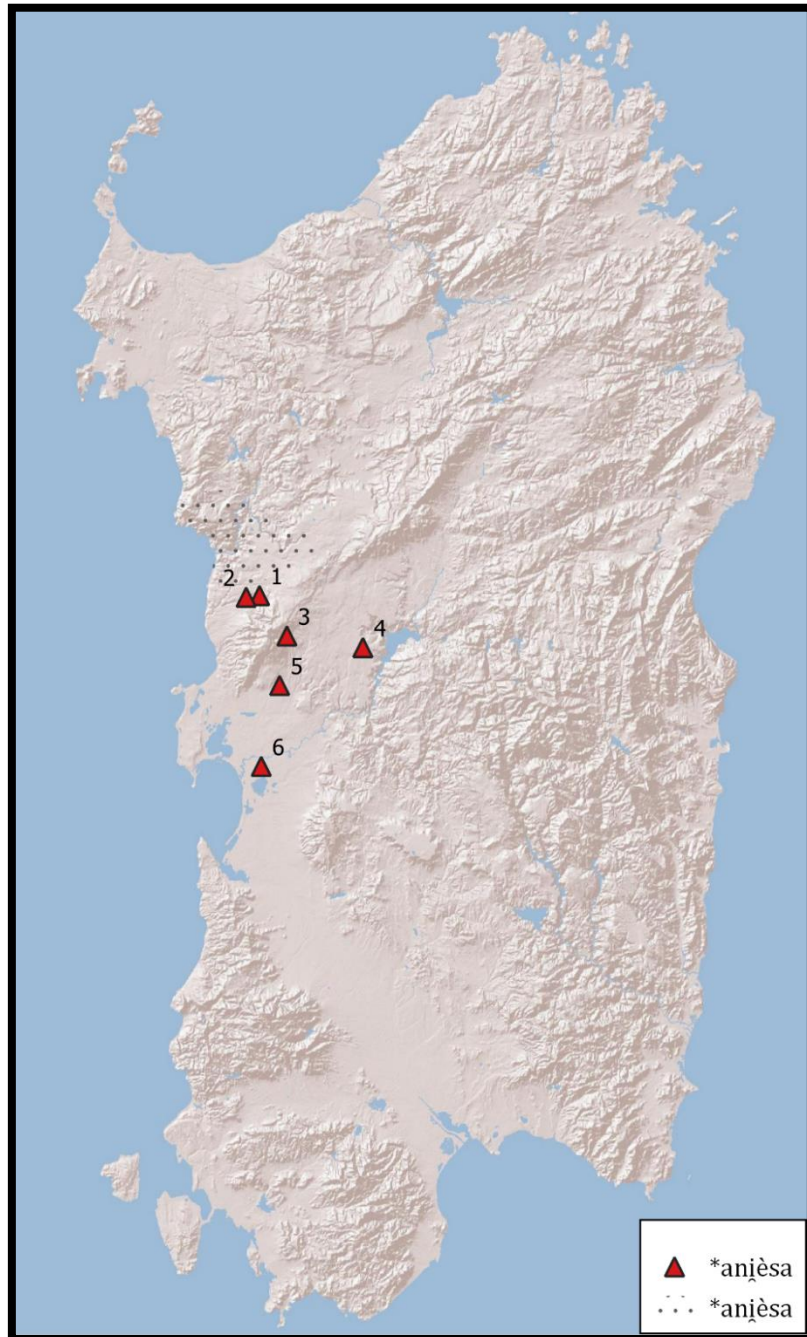


Figure 4.1.8: Cricket

4.1.8 Cricket

ReconstructionForms

*anjàsa	DES (I: 97): <i>andzèsa</i> (Planargia reg., 1: Scano di Montiferro, 2: Sennariolo, 6: Ghilarza, 7: Milis) ‘great green bushcricket (<i>Tettigonia viridissima</i> Linnaeus, 1758)’, <i>andzèsa</i> (3: Santu Lussurgiu) ‘type of cricket (<i>Gryllus sp.</i> Linnaeus, 1758)’, <i>anğèsa</i> (6: Oristano) ‘cicada (<i>Cicada sp.</i> Linnaeus, 1758)’ Marcialis (2005: 14): <i>angesa</i> (6: Oristano) ‘oil beetle (<i>Meloe proscarabaeus</i> Linnaeus, 1758)’
----------------	---

All forms listed above are from the central portion of the Sardinian west coast, and they all go back to **anjàsa*, without any phonological variation. Wagner (DES I: 97) considers this word “probably pre-Roman”, probably because of the lack of an etymology. The homogeneity of the Sardinian forms makes any further analysis impossible.

4.1.9 Dragonfly; grasshopper

Reconstruction Forms

1: *pilike	DES (II: 265): [<i>káḍḍ’ e</i>] <i>pilikke</i> (1: Siniscola) ‘dragonfly’
2: *ṡimpilike	DES (II: 547): <i>tsimpilíye</i> (2: Ovodda) ‘grasshopper’

The name for the dragonfly in Siniscola (2) literally means “horse of *pilikke*”. This formation corresponds to other insect names such as *káḍḍu ‘e déus* (Désulo) ‘praying mantis’ (litt. “horse of God”), *káḍḍu ‘e déu* (Luras), *káḍḍu ‘e demóniu* (Posada) ‘dragonfly’ (respectively “horse of god” and “demon horse”), and many others (DES I: 323–324). Outside Sardinia, Wagner (DES I: 323–324) cites Ar. فرس الشيطان (*faras aš-šayṭān*) ‘praying mantis’ (litt. “devil’s horse”), and various similar Romance formations can also be found (FEW II: 12); cf. further also It. *cavalletta* ‘grasshopper’ (litt. “little horse”).¹³⁴ Whatever the origin of this *Benennungsmotiv*, it raises the suspicion that the element *pilikke* (< **pilike*) in *káḍḍ’ e pilikke* did originally not necessarily mean ‘dragonfly’, but that it could refer to some spiritual entity, be it a god or a demon. On the other hand, we may compare *tsimpilíye* (2: Ovodda), which means ‘grasshopper’ and which looks like **pilike* preceded by a **ṡi*-prefix (§ 9.1.2).¹³⁵

¹³⁴ In light of these formations, an interpretation of *čerβúsku* (Desulo) ‘grasshopper’ as a derivation from *čerβu* ‘deer’ is not at all “bold”, as Wagner (DES I: 446) calls his own proposal. A pre-Roman origin for his word is not necessary.

¹³⁵ For nasal insertions, cf. Wagner (1941a: 223).

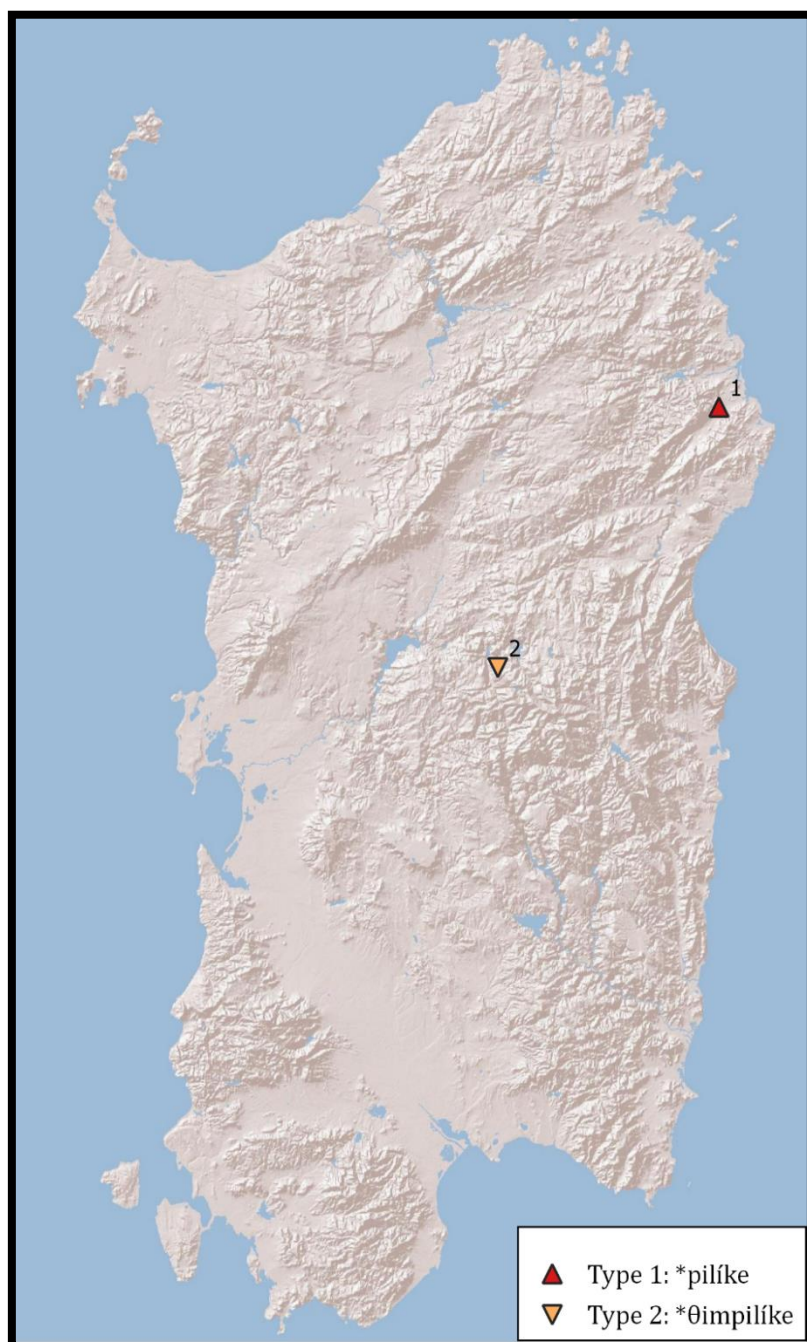


Figure 4.1.9: Dragonfly; grasshopper

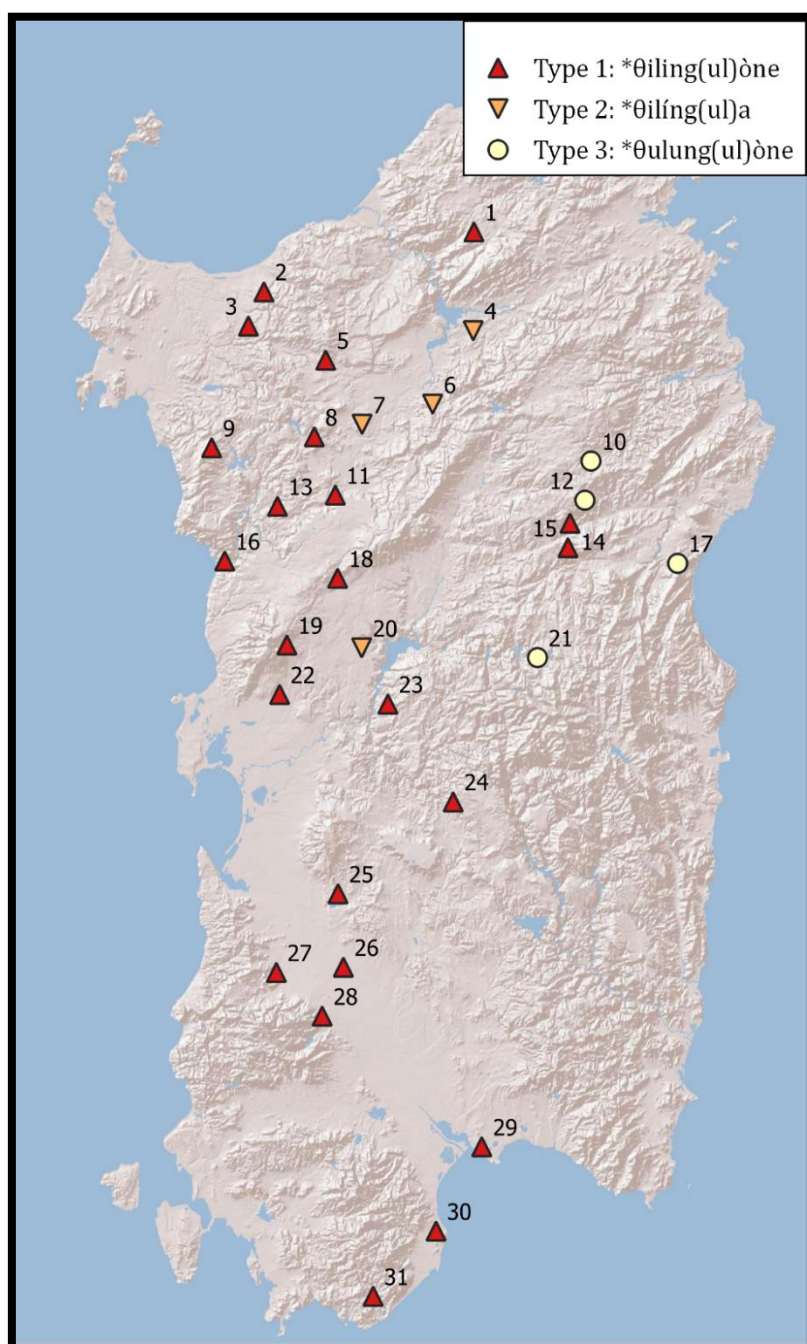
If this form is related, **pilike* could be referring to an insect rather than to a spiritual entity after all. Besides *tsimpil̥ye*, there are many forms of the similar type **ḡilipírke* referring ‘grasshopper’ in the Sardinian dialects (§ 4.1.12). The fact that *káḡḡ’ e déu* etc. refers both to dragonflies and praying mantises, makes an etymological connection between [*káḡḡ’ e*] *pilíkke* ‘dragonfly’ and *tsimpil̥ye* ‘grasshopper’ plausible as well. If they are indeed related, the presence of **ḡi-* in the second form is strong evidence that these words entered Sardinian from a pre-Roman language spoken on the island.

4.1.10 Earthworm (*Lumbricus terrestris*)¹³⁶

Reconstruction	Forms
1: * <i>ḡiling(ul)òne</i>	DES (II: 555–556): <i>tsirinòni</i> (1: Tempio Pausania), <i>attaltingòne</i> ¹³⁷ (2: Sennori), <i>tiringòni</i> (3: Sassari), <i>tilingòne</i> (5: Ploaghe, 11: Bonorva), <i>attilingòne</i> (8: Thiesi), <i>attolingòne</i> (9: Villanove Monteleone), <i>atterringòne</i> (13: Padria), <i>ḡilingròne</i> (14: Lollove, 15: Nuoro), <i>tilingròne</i> (18: Macomer), <i>tsilingòne</i> (19: Santu Lussurgiu, 23: Busachi), <i>tsiakingòì</i> (22: Milis), <i>tsiringòne</i> (24: Laconi), <i>tsirringòì</i> (25: Mogoro), <i>tsiringòì</i> (26: San Gavino Monreale), <i>sittsiringòni</i> (27: Guspini), <i>tsiringòì</i> (28: Villacidro), <i>tsirringòni</i> (30: Sarroch), <i>tserringòni</i> (31: Domus de Maria) ‘earthworm (<i>Lumbricus terrestris</i> Linnaeus, 1758)’ AIS (457): [<i>lu</i>] <i>tsiriñòni</i> (1: Tempio Pausania) ‘earthworm (<i>Lumbricus terrestris</i>)’ Marcialis (2005: 65, 114): <i>tilingòne</i> (16: Bosa) ‘earthworm (<i>Lumbricus terrestris</i>)’, <i>ziringòni</i> (29: Cagliari) ‘various kinds of marine worms; fish bait’
2: * <i>ḡilíng(ul)a</i>	DES (II: 555–556): <i>tilíng̃a</i> (4: Oschiri, 7: Mores), <i>attulíng̃a</i> (6: Ozieri), <i>tsilíngu</i> (20: Norbello) ‘earthworm (<i>Lumbricus terrestris</i>)’
3: * <i>ḡulung(ul)òne</i>	DES (II: 555–556): <i>ḡurunkròne</i> (10: Bitti), <i>ḡulunkòne</i> (12: Orune), <i>ḡulungròne</i> (17: Dorgali, 21: Fonni) ‘earthworm (<i>Lumbricus terrestris</i>)’ Marcialis (2005: 64): <i>sullungòne</i> ‘earthworm (<i>Lumbricus terrestris</i>)’

¹³⁶ These data are discussed in a similar fashion in Swanenvleugel (2024: 251–252).

¹³⁷ Like this in DES. I suspect that the *-lt-* in *attaltingòne* is a typographical error for *-l-*.

Figure 4.1.10: Earthworm (*Lumbricus terrestris*)

This word for ‘earthworm’ is widely distributed on Sardinia. All forms contain **ḡiling-* (type 1, 2) or **ḡulung-* (type 3). In all types, most forms have been suffixed with **-(u)l-*; e.g. *tilingḡòne* < **ḡiling(u)lòne* and *ḡulungròne* < **ḡulung(u)lòne*. It is possible that the presence of **-(u)l-* is original, and that it has been lost in the few forms that lack it. In the Campidanese dialects, loss of *-r-* is common (Wagner 1941a: 161). Most forms contain the suffix *-òne*, with the exception of the forms in type 2. As for the vocalism, it is attractive to explain the difference between *-i-i-* (type 1) and *-u-u-* (type 3) as the result of some assimilation or dissimilation of pretonal vowels. The original vocalism is likely that of *tilínḡa* etc. (type 2), where *-í-* is stressed. The *-u-* vocalism of type 3 may be due to assimilation to the rounded vowel of stressed *-òne*. We may thus reconstruct this word as **ḡiling(u)l-(òne)*. There is little doubt that this word is of pre-Roman origin. Although there is no direct evidence for the identification of **ḡi-* as a genuine prefix in this word (§ 9.1.2), it patterns well with the other discussed instances of **ḡi-* both morphologically and semantically. Guarnerio (1904a: 61) compares Lomb. *lingöri* (Verbania), Lad. *lingiola* (Val Gardena) ‘lizard’. Although these words are formally similar, their diverging semantics cast doubt on this comparison.

4.1.11 Grasshopper₁

Reconstruction	Forms
1: * <i>pīpīḡīri</i>	DES (II: 259): <i>pīḡintsīri</i> (1: Ghilarza, 2: Bonarcado), <i>pīḡirittsīri</i> (3: Seneghe), <i>pīḡittsēri</i> (4: Milis), <i>pīḡittsīri</i> (Camp., 5: Busachi, 8: Samugheo, 10: Gadoni) ‘grasshopper’ Marcialis (2005: 51): <i>pībizzīri</i> (20: Cagliari) ‘id.’ AIS (466): [su] <i>ḡiḡittssīri</i> (14: Mogoro), [su] <i>ḡippitsīri</i> (18: Villacidro), [su] <i>ḡiḡitsīri</i> (20: Cagliari) ‘id.’
2: * <i>pīpīḡīa/u</i>	DES (II: 259): <i>pīḡiḡḡīa</i> (6: Baunei), <i>pīḡiḡḡīu</i> (7: Villagrande Strisaili, 9: Arzana, 19: Villaputzu), <i>pīḡittsū</i> (11: Laconi, 16: Escalaplano, 17: San Nicolò Gerrei), <i>pīḡissū</i> (12: Gairo, 13: Bari Sardo, 15: Perdasdefogu), <i>pīḡisū</i> (21: Sant’Antioco) ‘id.’

Both types of this word contain an element **pīpīḡḡ(ī)-*. Those of type 1 end in *-īri*, while those in type 2 end in *-ū* or *-īa*. The sequence **-ḡi-* that is present in both types, cannot go back to any sequence inherited from Latin. Wagner (DES II: 259) proposes a sound-symbolic origin, after the sound these insects make. Although this cannot fully be excluded, this word exhibits suspiciously little formal variation for a sound-symbolic formation. Moreover, the presence of **-ḡ-* (§ 8.1.1), the ending *-īri* (§ 9.2.6.2), and the peculiar overall structure of this word are reminiscent of other forms for which a pre-Roman origin has been proposed.

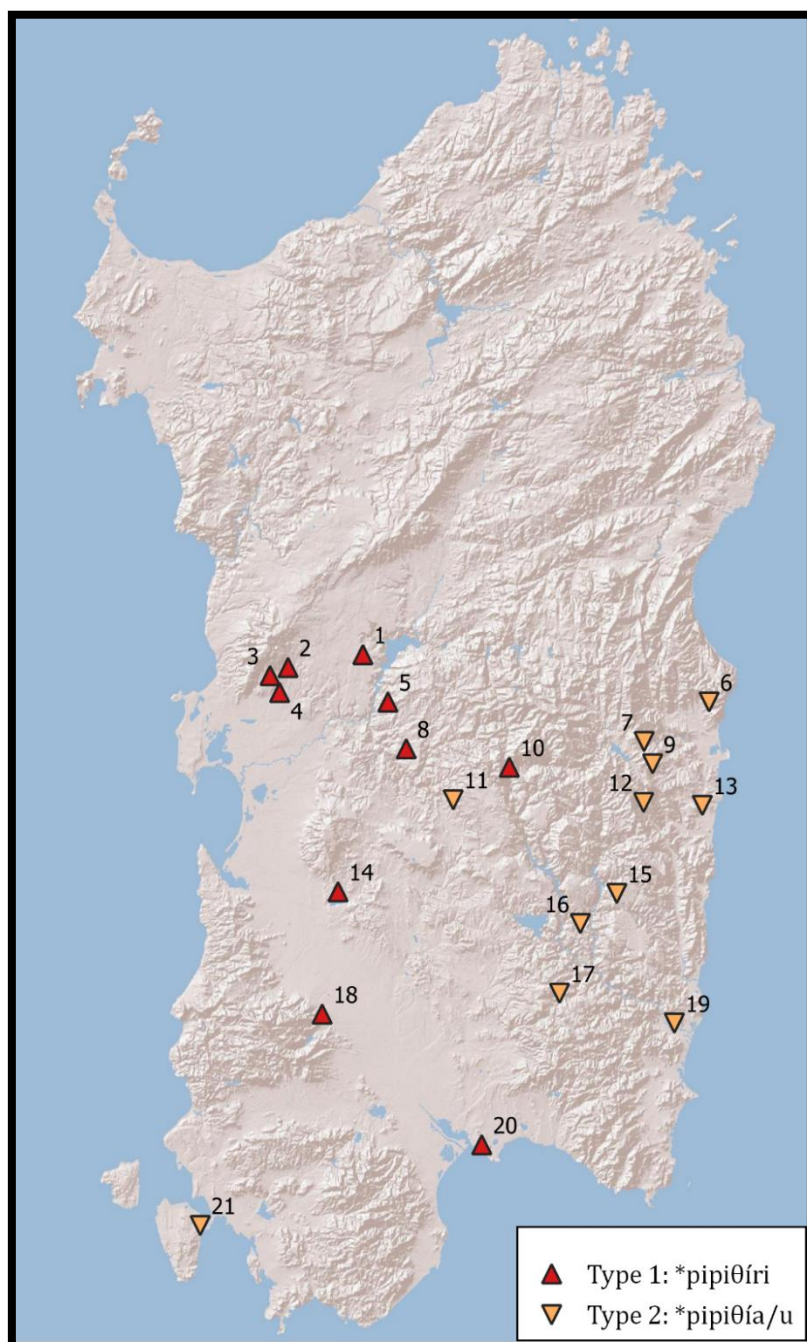


Figure 4.1.11: Grasshopper

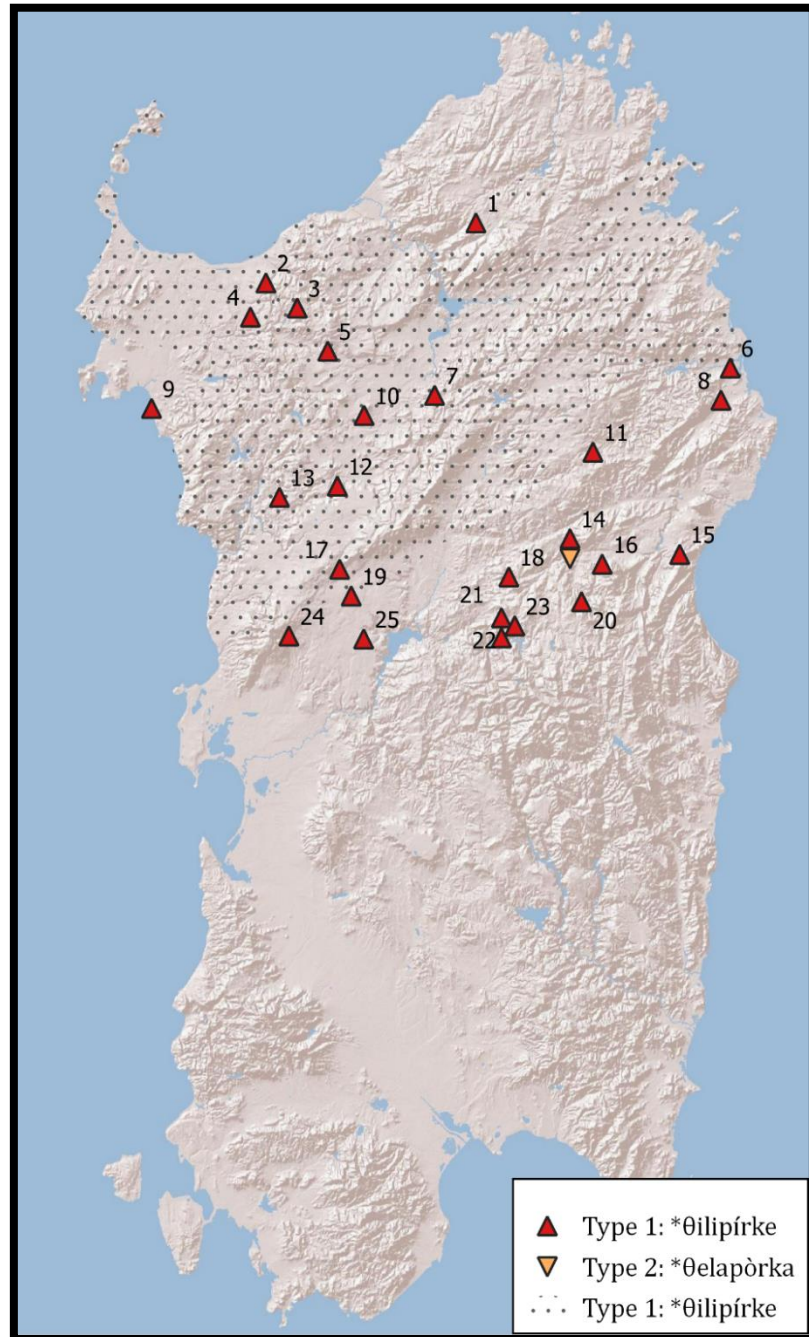


Figure 4.1.12: Grasshopper

4.1.12 Grasshopper¹³⁸

Reconstruction Forms

1: * <i>ḡilipírke</i>	DES (II: 546–547): [s'] <i>attaliḡḡe</i> (2: Sennori), <i>attilibíske</i> (3: Osilo), <i>tiliḡḡe</i> (5: Ploaghe, 10: Mores), <i>ḡilipírke</i> (8: Siniscola, 11: Bitti, 14: Nuoro, 18: Orani), <i>tilipírke</i> (7: Posada, 15: Dorgali), <i>ḡilibrí?e</i> (16: Oliena), <i>tsilibrítkē</i> (19: Borore), <i>ḡiliprí?e</i> (20: Orgosolo, 22: Ollolai, 23: Gavoi), <i>tsiliprí?e</i> (21: Olzai), <i>tsilibrínkidi</i> , <i>zilibrínkiddi</i> (25: Norbello), <i>tilibítke</i> (12: Bonorva), <i>attilibítkē</i> (17: Macomer), <i>atteriḡítkē</i> (13: Padria) 'grasshopper' Marcialis (2005: 65, 69): <i>zilibricu</i> (1: Tempio Pausania), <i>tilipische</i> (7: Ozieri), <i>ziliblich</i> (9: Alghero) 'id.' Guarnerio (1904a: 61): <i>tilibrikku</i> (Sass., Log.), <i>tilibriku</i> , <i>tilipriku</i> , <i>tilibriki</i> , <i>tilibrirke</i> (Log.) 'id.' AIS (466): [lu] <i>tiribíkku</i> (4: Sassari), [su] <i>ḡilibírke</i> (17: Macomer), [su] <i>tsilibríkke</i> (24: Santu Lussurgiu) 'id.'
-----------------------	---

2: **ḡelapòrka* DES (II: 546–547): *ḡelapòrka* (14: Nuoro) 'large grasshopper'

All forms of type 1 can be reconstructed to **ḡilipírke* or **ḡilipílke*. This word is not attested for the dialects of Baunei and Fonni, which preserve the distinction between *-rk- and *-lk- (cf. Wagner 1941a: 176–177). *Ziliblich* (Alghero), already recorded by Schuchardt (1907: 17) is difficult to interpret. According to Blasco Ferrer's historical phonology (1984b: 67–68) *-bl- should have yielded **-br- (e.g. Alghero *dóbra* vs. Cat. *doble*). Nor do syllables of the type *-CVIC- metathesize, as opposed to syllables of the type *-CVrC- (Blasco Ferrer 1984b: 93–94). In short, there is no clear regular source for the variant *ziliblich*. A few lines after mentioning *ziliblich*, Schuchardt (1907: 17) mentions *silibrich volador* 'dragonfly', also from Alghero. This form is probably identical to *ziliblich*, and is the expected outcome of **ḡilipírke*-. This is potential evidence that **ḡilipírke*- (rather than **ḡilipílke*-) lies at the base of the Sardinian forms as well. The variant *tsilibrínkidi* has been influenced by the verb *brinkare* 'to hop' (DES II: 547), and *tsimpilíye* must be due to metathesis. In Nuoro we find *ḡilipírke* 'grasshopper' next to *ḡelapòrka* 'large grasshopper'.¹³⁹ The vocalism in *ḡelapòrka* is similar to that of e.g. *ḡelakúkku* 'skink' (§ 4.3.4); influence by *pòrka* 'sow, female pig' (referring to this grasshopper's larger size) is not excluded.

¹³⁸ These data are discussed in a similar fashion in Swanenvleugel (2024: 248–249).

¹³⁹ The notion 'large grasshopper' perhaps refers to the great green bush-cricket (*Tettigonia viridissima*) as opposed to smaller kinds of grasshoppers like locusts (*Acridae* MacLeay, 1819) or pygmy grasshoppers (*Tetrigidae* Rambur, 1838).

Guarnerio (1904a: 61) proposes a derivation from Lat. *lumbricus* ‘earthworm’ by means of a prefix **ḡi-* (§ 9.1.2), which is unlikely both semantically and formally. Alessio’s (1939: 14–15) connection to Gr. ἀττέλαβος ‘edible locust’, which has been suggested to be a Semitic or Egyptian loan in Greek (cf. Beekes 2010: 166), is rightly rejected in DES (546–547). While there may be a superficial phonetic similarity between the Sardinian and the Greek word, there is no explanation for the Sardinian ending *-*írke/-ílke*. Moreover, if the **ḡi-* in Sardinian is a prefix like in *ḡilikèrta* etc., the comparison is reduced to Srd. *-*lipírk-* vs. Gr. **attelab-* in which any similarity is hard to find (cf. Paulis 1984a: cvii). Wagner (DES II: 546–547) prefers to follow Schuchardt (1907: 17) instead, who sees Srd. *ḡilipírke* as an internally Sardinian onomatopoeic formation. This is not a satisfying solution either, as the sequence **ḡi(li-)* also recurs in words for animals that do not sound like grasshoppers at all (e.g. *ḡilikèrta* ‘lizard’, *ḡilikúku* ‘skink, slug’). In my opinion, it is more reasonable to assume that this word was borrowed from pre-Roman Sardinian. The identification of the initial sequence **ḡi-* as some sort of prefix was already done by Guarnerio (1904a: 61). No alternation of **ḡi-* is attested for this word, however (cf. § 9.1.2). Similar in form and meaning are *tsimpilíye* (Ovodda) ‘grasshopper’, and its un-prefixed counterpart [*kádd̥ e*] *pilíkke* (Siniscola) (§ 4.1.9). Requiring a reconstruction **pilíke*, however, they must be kept separate from **ḡilipírke* ‘grasshopper’.

4.1.13 Rose chafer (*Cetonia aurata*)

Reconstruction	Forms
* <i>senèkra</i>	DES (II: 405): <i>senèyra</i> (1: Monti) ‘rose chafer (<i>Cetonia aurata</i> Linnaeus, 1758)’

This word is restricted to the Logudorese dialect of Monti. Although it would be attractive from a morphological point of view to posit an original **senèkula* (as a derivation from Lat. *senex*), with the common Sardinian suffix *-k(u)lu/a*, this would be expected to yield ***senèḡa* in this variety of Logudorese (Viridis 1988: 907). We thus need to reconstruct **senèkra*, which is morphologically completely opaque. The isolated attestation of this word makes it impossible to draw conclusions about its origin.

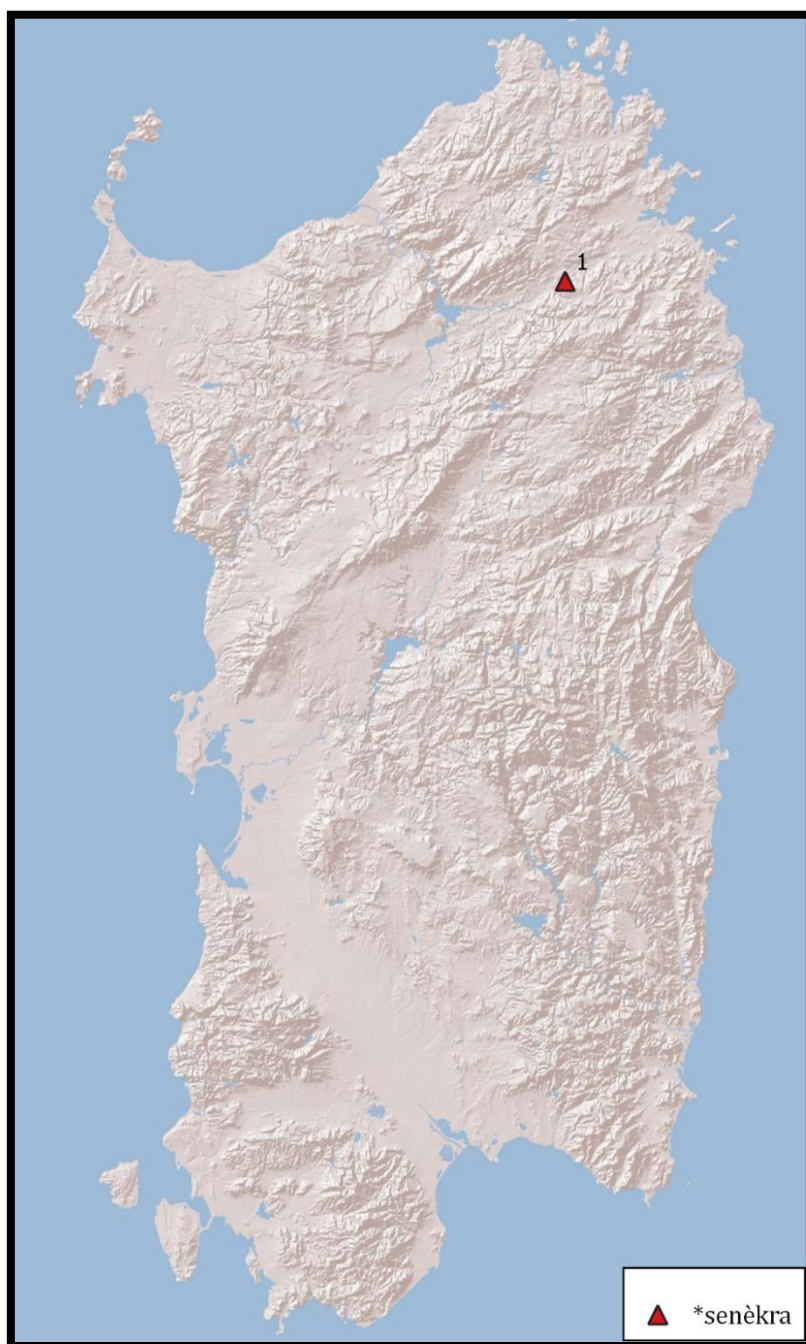


Figure 4.1.13: Rose chafer (*Cetonia aurata*)

4.1.14 Spider

Reconstruction	Forms
1: <i>*solo(C)ika</i>	DES (II: 424–425): <i>suíya</i> (Camp.), <i>solóiya</i> (1: Bonorva, 2: Macomer), <i>soloíya</i> (4: Norbello, 6: Desulo) ‘black widow (<i>Latrodectus tredecimguttatus</i> Rossi, 1790), tarantula wolf spider (<i>Lycosa tarantula</i> Linnaeus, 1758)’; <i>solóiya</i> (3: Borore), <i>suíya</i> (7: Sardara) ‘spider’; <i>suíya</i> (9: Iglesias) ‘big ant’ AIS (485): [sa] <i>suíya</i> (8: Villacidro) ‘spider’
2: <i>*solórika</i>	DES (II: 424–425): <i>solóriya</i> (5: Ghilarza and surroundings) ‘black widow, tarantula wolf spider’
3: <i>*anjalór(ik)a</i>	DES (II: 424–425): <i>andzalóriya</i> (5: Ghilarza), <i>andzalòra</i> (5: Ghilarza and surroundings) ‘black widow, tarantula wolf spider’

Wagner (DES II: 424–425) argues that these words for a type of venomous spider must be related somehow to Lat. *solifūga*, *solipūga*, *sālpūga*. These words are attested in Latin texts and refer to an undefined venomous animal apparently uncommon in Italy (cf. Pliny’s *Naturalis Historia* 29: 92). Pliny mentions that Cicero calls this animal *solipūga*, but that *sālpūga* is used in Hispania Baetica, while it is described as a Sardinian animal by Isidore and Solinus (cf. Walde & Hofmann 1954: 470; DES II: 424–425). While a connection between the Sardinian and Latin forms is very likely, the forms attested in Latin cannot be the regular source of the modern Sardinian ones. In Sardinian, the most archaic forms appear to be those of type 1, going back to **solo(C)ika*, in which **-C-* can be any voiced stop (or *-v-*). Serra (1954b: 219) explains *andzalóriya* (5: Ghilarza) as a compound of *andzàre* ‘to give birth (of animals)’ and *lóriya* ‘bell, (ear)ring’, because this kind of spider supposedly leaves behind a little drop of water. In light of the existence of the forms of type 1, as well as Lat. *solifūga*, *solipūga*, *sālpūga*, it is unlikely that the formation of type 3 is wholly independent. Nevertheless, the semantic associations described by Serra (1954b: 219) may have caused folk-etymological deformations leading to the forms of both type 2 and type 3. The irregular variation between Lat. *solifūga*, *solipūga* and *sālpūga*, referring to a species that was not found in Italy, strongly suggests that these Latin forms were representations of some word from a foreign language. The existence of modern Srd. *solóiya* etc. suggests that a pre-Roman Sardinian language was the source, from which Lat. *solipūga* etc. and Srd. *solóiya* were borrowed on separate occasions. If Pliny’s attribution of *sālpūga* to Baetica is correct, this is possible evidence for pre-Roman linguistic ties between Sardinia and the Iberian Peninsula (§ 11.3.1).

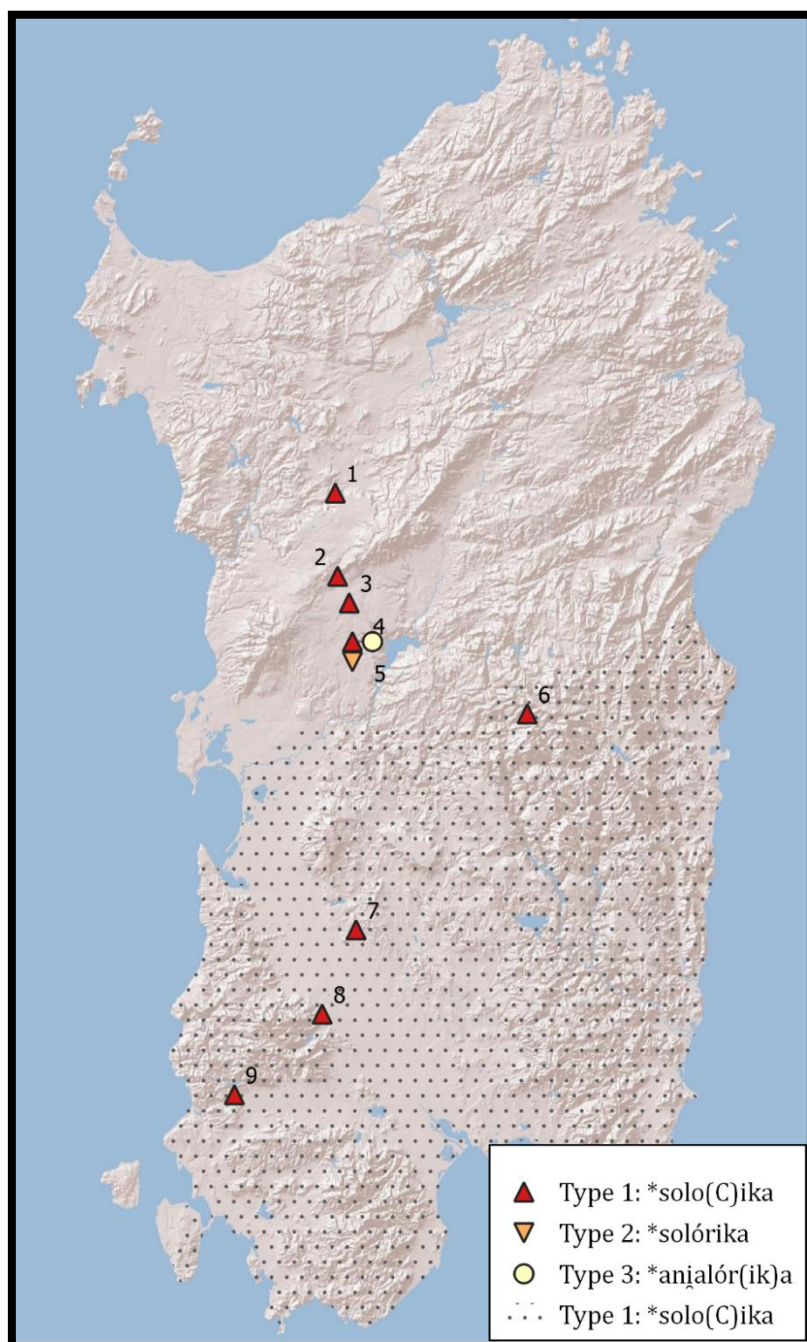


Figure 4.1.14: Spider

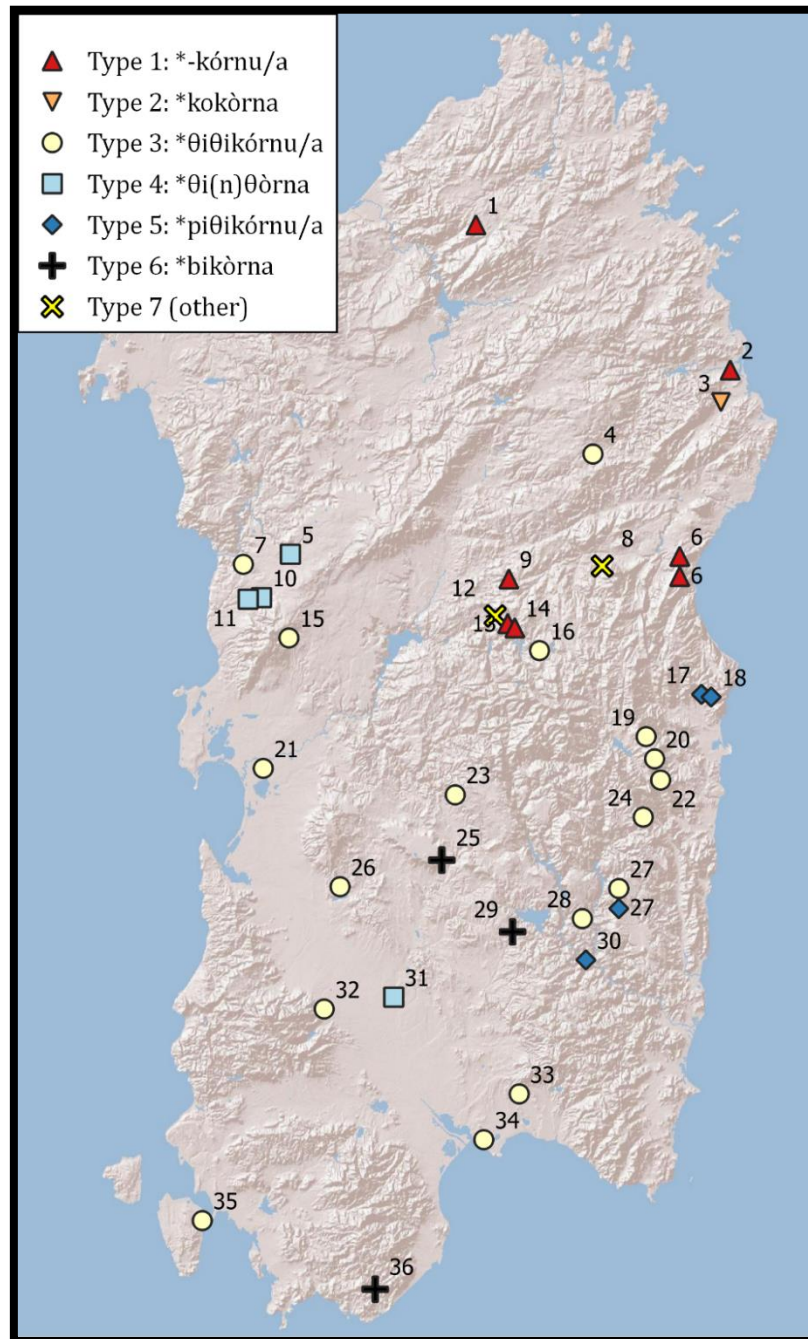


Figure 4.1.15: Slug; snail; cicada

4.1.15 Slug, snail; cicada

Reconstruction	Forms
1: *-kórnu/a	DES (II: 422): <i>barrakórru</i> (1: Tempio Pausania), <i>bukkayòrra</i> (2: Posada), <i>tabakòrra</i> , <i>bappakòrra</i> (6: Dorgali), <i>babbakòrra</i> (9: Orani, 13: Ollolai, 14: Gavoi) ‘slug, snail’
2: *kokòrna	DES (II: 422): <i>kokòrra</i> (3: Siniscola) ‘slug, snail’
3: *ʒiʒikórnu/a	DES (II: 422): <i>sittsiyórru</i> (Camp.) <i>tsintsiyórru</i> (15: Santu Lussurgiu), <i>čínčičórru</i> (16: Fonni), <i>tiʒiyórru</i> (19: Villagrande Strisaili, 20: Árzana), <i>sintsiyórru</i> (21: Oristano), <i>tsittsiyórru</i> (23: Laconi) ‘slug, snail’; <i>sissiriyòša</i> (22: Lanusei), <i>sittsiyárru</i> (24: Ulassai), <i>sittsiyòlla</i> (33: Sinnai) ‘cicada (<i>Cicada sp.</i>)’; <i>tsontsikòrra</i> (4: Bitti) ‘earwig (<i>Forficula auricularia</i>)’; <i>tsintsiyórru</i> (7: Planargia) ‘longhorn beetle (<i>Cerambyx sp.</i> Linnaeus, 1758)’ AIS (459, 468): [su] <i>sittsiyórru</i> (26: Mogoro, 28: Escalaplano, 32: Villacidro), [su] <i>žissiyórru</i> (27: Perdasdefogu), [su] <i>sitseyórru</i> (34: Cagliari), [su] <i>siziyórru</i> (35: Sant’Antioco) ‘slug, snail’; [sa] <i>tsintsikòrra</i> (4: Bitti) ‘earwig (<i>Forficula Auricularia</i>)’
4: *ʒi(n)ʒòrna	DES (II: 422): <i>tsintsòrra</i> (5: Sindia), <i>suntsòrra</i> (10: Scano di Montiferro), <i>tsontsòrra</i> (11: Sennariolo), ‘slug, snail’; <i>tsitárra</i> (31: Samassi) ‘cicada (<i>Cicada sp.</i>)’
5: *piʒikórnu/a	DES (II: 422): <i>piʒiyórru</i> (17: Triei, 18: Baunei) ‘slug, snail’; <i>pišiyò</i> (27: Perdasdefogu) ‘longhorn beetle (<i>Cerambyx sp.</i>)’; <i>pittsiyòrra</i> (30: Ballao) ‘cicada (<i>Cicada sp.</i>)’
6: *bikòrna	DES (II: 422): <i>biyòrra</i> (25: Gesturi), <i>bibbiyòrra</i> (29: Siurgus, 36: Domus de Maria) ‘cicada (<i>Cicada sp.</i>)’
7	DES (II: 422): <i>korroβákka</i> (8: Oliena), <i>pottaminkòrras</i> (11: Olzai) ‘slug, snail’

The diversity of the forms presented above is to an extent the result of numerous folk-etymologies, but most forms appear to contain *kórru*, *kòrra* ‘horn’ < Lat. *cornū*, pl. *cornua* ‘horn’, presumably because of snails and slugs’ notable eye stalks.¹⁴⁰ We can distinguish no less than seven different formation types. The forms of type 1 synchronically look like compounds of *kòrra* ‘horn’ as their second part; among the first parts of these compounds we can identify at least *bukka-* ‘mouth’ (2: *bukkayòrra*) and *babbói*, *babba-* which is a generic term for insects and other invertebrate animals (DES I: 161).

¹⁴⁰ The notion ‘horn’ does probably not refer to snails’ shells, as these forms also refer to shell-less slugs and to various species of insect.

The origin of *barra-* in *barrakórru* (1) is less certain, but it could be something like *barrákka* ‘shack, hut’. Of type 2, we find only *kokòrra* in Siniscola (3). While Wagner treats it together with the words for ‘slug, snail’ listed above, the similarity of this word to *kukúrra* ‘caterpillar, earwig’ (§ 4.1.4) is evident and it is probably best explained as a blend of *kukúrra* with *-kòrra* found in words for ‘slug, snail’.

In type 3, we find *-yórru* (< *kórru*) preceded by *tsintsi-*, *tiði-*, *sintsi-*, *sittsi-* etc. These forms refer to ‘slug, snail’ in some places, but to ‘cicadas’, ‘longhorn beetles’ and ‘earwigs’ in other places. Wagner (DES II: 422) explains *sittsiyórru* from *sèttisiri* ‘to sit, to put’ + *kórru* ‘horn’, i.e. “put the horns (vel sim.” In order for this to be true, we must assume a secondary raising of **-e-* > *-i-* (in all forms) and *-n-* insertion (in many of the forms), which are both common developments. However, more difficult to explain from *sèttisiri* are Ogl. *tiðiýórru* ‘slug, snail’ (19: Villagrande Strisaili, 20: Árzana), which appear to go back to **ðiðikórnu*, and Bittese (4) *tsontsikòrra* ‘earwig’, with an *-o-* of unclear origin. This form from Bitti is rather reminiscent of those belonging to type 4, where we find *tsintsòrra*, *suntsòrra*, *tsontsòrra* ‘slug, snail’ and *tsitárra* ‘cicada’. While *tsitárra* (31: Samassi) was probably influenced by Sp. *cigarra* (DES II: 422; cf. *tabakòrra* [6: Dorgali] with influence from *tabákku* ‘tobacco’), this does not work for *tsintsòrra*, *suntsòrra* and *tsontsòrra*. The *-ts-* of these forms can hardly go back to **-ð-*, as this would regularly yield ***-t-* in Logudorese (Wagner 1941a: 295). The fact that there is no clear regular source of *-ts-* in Logudorese (other than loanwords), makes it attractive to somehow derive these forms from those of type 3 which are mainly found in Campidanese, where the *-ts-* is an inherited phoneme. Incidentally, Logudorese also has *sèttisere* ‘to sit, to put’ with *-ts-*, which is probably a loan from Italian dialects (DES II: 399). The development *tsintsòrra* << **tsintsiyòrra* is not quite regular, however.¹⁴¹

In type 5, we find *piðiýórru* ‘slug, snail’ and *pittsiyòrra* ‘cicada’, which are influenced by *píððu*, *píttu* ‘point, tip’. There is also Perdasdefogu (27) *piðiýò* ‘longhorn beetle’ (which can go back to **piðikò*). It is unclear whether it is identical to *piðiýórru* with an apocopated final syllable, or whether it is an archaic manifestation that has not been influenced by *kórru*, *kòrra*. Type 6 *biyòrra* ‘cicada’ may simply be from Lat. *bicornis* ‘with two horns’, with reduplication in *bibbiyòrra*. The two forms in type 7 are unrelated, isolated formations. *Korroßákka* (8: Oli-

¹⁴¹ The *-u-* and *-o-* in *suntsòrra* and *tsontsòrra* could be the result of pretonal vowel assimilation (Wagner 1941a: 21–22), but this still leaves us with Bittese (4) *tsontsikòrra* ‘earwig’, for which assimilation is not a satisfactory explanation.

ena) ‘slug, snail’ is *kórru* ‘horn’ + *vákka* ‘cow’, and Wagner (DES II: 422) analyses *pottaminkòrras* (11: Olzai) ‘slug, snail’ as transparently meaning ‘carry me on the horns’.

The question that remains is whether this diversity of forms is the result of several independent formations involving *kórru*, *kòrra* ‘horn’, or if there is more going on. Some of the forms discussed above are formally rather difficult to explain as a simple compound, such as *tsontsikòrra* (4: Bitti) ‘earwig’ and *pišiyò* (27: Perdasdefogu) ‘longhorn beetle’. Moreover, while the idea of ‘horns’ is perhaps understandable in the case of slugs, snails, earwigs and longhorn beetles, cicadas have very small antennae but are nevertheless frequently the referent of the same word. It is possible that the introduction of the word for ‘horn’ was caused only in part by the semantic association of slugs and snails’ eyestalks and the antennae of certain insects to horns, and in part by phonological assonance to the same word for ‘horn’. In light of the abundance of forms and the obvious role that folk etymology must have played, it is possible that these forms have one or more pre-Roman words at their base, which were then subject to various secondary remodelings. However, the diversity of forms makes it impossible to establish what the original shape of this word of these words might have been.

4.1.16 Tick (swollen with blood)

Reconstruction	Forms
1: <i>*katená(n)kla</i>	DES (I: 319): <i>cadinancia</i> (Sass.), <i>kađenánča</i> (2: Ploaghe, 18: Lanusei), <i>kaðranánka</i> (Goceano reg., 3: Posada), <i>katranákka</i> (4: Siniscola, 5: Bitti), <i>graðanánka</i> (6: Nuoro), <i>kaðrenánka</i> (Planargia reg., 8: Macomer), <i>kađenánka</i> (9: Santu Lussurgiu, 10: Norbello), <i>kraðanákka</i> (11: Fonni) ‘swollen tick (<i>Ixodida</i> sp. Leach, 1815)’ AIS (475): 1: [<i>lu</i>] <i>ggaddenánču</i> (1: Sassari) ‘id.’
2: <i>*kánkala</i>	DES (I: 319): <i>kánkala</i> (7: Dorgali, 14: Baunei, 15: Desulo, 16: Tortolì, 19: Gairo, 21: Perdasdefogu, 22: Escalaplano) ‘id.’
3: <i>*katánka</i>	DES (I: 319): <i>kaðánka</i> (12: Milis, 13: Busachi, 17: Oristano, 20: Mogoro, 23: Villacidro), <i>kardánka</i> (24: Cagliari), <i>garánka</i> (25: Sant’Antioco) ‘id.’

For the word for ‘tick swollen with blood’, which is differentiated from Nuor. *erikína*, Log. *eriyína*, Camp. *arreizíni* etc. ‘a tick that is not swollen with blood yet’ (DES I: 491–92), we find three different types. The forms of type 1 go back to something like **katená(n)kla*, which is why Rolla (1895: 22) and REW (1764) derive it from Srd. *katèna*, *kaðèna* etc. ‘chain’ (with derivations meaning ‘necklace’

among other things) < Lat. *catena* 'chain'. Wagner (DES I: 319), however, does not believe that a derivation *catena* can explain all the variation we find among the forms, even though it might have influenced some of them. Type 2 *kánkala* is largely restricted to the Ogliastra (with outliers in 7: Dorgali and 15: Desulo). It is compared by Wagner (DES I: 319) to Sp. *cáncano* 'louse', whose origin is not fully clarified either, but which may be from Lat. *cancer* 'crab; cancer' (DCEC I: 797). Wagner (DES I: 319) thinks this type should be separated from the forms for 'tick' in types 1 and 3, with which I agree. Finally, type 3 is attested in the Campidanese dialects and requires a reconstruction **katánka*.

The question is how much of the similarity between the three different formation types for 'swollen tick' is due to etymological relationships, and how much to folk-etymological influences. It seems in any case sensible to connect type 1 **katená(n)kla* and type 3 **katánka*. It is not clear, however, whether both go back to Lat. *catena* 'chain', in which case type 3 must somehow have been altered, or whether type 3 is in fact more original and type 1 **katená(n)kla* should be explained as the result of folk etymology. The link to *catena* 'chain' may perhaps be explained by an association of swollen ticks to beads on a necklace. For the use of a word for 'necklace' to refer to bodily growths, cf. also Camp. *kannákka* 'necklace', which is also used to refer to the wattles hanging from goats' necks (DES I: 284).

Type 2 **kánkala*, despite its resemblance to Sp. *cáncano* 'louse', cannot easily be explained as a Spanish loan. Nor is a direct inheritance from Lat. *cancer* 'crab, cancer' plausible, for the same reasons mentioned by Wagner (DES I: 281) for *kánkaru* 'cramp', which is from It. *canchero* 'id.'¹⁴² Wagner (DES I: 281) notes that there is a great deal of confusion between Srd. *kánkaru* 'cramp' and Srd. *kánkaru* 'hinge', which is the reflex of late Gr. *καγκῆλος* 'hinge' (cf. REW 1575). Incidentally, the meaning 'hinge' is also attested for some Sardinian derivatives from *catena* 'chain': NLog. *kađenále* 'hinge, metal strip that is part of a hinge'¹⁴³. It is unclear to me whether the formal similarity of the various Sardinian forms for 'tick' to words for 'hinge', 'chain' and 'cramp' is purely due to coincidence or due to a semantic association.

¹⁴² Cf. Craddock (1969: 87–123) for the specificities of the Romance reflexes of Lat. *cancer* 'crab, cancer'.

¹⁴³ Cf. AIS (881–883) for detailed explanations and drawings of different types of hinges and their various parts. Unfortunately Sardinia is not represented in the maps in question.

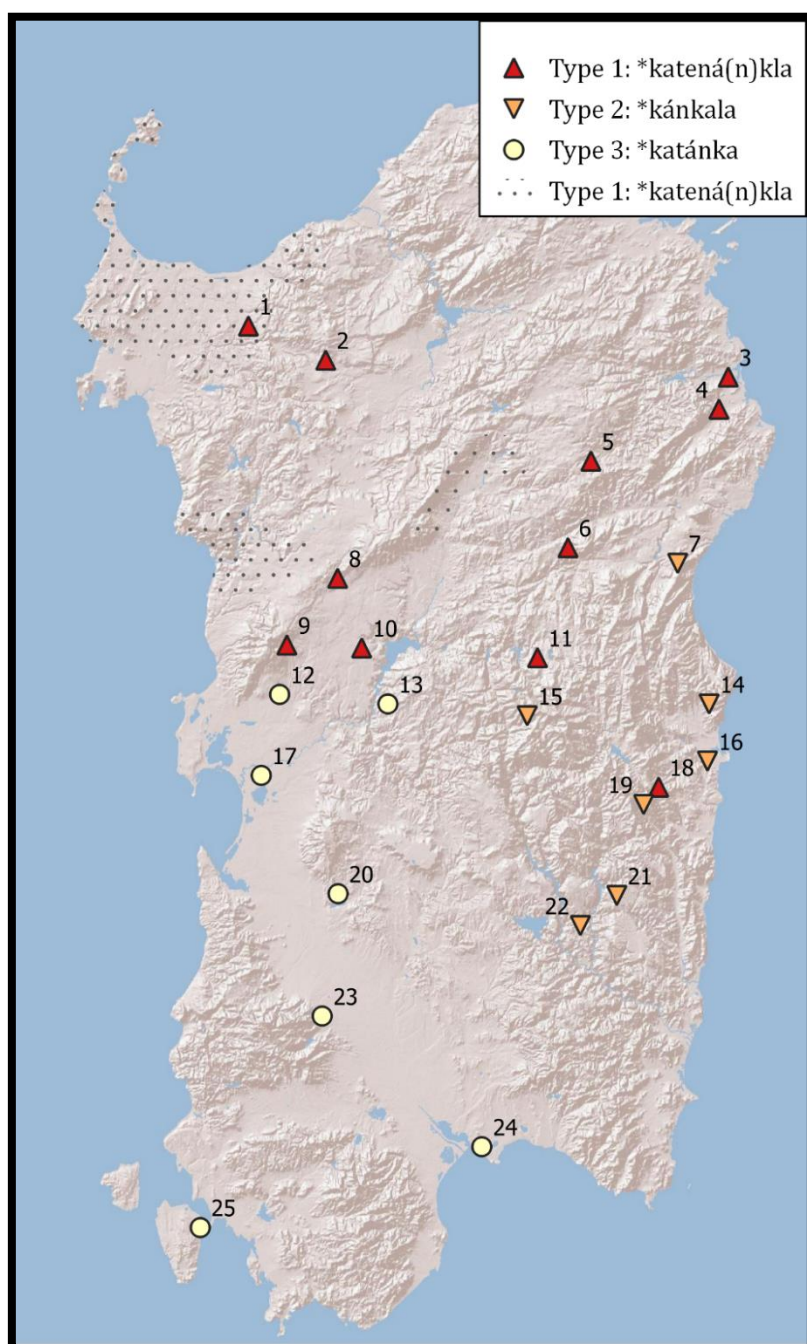


Figure 4.1.16: Tick

I do in any case believe that is not necessary to ascribe the attested diversity in these words for ‘tick’ to a pre-Roman origin, as Wagner (DES I: 319) tentatively does. Types 1 and 2 probably have a relation to Lat. *catena* ‘chain’ and *cancer* ‘crab, cancer’ respectively. Type 3 is more difficult to explain, and might have served as the base form from which type 1 was derived by folk etymology. Besides the absence of a clear etymology, there is no positive evidence for a pre-Roman origin however; none of the forms of type 3 show any irregular correspondences to each other that cannot be explained internally.

4.1.17 Worm

Reconstruction	Forms
* <i>ǵVrro(C)íku/a</i>	DES (II: 552): <i>tserriýu/a</i> , <i>tsirriýu</i> , <i>tsorroíýu</i> (Camp.), <i>tserriýa</i> (1: Norbello), <i>ǵorroíýu</i> (2: Baunei), <i>tsarríya</i> (3: Oristano) ‘worm living inside horse intestines; worm found in rotting meat’
	Marcialis (2005: 70): <i>zorroíga</i> (Sulcis reg.) ‘earthworm (<i>Lumbricus terrestris</i>)’
	AIS (457): [<i>su</i>] <i>tsorroíýu</i> (4: Escalaplano) ‘earthworm (<i>Lumbricus terrestris</i>)’

The vowel sequence *-ol-* in the forms *ǵorroíýu* and *tsorroíýu* seems original, and was contracted in the other dialects (cf. Wagner 1941a: 46–48). The original vocalism of the pretonic syllable is more difficult to establish, as both assimilations and dissimilations to the stressed syllable are common (cf. Wagner 1941a: 24–33). The vowel hiatus *-ol-* could be the result of the loss of an original *-b-*, *-v-*, *-d-* or *-g-*, but this is not certain.¹⁴⁴ Thus reconstructible as **ǵVrro(C)íku*, I agree with Wagner (DES I: 552) that this word is probably of pre-Roman origin. Reasons for this are its peculiar syllable structure, as well as the presence of **ǵ-* (§ 8.1.1). However, due to the relative uniformity in the attested forms of this word, it is impossible to reliably discern the presence of the **ǵi-* prefix (§ 9.1.2) or any other morphological elements.

¹⁴⁴ Note the phonetic similarity to forms like *soloíya* ‘black widow’ (§ 4.1.14), where we do have evidence for the presence of an original consonant in this position in classically attested *solipūga*, *solifūga* (which can however not be the direct source of the modern Sard

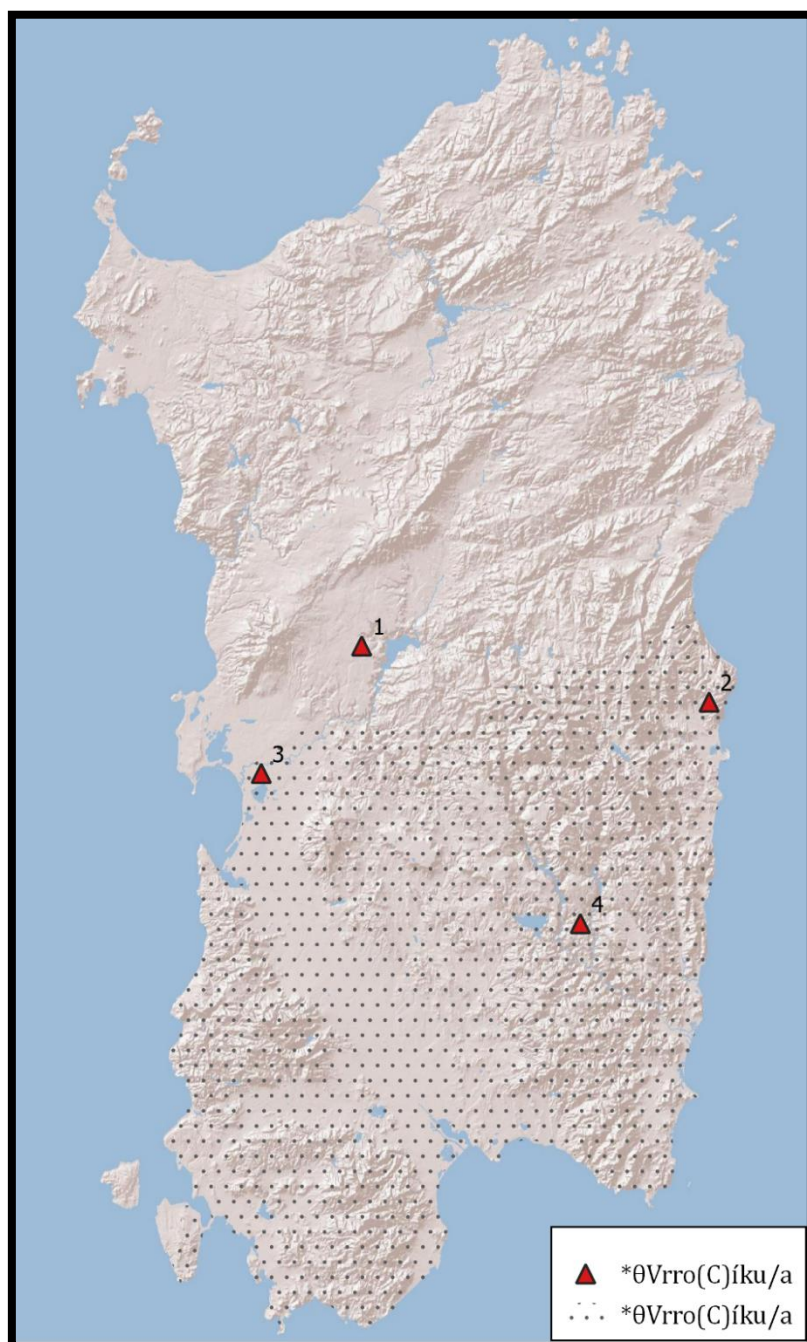


Figure 4.1.17: Worm

4.2 Fish

4.2.1 European eel (*Anguilla anguilla*)

Reconstruction	Forms
* <i>ḡingòrra</i>	DES (II: 592): <i>tsingòrra</i> (Camp.), <i>dzingòrra</i> (1: Cagliari) ‘young eel (<i>Anguilla anguilla</i> Linnaeus, 1758)’
	Marcialis (2005: 70, 84, 114, 121, 150, 184): <i>zingòrra</i> (1: Cagliari) ‘eel (<i>Anguilla anguilla</i>)’ ¹⁴⁵
	Puddu (2023: s.v. <i>tzingòrra</i>): <i>tzingòrra</i> , <i>zangaúrra</i> , <i>zingòrra</i> ‘young eel (<i>Anguilla anguilla</i>)’

Wagner (1997: 160) compares this word to Akk. *singurru* ‘a kind of fish’ (also *zingurru*, *ziggurru*; cf. CAD XV: 284–285), which Zimmern (1917: 52) connects to Mandaic *singūrā*. Formally these form a near-perfect match, though the meanings of the Semitic forms are only vaguely defined.¹⁴⁶ This leads Wagner (1997: 160; DES II: 592) to conclude that the Sardinian word may be a Punic loan (cf. § 10.1), even though the Punic word for ‘eel’ is not actually attested. Paulis (1990: 621–623) rejects Wagner’s Punic etymology. He objects that the Akkadian word has an unclear meaning and that it could be a Sumerian loan. Moreover, he argues that it is unlikely that a pre-Roman name for a fish would have been preserved for so long, while most of the modern Sardinian maritime vocabulary was borrowed from Italian, Catalan and Spanish. He instead proposes *tsingòrra* to be a loan from It. *ceca* ‘young eel’ >> Srd. **tsèya* >> **tsènga*, which was subsequently suffixed with *-òrra*, present in pre-Roman toponyms and Sardinian surnames. Finally, the pretonic *-e-* of this **tsengòrra* would have been fronted, yielding *tsingòrra*.

The number of assumptions needed to derive the Sardinian word from Italian makes Paulis’ etymology rather doubtful. It should moreover be noted that there are no clear cases in which an original voiceless stop is first voiced intervocalically and then acquires a preceding nasal, as would have to be assumed to explain Srd. *tsing-* < **tseng-* from It. *ceca*. Wagner’s (1941a: 219–223) section on the topic only contains examples of *-n*-insertion where the original quality of the stop is preserved (e.g. *munkaḏòre* vs. *mukkaḏòre* << Cat. *mocador* ‘handkerchief’), and sometimes even examples where the inserted nasal seems to have blocked the expected intervocalic sonorization (e.g. *kalankásu* vs. *kalayásu* ‘butterfly’).

¹⁴⁵ Marcialis gives the definition “*Anguilla acutirostro*, Ceriuola. Pesce.” *Anguilla acutirostris* Risso, 1827 is a synonym of *Anguilla anguilla*, so this probably refers to the European eel (*Anguilla anguilla*) (cf. *Anguilla acutirostris* Risso, 1827, in GBIF Secretariat 2023).

¹⁴⁶ I have not been able to verify the Mandaic form, let alone its meaning.

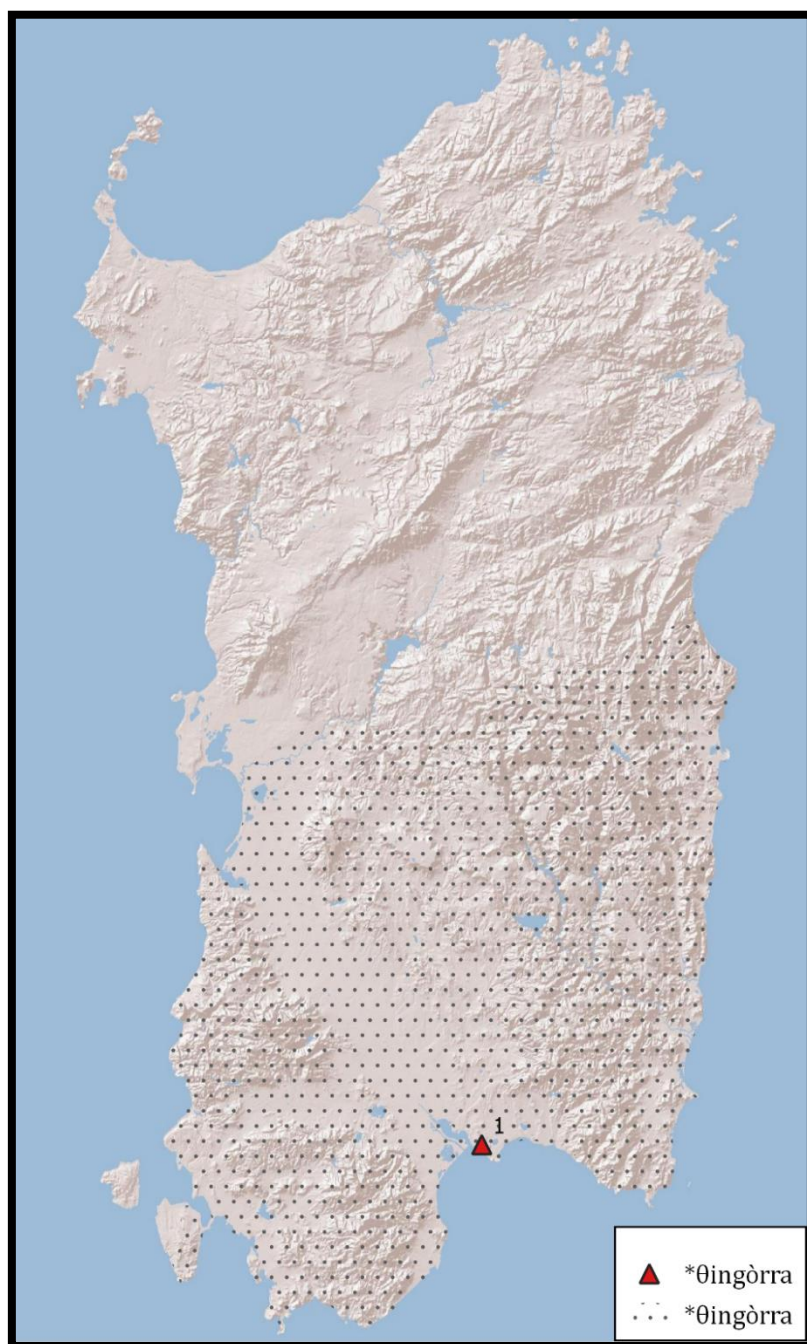


Figure 4.2.1: European eel (*Anguilla anguilla*)

I further think that the analysis of *-orra* in *tsingòrra* as a “pejorative” suffix is all but evident, especially since the evidence for this proposed suffix is limited to names of places and persons, rather than names of animals. As for the likelihood that a fish name would have survived from (pre-)Roman times up to the modern day, it is important to realize that eels are not primarily maritime fish, but spend the biggest part of their life in fresh water. The irrelevance of the often-cited Sardinian aversion towards the sea (Wagner 1997: 213; Paulis 1990: 621) for the discussion of the designations of eels is demonstrated by the fact that the common Sardinian word for eel, *ambidda*, *angwidda*, goes back directly to Lat. *anguilla* ‘eel’. If a Punic word for ‘eel’ entered early Sardinian Latin, it was no less likely to survive than Latin *anguilla*.

I agree with Paulis that the Punic etymology is rather uncertain, as the only pieces of evidence are an Akkadian and a Mandaic word referring to an undefined species of fish. Nevertheless, I do not think a derivation from It. *ceca* ‘young eel’ is more convincing. Until the Punic word for ‘eel’ is actually attested, this word must be regarded as no more than a possible example of a Punic loan into Sardinian Romance.

4.2.2 Trout fry (*Salmo cettii*),

Reconstruction	Forms
* <i>gróri</i>	DES (I: 594): <i>gròri</i> , <i>gròli</i> (1: Bitti) ‘trout fry (<i>Salmo cettii</i> Rafinesque 1810)’
	AIS (528): [<i>su</i>] <i>gróri</i> (1: Bitti) ‘id.’
	Puddu (2023: gróli): gróli, gróri ‘id.’

The forms recorded by DES have open *-ò-*. However, in AIS (528), the Sardinian entries of which were also compiled by Wagner, we find closed *-ó-*. This is also confirmed by Puddu (2023: *gróli*), and is in fact expected, since final *-i* conditions closing of a preceding *-e-* or *-o-* to *-é-*, *-ó-* (cf. Wagner 1941a: 11). The variant *gróli* could be a dissimilation from *gróri*. Wagner (DES I: 594) denotes this word as “probably pre-Roman”, without giving any arguments. Besides the lack of an etymology, one argument could be this word’s ending in *-i*, which is rare in the inherited lexicon (§ 8.1.5.1). While this could also be the result of a loan, there is no clear source. On the basis of this word’s attestation in a single village only, it is hard to say anything definitive about this word. The specific fish species is probably the Mediterranean trout (*Salmo cettii*), a freshwater fish.

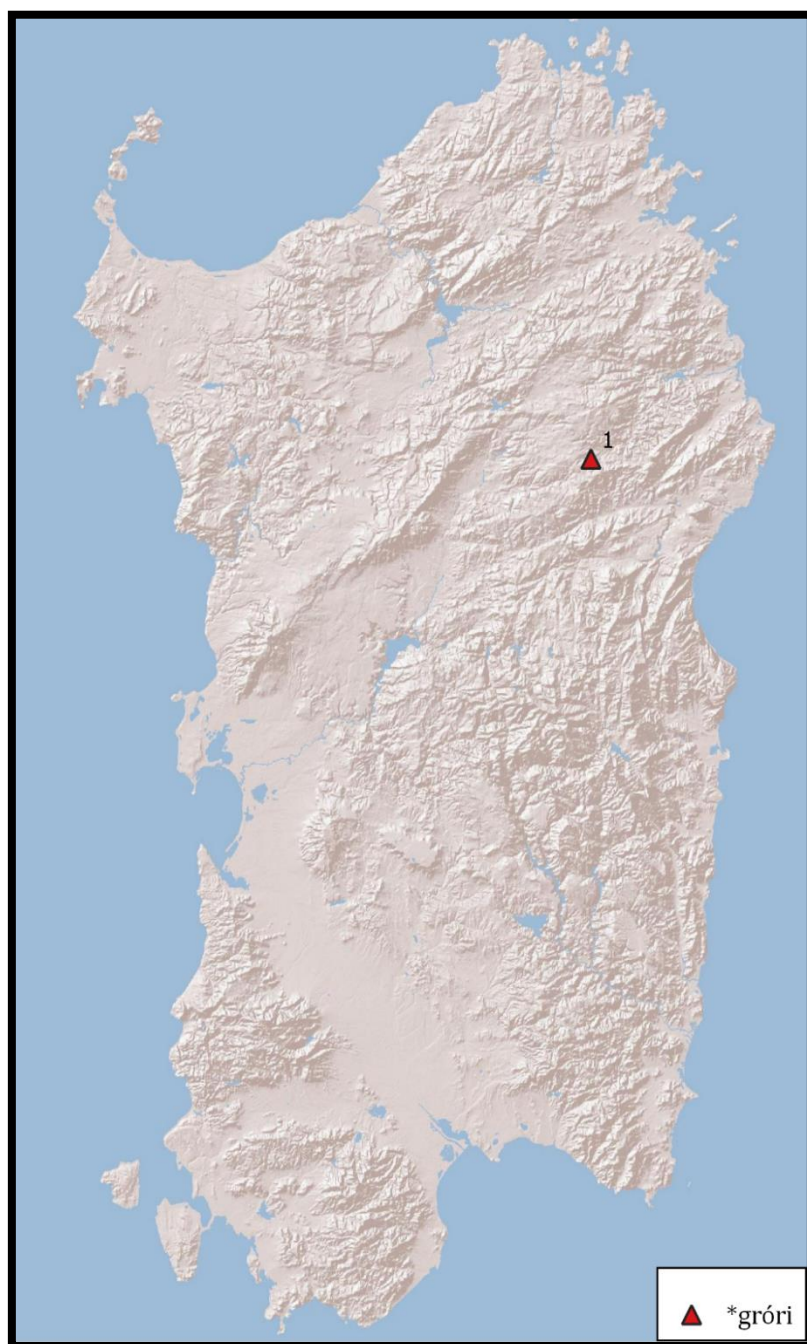


Figure 4.2.2: Trout fry (*Salmo cettii*)

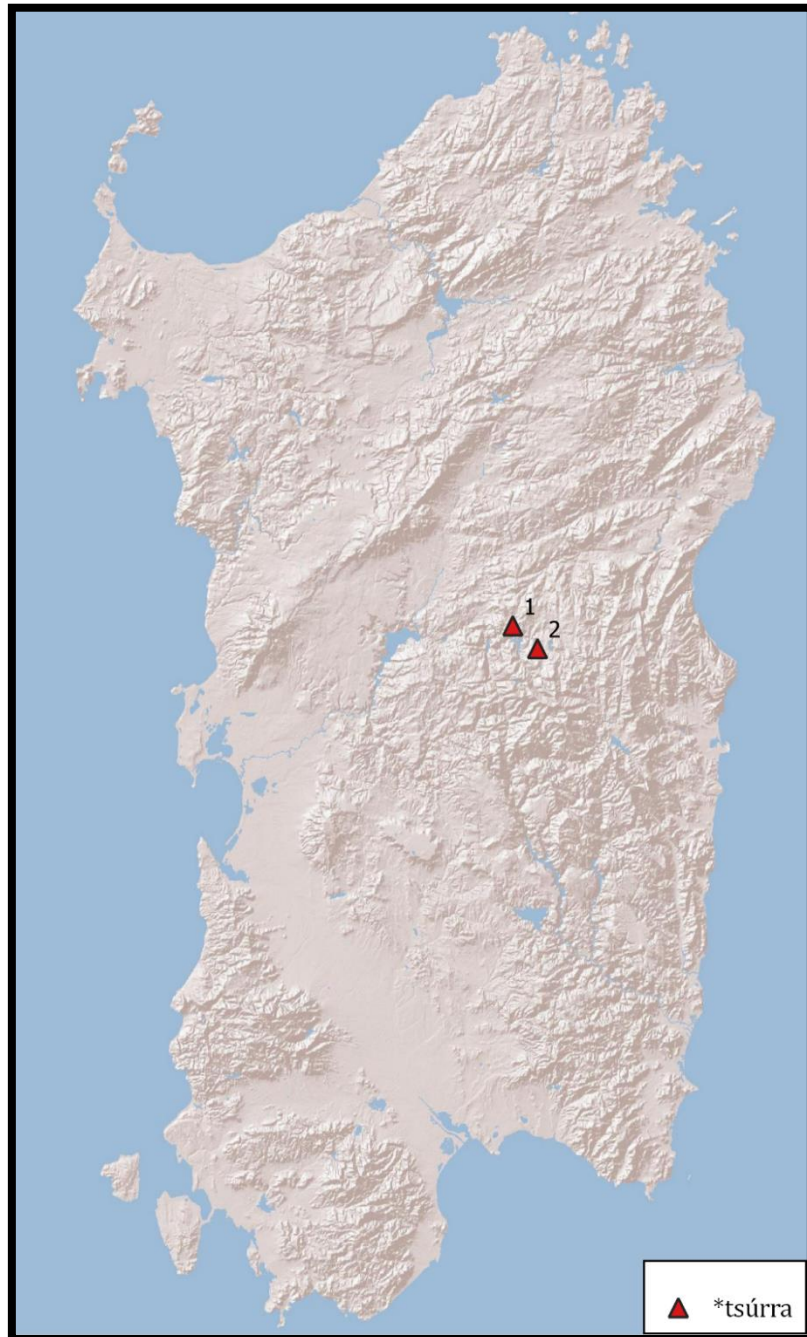


Figure 4.2.3: Trout fry (*Salmo cettii*)

4.2.3 Trout fry (*Salmo cettii*)₂

Reconstruction	Forms
* <i>tsúrra</i>	DES (II: 602): <i>tsúrra</i> (2: Fonni) ‘small trout’
	Marcialis (2005: 71): <i>tsurríttu</i> (1: Gavoi) ‘trout fry’

As in the case of Bittese *gróri* ‘trout fry’ (§ 4.2.2), these words likely refer to *Salmo cettii*, the Mediterranean trout. And like for *gróri*, Wagner (DES II: 602) considers *tsúrra* ‘small trout’ to be “probably pre-Roman”, without clarifying his reason for this. Initial *ts-* does not have an inherited source in these specific dialects (§ 8.1.4), but there is no other positive evidence for a substrate origin of this word. Its limited attestation hinders any further analysis.

4.3 Reptiles

4.3.1 Gecko (*Tarantola mauritanica*)

Reconstruction	Forms
* <i>ḡilíkwu</i>	DES (II: 483): <i>tilíbbu</i> (1: Dorgali) ‘lizard/spider’

This word probably refers to the Moorish gecko (*Tarentola mauritanica* (Linnaeus, 1758)) (cf. Deplano 2020: 811; Puddu 2023: s.v. *tilíbbu*). Its occurrence in AIS (485) as the name of the tarantula spider may have originated in the fact that *tarantola* can refer either to various spider species (including *Lycosa tarantula*, the tarantula), or to the Moorish gecko. All other sources agree that it refers to some kind of reptile. The sequence *-bb-* could go back to original **-kw-*, leading to a reconstruction **ḡilíkwu*.¹⁴⁷ Initial *ti-* could be an instance of the element **ḡi-* that is found in many Sardinian words of pre-Roman origin (§ 9.1.2). Since it is an isolated form, restricted to the dialect of Dorgali, it is of limited value for any morphological or distributional analysis of the Sardinian substrate.

¹⁴⁷ Original **-bb-* would likely have yielded ***-pp-* (Wagner 1941a: 192–193).

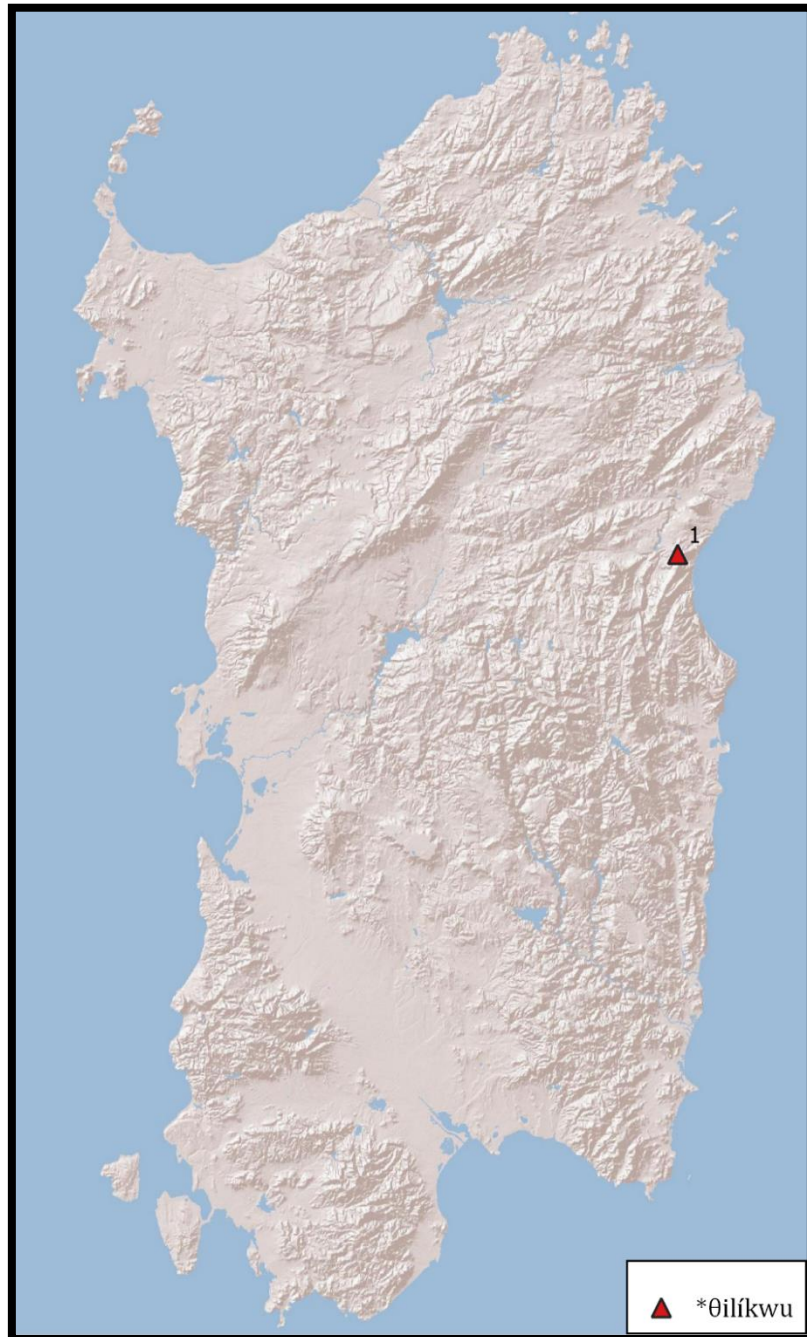


Figure 4.3.1: Gecko (*Tarantola mauritanica*)

4.3.2 Lizard (*Podarcis tiliguerta*)¹⁴⁸

Reconstruction	Forms
1: * <i>ḡilikèrta</i>	DES (II: 545): <i>tiriyètta</i> (Sass.), <i>tsirikèlta</i> (1: Tempio Pausania), <i>tiliyètta</i> (2: Ploaghe), <i>tiliyèrta</i> (3: Posada, 4: Torpè, 8: Bono, 16: Sennariolo, 17: Cuglieri, 20: Santu Lussurgiu) <i>ḡilikèrta</i> (5: Siniscola, 6: Bitti, 9: Orosei, 10: Nuoro), <i>tiliyèlta</i> (7: Bonorva), <i>ḡilikètta</i> , <i>tilikètta</i> (11: Dorgali), <i>ḡili?èrta</i> (12: Oliena, 18: Ollolai), <i>attiliyèrta</i> (13: Macomer), <i>ateliyèlta</i> , <i>attaliyèlta</i> (15: Scano di Montiferro), <i>tsiliyèrta</i> (14: Borore, 21: Norbello), <i>tsiliyètta</i> (25: Busachi, 31: Samugheo) ‘Tyrrhenian wall lizard (<i>Podarcis tiliguerta</i> (Gmelin, 1789))’ AIS (449): [sa] <i>tiliyèrta</i> (13: Macomer), <i>tsiliyèrta</i> (20: Santu Lussurgiu), <i>tsixinyèrta</i> (23: Milis) ‘id.’
2: * <i>ḡalakèrta</i>	DES (II: 545): <i>ḡala?èrta</i> (19: Gavoi) ‘id.’ AIS (449): <i>ḡalaèrta</i> (22: Fonni) ‘id.’
3: *(a)li/ukèstra	DES (II: 545): <i>luḡèstra</i> (24: Triei, 26: Baunei), <i>ḡilèstru</i> (29: Villagrande Strisaili), <i>liḡèstra</i> (33: Tortolì), <i>arḡilèstru</i> (34: Arzana, 36: Lanusei), <i>luḡḡèsti</i> (38: Gairo), <i>čilèstra</i> (39: Bari Sardo), <i>aliḡèstra</i> (43: Perdasdefogu) ‘id.’ AIS (449): <i>lučèstra</i> (26: Baunei) ‘id.’
4: *(a)li/ukèrta	DES (II: 545): [s'] <i>aliyèrta</i> (27: Tonara, 28: Desulo), <i>lulḡètta</i> (30: Aritzo), <i>anḡulètta</i> (32: Meana Sardo), <i>aliyèlta</i> (35: Gado-ni), <i>aližèrta</i> (37: Laconi) ‘id.’
5: * <i>kalVkèrta</i>	DES (II: 545): <i>kalužèrtula</i> (Camp.), <i>karḡilètta</i> (40: Seui), <i>ka-lužèrta</i> (41: Sadali), <i>kalazèḡḡa</i> (44: Escalaplano), <i>kaxiḡèḡḡa</i> (45: San Nicolò Gerrei), <i>kaḡižèḡḡa</i> (47: Muravera), <i>kožuètta</i> (49: Sant’Antioco) ‘id.’ AIS (449): [sa] <i>yawižètta</i> (42: Mogoro, 46: Villacidro), [sa] <i>yalužèrtula</i> (48: Cagliari), [sa] <i>yalazètta</i> (44: Escalaplano) ‘id.’

All forms listed above are descendants of Lat. *lacerta* ‘lizard’. The reconstruction **ḡilikèrta*, needed for the forms of type 1, is evidence that *ḡi-* may be some kind of prefix (§ 9.1.2). This was first suggested by Guarnerio (1904a: 57–58 fn. 2). Despite the inherited origin of this word, it is hard to explain *ḡi-* in terms of inherited Romance material. However, it should be noted that *-la-* in this word is not preserved in any other Sardinian dialect.

¹⁴⁸ These data are discussed in a similar fashion in Swanenvleugel (2024: 224–226).

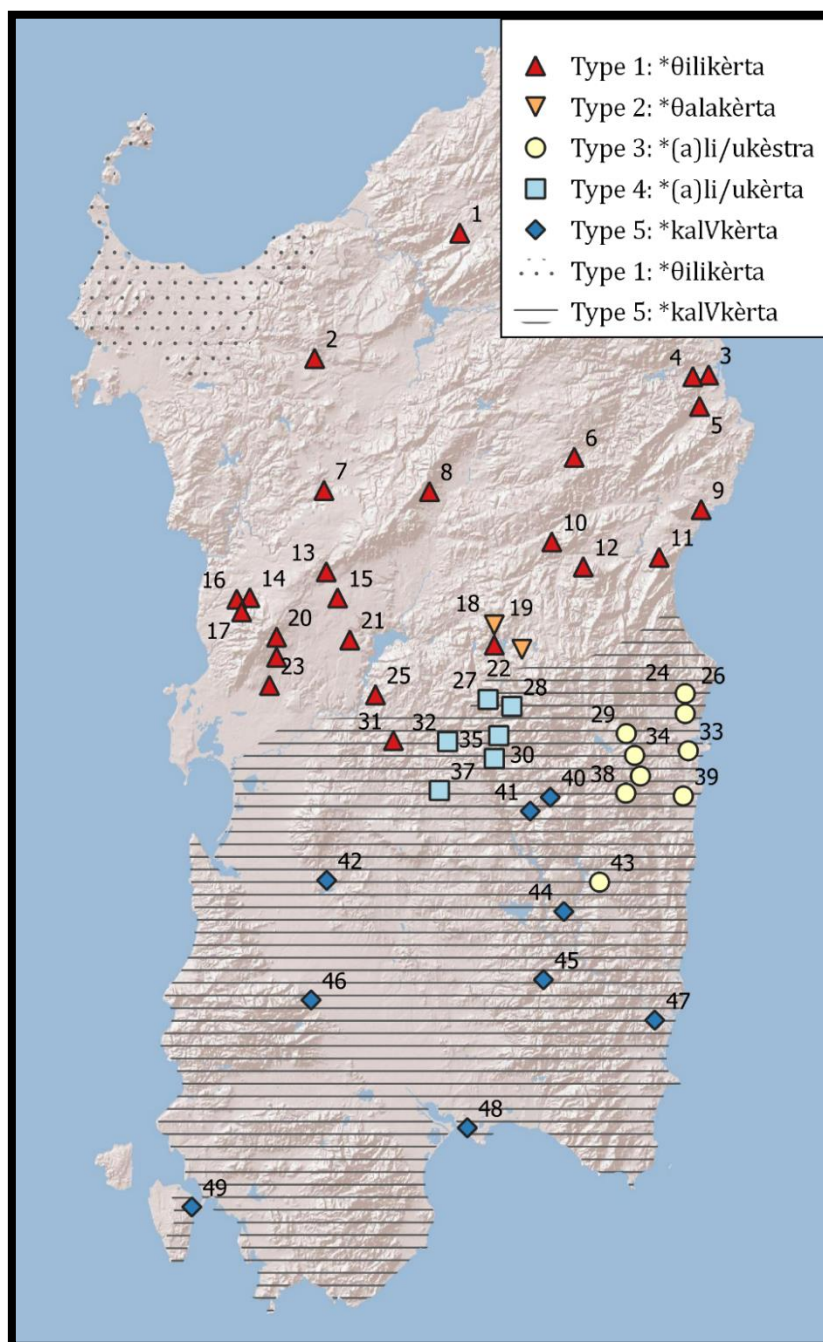


Figure 4.3.2: Lizard (*Podarcis tiliguerta*)

Even the un-prefixed forms have *-li-* or *-lu-*. These aberrant vocalisms are not restricted to Sardinian and are well-attested in French and Italian dialects, where we find similar evidence for **licerta* and **lucerta* (REW 4821; FEW V: 117, 118 fn. 6; Battisti & Alessio 1952: 2276). For Sardinian **ǵilikèrta* too, the sequence *-li-* may thus be of Vulgar Latin origin. Influence from other Sardinian words starting in **ǵili-* is imaginable, cf. *ǵilipírke* (§ 4.1.12), *ǵilikúku* (§ 4.3.4) etc. The forms containing *ka-* (type 5) are most easily explained from an original **kalVkèrta*, again with vowel alternations in the pretonic syllable (cf. § 2.1.1). These forms are found in the Campidanese dialects in the south of Sardinia. Many of the manifestations show various kinds of assimilations and metatheses. It is difficult to assess to what extent the coexistence of forms containing **-la-* (e.g. *kalazèdḍa*, 44: Escalaplano), **-li-* (e.g. *kaṛižèdḍa*, 47: Muravera) and **-lu-* (e.g. *kalužèrta*, 41: Sadali) are to be attributed to Vulgar Latin variation between *lacerta*, **licerta* and **lucerta* (REW 4821; FEW V: 117, 118 fn. 6), as pretonic assimilations and dissimilations are very common across Sardinian (Wagner 1941a: 21–33). The remaining forms, that have neither **ǵi-* nor **ka-* (types 3 and 4), can go back to **lukèrta* or **likèrta*. The initial *a-* is due to reanalysis of the vowel of the feminine definite article. In the Ogliastran dialects in the east of Sardinia, *-èrta* has been replaced with *-èstra*, *-éstru*, *-ésti* (type 3). This is reminiscent of the sequence *-st(r)-* found in other Sardinian words of uncertain origin, such as *golóstri*, *golóstṭu* ‘holly’ and *giḍḍóstru/a* ‘tree-heath’. This *-st(r)-* has been proposed to be a suffix originating in a substrate language (Bertoldi 1930; van Sluis, Jørgensen & Kroonen 2023: 200–201), but cf. § 9.2.9. Proposals to explain the addition of **ka-* in this word are problematic. Bertoni (1913: 167 fn. 4) suggests that the reflexes of *lacerta* were contaminated with those of *colūbra* ‘snake, serpent’. This hypothesis is semantically attractive, but the vocalism does not quite match in all locations (e.g. Escalaplano (44) *kalazèdḍa*, *kalazètta* ‘lizard’ next to *kolóru* ‘snake’; AIS 452). Böhne on the other hand (1950: 109) proposes a contamination with *kalái* ‘to descend’. This idea is far-fetched, especially on the semantic side, and cannot be accepted.

In conclusion, we need to assume at least three different reconstructions to account for the attested forms: **ǵi-la/ikerta* (types 1, 2), **li/ukèrta* (types 3, 4), and **ka-la/i/ukerta* (type 5). The variants of this word clearly show the secondary addition of **ǵi-* and **ka-*, neither of which are easily explained in Romance terms, to inherited *lacerta* ‘lizard’. This word therefore provides plausible evidence in favor of the identification of **kV-* and **ǵi-* as pre-Roman morphemes (§ 9.1.1, § 9.1.2), as well as for the productivity of pre-Roman morphology on inherited words.

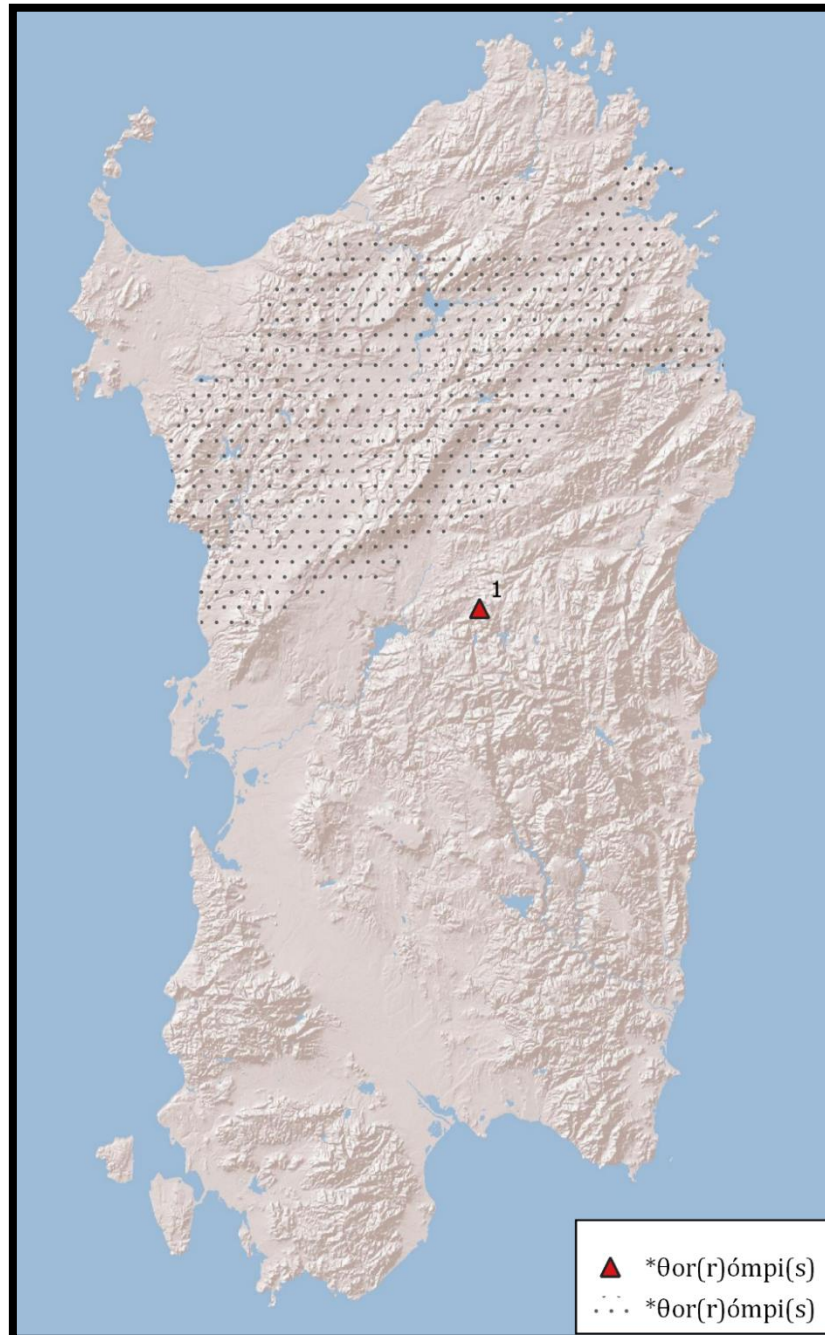


Figure 4.3.3: Lizard; snake

4.3.3 Lizard; snake

Reconstruction	Forms
* <i>ʒor(r)ómpi(s)</i>	DES (II: 600): <i>tsorómpis</i> (1: Olzai) ‘lizard’
	Marcialis (2005: 70): <i>zorrómpi</i> (Log.) ‘snake’

Unfortunately, Marcialis (2005: 70) does not provide precise geographical information for Log. *zorrómpi* ‘snake’. In *tsorómpis* (1: Olzai), initial *ts-* can reflect **ʒ-* (Contini 1987: 548). The ending *-is* in *tsorómpis* (1: Olzai) is also found in some other suspected pre-Roman words (§ 9.2.8). The lack of an etymology and the peculiar phonetic structure of this word point to a pre-Roman origin. I agree with Wagner (DES II: 600) that Jud’s (1942: 353) comparison of this word to Arag. *sargantana* and Bq. *suranguilla* ‘lizard’ is not convincing.

4.3.4 Skink (*Chalcides ocellatus tiligugu*); slug¹⁴⁹

Reconstruction	Forms
1: * <i>ʒilikúku</i>	DES (II: 546): <i>attilyúyu</i> (2: Osilo, 5: Ozieri), <i>tirigúru</i> (3: Sassari), <i>tiliyúyu</i> (4: Ploaghe, 11: Macomer, 8: Bosa), <i>ʒilikúku</i> (6: Bitti, 12: Orani), <i>attaliyúye</i> (Sennori) ‘skink (<i>Chalcides ocellatus tiligugu</i>)’; <i>tsirikúku</i> ¹⁵⁰ (1: Tempio Pausania), <i>tiliyúyu</i> (11: Macomer, 14: Santu Lussurgiu), <i>tsiliyúyu</i> (13: Borore), <i>ʒilikúku</i> (Orani) ‘slug’
	AIS (449): [<i>su</i>] <i>tsiriyúyu</i> (16: Milis) ‘skink (<i>Chalcides ocellatus tiligugu</i> (Gmelin, 1789))’
2: * <i>ʒalakúku</i>	DES (II: 546): <i>ʒalakúku</i> (7: Nuoro), <i>ʒalakúka</i> (9: Dorgali), <i>ʒelakúka</i> (10: Oliena), <i>ʒalakúʔa</i> (15: Fonni), <i>tsaʒayúyu</i> (21: Oristano) ‘skink (<i>Chalcides ocellatus tiligugu</i>)’
	AIS (449): [<i>sa</i>] <i>ʒaʒalakúka</i> (9: Dorgali) ‘skink (<i>Chalcides ocellatus tiligugu</i>)’
3: * <i>ʒiʒilúka</i>	DES (II: 546): <i>sintsilúya</i> (19: Aritzo) ‘skink (<i>Chalcides ocellatus tiligugu</i>)’

¹⁴⁹ These data are discussed in a similar fashion in Swanenvleugel (2024: 246–249).

¹⁵⁰ Wagner (DES II: 546) gives *tsilikúku* for Tempio Pausania and cites AIS 461. However, AIS has *tsirikúku*.

4: * <i>ḡaḡḡalúka</i>	DES (II: 546): <i>tsantsallúya</i> (20: Meana Sardo), <i>tsattsalúya</i> (22: Laconi), <i>satsaúya</i> (27: Villacidro), <i>sattsalúya</i> (Camp., 29: Cagliari), <i>sošòya</i> (Sulcis reg.) 'skink (<i>Chalcides ocellatus tiligugu</i>)'; <i>sattsalúya</i> (18: Busachi), <i>tsattsalúya</i> (22: Laconi), <i>sassalúya</i> (23: Gairo), <i>sattsayúka</i> (28: Dolianova) 'slug' AIS (449, 461): [sa] <i>ḡaḡḡalúkka</i> (17: Baunei), [sa] <i>sattsalúya</i> (24: Mogoro), [sa] <i>šassalúya</i> (25: Perdasdefogu), [sa] <i>sattsalúya</i> (26: Escalaplano), [sa] <i>sošòya</i> (30: San Antioco) 'skink (<i>Chalcides ocellatus tiligugu</i>)'
5: * <i>babbalúka</i>	AIS (461): [sa] <i>babbalúya</i> (26: Escalaplano) 'slug'
6: * <i>alikúku</i>	Puddu (2023: s.v. <i>alicúcu</i> 1): <i>alicúcu</i> 'slug'

Besides the forms listed, Marcialis (2005: 17, 65, 69) also has *attilingia* (Pattada), *azzacauga* (without location), *tiligulu* (Bosa) and *zaraclua* (Olzai). Although all have a similar structure, they are probably not directly cognate with **ḡilikúku*. *Attilingia* from Pattada probably belongs together with words for 'earthworm', cf. *tilínḡa* (Oschiri) 'earthworm' (cf. § 4.1.10). *Azzacauga* is difficult to judge, especially because its location is unknown. We might speculate that it goes back to **ḡakalúka*, metathesized from **ḡalakúka* etc., but the loss of the *-l-* (which also occurs in Oristanese *tsaḡayúyu*) is difficult to reconcile with the preservation of the voiceless stop *-k-* (spelled *-c-*). *Tiligulu* is cited by Guarnerio (1904a: 66) as "*tilígulu*" (with preparoxytone accent), which makes a connection to **ḡilikúku* difficult, unless some analogy to the diminutive suffix *-ulu* is involved. Guarnerio's (1904a: 61) proposal of *zaraclua* (Olzai) as a metathesis from **zaraluge* is neither convincing, nor would it suffice to fully explain this form.

Of the words that are listed above, the majority can be separated into two main groups. To the first group belong all forms of type 1 **ḡilikúku* and type 2 **ḡalakúka*. These bear an obvious similarity to *ḡilikèrta* and *ḡalaḡèrta* 'lizard' (§ 4.3.2), and are suspect of containing the same pre-Roman *ḡi*-prefix (§ 9.1.2). The second group includes the forms of type 3 **ḡiḡḡilúka* and type 4 **ḡaḡḡalúka*, which are found in the Campidanese dialects. Despite the phonetic similarities between **ḡili-/ḡalakúku* and **ḡaḡḡalúka*, and despite their shared polysemy 'skink; slug', it is very difficult to reconcile the two groups. For this reason, I prefer to treat them as two unrelated words. AIS (461) further presents *babbalúya* (26), whose first part is related to *babbóḡ*, *bobbóḡ* 'generic term for invertebrates' (DES I: 161). Puddu (2023: s.v. *alicúcu*) also lists *alicúcu* 'kind of long snail, but without a shell', which is however absent from Wagner and the AIS.

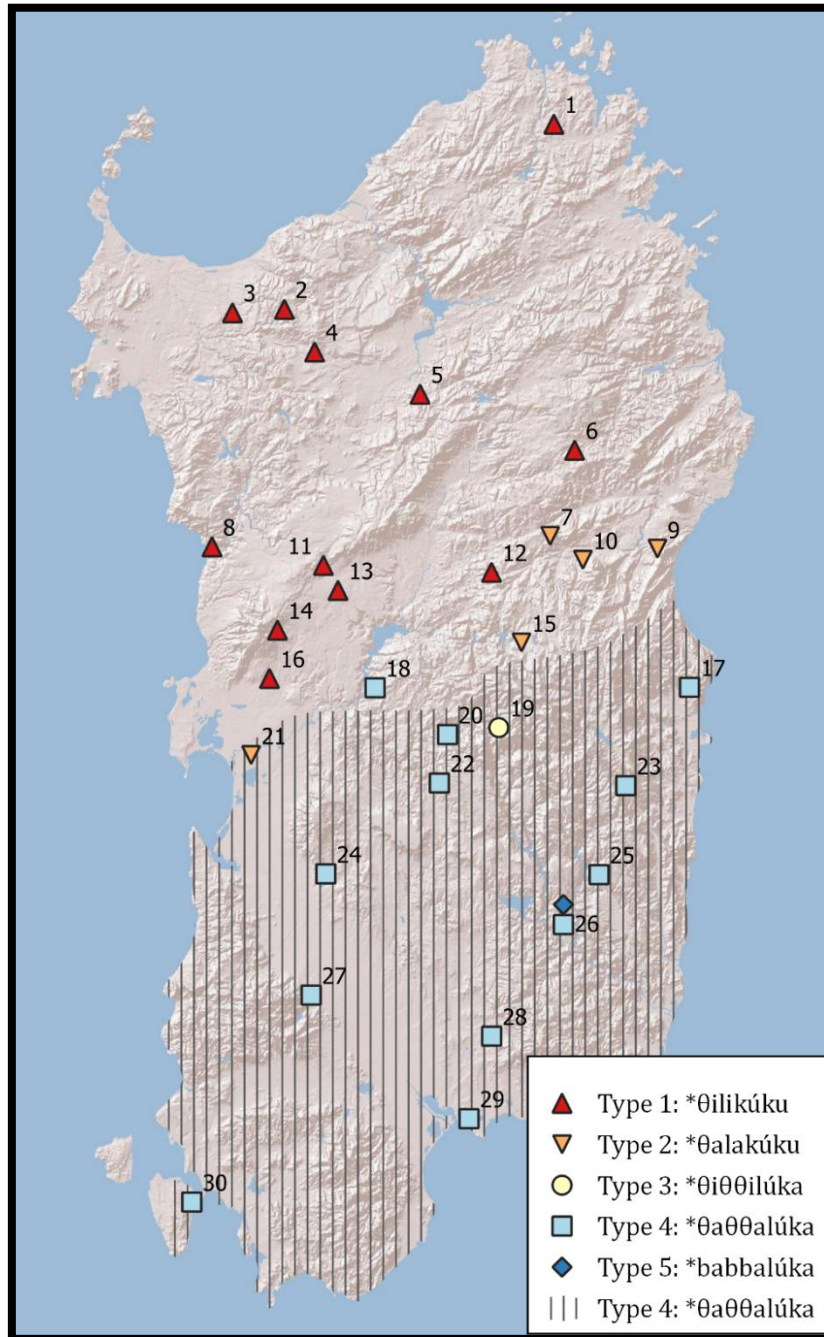


Figure 4.3.4: Skink (*Chalcides ocellatus tiligugu*); slug

Type 2 **ǵalakúka* and type 3 **ǵiǵǵilúka* occur in a strip between the more common types **ǵilikúku* and **ǵaǵǵalúka*. It is therefore attractive to explain **ǵalakúka* (type 2) as originally being identical to **ǵilikúku*, having undergone influence from forms like **ǵaǵǵalúka*. Vice versa, **ǵiǵǵilúka* (type 3) may originally have been **ǵaǵǵalúka* (type 4), influenced by **ǵilikúku* (type 1). This scenario is supported by the form *ǵaǵǵalakúkka* (g: Dorgali), which seems to be a complete blend of the two types. If this analysis is correct, we are left with two etymologically distinct words, **ǵilikúku* and **ǵaǵǵalúka*, both meaning ‘skink’ as well as ‘slug’. This perhaps surprising homonymy is understandable in light of the skink’s small, almost vestigial, legs, which give it the looks of a short, fat snake, or indeed a slug. In the meaning ‘slug’.

The apparent coexistence of **alikúku* and **ǵilikúku* in the meaning ‘slug’ is potential evidence for the identification of **ǵi-* in this word as a separable morpheme, like in *ǵilikèrta*. However, the lack of information on the provenance of the listed forms makes it difficult to use *alicúcu* for the analysis of the distribution of this feature. The part *-kúku* is reminiscent of several formations with the meaning ‘slug’ containing the element *kokk-*: *kokkój*, *kokkóile*, *kokkorój*, *kokkolódde* etc. (DES I: 356), but it is uncertain whether they are to be connected. There are several other phonetically similar words for slugs and snails, such as *kòrra* ‘snail’, *sittsi-ǵórru* ‘slug, snail’ << Lat. *cornus* (DES I: 387; II: 422; cf. § 4.1.15) and *kròka*, *krokkèddà* ‘(various species of) snail’ (DES I: 407). As a result, it is very much possible that the various words for ‘snail’ and ‘slug’ influenced each other.

4.3.5 Viperine snake (*Natrix maura*)₁

Reconstruction	Forms
1: <i>*lírčis</i>	DES (II: 31): <i>lírčis</i> (1: Nuoro, 3: Gavoi) ‘viperine snake (<i>Natrix maura</i> (Linnaeus, 1758))’
2: <i>*lúrtsi</i> / <i>*lúrǵi</i>	DES (II: 31): <i>lúrtsi</i> (Nuor.) ‘id.’ Marcialis (2005: 64): <i>sulurzi</i> (2: Olzai) ‘id.’

This word for snake, restricted to the Nuorese dialects, has no clear Romance etymology. We find phonetic alternations in the stressed vowel as well as in the realization of the affricate present in this word. Neither of these is easily explained. The affricates *-č-* and *-ts-* do not have a regular source in these dialects (except for Olzai <-z-> /ts/ < *-ǵ-), nor do they usually correspond to each other (cf. § 8.1.4). Type 1 has word-final *-s*, which is also found in some other animal names (§ 9.2.8). This might point to a pre-Roman origin of this word. *Su-* in *sulurtsi* (2: Olzai) is due to reinterpretation of the masculine article *su* as belonging to the lexical stem.

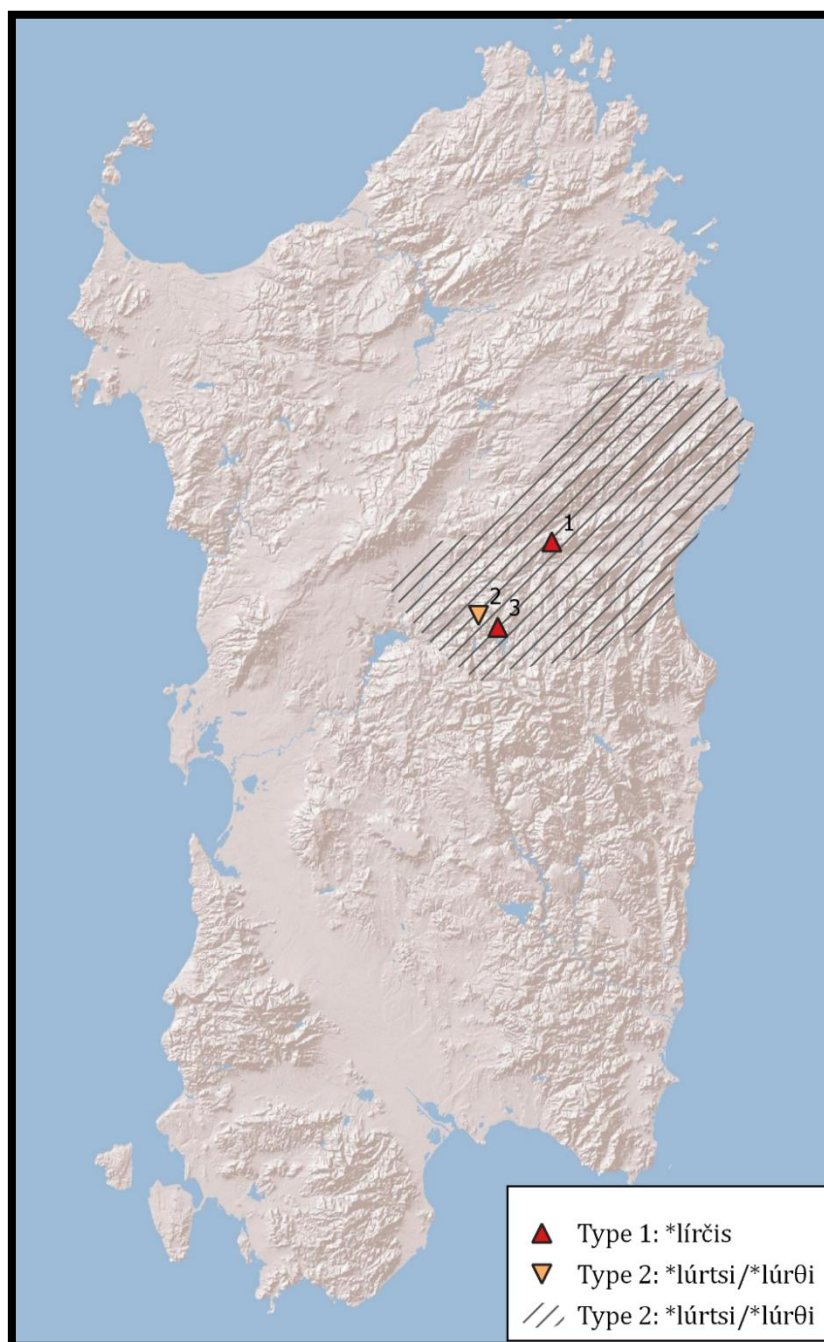


Figure 4.3.5: Viperine snake (*Natrix maura*)

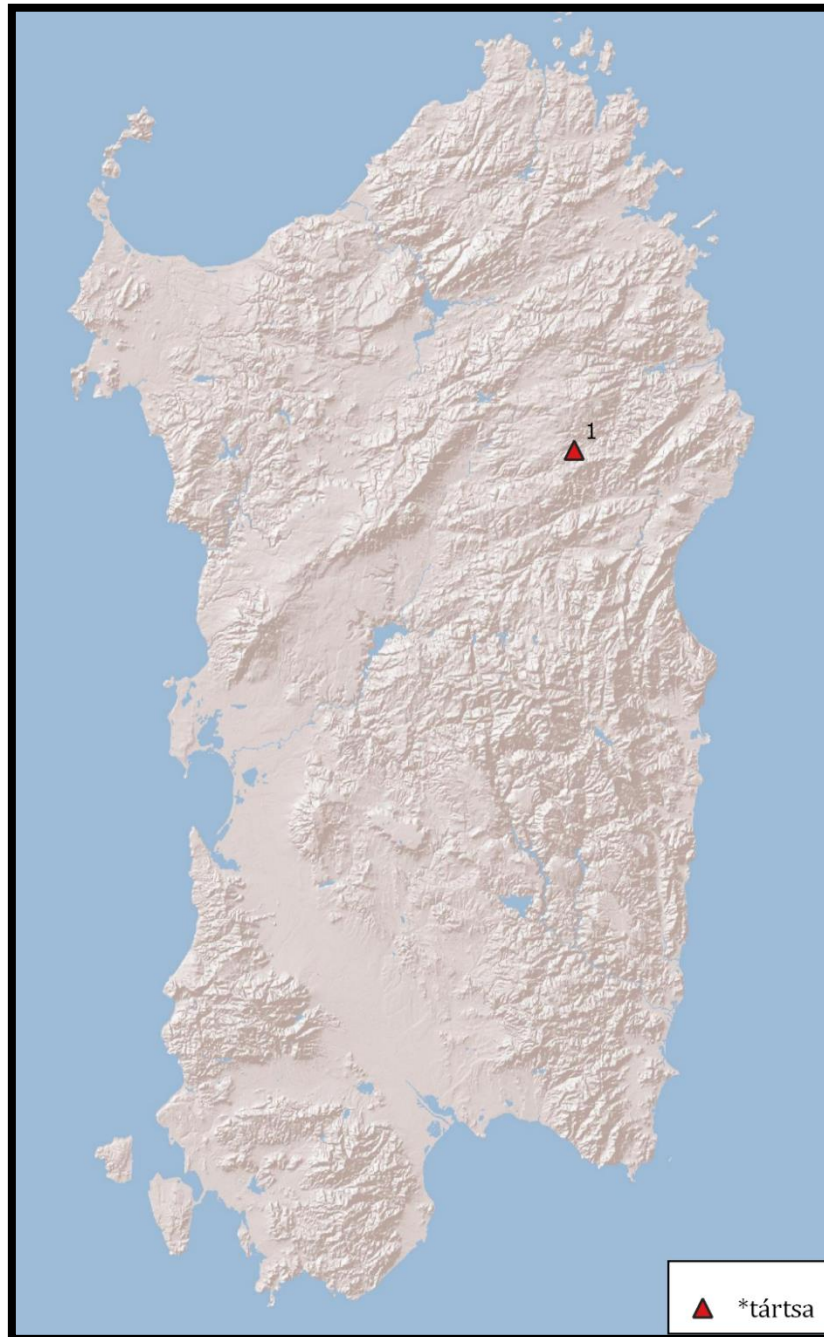


Figure 4.3.6: Viperine snake (*Natrix maura*)

4.3.6 Viperine snake (*Natrix maura*)₂**Reconstruction Forms**

1: **tártsa* DES (II: 466): *tártsa* (1: Bitti) ‘viperine snake (*Natrix maura*)’

This word is only attested in Bitti, which makes its analysis difficult. The presence of *-ts-* is peculiar, as there is no regular phonetic source for it in Bittese (§ 8.1.4). In the same region we find *lírčis* and *lúrtsi* for the same animal and with the same odd cluster *-rts-* (§ 4.3.5). It is impossible to connect *tártsa* to *lúrtsi* formally though.

4.4 Birds

4.4.1 Bee-eater (*Merops apiaster*)**Reconstruction Forms**

1: **marrakátu* DES (II: 71): *mar(r)ayáu* (Camp.), *marayáu* (1: Triei, 2: Busachi), *marrangáu* (3: Laconi) ‘bee-eater (*Merops apiaster* Linnaeus, 1758)’

2: **marráku* DES (II: 71): *marráyu* (4: Escalaplano, 5: Guasila, 6: Sant’Antioco, 7: Sarroch) ‘id.’

The words listed above are found across the Campidanese dialects and refer to the ‘bee-eater (*Merops apiaster*)’. The forms come in two types, those derived with the past participle suffix *-áu* < Lat. *-ātus* and those without *-áu*. The un-suffixed forms show us that we must reconstruct a form **marráku* ‘bee-eater’. Besides *-n-*epenthesis, which is common, in the variant from Laconi (3), there is not much variation going on in this word. Although it lacks an etymology, there is no positive evidence in favor of a pre-Roman origin.

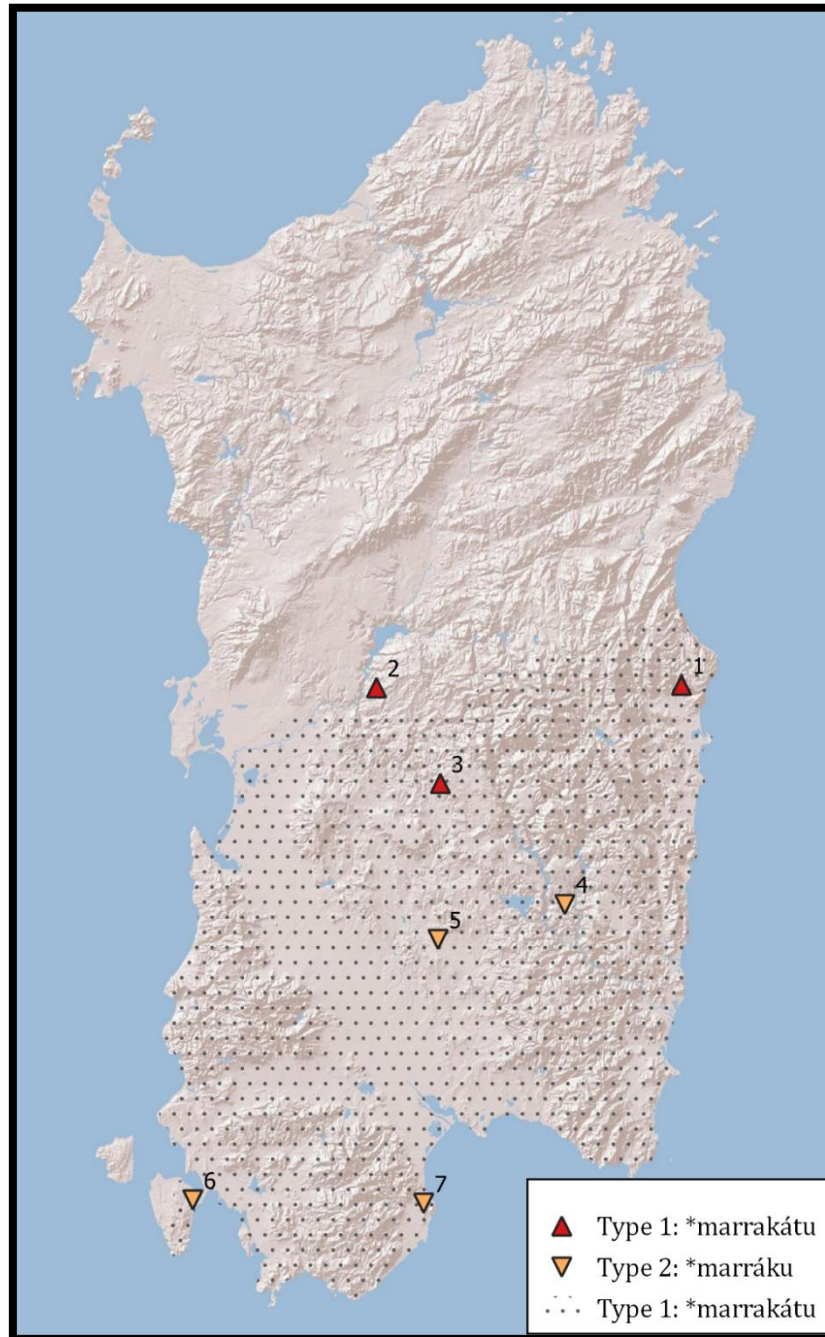


Figure 4.4.1: Bee-eater (*Merops apiaster*)

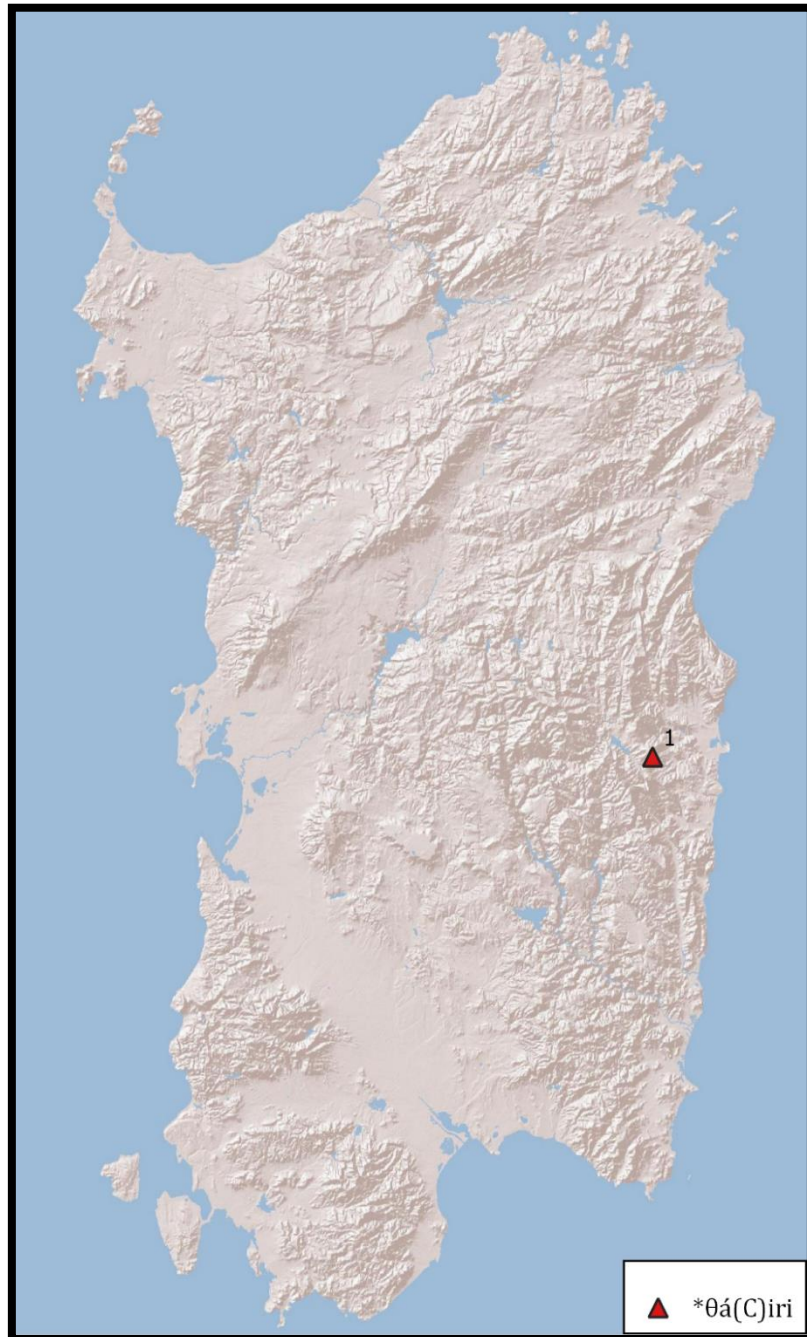


Figure 4.4.2: Bird of prey

4.4.2 Bird of prey

Reconstruction	Forms
* <i>ǵá(C)iri</i>	Paulis (2008: 24): <i>ǵáiri</i> (1: Arzana) ‘bird(s) of prey; harmful bird(s)’

Paulis (2008: 24) records *ǵáiri* from Arzana, used to “to generally indicate birds of prey, or birds that are harmful and dedicated thieves” (cf. Putzu 2019: 4). This word is apparently not recorded in any lexicon, but may be present in a number of micro-toponyms in Arzana and Gonnosfanadiga (Paulis 2008: 24). Paulis (2008: 24) connects *ǵáiri* to a Basque form *sari* ‘vulture’. However, Bq. *sari* ‘vulture’ is only mentioned by Löpelmann (1968: 1138) as a variant of common Bq. *sai* ‘id.’ (cf. EH: 558). Trask (2008: 389) reconstructs this word as **sai*. The comparison between Bq. **sai* ‘vulture’ and Srd. **ǵá(C)iri* ‘bird of prey’ is formally unconvincing. This word cannot reliably be used in favor of a connection between Basque and the pre-Roman Sardinian substrate. Equally unconvincing is the comparison between Srd. **ǵá(C)iri* ‘bird of prey’ and Chenoua Bb. *isyi* ‘bird of prey’ (Paulis 2008: 24; cf. Laoust 1912: 136).¹⁵¹

4.4.3 Bird species (various)

Reconstruction	Forms
* <i>korrokkátu</i>	DES (I: 387): <i>korrokkáu</i> (1: Terralba) ‘bee-eater (<i>Merops apiaster</i>)’; <i>kurrukáu</i> (2: Mogoro) ‘indeterminate bird’; <i>korrokkáu</i> (3: Villacidro) ‘robin (<i>Erithacus rubecula</i> (Linnaeus, 1758))’ Puddu (2023: s.v. <i>càu</i> , <i>corrocàu</i>): <i>corrocàu</i> , <i>currucàu</i> ‘sea gull (<i>Larus sp.</i> Linnaeus, 1758)’

The exact meaning of this word is difficult to establish. According to Wagner it means ‘bee-eater’ in Terralba and ‘robin’ in Villacidro, whereas in Mogoro the species cannot be determined. The bee-eater and the robin are both small, colorful birds, making any confusion understandable. Puddu, however, defines *corrocàu* as ‘sea gull’. Unless one of the two sources is mistaken, I do not know how to explain this semantic variation. The ending *-áu* could be the past participle suffix (< Lat. *-ātus*). The semantic uncertainties and limited attestation of this word make any further analysis difficult. Other names for the robin and the bee-eater are also of uncertain origin (cf. § 4.4.1, § 4.4.9, § 4.4.10, § 4.4.12).

¹⁵¹ This comparison is based on Löpelmann’s (1968: 1138) comparison between Bq. *sari* ‘vulture’ and Bb. *isyi* ‘bird of prey’, which is formally no closer match.

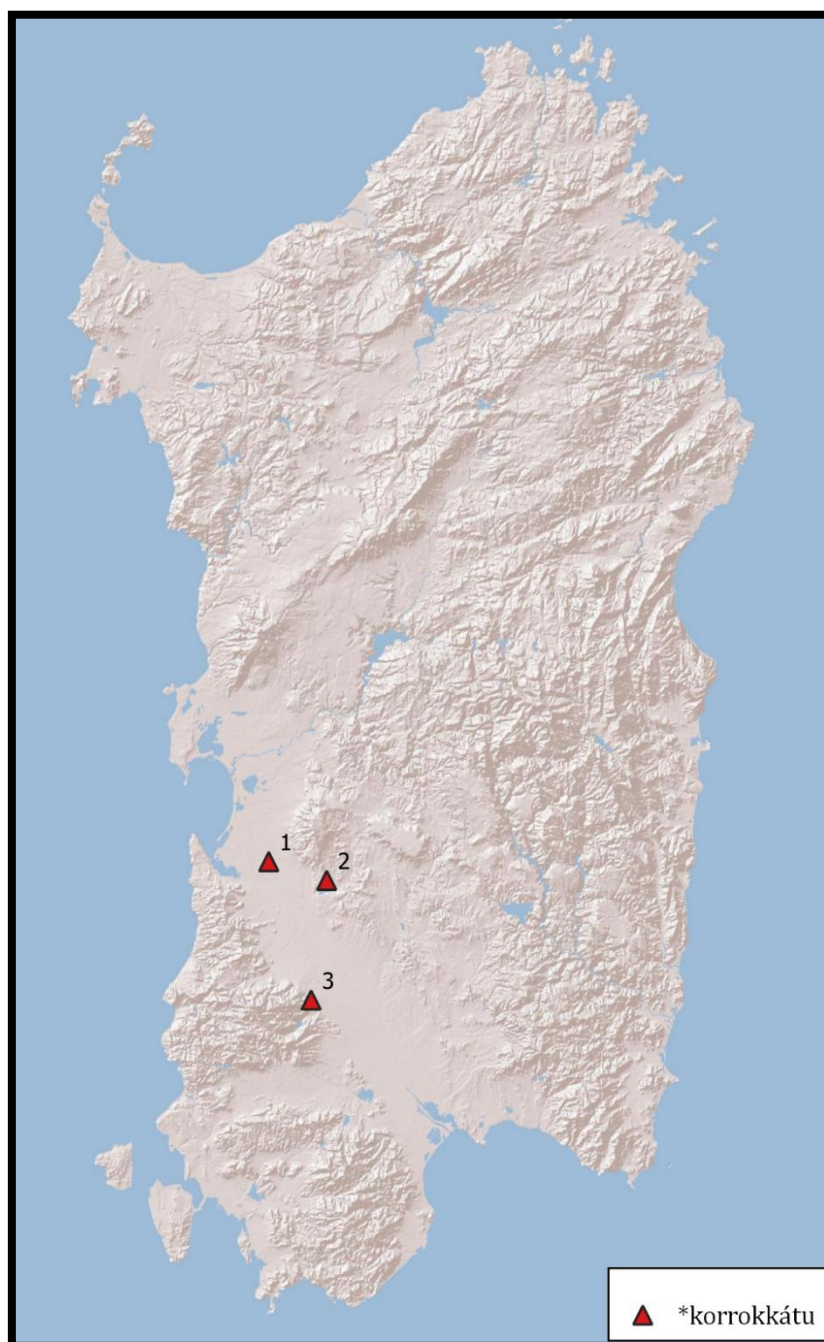


Figure 4.4.3: Bird species (various)

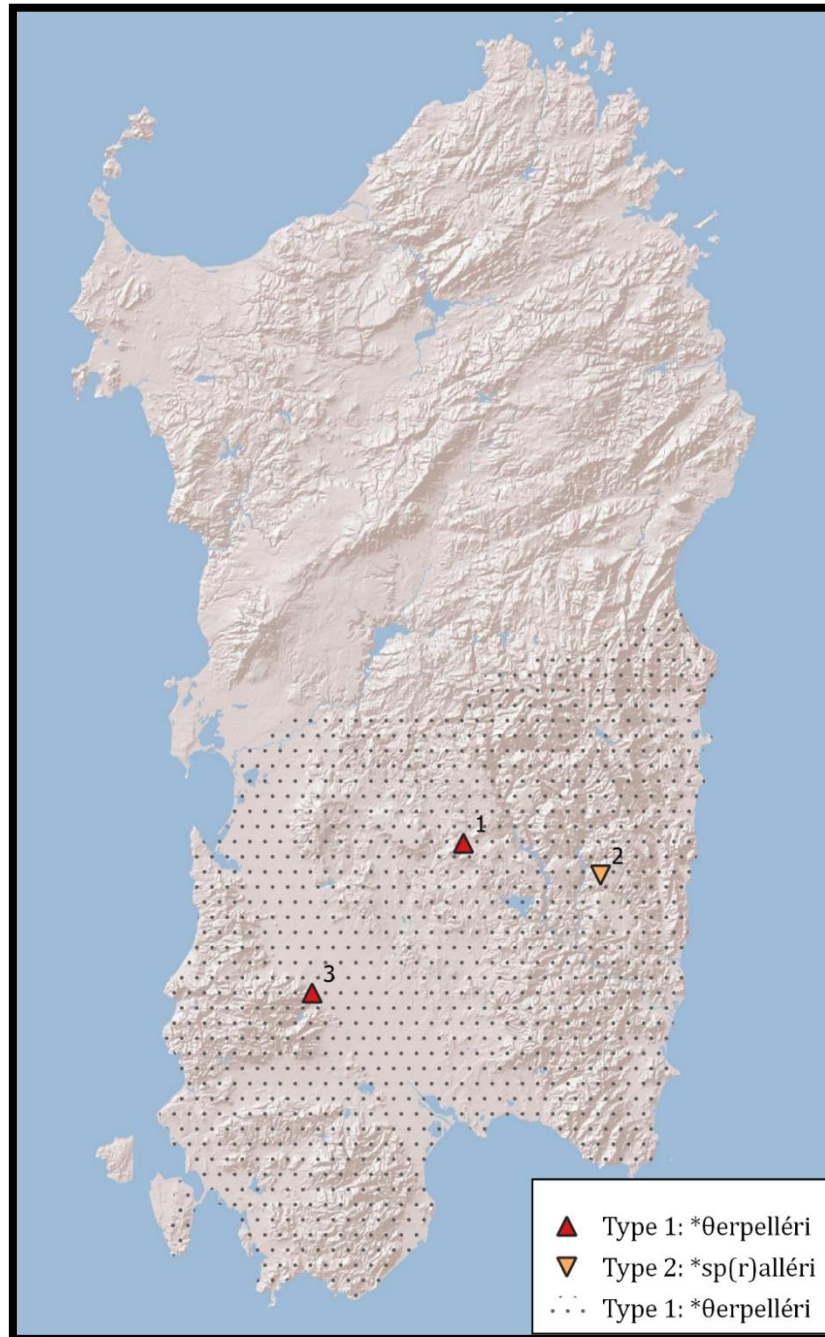


Figure 4.4.4: Kestrel (*Falco tinnunculus*)

4.4.4 Kestrel (*Falco tinnunculus*)₁

Reconstruction	Forms
1: * <i>ǵerpelléri</i>	DES (II: 588–589): <i>tserpeḍḍéri</i> , <i>tsreppēḍḍéri</i> (Camp.), <i>tsrappēḍḍéri</i> (1: Isili), <i>tsarpeḍḍéri</i> (3: Villacidro) ‘kestrel (<i>Falco tinnunculus</i> Linnaeus, 1758)’
2: * <i>sp(r)alléri</i>	DES (II: 588–589): <i>spraḍḍéri</i> (2: Perdasdefogu) ‘id.’ Cetti (1776: 54): <i>spadderi</i> ‘id.’

Type 2 of this word has clearly been influenced by Camp. *spraḥéri* ‘sparrowhawk (*Accipiter nisus* (Linnaeus, 1758)); kite (*Milvus milvus* (Linnaeus, 1758))’ << Cat. *esparver* ‘sparrowhawk’ (DES II: 433). The forms of type 1 seem to go back to **ǵerpell-éri*. The suffix *-éri* is usually found in words of Italian or Catalan origin (Wagner 1952: 75–78) and may indicate that the forms of this type also underwent some influence from *spraḥéri* ‘sparrowhawk, kite’. Wagner (DES II: 589) suggests influence from Camp. *tsèrpi* ‘snake, noxious animal’ for the forms of type 1, but stresses that this is not enough to explain the whole word. If the word for ‘snake’ influenced these words for ‘kestrel’, which seems unlikely to me on semantic grounds, the original shape of this word is impossible to retrieve, since *spraḍḍéri* (type 2) cannot yield any reliable information either. Without any further evidence however, the connection to *tsèrpi* ‘snake’ is doubtful. This word’s etymology remains unclarified.

4.4.5 Kestrel (*Falco tinnunculus*)₂¹⁵²

Reconstruction	Forms
1: * <i>ǵiliprí(g)u</i>	DES (II: 483): <i>čiliḥríu</i> (NLog.), <i>attiliḥríu</i> (1: Osilo), <i>tilibríu</i> (3: Ploaghe, 4: Posada) ‘kestrel (<i>Falco tinnunculus</i>)’
2: * <i>ǵilipríkku</i>	DES (II: 483): <i>tilibríkku</i> (Log.), <i>tiribíkku</i> (2: Sassari) ‘id.’ Marcialis (2005: 65): <i>tilipricu</i> ‘id.’

The forms for ‘kestrel’ listed above all occur in the northern part of Sardinia. They go back to **ǵiliprí(g)u* (type 1) and **ǵilipríkku* (type 2). The alternation between *-(g)- and *-kk- is unexpected. Like several other animal names, this word starts in **ǵi-*, although we do not find an alternation. Wagner (DES II: 483) cites Sass. *tiribíkku* ‘kestrel’, which is identical to the Sassarese attestation in AIS for ‘grasshopper’ (§ 4.1.12). Since neither of the sources have this form in the other meaning, it is possible that they were confused either in DES or in AIS. It is probable that this word originates from the same pre-Roman language as other animal names containing **ǵi-* (cf. § 9.1.2).

¹⁵² These data are discussed in a similar fashion in Swanenvleugel (2024: 250–251).

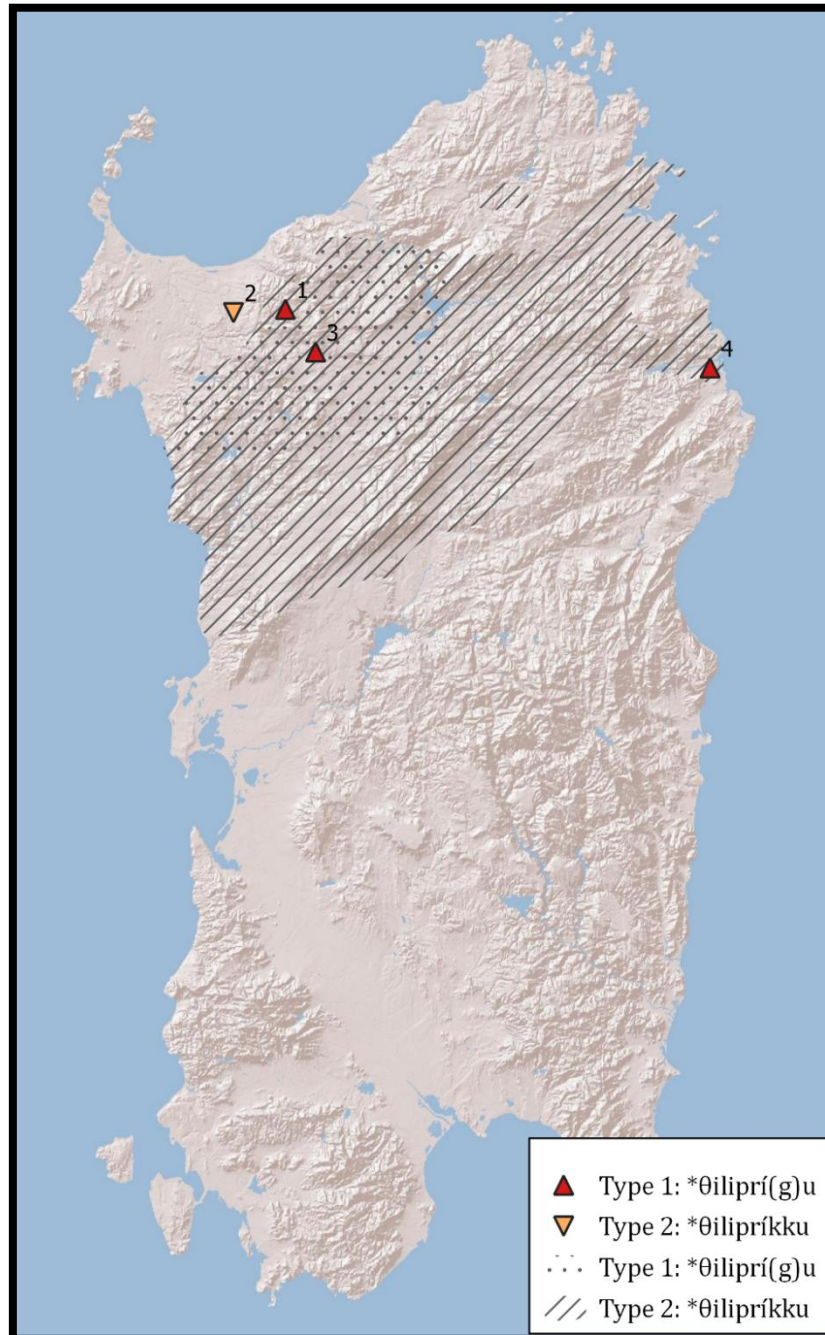


Figure 4.4.5: Kestrel (*Falco tinnunculus*)

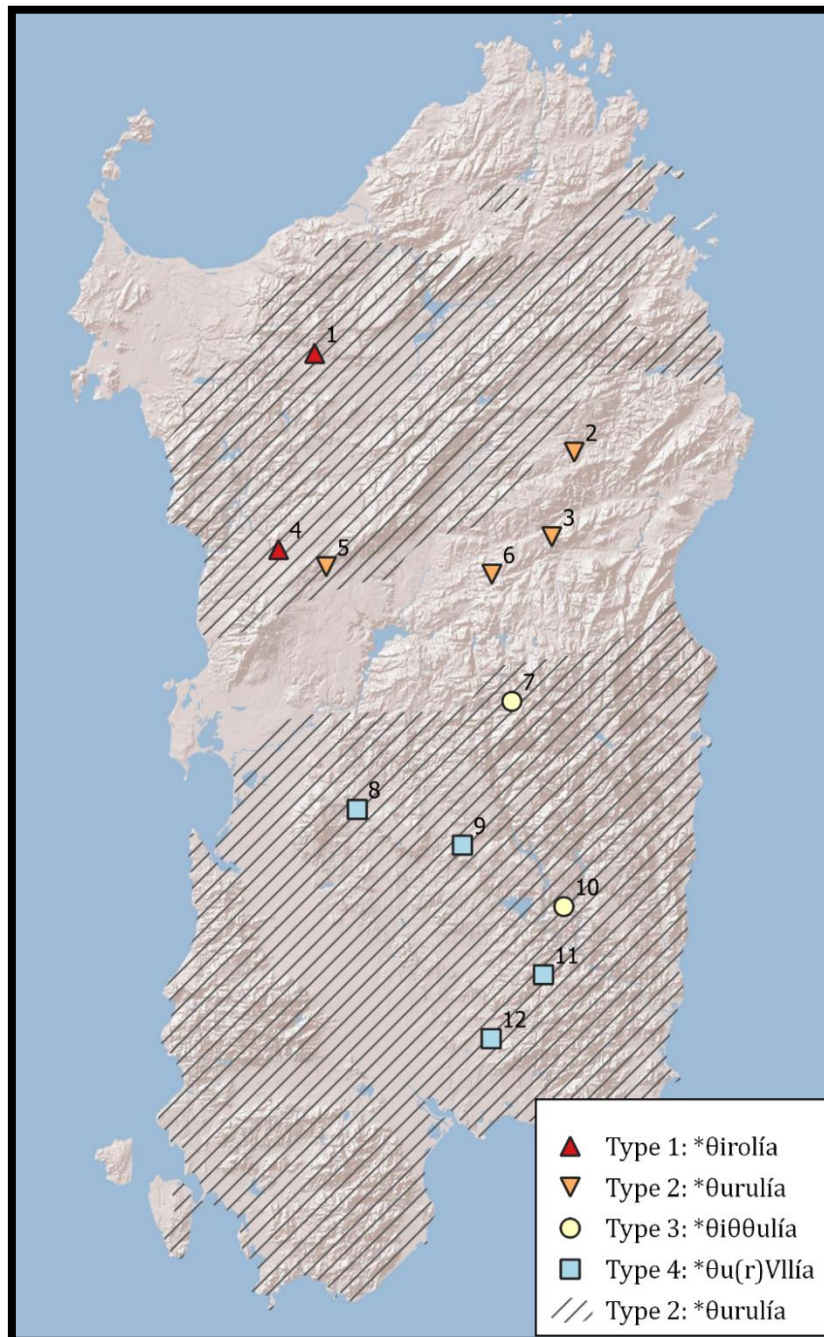


Figure 4.4.6: Kite (*Milvus milvus*)

4.4.6 Kite (*Milvus milvus*)**ReconstructionForms**

1: * <i>ḡirolía</i>	DES (II: 555): <i>attiloría</i> , <i>attularia</i> (NLog.) <i>čírolía</i> (1: Ploaghe), <i>tirolía</i> (4: Sindía) ‘red kite (<i>Milvus milvus</i> (Linnaeus, 1758))’
2: * <i>ḡurulía</i>	DES (II: 555): <i>turulía</i> , <i>asturólia</i> (Log.), <i>tsurulía</i> (Camp.), <i>ḡurulía</i> (2: Bitti, 3: Nuoro, 6: Orani), <i>atturulía</i> (5: Macomer) ‘id.’
3: * <i>ḡiḡḡulía</i>	DES (II: 555): <i>čiččulía</i> (7: Desulo), <i>sittsulía</i> (10: Escalaplano) ‘id.’
4: * <i>ḡu(r)Vllía</i>	DES (II: 555): <i>tsiodđía</i> (8: Usellus) <i>tsuidđía</i> (9: Isili), <i>tsuedđía</i> (11: San Nicolò Gerrei), <i>tsuađđía</i> (12: Dolianova) ‘id.’

According to DES (II: 555), these forms all refer to the ‘red kite’ primarily, but are also often used to refer to the ‘common kestrel (*Falco tinnunculus*)’. Of the types that can be distinguished, type 2 **ḡurulía* is most widespread. Type 1, found in Logudorese, goes back to **ḡirolía*, with metathesis of *-l-* and *-r-* in the case of NLog. *attiloría*, *attularia*. Log. *asturólia* has been influenced by *astòre* ‘peregrine falcon (*Falco peregrinus* Tunstall, 1771)’ << Cat. *astor* ‘id.’ (DES I: 141; II: 555). Type 3 requires original **ḡiḡḡulía*. Type 4 can go back to **ḡurVllía*, with loss of intervocalic *-r-* that is common in Campidanese dialects (Wagner 1941a: 129). The varying vocalism (*-io-*, *-ui-*, *-ue-*, *-ua-*) must be the result of the dissimilation of vowels in hiatus, but it is difficult to discern what the original vocalism might have been.

Types 1, 2, and 4 mainly differ in their vocalism, and the fact that type 4 contains geminate **-ll-*. We can tentatively reconcile these three types in **ḡurol(l)ía*, since all forms contain either *-u-* followed by another vowel or *-o-* preceded by another vowel. This hypothesized original vocalism is found in Log. *asturólia*, whose vocalism cannot be explained from *astòre*. Still unexplained are geminate **-ll-* in type 4, and the aberrant consonantism in type 3, where the **-r-* found in the other forms appears to have been replaced with **-ḡ-*. It is difficult to explain these phenomena by means of commonly found phonological processes. Wagner (DES II: 555) may be right in attributing the variation in these forms to onomatopoeic deformations, but this is hardly satisfactory. For type 3, it is noteworthy that there are various other Campidanese animal names starting in *sitts-* etc. < **ḡiḡḡ-*, which may have acted as a source of influence (§ 9.1.2.1). The apparent replacement of singleton **-l-* with geminate **-ll-* in type 4 must have pre-dated common Srd. **-ll-* > *-đđ-*. Perhaps this alternation is to be attributed to dialectal variation in the pre-Roman source language of this word. If it is, we would expect to find the same variation in other words of suspected pre-Roman origin (§ 8.2.1.2.2).

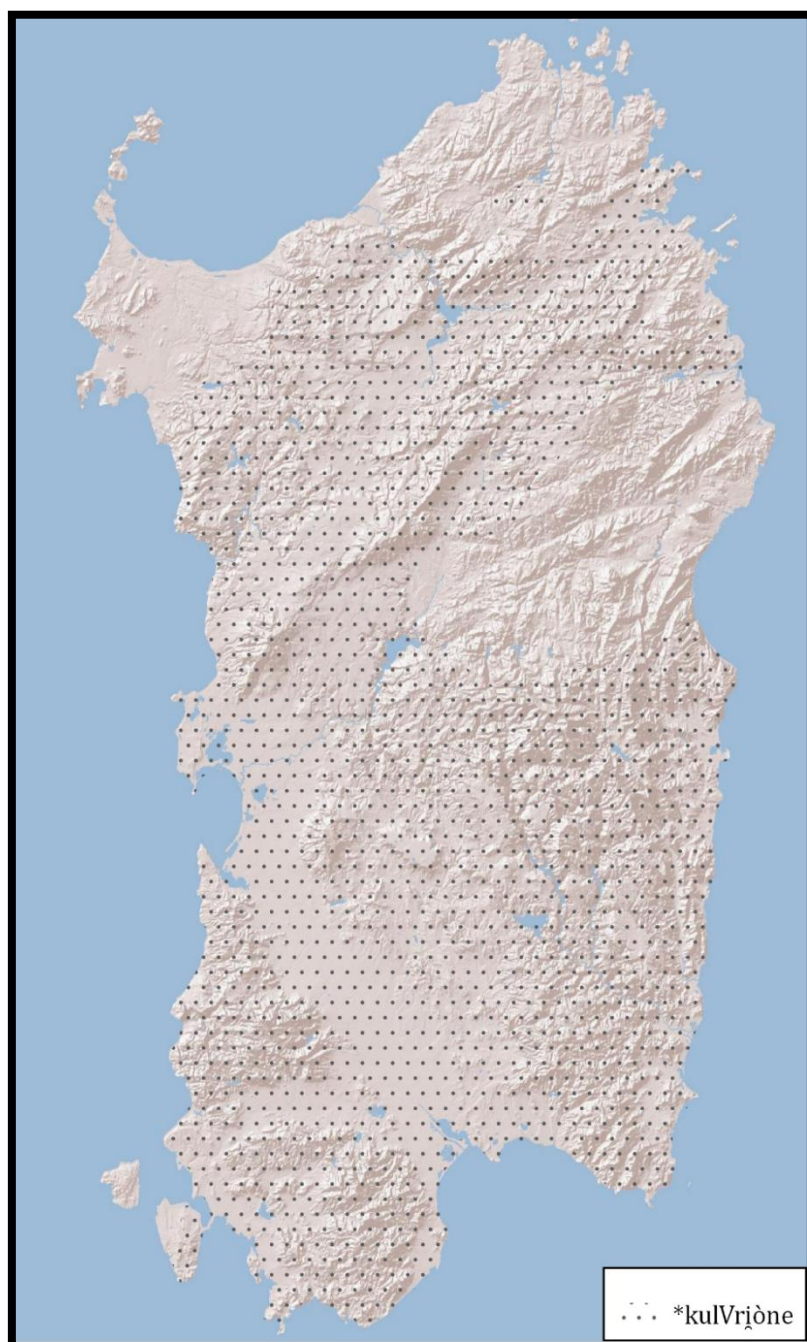


Figure 4.4.7: Plover (*Pluvialis apricaria*)

4.4.7 Plover (*Pluvialis apricaria*)

Reconstruction	Forms
1: <i>*kulVrìone</i>	DES (I: 424–25): <i>kulurdzòne</i> (Log.), <i>kulirǵòni</i> , <i>kulingòni</i> (Camp.), <i>kruβižđi</i> [<i>e ðèrra</i>] (1: San Gavino Monreale) ‘plover (<i>Pluvialis apricaria</i> (Linnaeus, 1758))’

All of these forms can go back to **kulurìone* or **kulirìone*.¹⁵³ I agree with Wagner (DES I: 424–25) that Subak’s (1909: 480) etymology from Lat. *chlōriō*, *-ōnem* can not be upheld. The Latin form, attested in Pliny, is the same as Gr. χρῳρίων ‘golden oriole (*Oriolus oriolus* (Linnaeus, 1758))’, which is a rather different kind of bird. There are moreover serious formal problems in explaining Srd. **kulVrìone* from Lat. *chlōriō*, *-ōnem*. Also strikingly similar is Gr. κολλυρίων ‘thrush (*Turdus sp.* Linnaeus, 1758)’ (Liddell et al. 1978: s.v. κολλυρίων). Thrushes are however hardly more similar to plovers than orioles, so this could be due to a coincidence. The origin of this word remains obscure. In the absence of an etymology and in light of its peculiar structure, the Sardinian word for ‘plover’ could perhaps go back to a pre-Roman source. Within Sardinian, these forms are largely homophonous with *culurgionis*, a type of ravioli filled with potatoes and sheep cheese, folded in the shape of an ear of grain (DES II: 424). These words have been derived from Gr. κολλύρον, *-α*, κολλύριον ‘type of round bread’ (Ettmayer 1906: 656; Rohlf 1964: 252–253). The semantic relation between the different kinds of birds on the one hand, and ravioli on the other is not clear to me.

4.4.8 Raven (*Corvus corax*)

Reconstruction	Forms
<i>*tifáne/i</i>	DES (II: 492): <i>tiváni</i> (1: Baunei, 3: Villagrande Strisaili, 4: Arzana, 5: Gairo) ‘raven (<i>Corvus corax</i> Linnaeus, 1758)’ Blasco Ferrer (1989: 15 fn. 2): <i>tifane</i> (1: Urzulei, 2: Baunei) ‘id.’

These forms denoting ravens go back to **tifáne/i*, which is attested as a personal name (cf. DES II: 492). Wagner (1928: 21; DES II: 492) is hesitant to decide whether the animal’s name is based on the personal name or vice versa. He does however compare Rif. *asiwan*, *tasiwant* ‘bird of prey’ (cf. Serhoual 2002: 550).¹⁵⁴ This is unattractive semantically and formally. Blasco Ferrer (1989: 15 fn. 2) considers the personal name to be original and says it is Etruscan, but without specifying any arguments for this statement. Paulis (2017: 111) plausibly proposes these forms to go back to the Greek personal name Θεοφάνης. This renders a pre-Roman explanation unnecessary.

¹⁵³ *Kruβižđi* (1: San Gavino Monreale) is due to a metathesis from **kuβiržđi* < **kulirìone*.

¹⁵⁴ I was not able to trace the source of *tsiouânt* ‘raven’, cited by Wagner (DES II: 492).

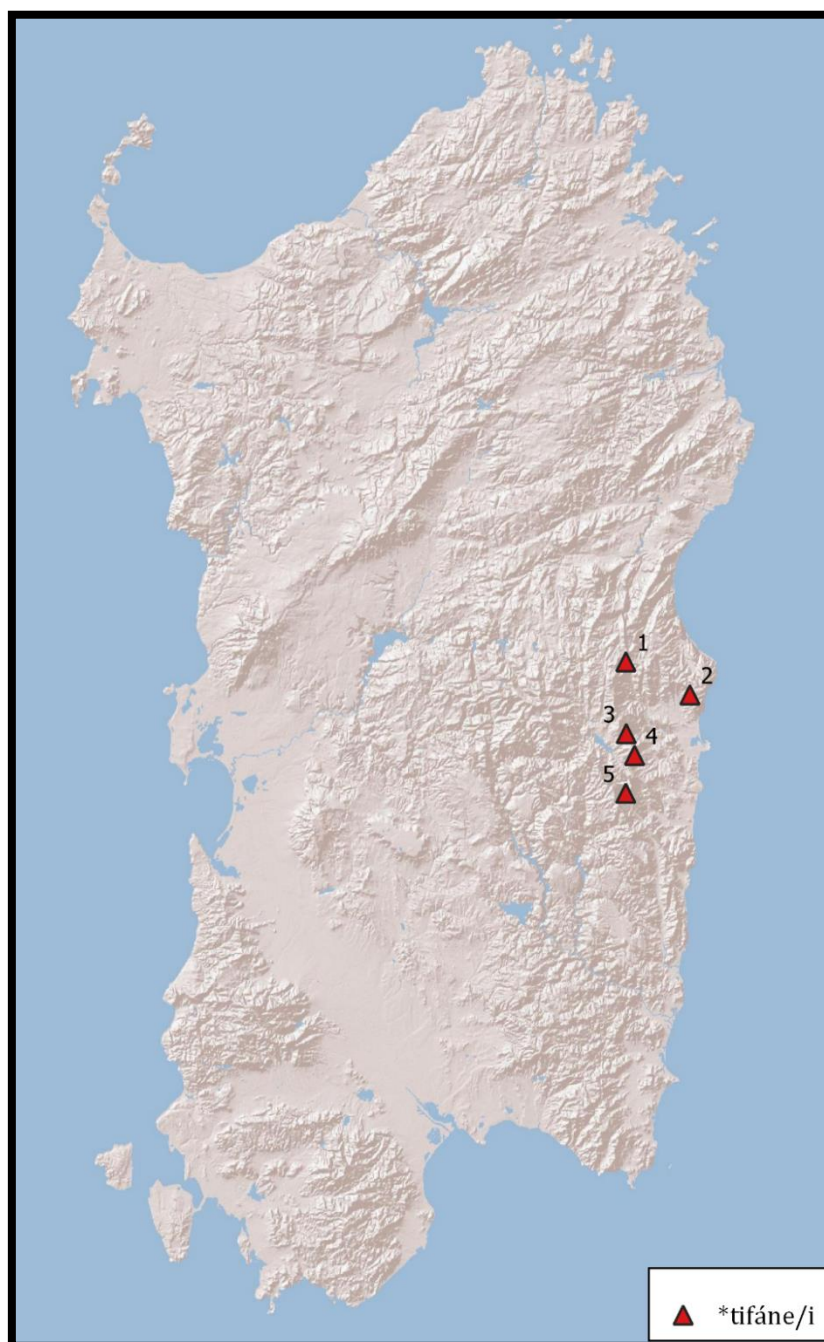


Figure 4.4.8: Raven (*Corvus corax*)

4.4.9 Robin (*Erithacus rubecula*); yellow wagtail (*Motacilla flava*); hare (*Lepus sp.*)

Reconstruction	Forms
1: * <i>brínčiri</i>	DES (I: 226–227): <i>prínčiri</i> (1: Oschiri) ‘yellow wagtail (<i>Motacilla flava</i> Linnaeus, 1758)’
2: * <i>brinčis</i>	DES (I: 226–227): <i>brinzis</i> [<i>cannèdda</i>] (Log.) ‘species of worm’; <i>brínčis</i> (2: Sindia) ‘hare (<i>Lepus sp.</i> Linnaeus, 1758)’; <i>brínčisi</i> (3: Orani) ‘robin’ (<i>Erithacus rubecula</i>)’
3: * <i>brínči</i> /* <i>brísi</i>	DES (I: 226–227): <i>brísi</i> (2: Sindia) ‘hare (<i>Lepus sp.</i>)’; <i>brínči</i> (6: Busachi) ‘robin (<i>Erithacus rubecula</i> Linnaeus, 1758)’
4: * <i>brinčóttu</i>	DES (I: 226–227): <i>prínčóttu</i> (4: Cuglieri) ‘robin (<i>Erithacus rubecula</i>)’
5: * <i>brinkílli</i>	DES (I: 226–227): <i>brinkíddi</i> (5: Norbello) ‘robin (<i>Erithacus rubecula</i>)’

All of the forms listed above seem to contain an element **brínči*/**brínki*, to which different suffixes have been added. Most of the forms refer to the robin or to the yellow wagtail, which are both small colorful birds. The meanings ‘hare’ and ‘worm’ are difficult to explain, and one wonders whether these forms should be kept separate, even if they are formally almost identical to those meaning ‘robin’.¹⁵⁵ Wagner (DES I: 226–27) wants to explain these forms either as pre-Roman or as onomatopoeic formation. In favor of the latter option could be their reference to wildly different species of animal, as well as the presence of the phoneme -č-, which has no clear regular source in these dialects.

On the morphological side, we find the ending *-iri* in type 1 *prínčiri* (cf. § 9.2.6.2). In the forms of type 2, we find the ending *-is*, which also recurs in some other words of potential pre-Roman origin (§ 9.2.8). Type 3 appears lacks any suffixes, and type 4 *-óttu* is of Catalan or Castilian origin (Wagner 1952: 110). The variant *brinkíddi* (5: Norbello) is reminiscent of Lat. *fringilla* ‘robin, chaffinch’, but cannot be regularly derived from it. Note that, whereas *-illus*, *-a* was inherited in Sardinian as *-iddu/a*, Srd. *-iddi* does not have a good Latin source. Perhaps it represents a contamination of the base **brínči* and Lat. *fringilla*. All forms are reminiscent of *brinkare* ‘to hop’ (cf. also § 4.1.12). However, the presence of multiple unexplained endings (i.e. *-is*, *-iri*, *-iddi*) speaks against an original derivation from this verb. It is in any case likely that sound symbolism and folk etymology have played a role in the phonetic development of this word.

¹⁵⁵ But cf. § 4.5.8 for a colexification of ‘hare’ and ‘butterfly’. Possibly the association of hares with small flying animals is based on their “hopping” motion.

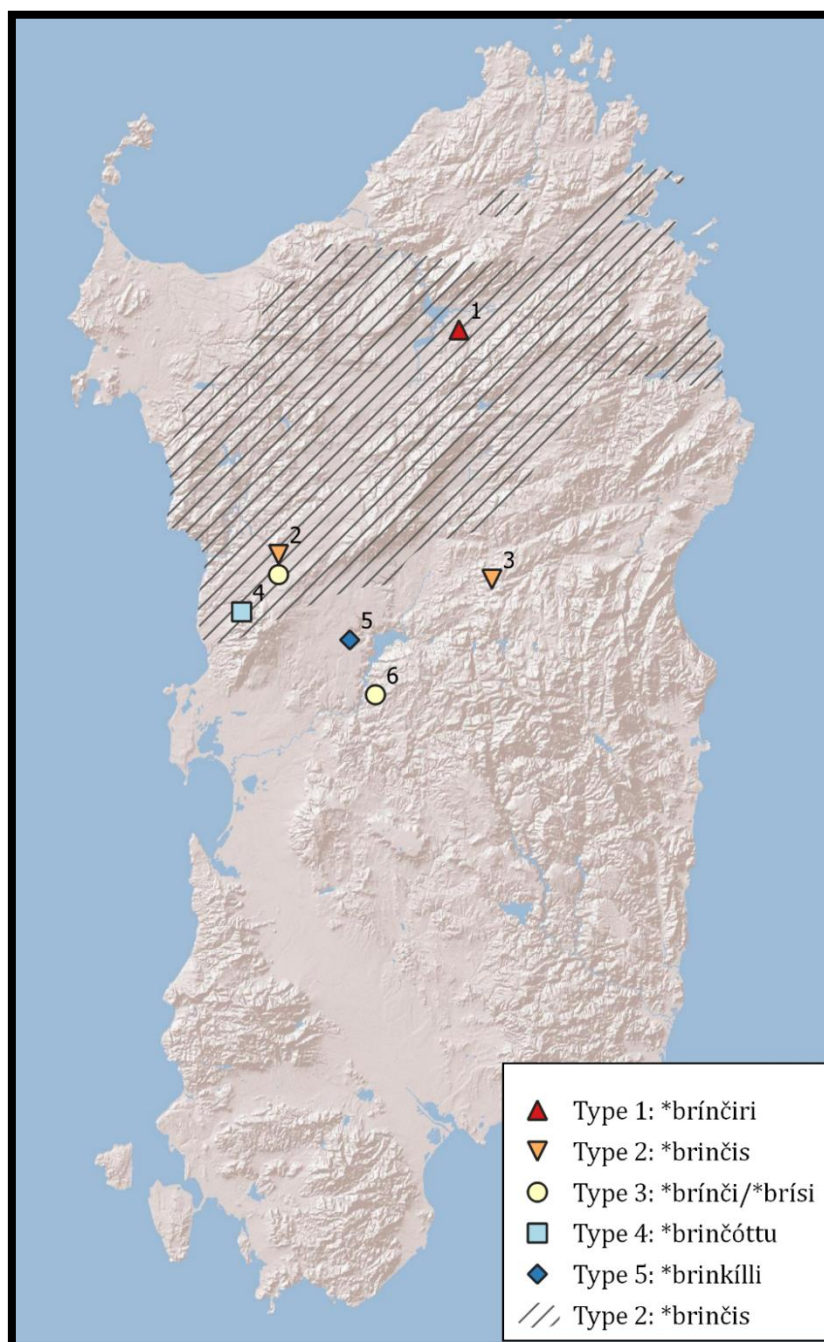


Figure 4.4.9: Robin (*Erithacus rubecula*); yellow wagtail (*Motacilla flava*); hare (*Lepus sp.*)

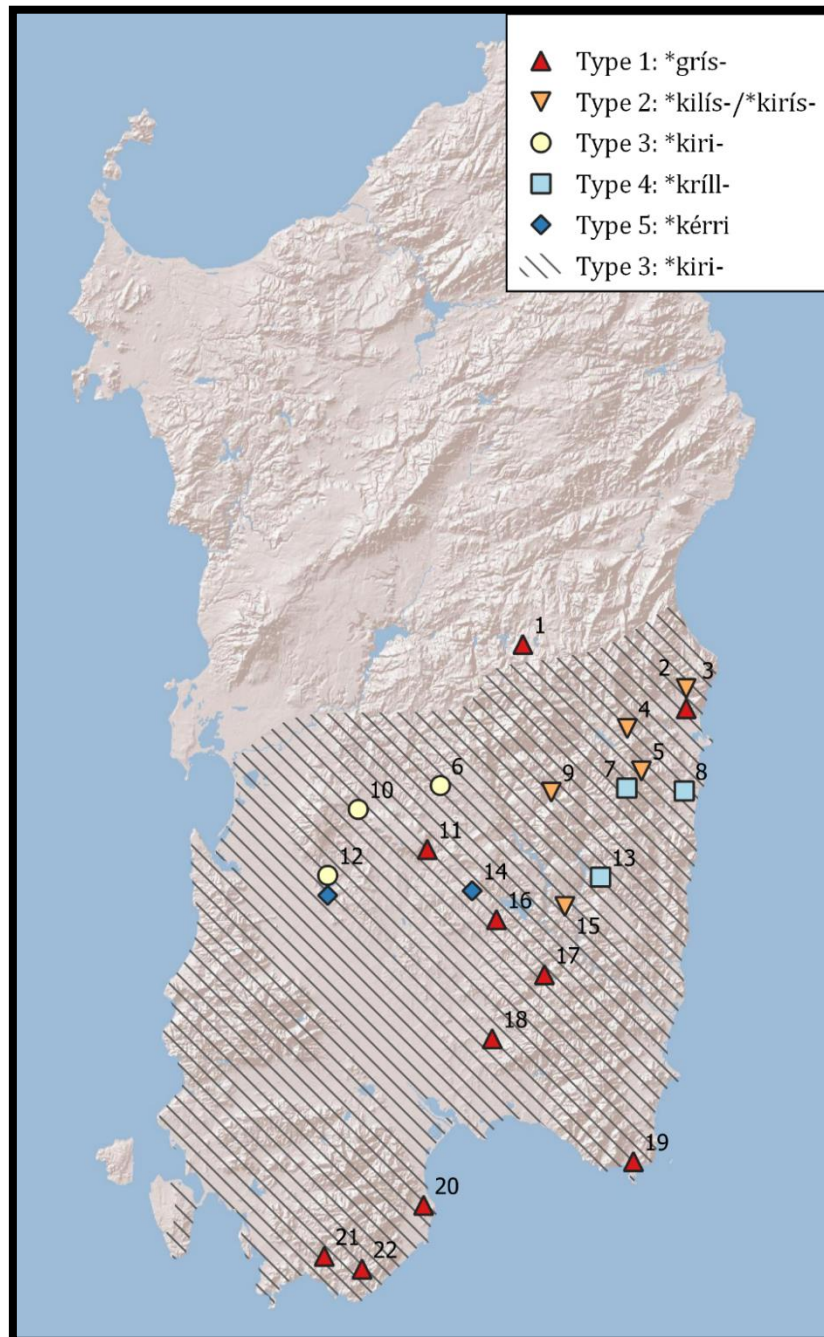


Figure 4.4.10: Robin (*Erithacus rubecula*), wren (*Troglodytes troglodytes*)

4.4.10 Robin (*Erithacus rubecula*)₂, wren (*Troglodytes troglodytes*)₁

Reconstruction	Forms
1: * <i>grís-</i>	DES (I: 343): <i>gríšu</i> (1: Fonni) ‘wren (<i>Troglodytes troglodytes</i> (Linnaeus, 1758))’; <i>grísi</i> (3: Baunei), <i>grísòì</i> (11: Gesturi), <i>gríšu</i> (16: Siurgus, 17: San Nicolò Gerrei, 18: Dolianova, 19: Villasimius, 21: Teulada, 22: Domus de Maria), <i>grisótti</i> (20: Sarroch) ‘robin (<i>Erithacus rubecula</i>)’ Marcialis (2005: 40): <i>grisu</i> ‘robin’
2: * <i>kilís-/kirís-</i>	DES (I: 343): <i>kirísi</i> (2: Triei), <i>kilíšu</i> (9: Seui), <i>kilísi</i> (15: Escalaplano) ‘robin (<i>Erithacus rubecula</i>)’; <i>kirísi</i> [e <i>βèrka</i>] (4: Villagrande Strisaili) ‘wren (<i>Troglodytes troglodytes</i>)’; <i>mameyerísi</i> (5: Lanusei) ‘sparrow (<i>Passer domesticus</i> (Linnaeus, 1758))’ Marcialis (2005: 28): <i>chirisi</i> (Log.) ‘robin (<i>Erithacus rubecula</i>)’ ¹⁵⁶
3: * <i>kiri-</i>	DES (I: 343): <i>kiríu</i> (6: Laconi), [su] <i>ggíri</i> (10: Usellus), [su] <i>yíri</i> (12: Mogoro) ‘robin (<i>Erithacus rubecula</i>)’; <i>gíru</i> (Camp.) ‘wren (<i>Troglodytes troglodytes</i>)’ Marcialis (2005: 38): <i>ghiru</i> ‘robin (<i>Erithacus rubecula</i>)’
4: * <i>kríll-</i>	DES (I: 343): <i>kriḍḍi</i> (7: Gairo, 8: Bari Sardo), <i>kriḍḍólu</i> (13: Perdasdefogu) ‘robin (<i>Erithacus rubecula</i>)’
5: * <i>kérri</i>	DES (I: 343): <i>kérri</i> (12: Mogoro, 14: Mandas) ‘wren (<i>Troglodytes troglodytes</i>)’

These words for ‘robin’ and ‘wren’ can be divided into five types. The forms of type 1 all contain **gris-* and are mainly found in the southern Campidanese dialects, with more northerly outliers in Fonni (1) and Baunei (3).¹⁵⁷ Type 2 is found in the Ogliastra and is formed from a base **kirís-* or **kilís-*.¹⁵⁸ Type 3 seems to go back to **kir-*. Type 4, containing **krill-* is again restricted to the Ogliastra. Finally, type 5 is only found in two places and goes back to **kerri*. All five types appear to contain **kr-* or **kir-*. Wagner (DES I: 343) assumes that all of these formations are

¹⁵⁶ Marcialis’ (2005: 28) attribution to Logudorese of this form is dubious, as it is not mentioned anywhere else, and all forms of type 2 for which we have specific geographical information belong to the Ogliastran dialects. Could this be an error in Marcialis?

¹⁵⁷ The suffixes *-òì* < **-one* and *-ótti* are of recent origin.

¹⁵⁸ The form *mameyerísi* (5: Lanusei) is analyzable as **mama* ‘e *kirísi* ‘mother of the robin/wren’. Similar *Benennungsmotiven* are common in Sardinian: cf. *mamma de sizziyórru* ‘slug (litt.: ‘mother of the snail’), *mámma de ambíḍḍa* ‘mother of the eel’ etc. (cf. DES II: 60).

onomatopoeic, which is imaginable for songbirds. However, I do not think this can fully explain the similarity between these formations as opposed to other words for ‘robin’ and ‘wren’ that have been proposed to be of sound-symbolic origin, such as *brínči* ‘robin’ (§ 4.4.9) and *ḍḍóḍḍi* ‘robin, wren’ (§ 4.4.12).

Although sound symbolism may certainly have played a role in the formal diversity found in this word, it is possible that the various forms share an original base, which may be of pre-Roman origin. This is supported by the fact that all five types show evidence of originally ending in **-i*, for which Latin nominal inflection does not provide a good source (§ 8.1.5.1). In some cases this final **-i* was replaced with *-u* (e.g. *grísi* vs. *grísu*), or extended with *-u* (e.g. *su yíri* vs. *kiríu*). Although it is difficult to establish how exactly the different types relate to each other, we can make some observations. One is that type 2 **kirísi* is similar to type 3 **kíri*, with an element *-(i)s* that is also found in other words of presumable pre-Roman origin (§ 9.2.8). The sequence *-ḍḍi* found in type 4 also recurs in other words for ‘robin’: *brinkíḍḍi* (§ 4.4.9), *tsiḍḍi*, *ḍḍóḍḍi* (§ 4.4.12).

4.4.11 Scops owl (*Otus scops*)

Reconstruction	Forms
1: <i>*ḡòṅka</i>	DES (II: 551): <i>ḡòṅka</i> (Nuor.), <i>tòṅka</i> (Log.), <i>tsòṅka</i> (Camp.) ‘scops owl (<i>Otus scops</i> (Linnaeus, 1758))’ AIS (508): <i>čòṅka</i> (1: Tempio Pausania, 12: Desulo), <i>tsòṅka</i> (2: Sassari, 7: Santu Lussurgiu, 9: Milis, 10: Busachi, 13: Laconi, 15: Escalaplano), <i>tòṅka</i> (3: Ploaghe, 5: Nuoro), <i>ḡòṅka</i> (4: Bitti, 5: Nuoro, 6: Dorgali, 8: Fonni) ‘id.’ Böhne (1950: 115): <i>ḡòṅka</i> (17: Muravera) ‘id.’
2: <i>*ḡòḷje</i>	DES (II: 551): <i>ḡòḷje</i> (11: Baunei) ‘id.’
3: <i>*anḡòṅka</i>	DES (II: 551): [s] <i>antsòṅka</i> (14: Mogoro, 18: Sarroch, 19: Domus de Maria) ‘id.’ AIS (508): [s] <i>antsòṅka</i> (16: Villacidro) ‘id.’
4: <i>*ḡòrja</i>	Böhne (1950: 115): <i>ḡòrža</i> (17: Muravera) ‘id.’

Wagner (DES II: 551) thinks that this word may have an onomatopoeic origin. He nevertheless believes that it “belongs to the oldest layer of the Sardinian lexicon”, but it is not quite clear if this implies a pre-Roman origin. Although the sound of the scops owl is very characteristic indeed, it is difficult to judge whether **ḡòṅka* (type 1) is in fact an onomatopoeic rendering of this sound.

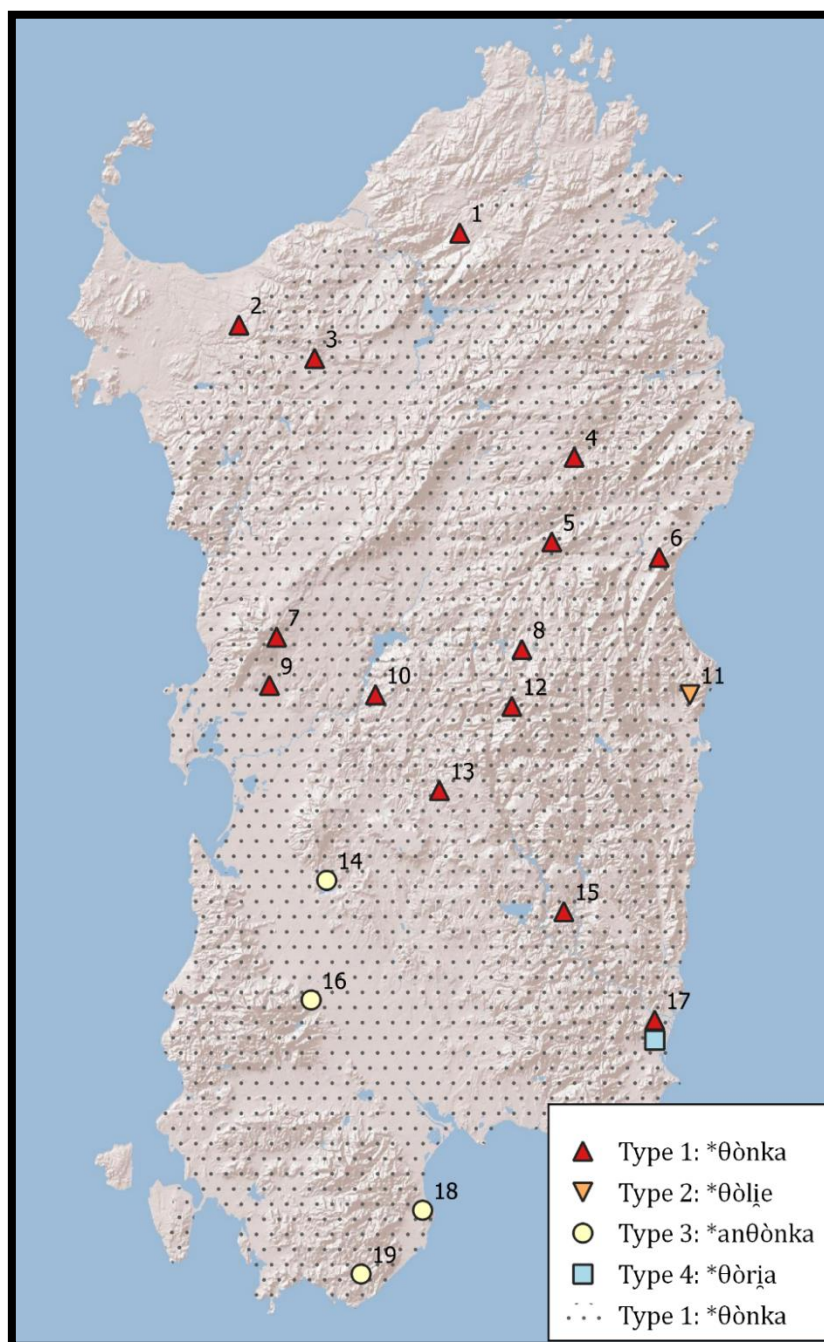


Figure 4.4.11: Robin (*Erithacus rubecula*), wren (*Troglodytes troglodytes*)

Type 3 *antsònka* is found in southwestern Campidanese dialects, and is probably a relatively recent deformation of *tsònka* (type 1). Type 2 *ḡḡḡe* instead must go back to **ḡḡḡe*, which cannot be reconciled with **ḡònka*, but which is structurally similar to type 4 *ḡrḡa* < **ḡrḡa*. Whether *ḡḡḡe* and *ḡrḡa* are independent onomatopoeic formations or etymologically related to each other and to **ḡònka* is hard to say, especially without direct information about the names for this animal in other Ogliastran dialects. Judging from these words' phonotactics (including the phoneme **-ḡ-*), irregular variation, and semantics relating to the island's native fauna, they may well be of pre-Roman origin.

4.4.12 Wren (*Troglodytes troglodytes*)₂

Reconstruction	Forms
1: <i>*llólli</i>	DES (I: 593): [su] <i>ḡḡóḡḡi</i> (1: Bitti, 3: Dorgali) 'wren (<i>Troglodytes troglodytes</i>); robin (<i>Erithacus rubecula</i>)'; [su] <i>ḡóḡḡi</i> (4: Orgosolo) 'wren (<i>Troglodytes troglodytes</i>)'
2: <i>*gròllo</i>	DES (I: 593): <i>gròḡḡo</i> (2: Nuoro) 'wren (<i>Troglodytes troglodytes</i>)'

As Wagner (DES I: 593) notes, these words are very similar to those for 'fox' in the same region: *gròḡḡe*, *gròḡḡo*, *lòḡḡe* etc.; § 4.5.6), but they are not quite identical. In Nuoro for instance we find *gròḡḡo* 'wren' next to *gròḡḡe* 'fox'. The forms of type 1 go back regularly to **llólli*; the initial *ḡḡ-* < **ll-* is likely expressive.¹⁵⁹ It is probably easiest to explain the variation between initial *gr-* and *ḡḡ-* in these words as going back to original **l-*, with expressive gemination in type 1 and with introduction of initial *g-* in type 2. For a discussion of this latter development, cf. § 4.5.6. Perhaps these words too are somehow to be connected with the attested Sardinian personal name *Lollo*, *Lollu*, which Wagner (1933: 503–508; DES I: 593) suggests for *gròḡḡe*, *gròḡḡo*, *lòḡḡe* etc. 'fox'.

¹⁵⁹ We find *-ḡḡ-* in various other words for 'robin' and other songbirds as well (cf. § 4.4.9, § 4.4.10).

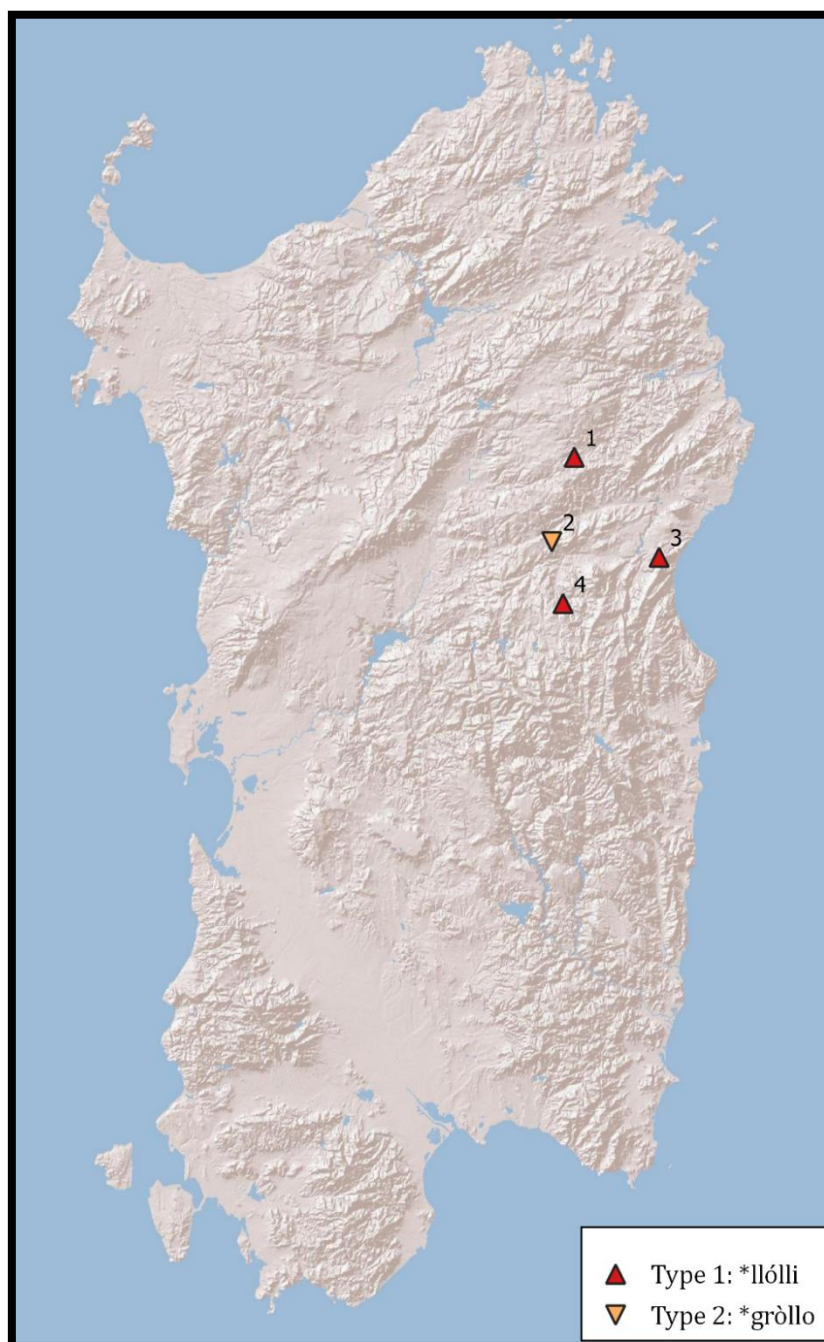


Figure 4.4.12: Wren (*Troglodytes troglodytes*)

4.5 Mammals

4.5.1 Bat₁

Reconstruction	Forms
* <i>kikin-</i>	DES (II: 556): <i>čínčirédđu</i> (1: Urzulei), <i>čínčiđédđu</i> (2: Triei), <i>ǵǵǵínédđu</i> (4: Tortoli), <i>čízini</i> (5: Arzana), <i>čžinédđu</i> (6: Gairo) 'bat'
	AIS (448): [su] <i>ǵinǵirédđu</i> (3: Baunei) 'id.'
	Terracini (1959: Map 1): <i>čínčiđédđu</i> (1: Urzulei, 2: Triei, 3: Baunei), <i>ǵǵǵínédđu</i> (4: Tortoli, 7: Bari Sardo), <i>čǵǵínédđu</i> (6: Gairo) 'id.'

The sources cited differ somewhat as to the exact shape of the words of this type. For instance, for Urzulei (1), DES has *čínčirédđu*, while Terracini has *čínčiđédđu*. The main point of disagreement between the authors and between the forms themselves is the final consonant of the stem, where we find *-n-*, *-đ-*, *-r-*. The only un-suffixed form, *čízini* (5: Arzana), likely preserves the original consonantism in *-n-*. As a result, we can posit an original **kikin-*; the final vowel *-i* can go back to either **-e* or **-i*. In some cases an epenthetic *-n-* appears in the first syllable (e.g. *čínčínédđu* (2: Triei); cf. for this process Wagner 1941a: 219–220), which may have been the cause of the dissimilation of final *-n-* to *-đ-* and *-r-*. Wagner (DES II: 556) treats these forms under the same entry as those of the type *ǵuǵurédđu* etc. (cf. § 4.5.2) but calls them a “special type peculiar to the Ogliastro region”. With **kikin-* as the most plausible reconstruction for the Ogliastro forms discussed here, it is impossible to connect them etymologically to forms like *ǵuǵurédđu* etc., which probably go back to **(ǵi-)ǵurr-*. Because of the semantic domain, the absence of an etymology, and the formal variation, it is likely that this word is of pre-Roman origin.

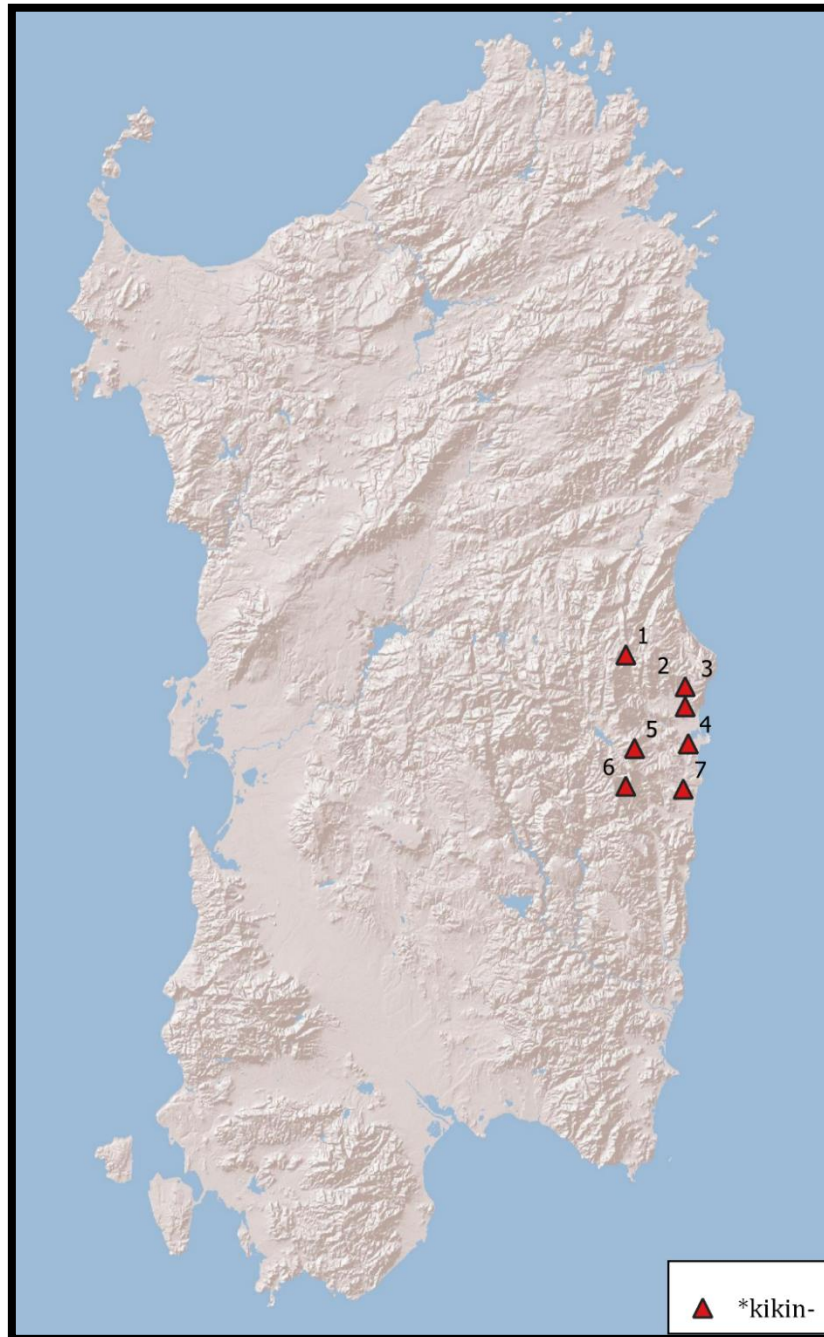


Figure 4.5.1: Bat

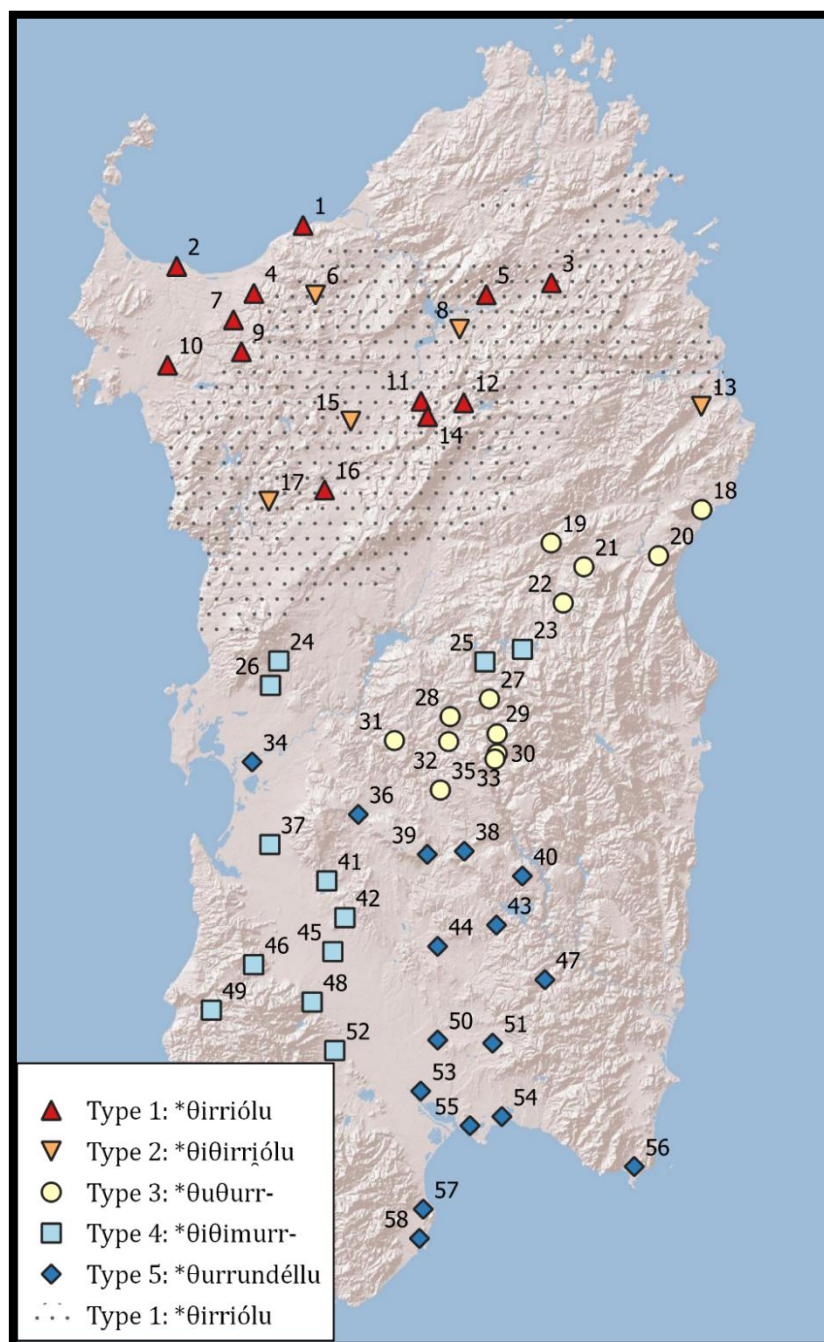


Figure 4.5.2: Bat

4.5.2 Bat₂¹⁶⁰

Reconstruction	Forms
1: * <i>ḡirriólu</i>	DES (I: 556): <i>tirriólu</i> (Log.), <i>tsirriólu</i> (4: Sennori), <i>tsirriolu</i> [<i>βèd̥de</i>] (10: Olmedo), <i>tirriólu</i> [<i>malaβèd̥de</i>] (11: Ozieri), <i>tirriólu</i> [<i>e βèd̥de</i>] (12: Pattada) ‘bat’ AIS (448): [<i>la</i>] <i>tsirriòra</i> (7: Sassari) ‘id.’ Terracini (1959: Map 1): <i>tsirriólu</i> (1: Castel Sardo), <i>tsirrióra</i> (2: Porto Torres, 7: Sassari), [<i>su</i>] <i>tirriólu</i> (3: Monti, 9: Tissi), <i>tirriólu</i> [<i>βèd̥de</i>] (14: Nughedu San Nicolò), <i>tsirriólu</i> [<i>βèd̥de</i>] (16: Bonorva) ‘id.’
2: * <i>ḡiḡirriólu</i>	DES (I: 556): <i>ḡiḡirriólu</i> (13: Siniscola) ‘id.’ Terracini (1959: Map 1): <i>titiirriól’</i> [<i>impeḡḡáḡu</i>] (5: Berchidda), <i>tsitsirriólu</i> (6: Nulvi), <i>tintirriólu</i> [<i>βèd̥de</i>] (8: Oschiri), <i>činčirriólu</i> (15: Mores), <i>tintirriólu</i> (17: Padria), <i>ḡiḡirriólu</i> (13: Siniscola) ‘id.’
3: * <i>ḡuḡurr-</i>	DES (I: 556): <i>ḡuḡuréd̥du</i> (19: Nuoro), <i>ḡuḡuréri</i> (20: Dorgali, 21: Oliena, 22: Orgosolo), <i>tsuntsuréd̥du</i> (27: Tonara, 31: Samugheo, 32: Meana Sardo), <i>tsuntsuríttu</i> (28: Atzara, 30: Aritzo), <i>tsintsuréd̥du</i> (33: Gadoni) ‘id.’ AIS (448): [<i>su</i>] <i>tsutsurríttu</i> (35: Laconi) ‘id.’ Terracini (1959: Map 1): <i>ḡuḡurréri</i> (18: Orosei, Orgosolo), [<i>su</i>] <i>tḡutḡuréd̥du</i> (19: Nuoro), <i>tuturréri</i> (20: Dorgali), [<i>su</i>] <i>tḡutḡurréri</i> (21: Oliena), <i>tsuntsurréd̥du</i> (27: Tonara, 32: Meana Sardo), <i>tsuntsurríttu</i> (29: Belvì, 35: Laconi) ‘id.’ Marcialis (2005: 67): <i>tuturreri</i> (21: Oliena) ‘id.’
4: * <i>ḡiḡimurr-</i>	DES (I: 556): <i>tsintsimúrru</i> (23: Fonni, 25: Ovodda), <i>tsintsimurréd̥du</i> (Western Camp.), <i>sattsamurréd̥du</i> (48: Villacidro) ‘id.’ AIS (448): [<i>su</i>] <i>sintsimurréd̥du</i> (26: Milis) ‘id.’ Terracini (1959: Map 1): <i>sintsimurréd̥du</i> (24: Bonarcado, 26: Milis), <i>sittsimurréd̥du</i> (37: Marrubiu, 41: Mogoro, 42: Sardara, 45: San Gavino, 46: Arbus, 48: Villacidro, 49: Fluminimaggiore), [<i>su</i>] <i>sattsemurréd̥du</i> (52: Vallermosta) ‘id.’

¹⁶⁰ These data are discussed in a similar fashion in Swanenvleugel (2024: 253–255).

5: * <i>ḡurrundéllu</i>	DES (I: 556): <i>tsur(r)undédḡdu</i> (Western Camp.) 'id.'
	Terracini (1959: Map 1): <i>tsurrundédḡdu</i> (34: Oristano, 36: Usellus, 38: Isili, 39: Gesturi, 40: Orroli, 43: Siurgus, 44: Guasila, 47: San Nicolò Gerrei, 50: Monastir, 51: Dolianova, 53: Assemini, 54: Quartu Sant'Elena, 55: Cagliari, 56: Villasimius, 57: Sarroch, 58: Pula,) 'id.'

The words for 'bat' on Sardinia are diverse. Additional etymologically unrelated formations can be found in Terracini (1959). Some of the considerable variation may be explained as the result of folk etymologies or sound symbolism. All forms contain a base **ḡirr-* or **ḡurr-*. Types 1 and 2 may have been influenced by *ḡir-rjare* 'to screech' (DES II: 556), suggesting that the forms with *ḡurr-* preserve the original vocalism. Type 4 was likely contaminated with *múrru*, meaning both 'grey' and 'muzzle'. Type 5 was contaminated with *arrúndili* 'swallow' (Guarnerio 1904a: 68; 1904b: 259; Terracini 1959: 15). Thus, underlying the various folk etymologies are **ḡurr-* (types 1 and 5) and **ḡiḡurr-* (types 2, 3, and 4). This is evidence for the presence of the pre-Roman morpheme **ḡi-* (§ 9.1.2).

4.5.3 Dog

Reconstruction	Forms
* <i>ǰákaru</i>	DES (I: 602): <i>ǰjagar, jagaru</i> (OSrd.), <i>ǰáyaru</i> (Log.) 'hunting dog'; deriv.: <i>ǰayarare</i> (Log.), <i>aǰǰayarai</i> (Camp.), <i>auǰayarai</i> (Ogl.) 'to disperse, to scatter, to assault etc.'

Even though *ǰáyaru* etc. 'hunting dog' is only attested in Logudorese (already as *ǰjagar, jagaru* in the Carta de Logu de Arborea; cf. Lupinu 2020, secs. 30, 83, 151), the existence of derived Camp. *aǰǰayarai*, Ogl. *auǰayarai* 'to disperse, to scatter, to assault' suggests that the noun that must have been at the base of these verbal derivations was once more widespread in Sardinia. Wagner (1932: 232; DES I: 602) notes that this word is also widely present in Corsica, as the general word for 'dog': *ghjácaru, ghiàgaru, ǰákaru, ǰágaru*.¹⁶¹ Further comparisons include Bq. *zakur* 'big dog' and its more common diminutive *txakur* 'dog' (DES I: 602; Trask 2008: 45),¹⁶² Byzantine Gr. ζαγάριον, ζαγάρος 'hound, hunting dog' and Georg. ძაღლი *dzaghli* 'dog' < Proto-Kartvelian **ǰaɣl-*. Schuchardt (1905: 227) has analyzed the Sardinian forms as a loan from Byzantine Greek, and posits a form *ζάγαρος to account for the Sardinian stress pattern. Byzantine loans in Sardinian are well-known (Paulis 1983; 2017).

¹⁶¹ Cf. BDLC (s.v. dog).

¹⁶² Michelena (1990: 191) rather sees *zakur* 'big dog' as a back-formation from original *txakur* 'dog'.

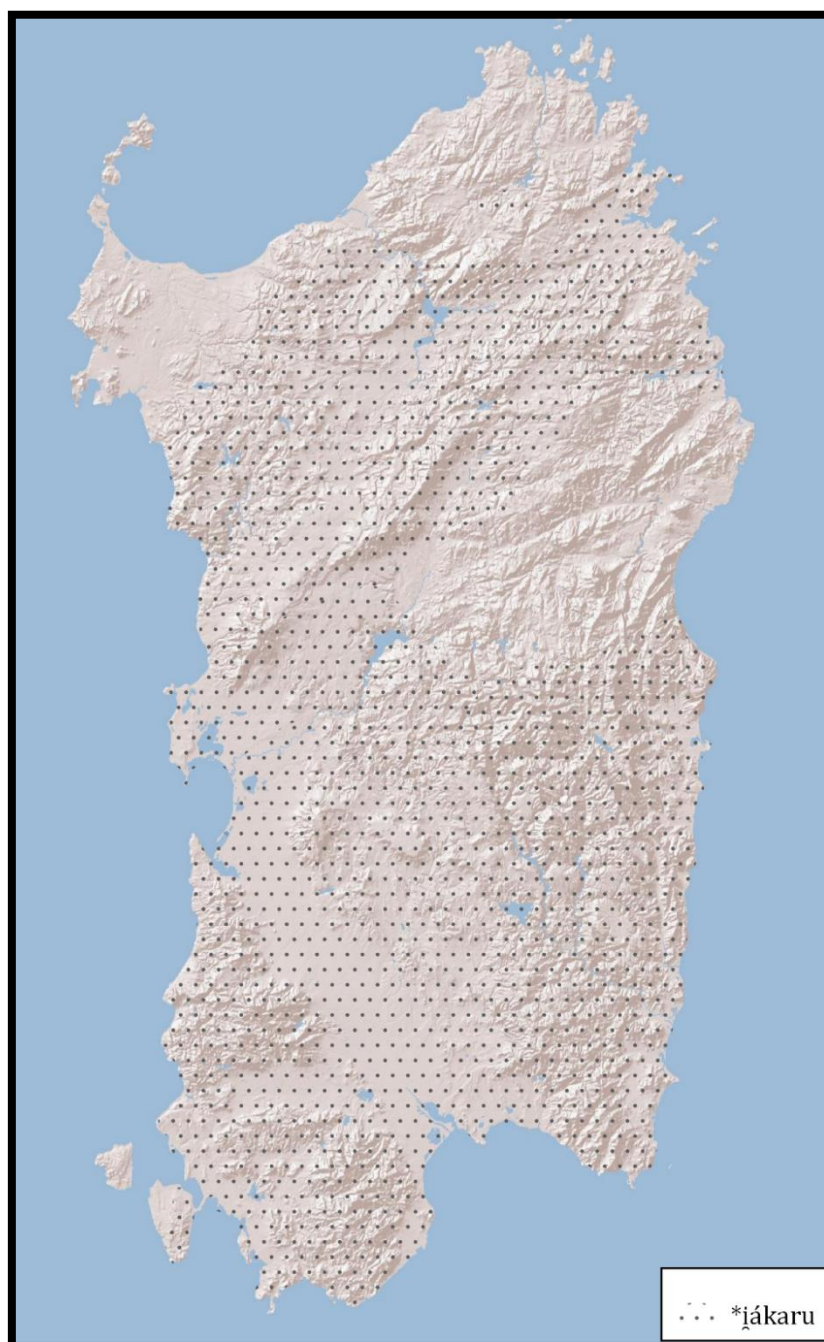


Figure 4-5-3: Dog

Regardless whether the Basque and Kartvelian forms are related, Schuchardt's (1905: 227) proposal is most attractive. Wagner's (1932: 232) identification of this word as pre-Roman is probably not necessary.

4.5.4 Doggie, puppy

Reconstruction	Forms
1: * <i>kaʒʒéllu</i>	AIS (1097): [<i>ʃu</i>] <i>χattsédðu</i> , [<i>ʃa</i>] <i>χattsèdða</i> (1: Dorgali), [<i>ʃu</i>] <i>γattsédðu</i> , [<i>ʃa</i>] <i>γattsèdða</i> (2: Busachi) 'doggie, puppy' Böhne (1950: 131): [<i>su</i>] <i>γattsédðu</i> (10: San Vito) 'id.'
2: * <i>kal(i)éllu</i>	DES (I: 270): <i>kallédðu</i> (3: Baunei, 6: Perdasdefogu, 8: Gúspini), <i>kallellédðu</i> (4: Oristano) 'id.' Böhne (1950: 131): <i>kallellédðu</i> (10: San Vito) 'id.'
3: * <i>kaliljónéllu</i>	DES (I: 270): <i>kalligjónédðu</i> (3: Baunei) 'id.'
4: * <i>kalúʒʒu</i>	DES (I: 270): [<i>su</i>] <i>γalluččédðu</i> (5: Gairo), <i>kallúttu</i> (6: Perdasdefogu), <i>kallúčču</i> , <i>kalluččédðu</i> (7: Ballao, 9: Armungia) 'id.'

The use of this word as an endearment term explains its variety of formations, in which various diminutive suffixes (such as *-édðu* < Lat. *-ellus* and *-úttu* < Lat. *-uceus*/It. *-uccio*¹⁶³) have replaced each other or combined with each other. The main problem presented by these words is the origin of *-ll-* in types 2–4. While *-ll-* could go back to *-lj-* in most southern dialects (viz. 4: Oristano, 7: Ballao, 8: Gúspini, 9: Armungia, 10: Sarrabus), **-lj-* is expected to yield *-l'* or *-lj-* in the Ogliastran dialects (viz. 3: Baunei, 5: Gairo, 6: Perdasdefogu) (Wagner 1941a: 147–148). On the other hand, simple **-l-* would have yielded *-β-* in Guspini (8) and *-ʔ-* in San Vito (10), and inherited **-ll-* regularly yields *-dɖ-* in all of Sardinian. We are thus dealing with various instances of *-ll-* that cannot regularly go back to the same phoneme. The most likely solution is to assume that the *-ll-* pronunciation spread from the region of Cagliari, where it is the regular outcome of both **-l-* and **-lj-*. Among these, original single **-l-* is probably most likely, as its Cagliari-tan reflex seems to spread to neighboring dialects more than *-ll-* < **-lj-* (Wagner 1941a: 125).

¹⁶³ Cf. Wagner (1952: 27–28). Camp. *-učču* (in the forms of type 2) is probably rather from Italian *-uccio* than from inherited *-uceus*, which should have yielded *-úttu*. However, its meaning is closer to the diminutive meaning of inherited *-úttu* < *-uceus* than to the pejorative meaning of It. *-uccio*. The confusion between these two cognate suffixes, that are phonetically and semantically very similar, is not surprising.

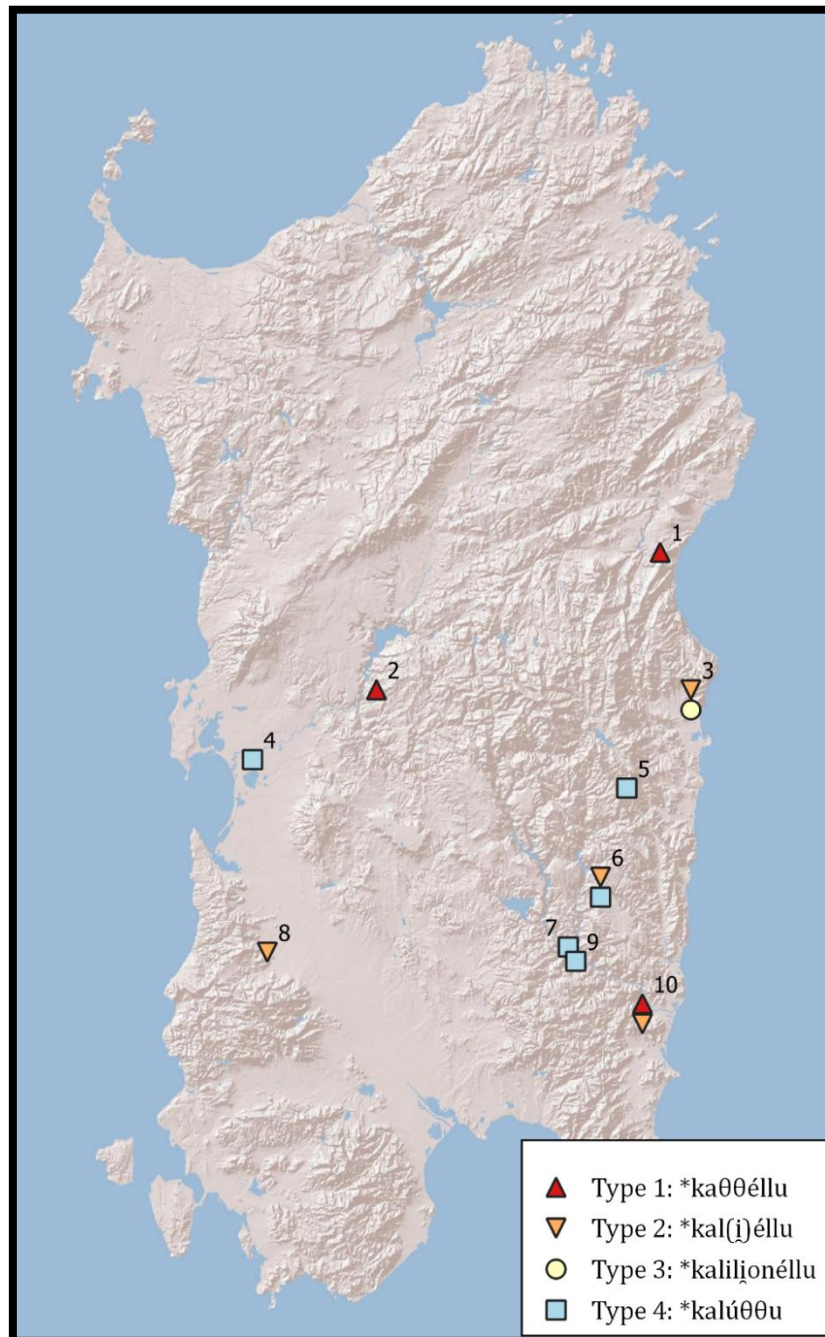


Figure 4.5.4: Doggie, puppy

The forms of type 1 contain *-tts-* instead of *-ll-*. Whereas *-tts-* could perhaps go back to original *-l̥-* in Dorgali, which would correspond to Camp. *-ll-*, this does not work for Busachi (Wagner 1941a: 146–147). Although the superficial resemblance to *kalléd̥du* etc. is striking, these words must instead go back to **kaθθéllu* and belong together with Log. *kattéd̥du*, Nuor. *kaθθéd̥du* etc. ‘puppy’ << Lat. *catellus* (DES I: 320).¹⁶⁴ Wagner (DES I: 320) compares Srd. *kalléd̥du* (type 2) to Alb. *këlysh* ‘young animal, especially puppies and kittens’ (cf. Demiraj 1997: 218–219). This is in turn compared by Meyer (1891: 186) to Lith. *kalė* ‘bitch’, Welsh *colwyn* and Bret. *kolen* ‘puppy’,¹⁶⁵ and by Demiraj (1997: 218–219) to Gr. *κύλαξ* and the Hesychian gloss (from Elis) *κύλλας* ‘puppy’ (Hesychius Alexandrinus 2020: 689). The connection of Lith. *kalė* to the Greek forms is rejected by Beekes (2010: 1361).¹⁶⁶ Even if the Albanian and Greek forms are to be connected, a link between them and the Celtic and Sardinian forms is only a possibility at best. It should also be noted that all comparanda show different vocalisms, with **-u-* in Greek and Albanian, **-o-* in Celtic and **-a-* in Sardinian.

4.5.5 Fawn (*Cervus elaphus corsicanus*), lamb

ReconstructionForms

1: <i>*bètt-/bútt-</i>	DES (I: 211–212): <i>bíta</i> , <i>bèta</i> (Log., Camp.), <i>bítti</i> (1: Bitti) ‘fawn’; <i>bètte</i> (2: Goceano reg.) ‘lamb, small animal’
	Casu (2011: s.v. <i>bètta</i> , <i>bètte</i> , <i>bitta</i> , <i>bitti</i>): <i>bètta</i> ‘fawn’, <i>bètte</i> ‘lamb, small gracious animal’, <i>bitta</i> ‘deer’, ¹⁶⁷ <i>bitti</i> ‘deer, fawn’
	Puddu (2023: s.v. <i>bèta</i> , <i>bétu</i> , <i>bítalu</i>): <i>bèta</i> , <i>bétu</i> , <i>bíta</i> , <i>bíti</i> ‘fawn’

¹⁶⁴ The development of Lat. *-t-* > Srd. **-θθ-* is irregular however.

¹⁶⁵ Matasović (2008: 213) reconstructs these forms as PC **koligno-*.

¹⁶⁶ For alternative etymologies for Lith. *kalė*, cf. Smoczyński (2018: 474).

¹⁶⁷ Casu gives the definition *capriolo* ‘roe deer’. However, the roe deer (*Capreolus capreolus* (Linnaeus, 1758)) does not occur on Sardinia. It is thus more likely that this word refers to the Sardinian red deer (*Cervus elaphus corsicanus* Erxleben, 1777). This subspecies of red deer is smaller than the continental red deer, which may be the reason that Casu refers to it as ‘roe deer’.

2: * <i>bíttara</i>	DES (I: 211–212): <i>bítaru</i> , <i>bitaréddu</i> (3: Dorgali) ‘suckling calf, [sa]
	<i>bíttara</i> (4: Milis) ‘female mouflon (<i>Ovis aries musimon</i> (Pallas, 1811) ‘lamb, small animal’
	Casu (2011: s.v. <i>bètta</i> , <i>bètte</i> , <i>bitta</i> , <i>bitti</i>): <i>bittera</i> ‘deer’
	Puddu (2023: s.v. <i>bèta</i> , <i>bétu</i> , <i>bítalu</i>): <i>bítalu</i> , <i>bíteru</i> , <i>bítulu</i> , <i>bíturu</i> ‘fawn’, <i>bítula</i> ‘doe’

This word is attested in old Sardinian texts: as [*capra de*] *bita*, [*capras de*] *vita* in the Condaghe di San Nicola di Trullas (Merci 1992: secs. 57, 137),¹⁶⁸ and as *bituru* in the Carte Volgari (Solmi 1905: sec. 11: 4). Although DES gives only a few specific locations for the attested forms — Casu and Puddu do not — it is clear that representatives of this word occur all over Sardinia, with ‘fawn’ as their most common meaning. The endings *‘aru*, *‘ara*, *‘era*, *‘alu*, *‘uru* are likely to be interpreted as representatives of the same non-inherited suffix *‘Vr*, which occurs in other words of obscure origin as well. The suffixes *‘ulu*, *‘ula* could be the reflexes of Lat. *-ul-*. In the un-suffixed forms we find an alternation between final *-a*, *-u*, *-e* and *-i*. The first two of these can easily be explained as secondary in order to express the gender of the animal in question. The correspondence between *-e* and *-i* is irregular however, and is difficult to explain morphologically. The fact that *-e* only occurs in *bètte* and *-i* only in *bítti* (rather than ***bétti* or ***bítte*), makes it look like the paragogic vowel that regularly develops in Sardinian after word-final consonants (Wagner 1941a: 57–62). However, whereas inherited final *-t* behaves like a singleton *-t-* (e.g. Camp. *kántađa* < Lat. *cantat* ‘(s)he sings’), *bítti/bètte* clearly has a geminate *-tt-*. It is attractive to see the variation in the final vowel of this word as the result of the adaptation of a non-inherited word to the Sardinian phonology. While languages with geminate stops in the syllable coda exist, it remains to be seen whether a **bitt* or **bett* as a pre-Roman source can really be posited for this word (§ 8.4.1). The variation of the tonal vowel *-è-* vs. *-í-* is also irregular (§ 8.3). Wagner (1932: 233) and Hubschmid (1953: 70; 1955: 189–190) compare various extra-Sardinian forms, such as Bq. *pitika* ‘kid (young goat)’, Gasc. *pito*, Cat. *bita*, *bítè*, For. *bette*, *bitte* ‘goat’ etc. (cf. also FEW XXII/I: 288). Bouda (1949: 334), Michelena (1959: 525) and DES (I: 212) prefer to interpret these and the Sardinian forms as parallel formations based on the sound a sheep or goat makes. While this may well have been the ultimate origin of the word, the vowel alternations as well as the non-inherited suffix *‘Vr* in Sardinian indicate that this word originated in a pre-Roman language.

¹⁶⁸ These instances of *bita*, *vita*, recorded in DES (I: 211), have been analyzed by Paulis (1997: 164) as the reflex of Lat. *vita* ‘life’, in which case they are not relevant to the current discussion.

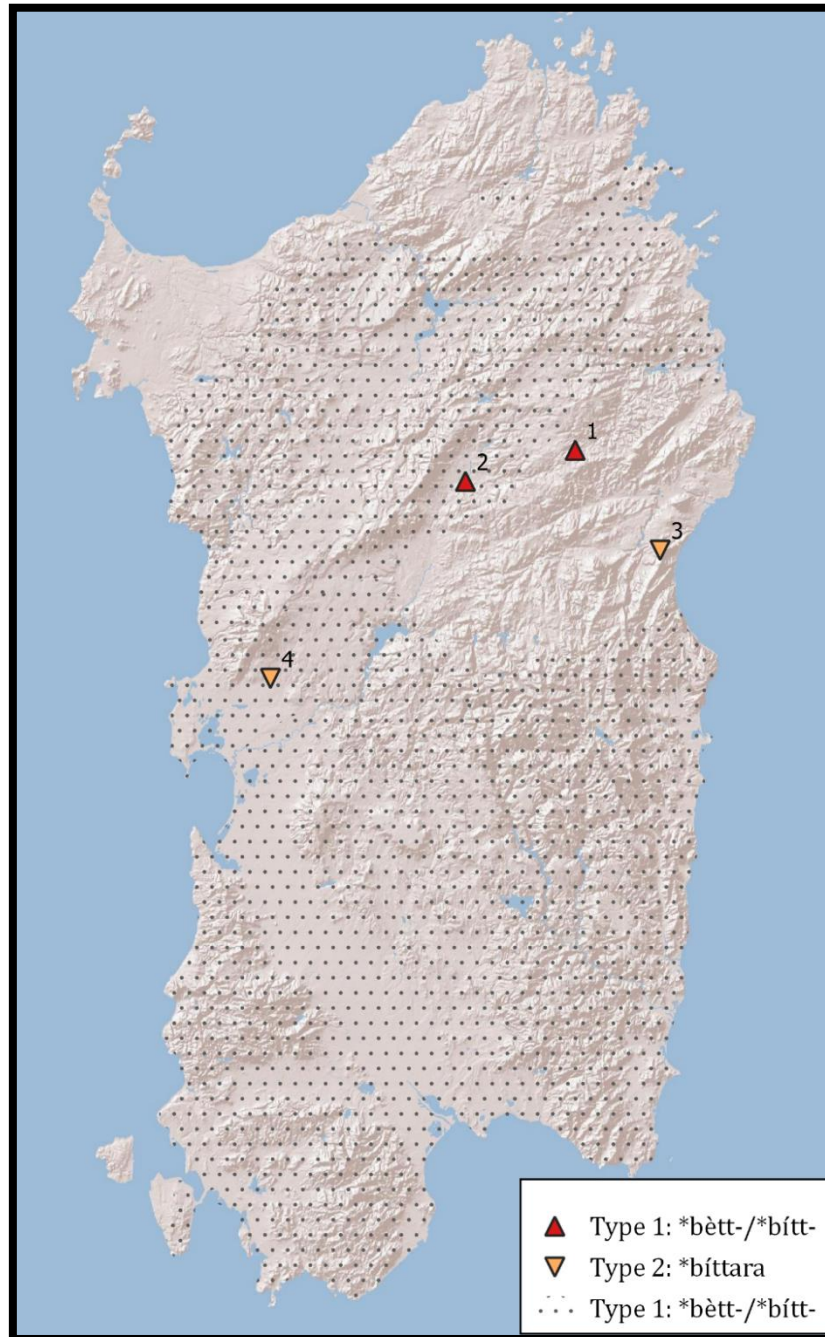


Figure 4.5.5: Fawn (*Cervus elaphus corsicanus*), lamb

Furthermore, the perfect formal correspondence between the Sardinian forms and those found in Catalan and Gallo-Romance is perhaps more than we would expect for independent onomatopoeic formations. Note further that For. *bette*, *bitte* even has the same stressed vowel alternation as Srd. *bètte*, *bítti*. Both could perhaps go back to **bētt-* vs. **bītt-*, which looks distinctly non-Romance.¹⁶⁹

4.5.6 Fox (*Vulpes vulpes*)₁

Reconstruction Forms

1: <i>*glóll-</i>	DES (I: 593): <i>gròḍḍe</i> (Nuor., Log.), <i>gròḍḍu</i> (8: Olmedo), <i>gròḍḍo</i> (18: Dorgali) ‘fox (<i>Vulpes vulpes</i> (Linnaeus 1758))’
	AIS (435): [<i>su</i>] <i>gròḍḍe</i> (7: Ploaghe), [<i>su</i>] <i>yròḍḍe</i> (19: Macomer) ‘id.’
	Wagner (1933: 503): <i>gròḍḍe</i> (1: Castelsardo), <i>gròḍḍe</i> (2: Sedini, 3: Bulzi, 4: Laerru, 5: Martis, 9: Ozieri, 10: Pattada, 11: Siligo, 12: Mores, 13: Ittireddu, 14: Giave, 15: Anela, 16: Bono, 20: Fonni) ‘id.’
	Casu (2011: s.v. <i>gròddhe</i>): <i>gròddhe</i> ‘id.’
2: <i>*lóll-</i>	DES (I: 593): <i>lòḍḍe</i> (6: Osilo), <i>lòḍḍósu</i> (17: Orune) ‘id.’
	Wagner (1933: 503): <i>lòḍḍe</i> (1: Castelsardo) ‘id.’
	Casu (2011: s.v. <i>lòddhe</i>): <i>lòddhe</i> ‘id.’

In this word, we find *gròḍḍe* (type 1) next to *lòḍḍe* (type 2).¹⁷⁰ Wagner (1922: 251; 1933: 503–508; DES I: 593) suggests a relation to the personal name *Lòḍḍo* (attested in older sources as *Lollo*, *Lollu*). The use of personal names to refer to animals, and especially foxes, is rather common in Sardinian and elsewhere in Romance (e.g. Srd. *marǵáni* ‘fox’ < Lat. *Marianus*, Fr. *renard* ‘id.’ << *Reinhard*). The advantages of treating this word as an original personal name are that we may explain the variation between final *-o* and *-e* as the regular outcomes of the original nominative and vocative case in *-o/u* and *-e* respectively, and the same name could lie at the base of (Nuoro) *gròḍḍo* ‘wren’ (§ 4.4.12) (Wagner 1933: 503).

¹⁶⁹ The length of the vowels is not needed for Sardinian. In most other Romance languages however, *-i-* is the reflex of Lat. *-ī-*. If this word entered the languages in question after the Romance vowel developments, we could of course simply posit **bett-* vs. **bitt-*.

¹⁷⁰ Wagner’s (1933: 503) *gròḍḍe* and *lòḍḍe* must probably be interpreted as having an open ò. There is no source for a closed ó preceding an *-e-*, and in AIS (435) and DES (I: 593) he also writes open ò.

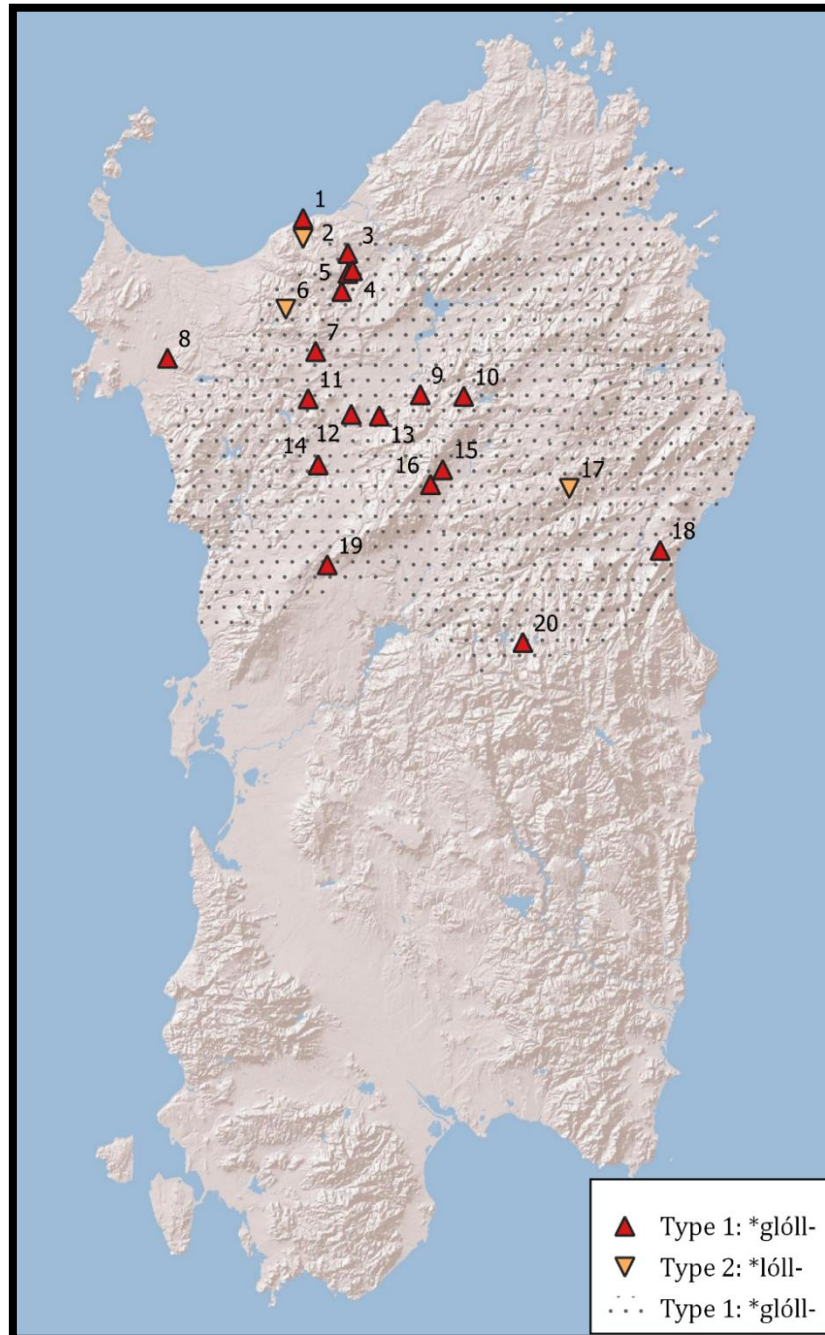


Figure 4.5.6: Fox (*Vulpes vulpes*)

A difficulty is the variation between initial *gr-* and *l-*. This is reminiscent of the outcomes of inherited initial *gl-*; e.g. Srd. *gránde* vs. *lánde* < Lat. *glans*, *-ndis* ‘acorn’ (Wagner 1941a: 162). But, although the evidence for this development is limited to only a handful of words, the reflex *l-* appears to be much more widespread than *gr-*, and is especially common in Logudorese (Wagner 1941a: 162). For the word for ‘fox’ however, which is limited to the Logudorese and Nuorese dialects, *gr-* is much better represented than *l-*, which is only found in three geographically discontinuous places (1: Castelsardo, 6: Osilo, 17: Orune). It is in any case difficult to explain *gr-* regularly from **l-*. In order to keep the personal name *Lollo* as an etymology for this word we need to assume the secondary introduction of *gr-*, probably caused by association to another word starting in *gr-*. The exact source is unclear however. The name *Lollo* itself is not from Latin and is perhaps of pre-Roman origin.

4.5.7 Fox, vixen (*Vulpes vulpes*)₂

Reconstruction	Forms
<i>*kalíḡḡ-</i>	DES (I: 270): <i>gallíssi</i> (1: Gairo), <i>kal(l)íttsa</i> (2: Isili, 4: San Nicolò Gerrei, 5: Villasalto, 6: San Vito, 7: Villaputzu, 11: Villasimius) ‘vixen’, <i>gallítsu</i> (9: Dolianova) ‘tabooistic name of the fox (<i>Vulpes vulpes</i>)’
	Wagner (1933: 508–509): <i>kal(l)íttsa</i> (3: Armungia, 8: Mura-vera, 10: Sordiana) ‘vixen’
	Puddu (2023: s.v. <i>calítza</i> , <i>gallícciu</i>): <i>calítza</i> , <i>callítza</i> , <i>galítza</i> ‘vixen’, <i>gallíciu</i> , <i>gallíssi</i> , <i>gallítzu</i> ‘fox’

These forms probably go back to a base **kal-*, with the inherited suffix **-iḡḡu/a* < Lat. *-icius* (cf. Wagner 1952: 26–27). Wagner (DES I: 270) connects these forms to *kallédḡḡ* etc. ‘dog’ (§ 4.5.4), which is plausible. The words for ‘fox/vixen’ have a more restricted distribution than those for ‘puppy’ etc.: the former seem to be limited to the southeast corner of the island. Puddu’s form *gallíciu* can only regularly be from Desulo (in the Barbagia) or from the Sulcis region (in the farthest southwest of the island), since these are the only dialects that have *-č-* as the regular outcome of **-ḡ-* (Wagner 1941a: 295). If this form is taken seriously it implies a slightly more northern (if from Desulo) or western (if from Sulcis) extension for this word. The variant *gallíssi* (1: Gairo) has an irregular final *-i*, which cannot be from *-icius*, unless it is from an original vocative (cf. § 4.5.6). The initial *g-* in several of the forms is due to reanalysis from syntactic constructions in which the initial *k-* preceded by a vowel regularly lenites. For the phonetic details of *-l(l)-* and external comparanda of this word, cf. § 4.5.4.

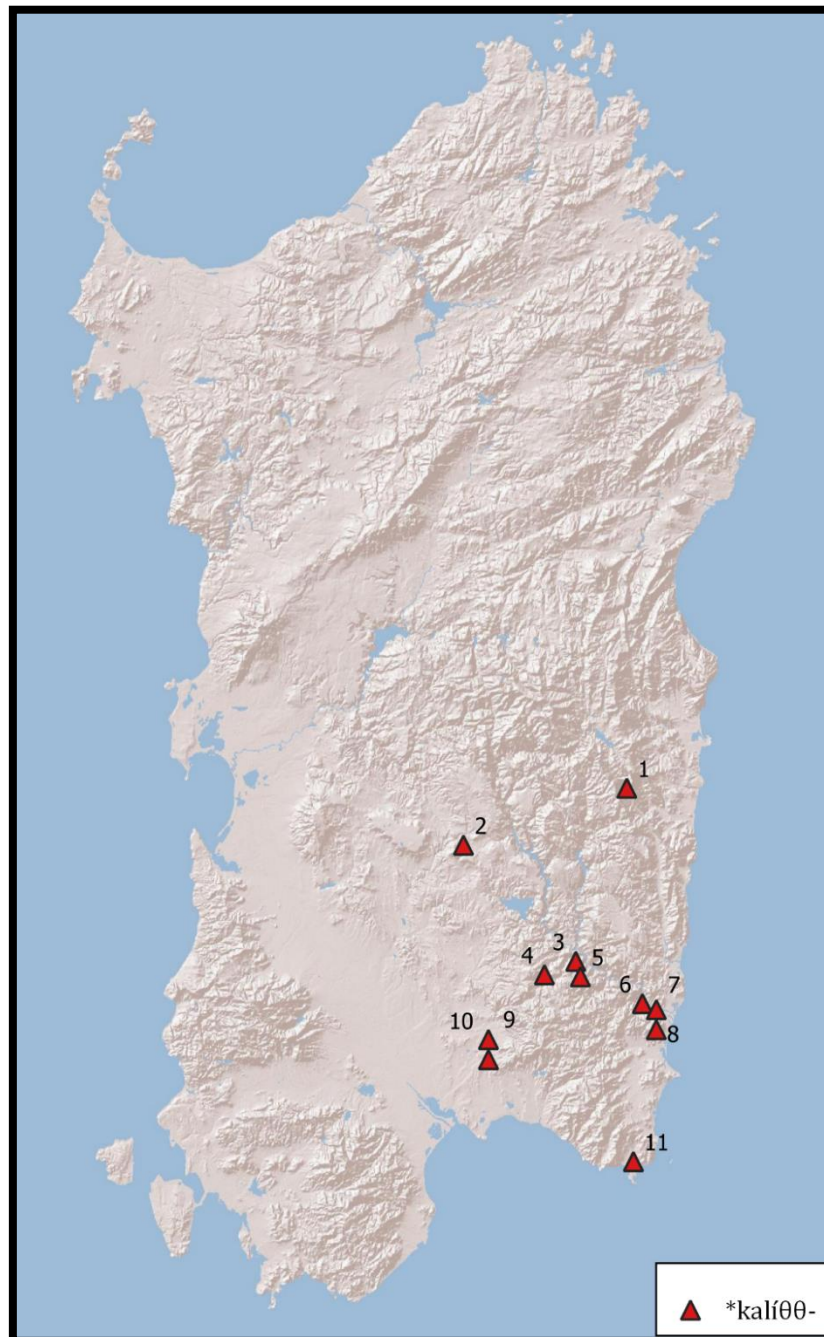


Figure 4.5.7: Fox, vixen (*Vulpes vulpes*)

4.5.8 Hare (*Lepus sp.*)

Reconstruction Forms

1: * <i>lèppar-</i>	AIS (521): <i>lèpparu</i> (1: Tempio), <i>lèpari</i> (2: Sassari) 'hare'
2: * <i>lèpper-</i>	DES (II: 22–23): <i>lèppere</i> (Log.), <i>lèppiri</i> (Camp.) 'hare', <i>lepperédđu</i> (7: Macomer, 8: Orani, 9: Orgosolo, 11: Ollolai, 19: Tonara) 'butterfly' AIS (521): <i>lèpere</i> (3: Ploaghe, 7: Macomer), <i>lèppere</i> (13: Santu Lussurgiu), <i>lèppiri</i> (16: Milis, 26: Mogoro) 'hare' Böhne (1950: 131–132): [su] <i>lèppiri</i> (29: Muravera) 'hare'
3: * <i>lèppor-</i>	DES (II: 22–23): <i>lèppore</i> (Nuor.), <i>lèppuri</i> (Camp.) 'hare', <i>lepporédđu</i> (6: Dorgali), <i>lèporo</i> , <i>lepporédđu</i> (12: Gavoi, 14: Fonni, 15: Urzulei, 17: Triei, 18: Baunei) 'butterfly' AIS (480, 521): <i>lèppore</i> (4: Bitti, 6: Dorgali, 18: Baunei), <i>lèpore</i> (5: Nuoro, 14: Fonni) 'hare'; <i>lèppore</i> (20: Desulo) 'butterfly'
4: * <i>lèppuri</i>	DES (II: 22–23): <i>lèppuri</i> (Camp.) 'hare'; <i>leppurédđu</i> (10: Olzai, 22: Meana Sardo, 23: Gadoni), <i>lèppuri</i> (21: Aritzo) 'butterfly' AIS (521): <i>lèppuri</i> (18: Escalaplano, 24: Perdasdefogu), [su] <i>lèpuì</i> (30: Sant'Antioco) 'hare'
5: * <i>lèppi</i>	DES (II: 22–23): <i>lèppi léppi</i> (24: Seui, 25: Sadali) 'butterfly'

In various Sardinian dialects, the word for 'hare' is etymologically identical to the word for 'butterfly', the only distinction being that the latter often has the diminutive suffix *-édđu/-èdđa*. Wagner (DES II: 23) considers two scenarios for this peculiar *Benennungsmotiv*. One is the idea that the fluttering of butterflies was perceived as similar to the jumping of hares. The other is that it is sound-symbolic. Since all listed words for 'butterfly' can synchronically be perfectly understood as simple derivation from the word for 'hare', I prefer not to assume an independent origin of these words, as suggested by Wagner's second scenario. The fact that the 'lapwing' too is in some places called *lèppere de ardzòla* (Wagner 1928: 30), demonstrates that the word for 'hare' could semantically be extended to certain flying animals (cf. § 4.4.9).

As for the forms themselves, there is obviously a connection to Lat. *lepus*, *-oris* 'hare'. However, this would have yielded Log. ***lèßore*, Camp. ***lèßuri*, neither of which is attested. The voiceless *-p(p)-* that is present in the Sardinian forms for 'hare' can only be from original geminate **-pp-* or **-bb-*. Moreover, the different formation types found across Sardinia present varying vocalism in the second syllable.

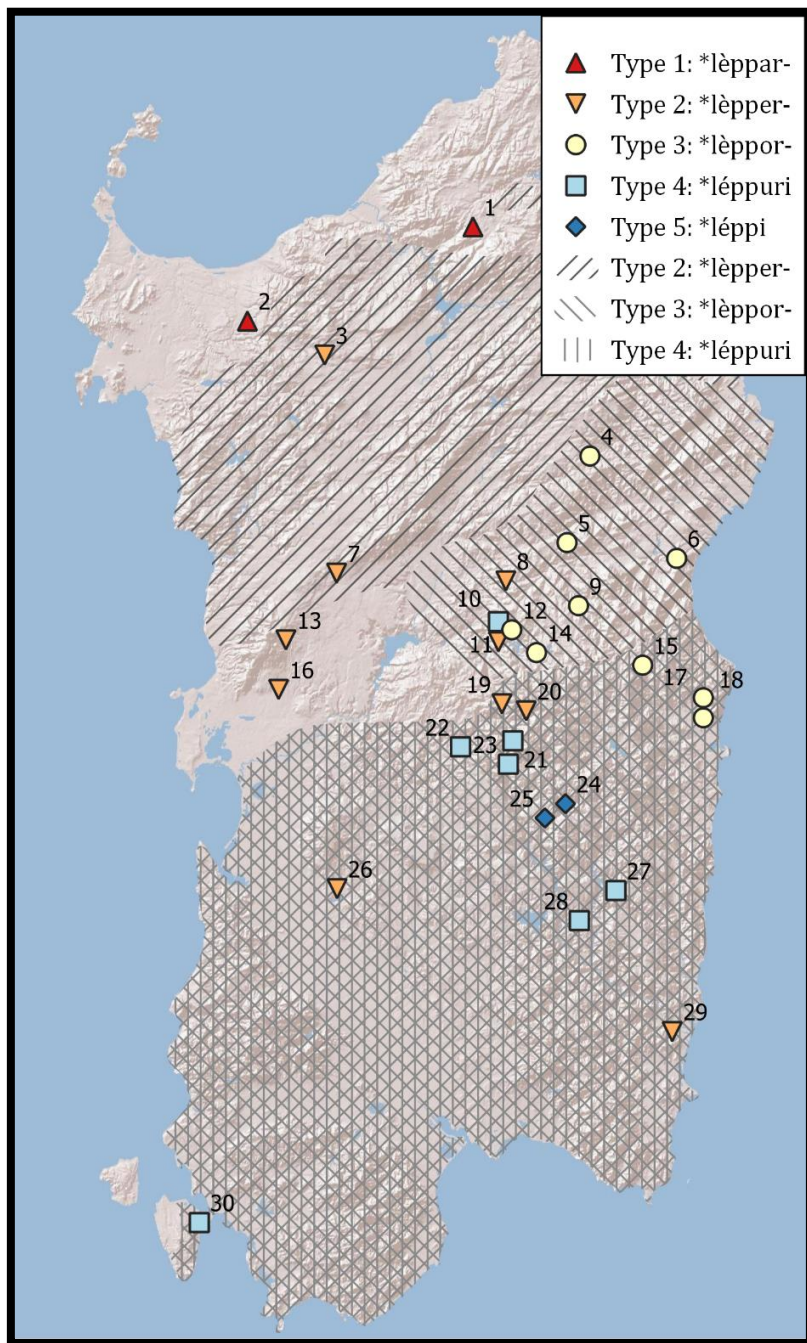


Figure 4.5.8: Hare (*Lepus sp.*)

Wagner (DES II: 22) rejects various proposed folk etymologies that could explain the unexpected *-pp-* and instead suggests influence from a pre-Roman **lappar-*. This latter form is posited by Bertoldi (1937a: 146) as the source of Lat. *lepus*, *-oris* ‘hare’, of Sicilian *λέποριν* ‘hare’ (Varro 2015: 108), and of *λεβηρίς*, denoting the rabbits in Turdetania in Strabo (1877: chap. 3.2.6) and apparently also in use in Massilia (Liddell et al. 1978: s.v. *λεβηρίς*). It is not clear to me why the aforementioned forms need **lappar-*, as none of them contains an *-a-*, but this reconstruction is in any case needed for Pg. *láparo*, OProv. *laperel* ‘young rabbit (*Oryctolagus cuniculus* (Linnaeus, 1758))’, OFr. *lapriel* ‘rabbit’. These and various other forms for rabbit (e.g. Pg. *lapim*, Arag. *llapí* ‘young rabbit’, Fr. *lapin* ‘rabbit’) are compared by Hubschmid (1943: 246–250). The lack of a clear etymology for Lat. *lepus* ‘hare’ (cf. de Vaan 2008: 335), combined with the irregular correspondence between it and the various Romance forms denoting rabbits and hares, suggests that this word entered Latin and Romance independently on multiple occasions. The vocalism of the Sardinian forms is clearly influenced by Latin *lepus*, *-oris*, but the presence of geminate *-pp-* brings it closer to e.g. Pg. *láparo* ‘young rabbit’. Hubschmid’s (1943) derivation of the various words for ‘rabbit’ etc. from pre-Roman **lappa* vel sim. ‘cave; stone slab’ is perhaps possible, but difficult to verify. His proposal that **lappar-* spread from Iberia with the domestication of rabbits, which are native to the Iberian Peninsula, does not immediately follow from the attestation of similar forms in the meaning ‘hare’ in Latin, Sardinian and colonial Greek.

4.5.9 Marten (*Martes martes*)¹⁷¹

ReconstructionForms

1: <i>*bassíle</i>	Wagner (1934: 483–489; DES I:139): <i>bassíli</i> (1: Santa Teresa Gallura, 6: Calangianus, 7: Nuchis, 9: Tempio Pausania), <i>bassíle</i> (2: Luogosanto, 10: Bortigiadas, 12: Bulzi, 15: Laerru), <i>basíli</i> (8: Castelsardo, 13: Porto Torres, 17: Sorso, 25: Sassari), <i>vassíli</i> (11: Sedini) ‘marten (<i>Martes martes</i> (Linnaeus, 1758))’
--------------------	---

¹⁷¹ These data are discussed in a similar fashion in Swanenvleugel (2024: 232–236).

-
- 2: **assibile* Wagner (1934: 483–489; DES I:139): *assile* (3: Luras, 5: Olbia, 14: Perfugas, 16: Monti, 18: Sennori, 19: Berchidda, 20: Nulvi, 21: Martis, 22: Chiaramonti, 23: Osilo, 24: Tula, 26: Oschiri, 29: Cargeghe, 30: Ploaghe, 33: Olmedo, 34: Alà dei Sardi, 35: Florinas, 37: Torpè, 38: Ardara, 41: Ozieri, 42: Pattada, 43: Buddusò, 44: Siligo, 46: Banari, 47: Putifigari, 48: Bessude, 50: Ittireddu, 51: Bonnanaro, 55: Cheremule, 61: Monte Leone, 63: Nule, 64: Bultei, 65: Benetutti, 66: Giave, 67: Anela, 68: Cossoine, 69: Bonorva, 70: Bono, 75: Pozzomaggiore, 76: Semestene, 78: Bottida, 79: Burgos, 80: Esportatu, 83: Montresta, 85: Illorai, 86: Bolotana, 88: Lei, 90: Sindia, 91: Bosa, 94: Bortigali, 95: Suni, 98: Flussio, 99: Magomadas, 100: Macomer, 102: Tresnuraghes, 105: Dualchi, 107: Noragugume, 108: Scano di Montiferro, 109: Borore, 111: Sennariolo, 129: Bonarcado, 130: Ovodda), *asili* (4: Aggius), *ansile* (27: Muros, 28: Ossi, 31: Usini, 32: Codrongianus, 39: Ittiri, 49: Mores, 52: Thiesi, 53: Borutta, 54: Torralba, 58: Romana, 77: Padria, 113: Cuglieri), *essile* (56: Villanova Monte Leone, 93: Silanus, 101: Birori), *asseile* (89: Orotelli), *assaile* (120: Santu Lussurgiu), [sa] *sißile* (126: Fonni) ‘id.’
-
- 3: **grassibile* Wagner (1934: 483–489; DES I:139): *grassile* (36: Posada, 40: Lodè, 45: Siniscola, 57: Onanì, 59: Garofai, 60: Bitti, 62: Lula, 71: Irgoli, 72: Orune, 73: Onifai, 74: Loculi, 81: Galtelli, 82: Orosei, 92: Dorgali, 110: Mamoiada), *grassißile* (87: Nuoro, 96: Oliena, 97: Oniferi, 103: Orani, 106: Sarule) ‘id.’
-
- 4: **kassibile* Wagner (1934: 483–489; DES I:139): *kassißile* (104: Ottana), *?assißile* (112: Orgosolo, 114: Olzai, 117: Ollolai, 118: Gavoi), *kassile* (115: Sedilo, 116: Aidomaggiore, 119: Domusnovas Canales, 121: Norbello, 122: Soddì, 123: Abbasanta, 124: Ghilarza, 125: Zuri, 127: Bidonì, 128: Boroneddu, 131: Paulilatino, 132: Seneghe, 133: Milis, 134: Narbolia), *kassißi* (135: Bauladu, 137: Tramatzu, 138: Villanova Truschedu, 140: Siamanna, 141: Oristano), *kassí* (136: San Vero Milis), *kassili* (139: Cabras) ‘id.’
-

All of these forms can be derived from a base **assibile*, which is not of Latin origin. The forms of type 1 are restricted to Gallurese and Sassarese, and were likely influenced by the personal name *Basilio* (DES I: 139). Types 3 and 4 have added initial **gr-* and **k-* respectively. Type 3 is probably a variant of type 4, possibly remodeled after *grássu* ‘greasy’ (DES I: 139). The opposition between

**assibile* (type 2) and **kassibile* (type 4, and probably type 3) is difficult to explain away within Sardinian. The addition of an initial sequence **kV-* occurs in several other Sardinian words of possible pre-Roman origin too, and may originally have been some kind of morpheme (§ 9.1.1).

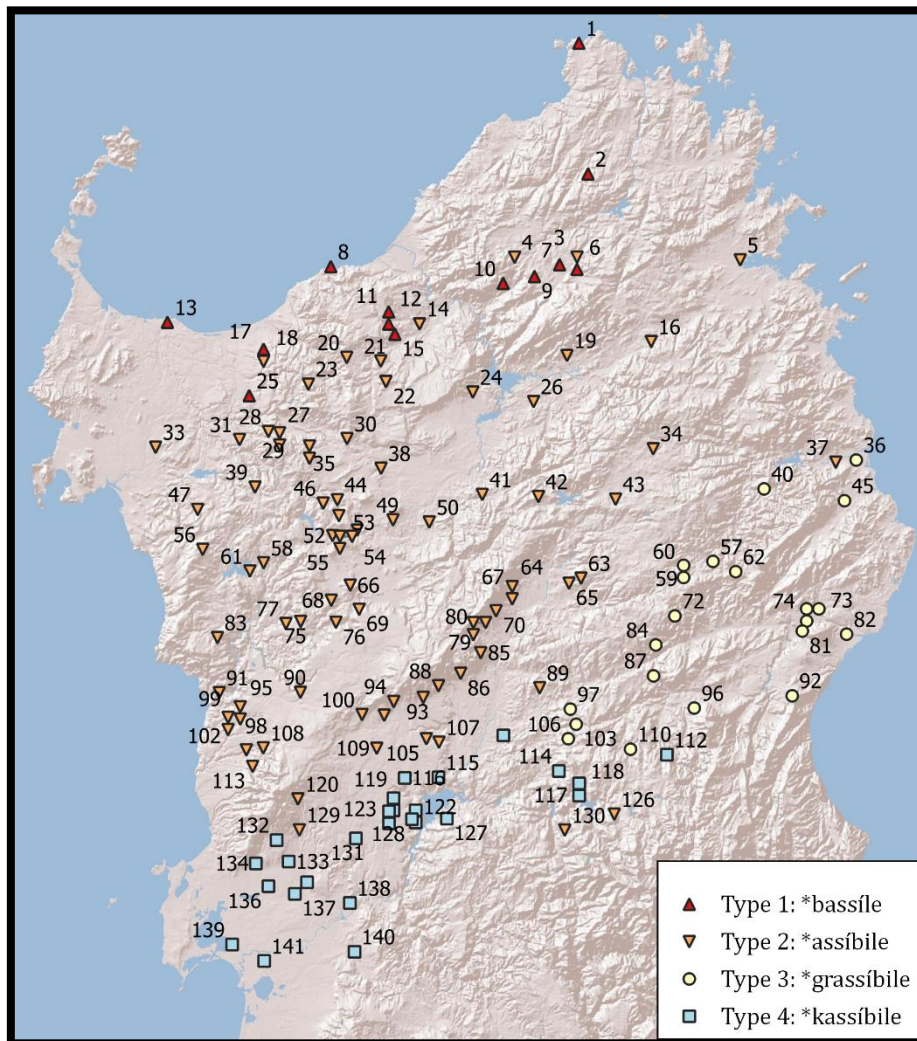


Figure 4.5.9: Marten (*Martes martes*)

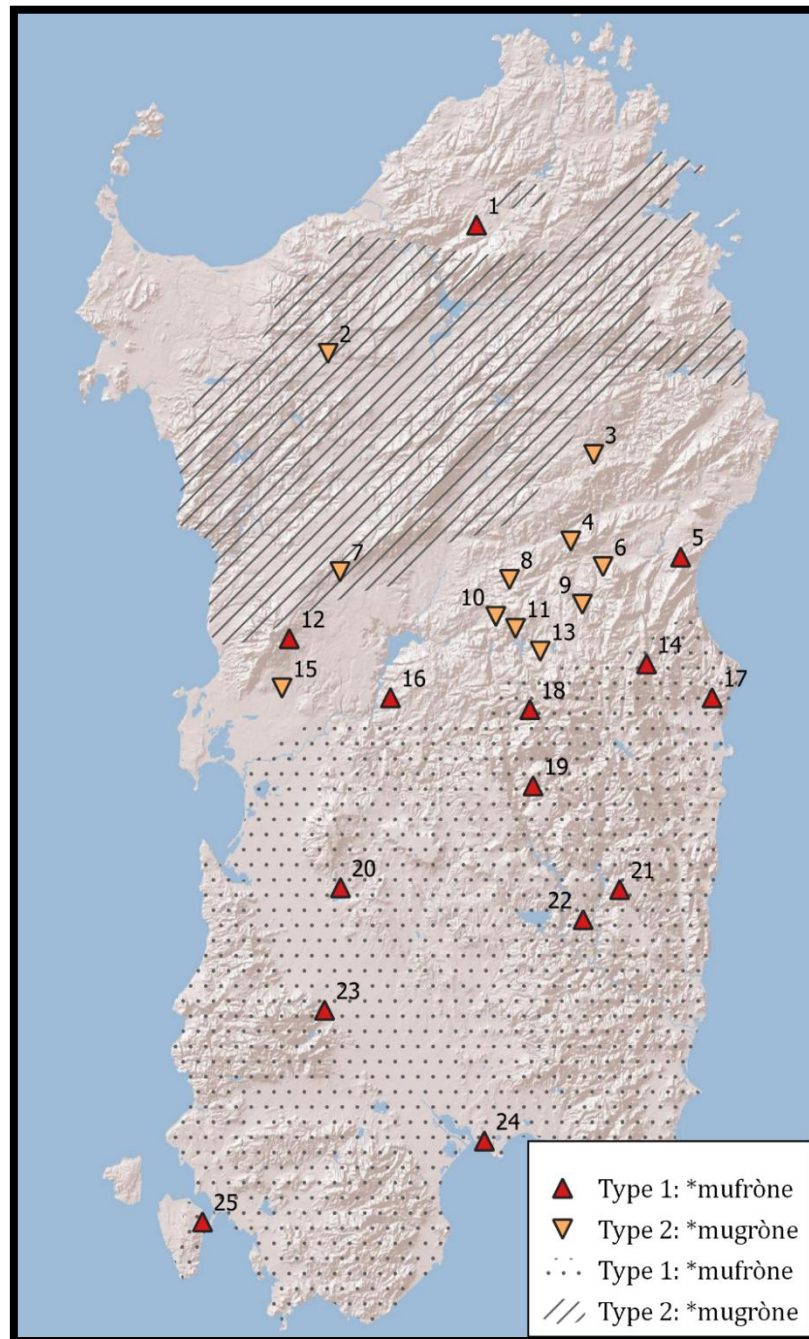


Figure 4.5.10: Mouflon (*Ovis aries musimon*)

4.5.10 Mouflon (*Ovis aries musimon*)

Reconstruction	Forms
1: * <i>mufròne</i>	DES (II: 134–135): <i>murvòni</i> , <i>murvòì</i> , <i>mrurvòì</i> (Camp.), <i>muvròne</i> (5: Dorgali, 21: Perdasdefogu), <i>murvòne</i> (12: Santu Lussurgiu), <i>mufròne</i> (14: Urzulei, 18: Desulo) ‘mouflon (<i>Ovis aries musimon</i> (Pallas, 1811))’ AIS (519): <i>muvròni</i> (1: Tempio, 19: Seulo), <i>mrurvòne</i> (16: Busachi), <i>muvròne</i> (17: Baunei), <i>murvòì</i> (20: Mogoro, 23: Villacidro), <i>mrurvòni</i> (22: Escalaplano), <i>murvòni</i> (24: Cagliari, 25: Sant’Antioco) ‘mouflon’; <i>múvra</i> (5: Dorgali), <i>múvra</i> (12: Santu Lussurgiu; 20: Mogoro, 23: Villacidro), <i>mrúva</i> (16: Busachi, 22: Escalaplano), <i>múvra</i> (17: Baunei, 21: Perdasdefogu), <i>múfra</i> (18: Desulo) ‘mouflon (female)’
2: * <i>mugròne</i>	DES (II: 134–135): <i>muròne</i> (Log.), <i>muyròne</i> (3: Bitti, 4: Nuoro, 6: Oliena, 8: Orani, 9: Orgosolo, 10: Olzai, 11: Gavoi), <i>murgòne</i> (13: Fonni) ‘mouflon’ (AIS 519): <i>muròne</i> (2: Ploaghe, 7: Macomer), <i>muròì</i> (15: Milis) ‘mouflon’; <i>múyra</i> (3: Bitti, 4: Nuoro), <i>múrga</i> (13: Fonni) ‘mouflon (female)’

The mouflon is a type of wild sheep native to Sardinia and Corsica. The Sardinian name for this animal is mirrored by Cors. *muvrone*, *-i*, feminine *muvra*, *mufra* (DES II: 134; BDLC: s.v. mouflon), whence it entered French as *mouflon* and was subsequently adopted by other European languages (FEW VI/III: 186). In Latin sources we find *mufron* (Polemios Silvius, 5th c. CE), referring to a species of wild sheep in Sardinia in Corsica (TLL VIII: 1557; Ernout & Meillet 2001: 417).

As Wagner (DES II: 134) notes, the Sardinian forms require two pre-forms: **mufròne* for type 1 and **mugròne* for type 2.¹⁷² In light of the wider distribution of type 1 **mufròne* in the Sardinian dialects, its presence in Corsican and its early attestation in 5th century Latin, it is attractive to assume that **mufron-* is original. Type 2 **mugron-* is restricted to Logudorese and Nuorese and may have been an early innovation. This word has no Latin etymology and, especially since it specifically refers to animals endemic to the Tyrrhenian islands, it is suspect of being of pre-Roman origin. Besides Lat. *mufron*, there is also Lat. *musmō* ‘wild sheep with skin like a goat, especially common in Corsica’, and Pliny mentions

¹⁷² Wagner (DES II: 134) states that Log. *muròne* can go back both to **mugròne* and to **mufròne*, but post-vocalic *-fr-* would likely have yielded ***-vr-* (Wagner 1941a: 90), indicating that the Logudorese forms go back to **mugròne*.

that “the ancients called the offspring of the *musmō* and of sheep *imbrōs*” (Walde & Hofmann 1954: 118). It is not clear what the relation between Lat. *musmō*, *mufron* and *imbro-* is. Whereas *musmō* and *mufron* share their syllable structure and vocalism, the consonant clusters *-sm-* and *-fr-* are hard to reconcile. *Imbro-* on the other hand is closer with its sequence *-br-*, but its vocalism differs from that of *mufron*. The late attestation of *mufron* indicates that it may have been borrowed directly from Sardinian or Corsican Romance. Since Lat. *musmō* and *imbro-* appear to refer to the same animal (or its offspring), it is attractive to assume that these forms too entered Latin from a language spoken in one of these islands, but the modern Corsican and Sardinian dialects show no evidence for the existence of similar forms.¹⁷³

Next to Srd. **mufrōne*, **mugrōne*, we find **múfra*, **múgra* everywhere, referring specifically to a female mouflon. This shows that *-on-* is a suffix, but it is unclear whether it was added by Latin or if it was a feature of the original source language (§ 9.2.4.2). Finally, Wagner (DES I: 134) mentions Georg. *maklo* ‘deer’, without making his ideas on its relation to the Sardinian words explicit. Besides the obvious semantic discrepancy between ‘mouflon’ and ‘deer’, the comparison runs into phonetic trouble too if we depart from **mufr-* as the most likely base form of the Sardinian and Corsican words.

¹⁷³ Pittau (1984: 199–200), however, argues that Lat. *musmō* and Lat. *mufron* are unrelated.