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## The pre-Roman elements of the Sardinian lexicon

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## 5 Geography

This chapter contains words referring to geographical items. Many of the meanings of the forms discussed are highly specific, and at times particular to the variety in which they are attested. Included are features of the natural landscape (§ 5.1), as well as landmarks related to human activity (§ 5.2).

### 5.1 Natural features

#### 5.1.1 Chasm; pile

| Reconstruction    | Forms                                                                                                                                                    |
|-------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1: * <i>núrra</i> | DES (II: 176–179): <i>núrra</i> (1: Posada) ‘pile of wood or rocks’, (3: Bitti) ‘heap (of fruit etc.) sticking out above the rim of a basket’            |
| 2: * <i>núrra</i> | DES (II: 176–179): <i>núrra</i> (2: Siniscola, 5: Nuoro, 7: Orgosolo) ‘ravine in the shape of a pit’, <sup>174</sup> (4: Lula, 6: Oliena) ‘chasm, crack’ |

Although all of these forms are formally identical, they have been subdivided into two types on the basis of their diverging meanings (i.e. ‘pile’ next to ‘ravine, chasm’), which do however co-occur in the same geographical area. This odd fact was proposed by Hubschmid (1953: 45) to be the result of the original meaning being something like ‘cup’. This would subsequently have come to denote depressions in the terrain on the one hand, and elevations or heaps (in the shape of an upside-down cup) on the other. He provides several parallels from other languages. In a later article, Hubschmid (1958: 220) abandons this idea and opts for ‘elevation’ as the original meaning, stating that “the word would simply have denoted elevations most of the time, and more rarely depressions”. This is not in line with the Sardinian evidence however, where *núrra* refers to some kind of depression more often than to an elevation. Hubschmid’s original explanation seems more plausible.

<sup>174</sup> “[B]urrone a forma di pozzo” (DES II: 177).

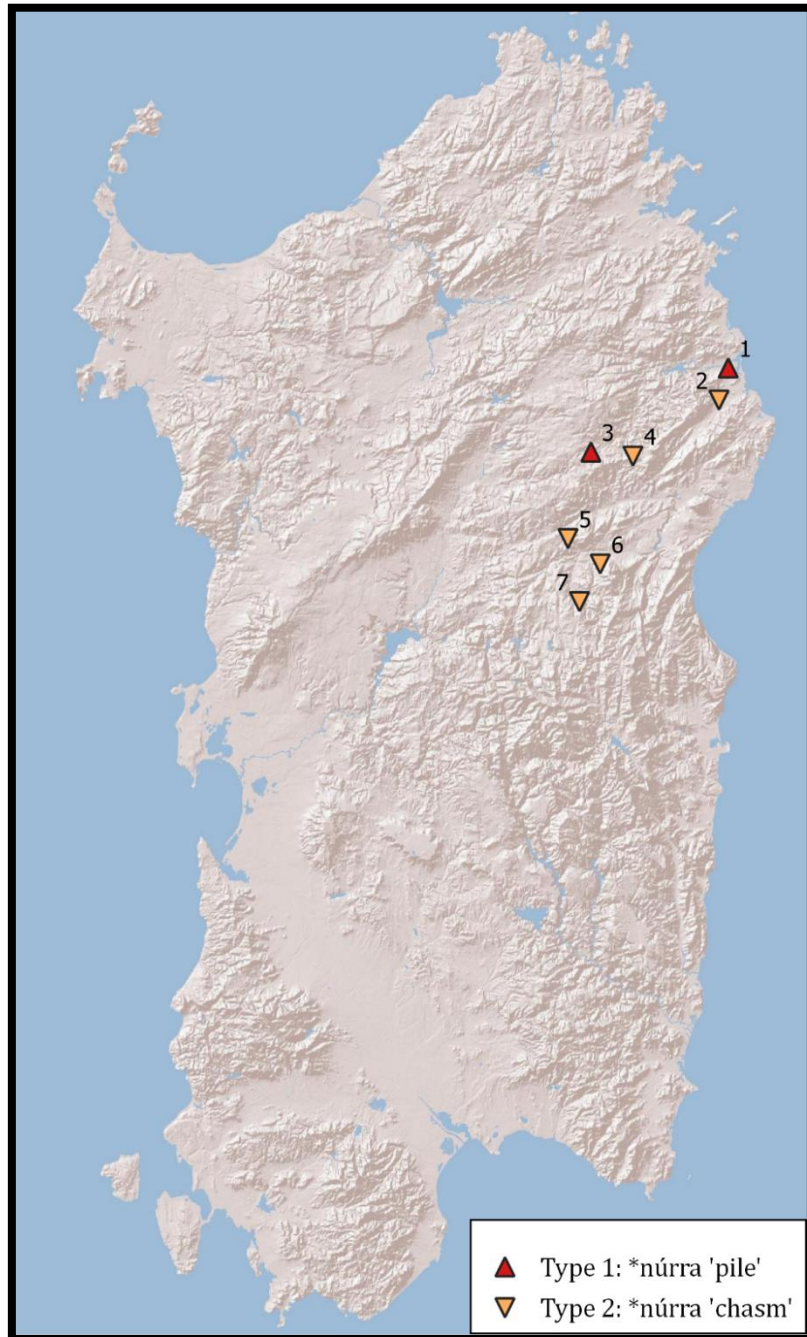


Figure 5.1.1: Chasm; pile

In DES (II: 176-79), these forms are discussed under the lemma *nuráke* ‘nuraghe’ (§ 5.2.2). The idea that *nuráke* ‘nuraghe’ would be a pre-Roman derivation of *núrra* was first proposed by Pais (1910: 190), who further compares the toponyms *Nurra* (a historical region), *Nurri* (a town), and others. Wagner (1932: 230–231) has some justified doubts as to the semantic and formal feasibility of connecting *núrra* ‘pile, heap; ravine, chasm’ with *nuráke* ‘nuraghe’. Semantically, it seems by no means self-evident that the builders of these monumental structures would have referred to these feats of early architecture as a ‘heap’ or ‘elevation’ — or as comparable to a ‘cave’, as Terracini (1936: 55–56) suggests. Formally, *nuráke* invariably has a singleton *-r-*, while *núrra* always has geminate *-rr-*. Hubschmid (1953: 47; 1958: 219) attributes this to degemination rules related to stress placement in the pre-Roman substrate language and provides parallels from the Iberian Peninsula. He does not provide evidence for a similar process in Sardinian however. While it is possible that Srd. *nuráke* and *núrra* originally belonged to the same pre-Roman language, there is in my view not enough evidence to identify the former as a derivation from the latter.

This reduces the comparanda of Srd. *núrra* to various toponyms within and outside Sardinia (Pais 1910: 189–190; Wagner 1932: 229; Hubschmid 1953: 45–47; 1958: 219–220), and to various forms in Ibero-Romance varieties mentioned by Hubschmid (1953: 47; 1958: 219): e.g. Ast. *norriu* ‘pile of rocks made in an estate’, *noiro* (Boal) ‘bump of earth with undergrowth’, Galic. *nórrago* ‘big knot in the root of a tree’ etc. While the meaning of the first of these forms is close to that attested in Posada (1), the large semantic distance to the other forms (e.g. from ‘chasm’ in Sardinia to ‘knot in the root of a tree’) make an etymological connection doubtful.

#### 5.1.2 Clay

| Reconstruction                        | Forms                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| * <i>loḷiána/</i><br>* <i>luḷiána</i> | DES (II: 47): <i>ludzána</i> (Nuor., Log., Sass., 4: Scano di Montiferro), <i>lodzána</i> (Campidano di Milis reg.), [ <i>terra</i> ] <i>luzana</i> (3: Nuoro), <i>lurdzána</i> (5: Norbello), <i>ložána</i> (8: Desulo) ‘clay’; <i>ludzána</i> (1: Posada, 2: Siniscola) ‘layer of black sediment that is deposited by a river’ |
|                                       | AIS (416): <i>lužáa</i> (6: Milis), <i>luḡána</i> (7: Busachi) ‘clay’                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |

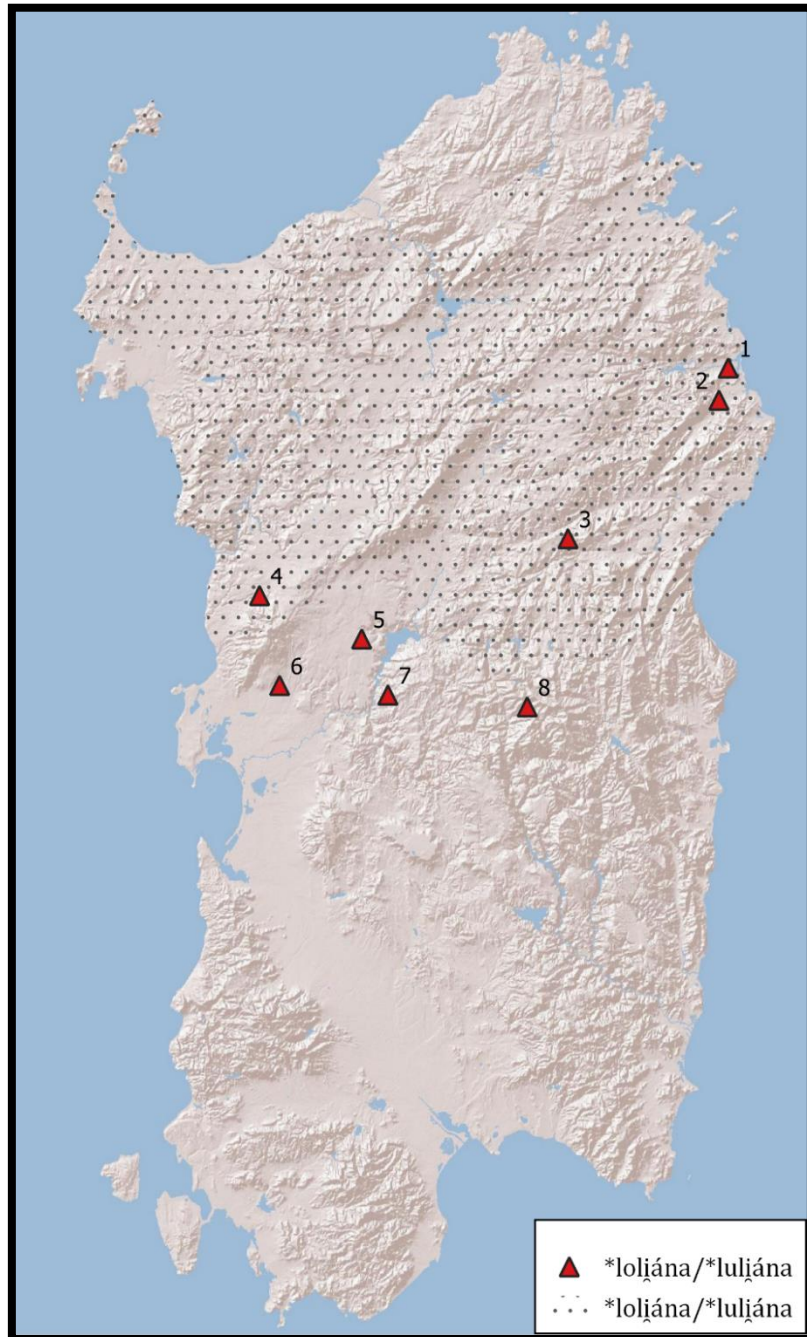


Figure 5.1.2: Clay

These words for ‘clay’, found in the northern half of Sardinia and attested as *Luianathos* in the Condaghe of San Pietro di Silki (Bonazzi 1900: sec. 202) and as *luiana* in the Condaghe of San Nicola di Trullas (Merci 1992: sec. 125), cannot go back to any Latin source. Wagner (DES I: 47) reconstructs *\*luljána* and considers a pre-Roman origin. The alternation between pretonic *-u-* (*ludzána* etc.) and *-o-* (*lodzána* etc.) could be of recent date (cf. Wagner 1941a: 28–29). Paulis (1992: 261) proposes a derivation from Lat. *lolium* ‘darnel’, because the type of clay in question would be conducive to the growth of this plant. Formally, a derivation *\*loljana* << *lolium* is attractive, but I am not convinced by the various semantic steps required for Paulis’ etymology. The etymology of this word remains uncertain.<sup>175</sup>

### 5.1.3 Den (for animals)

| Reconstruction  | Forms                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|-----------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1: <i>*kála</i> | DES (I: 264–265): <i>kála</i> (Log., Camp.) ‘shelter where river eels take refuge’<br>Wagner (1932: 242): <i>kála</i> (Log., Camp.) ‘cove, inlet’                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| 2: <i>*kála</i> | DES (I: 264–265): <i>kála</i> (Nuor.), [ <i>sa</i> ] <i>kála</i> [ <i>e mariáne</i> ] (2: Dorgali), [ <i>sa</i> ] <i>?ála</i> [ <i>essu marǵáne</i> ] (4: Fonni) ‘fox den’; <i>kála</i> [ <i>e vormikas</i> ] (1: Nuoro), [ <i>sa</i> ] <i>kála</i> [ <i>e vrummíka</i> ] (2: Dorgali), [ <i>sa</i> ] <i>?ála</i> [ <i>e sa omílʔa</i> ] (3: Orgosolo), [ <i>sa</i> ] <i>?ála</i> [ <i>e bobborissína</i> ] (4: Fonni), <i>kála</i> [ <i>e fromíha</i> ] (5: Urzulei) ‘ant-hill’ |

Although all abovementioned forms are formally identical, they have been divided into two types according to their rather divergent meanings. Those in type 1, attested in Logudorese and Campidanese, denote some kind of inlet or cove in the shore along a body of water. Those in type 2, on the other hand, are restricted to the Nuorese dialects and refer to animal dens — specifically fox dens and anthills according to DES (I: 264–265). I agree with Wagner (1932: 242) that *kála* in the meaning ‘cove, inlet’ (type 1), must be a loan from either Sp., Cat. or It. *cala* ‘cove, inlet, creek’, but that such a recent loan scenario is semantically difficult for the Sardinian forms referring to ‘fox dens’ and ‘anthills’.

<sup>175</sup> Equally unsatisfactory is the idea that homonymous *ludzána* ‘type of red ant’ would be derived from Lat. *lolium* because the redness of the ants was supposedly associated to the redness of the soil in which darnel grows (Paulis 1992: 261).

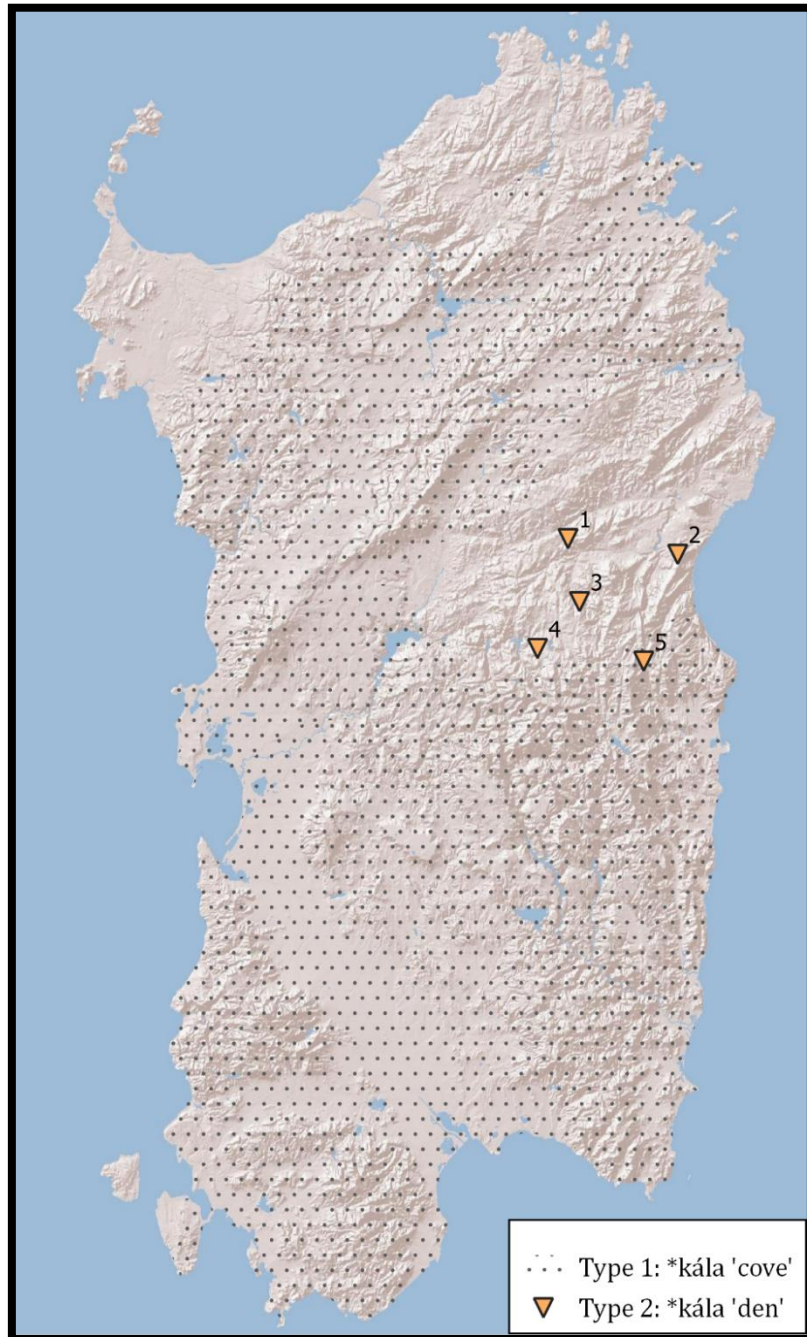


Figure 5.1.3: Animal den

Wagner (1932: 242) believes that Srd. *kála* ‘den, anthill’ (type 2) is of pre-Roman origin and that it is ultimately related to similar forms elsewhere in the western Mediterranean region, such as Lang. *câlo* ‘shelter (from the wind)’, Sav. *çalē* ‘chalet (Alpine shepherd’s hut)’, Sp., Cat., OProv., Cors., It., Sic. *cala* ‘cove, inlet, creek’ (and many other forms; cf. FEW II: 50–51; BDLC: s.v. Cors. *cala*), which was eventually introduced in Sardinia a second time in the maritime meaning of type 1 (also Paulis 1987: 476). Whether Srd. *kála* (and *cala* in other languages) can be shown to be in any way related to Srd. *kalánka* ‘rock crevice’ (§ 5.1.18), as Wagner (1932: 242) argues, depends on the evidence of *\*-anka* as a suffix, of which there is little (cf. § 5.1.18). For widespread Mediterranean *cala* in the sense ‘cove, inlet, creek’, a derivation from Lat. *calāre* ‘to lower, to let down’ < Gr. χαλάω ‘id.’ cannot be excluded (cf. REW 1487; FEW II: 58–61). For the other meanings, this is more difficult. Note also that Gr. χαλάω was originally borrowed into Sardinian as *falāre* ‘to descend’ (FEW II: 60; DES I: 449), precluding a derivation of the Sardinian forms from this verb.

#### 5.1.4 Forest

| Reconstruction   | Forms                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1: <i>*littu</i> | DES (II: 33): <i>littu</i> (Nuor., 1: Bitti, 2: Orune, 3: Nuoro, 4: Orani, 6: Fonni) ‘large expanse of forested terrain; dense forest’<br>Paulis (1987: 509): <i>littu</i> (Log.) ‘id.’ |
| 2: <i>*littu</i> | DES (II: 33): <i>littu</i> (5: Orgosolo) ‘id.’                                                                                                                                          |

Wagner calls this word ‘probably pre-Roman’, likely because of the absence of a clear etymology. This word, which is also attested in toponyms, is derived by Pittau (2013: s.v. *littigheddu*) from Lat. *iliceus* ‘of the holm-oak, oaken’. This is formally impossible, since Lat. *-ceu* is expected to yield > *\*-cju* > *\*\*.-tju* in the Nuorese dialects. This is attested in Orgosolo (5) *littu*, but all other forms show *-tt-*. Moreover, this word is attested as *littu* in the Condaghe di San Pietro di Silki (Bonazzi 1900: sec. 96), which usually represents the reflexes of *\*-cj-* as *-th-* (Mau-lu 2016: 543–544). This means that *littu* must be taken as the base form, and that Orgosolo (5) *littu* is due to an irregular, secondary shift from *-tt-* to *-tju-*, which is not uncommon (Wagner 1941a: 119). Wagner (1932: 242) tentatively compares Bq. *lito* ‘deep place’, but does not mention it anymore in the DES (II: 33). Besides the semantic discrepancy between Srd. ‘forest’ and Bq. ‘deep place’, Bq. *lito* ‘deep place’ is a variant of *litho* and may be internally derived from Bq. *lu(r)* ‘earth’ + *it(h)o* ‘drowned, choked’ (Bouda 1949: 335; Michelena 1990: 81 fn. 17).

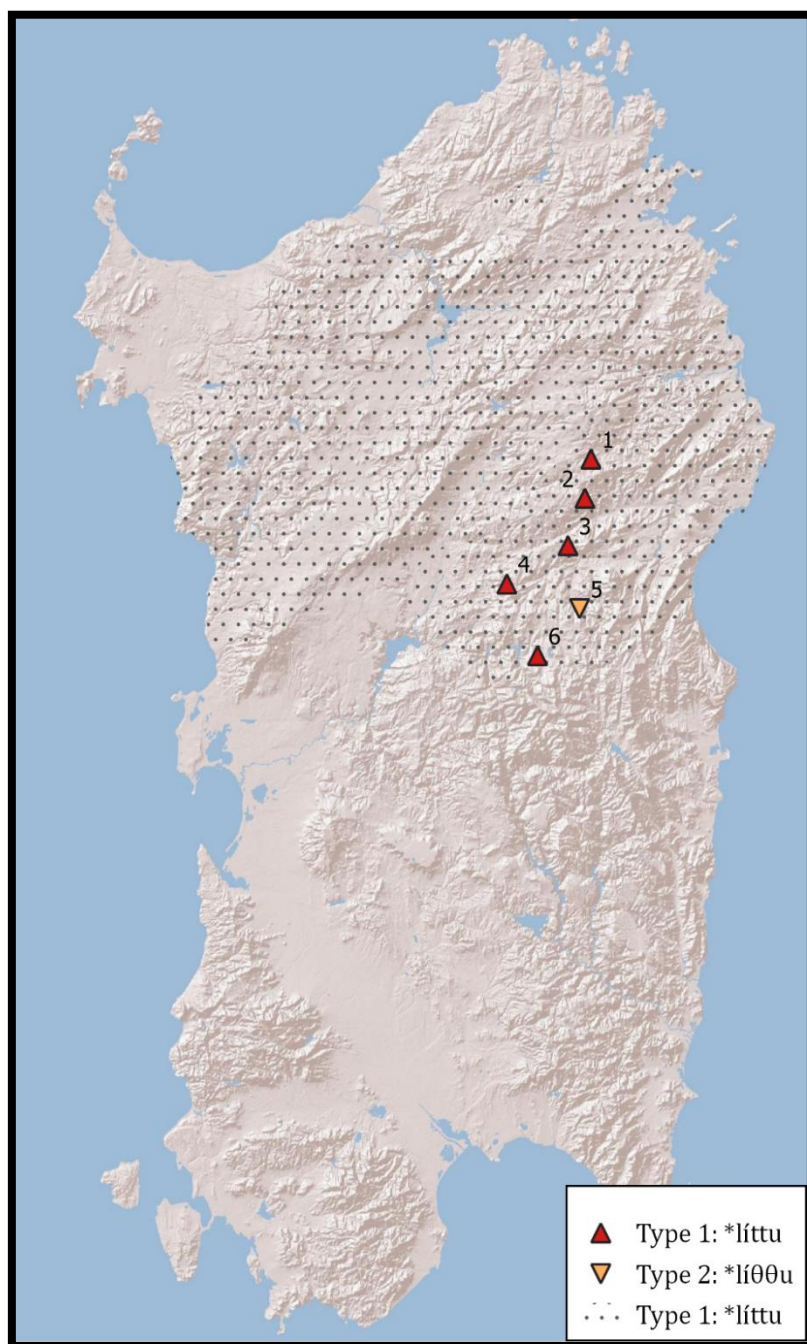


Figure 5.1.4: Forest

Other than the lack of an etymology, there is no real positive evidence for Wagner's attribution of this word to a pre-Roman language. Mastrelli (1970) posits a derivation *\*ēlictum* 'oak grove' < Lat. *ēlex/īlex* 'holm oak',<sup>176</sup> but this use of *-tum* instead of usual *-ētum* to form collectives from plant names is unparalleled in both Sardinian and Latin (Wagner 1952: 88–89; Weiss 2009: 293–294).<sup>177</sup> One wonders whether *littu* could be the result of the same development we find in Log., Nuor. *frittu* 'cold' < *\*frigdu* < Lat. *frigidus* 'id.' In that case *littu* might be the regular reflex of *\*libdu* < Lat. *lividus* 'bluish, dark, malicious'; cf. the use "*lividissima* [...] *vorago*" 'the darkest depth' in Catullus 17. Although this Lat. *lividus* is already continued with a different phonetic development in Nuorese as *liđu* 'livid, bruised' (< *\*lividu* < Lat. *lividus*), it should be noted that we also find Nuor. *fríyid̥a* 'the sound hot iron makes when it is put in water to cool down' next to *frittu* 'cold' (DES I: 546). The question is whether such a double phonetic development could also have happened for *lividus* and whether the semantic development of 'bluish, dark' > 'dense forest' is acceptable.

#### 5.1.5 Highland

| Reconstruction                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | Forms                                                               |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>*iára</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | DES (I: 603): <i>ǵára</i> (Camp.) 'basaltic and granitic highlands' |
| <p>This word, which mainly occurs in toponyms referring to rocky plateaus, is proposed in DES (I: 603) to be of pre-Roman origin, but no further are provided. Pittau's (2013: s.v. <i>Giorrè</i>) suggestion that it has anything to do with Lat. <i>glārea</i> 'gravel' and descendent Tusc. <i>ghiara</i>, <i>iara</i> (standard It. <i>ghiaia</i>) 'id.' must be rejected. The Tuscan form has been borrowed into Sardinian as Camp. <i>ǵár(r)a</i> 'gravel' (DES I: 708), but according to the AIS (417), <i>ǵarra</i> with geminate <i>-rr-</i> is found in most of Campidanese, Cagliari being the exception with <i>ǵára</i>. Pittau suggests that Camp. <i>ǵára</i> 'rocky highland' goes back to an Etruscan form that would also have been the origin of Lat. <i>glārea</i> 'gravel', but this is formally impossible, as a cluster <i>*gl-</i> would have yielded <i>*gr-</i> in Campidanese. Moreover, the semantic distance between 'rocky highland' and 'gravel' is too great for any plausible connection. Paulis (1994; cf. Putzu 2019: 6) proposes Camp. <i>ǵára</i> to be a loan from a Punic cognate of Hebr. יָעָר <i>yá'ar</i> 'wood, bush'.<sup>178</sup> Although the Punic form is not attested, this comparison is formally and semantically possible.</p> |                                                                     |

<sup>176</sup> *Non vidi*. Cf. Blasco Ferrer (1989: 20).

<sup>177</sup> The toponym *s'elittu* from Bottidda, cited as evidence for *\*ēlictum*, could have received its initial *e-* by analogy to Log. *eliyēđu* 'oak grove' < Lat. *ēlicētum* (cf. Wagner 1952: 88).

<sup>178</sup> I have unfortunately not been able to consult Paulis (1994) myself.

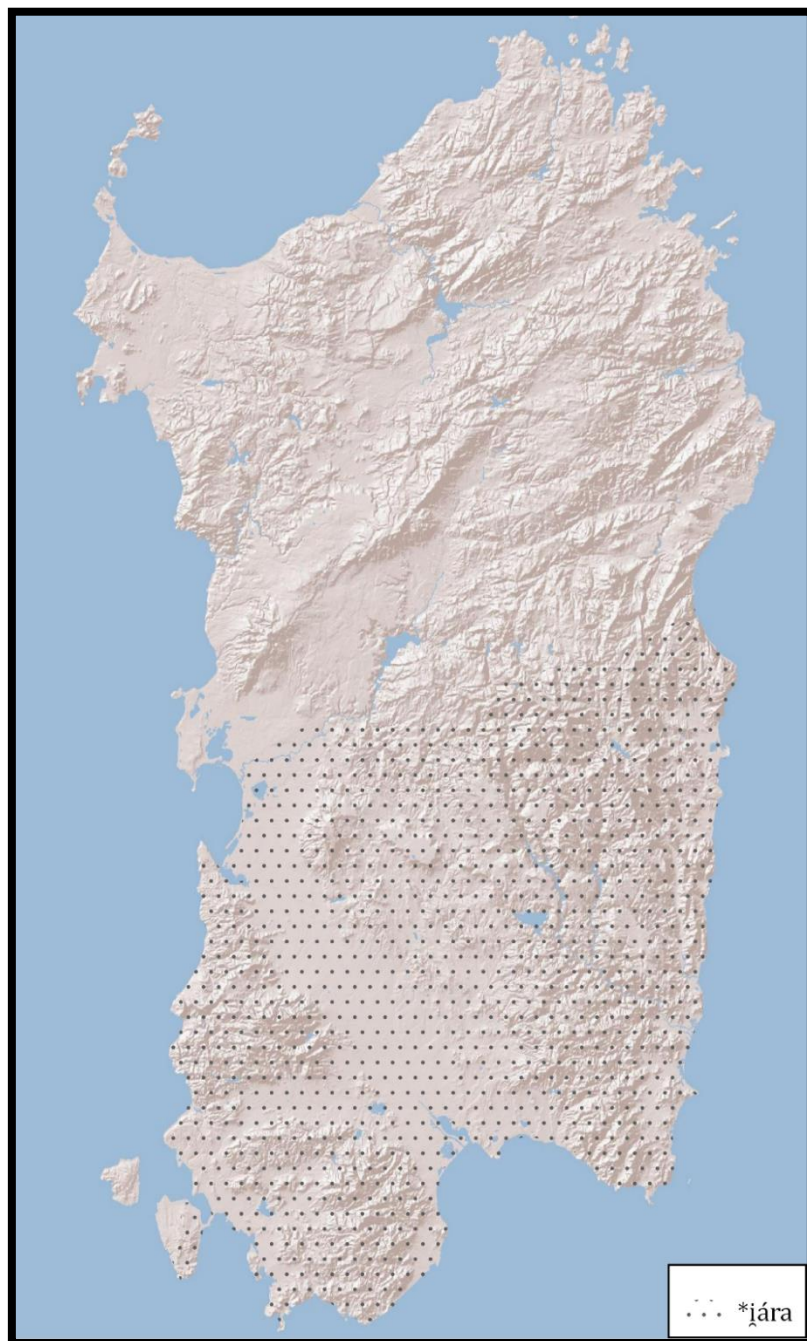


Figure 5.1.5: Highland

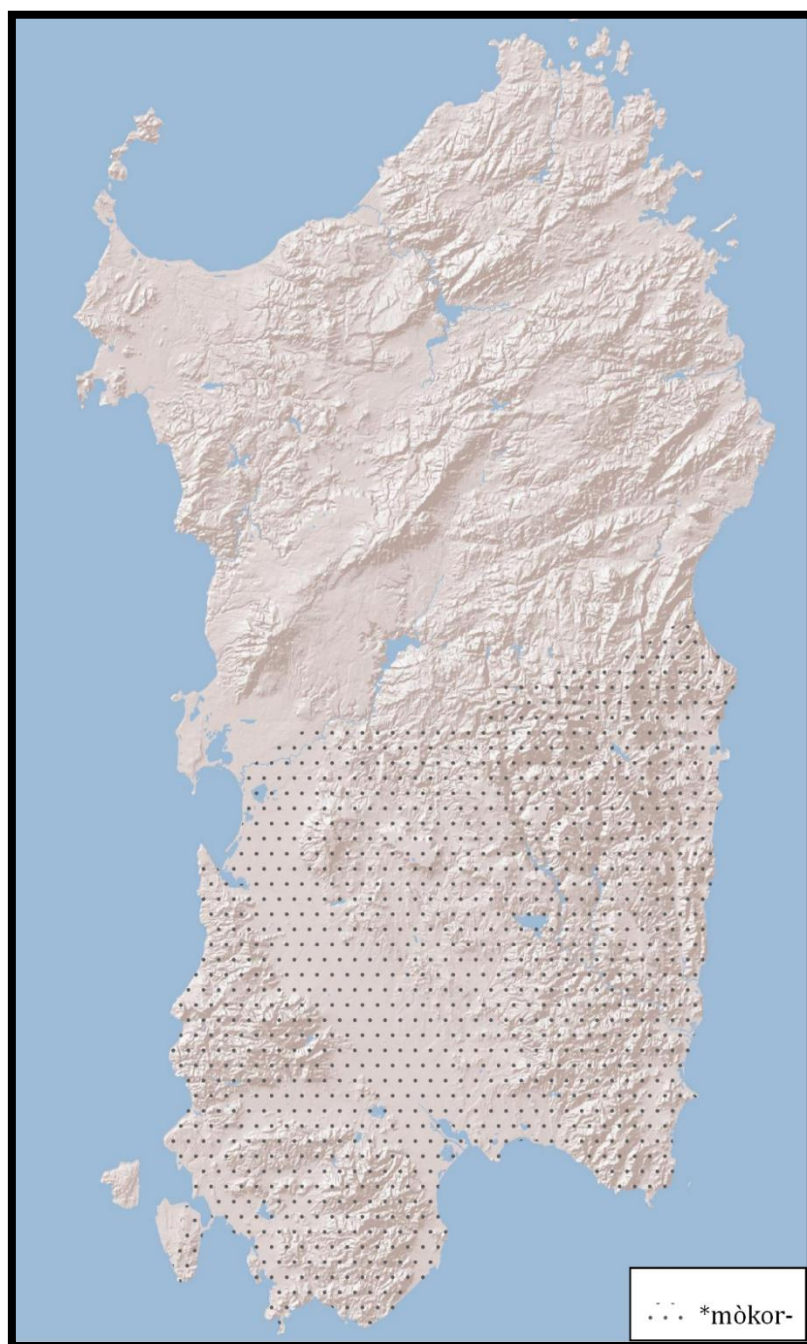


Figure 5.1.6: Hillock

## 5.1.6 Hillock

| Reconstruction  | Forms                                                           |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| * <i>mòkor-</i> | DES (II: 122): <i>mòyoro</i> (Camp.) ‘hillock, low hill’        |
|                 | Paulis (1987: 514): <i>mòyoro, mòyuru, mòyora</i> (Camp.) ‘id.’ |

Wagner (1932: 227; DES II: 122) provides for this word the rather unspecific distribution: “rural Campidanese, especially in the northern part”. It is in any case clear that it is the same as the name of the towns of *Mòyuru* (It. Mogoro) and *Moyorèdda* (It. Mogorella). Paulis (1987: 514) adduces the Ogliastran toponyms *mògola, mógula*. Wagner (1932: 227–228; DES II: 122) thinks this word is of pre-Roman origin, going back to original \**mókor* and remarks that the preservation of word final *-o* in Campidanese points to a pre-Roman origin, because inherited \**-o* would have yielded \*\**-u* (Wagner 1932: 227 fn. 3). This reasoning is flawed, as we would in fact expect an old final *-o* (of whatever origin) to participate in this more recent sound law. Nevertheless, forms with expected *-u* are attested (Puddu 2023: *mògora, mògoro*) and word-final *-o* (which is clearly original in this word) can indeed point to a pre-Roman origin, because of its infrequency in the Sardinian nominal system (§ 8.1.5.2). In this case, final *-o* may be of paragogical origin, as Wagner (1932: 227 fn. 3) notes (cf. § 8.4.1). This word does not have a good Latin etymology. Santano Moreno’s (2000: 158–160) derivation from Lat. *mucrō* ‘sharp point’ does not work formally.

This word has been compared to a large number of words of dubious origin in other languages, spanning the width of the Mediterranean. Roughly from west to east, these comparisons include:

- Bq. *mokor* ‘tree trunk, crust of bread, lump’ (Wagner 1932: 227), *mukurru* ‘climax, pinnacle (in the abstract sense)’ (Hubschmid 1953: 49). However, Bq. *mokor* ‘tree trunk, crust of bread, lump’ is analyzed by Michelena (1990: 272) as a formation containing an *m*-prefix and perhaps a variant of *sokor* ‘lump’, and/or *okor* ‘slice’ (Michelena 1990: 273). Bq. *mukurru, mukuru* ‘climax, pinnacle’ on the other hand seems to be metathesized from Lat. *cumulus* ‘heap, pile’, next to Bq. *gonburu, bonburu* ‘id.’ (Michelena 1990: 331). If Michelena’s analyses are correct, Bq. *mukur(r)u* needs to be separated from Srd. *mòyoro* etc., which cannot go back to Lat. *cumulus*. Trask (2008: 276) mentions Gipuzkoan Bq. *mokoru* ‘height, summit’. If this is not the same as Bq. *mukurru*, Wagner’s (1932: 227) comparison may still stand. Hubschmid (1953: 50) also compares the Sardinian forms to Bq. *moko* ‘beak, tip, peak’.

- Old Cat. *mocorró*, *moguró*, *muguró*, Cat. *mogró*, *mugró* 'nipple', *mugaró* (Barcelona) 'pile of sheaves made on the land'; Sp. *mugrón* 'layering (i.e. a branch of a plant taking root after touching the soil)' (Hubschmid 1953: 49–50). These comparisons are all rejected by Corominas (DCEC IV: 184), who derives the Catalan words for 'nipple' from Lat. *mucrō*, *-ōnis* 'sharp point' and Sp. *mugrón* 'layering' from Lat. *mergere* 'to plunge, immerse'. However, Corominas is more favorable towards the connection of Sp. *mogote* 'isolated cone-shaped hillock', which he speculates could be from an unattested pre-Roman word *\*mokoti*, which looks like a productive derivation from Bq. *moko* 'beak, tip, peak'.
- Prov. *maguelo*, Lang. *maghêlo*, *maghiêlo* 'steep hill, steep place', Gasc. (Barèges) *maguèro* 'stony hedge',<sup>179</sup> bush in the middle of cultivated land', (Gèdres) *maguèro* 'little wall of dry stones' (FEW XXI: 15b). According to the FEW, all these forms presuppose a pre-Roman form *\*maguella*.
- Alb. *magulë* 'small pile, heap', Rom. *măgură* 'mountain, hill', MGr. *μάγουλα*, PSl. *\*mogyla* 'burial mound' (Wagner 1932: 228; Ciorănescu 1958: s.v. *măgură*). According to Orel (1998: 109), Alb. *magulë* 'heap' is the result of a metathesis from *gamule*, *gamulë* 'id.', which was borrowed from PSl. *\*gomola* 'lump'. This would subsequently have been borrowed into Romanian as *măgură* 'hill'. Ciorănescu (1958: s.v. *măgură*) notes however that the change *\*-l- > -r-* implies that this word cannot be a recent loan in Romanian, and hypothesizes that at least Rom. *măgură* and Gr. *μάγουλα* must be independent loans from an earlier source, but does not draw any conclusions about the nature of their relation to Alb. *magulë* or PSl. *\*mogyla* 'burial mound'. PSl. *\*mogyla* is of unknown origin (Vasmer 1955: 143–144).

In light of the fact that several of the proposed connections can be explained internally in the respective languages, it is wise to include in the comparison only those forms that are close to Srd. *mòyoro* 'hillock' in form and meaning, without having to resort to hypothetical derivational mechanisms in unattested languages. This excludes Hubschmid's (1953: 50) connection to Bq. *moko* 'beak, tip, peak', for which we would need to assume suffixation of some *-r*-element in all other forms. Even after the rejection of many forms on the Iberian Peninsula by Michelena (1990) and the DCEC however, we are left with a large series of words of similar form and meaning to Srd. *mòyoro* etc. < *\*mòkor*, in southern

<sup>179</sup> "[H]aie caillouteux" (FEW XXI: 15b).

France and the Balkan peninsula, and maybe in Bq. *mokoru* if it is not from Lat. *cumulus*.

### 5.1.7 Humid place

| Reconstruction     | Forms                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1: * <i>orgòs-</i> | DES (II: 192): <i>orgòsa</i> (1: Orgosolo) ‘humid, marshy place’, <sup>180</sup><br><i>orgòše</i> (2: Fonni) “not well-defined (small forest?)”<br>Wagner (1997: 266): <i>orgòsa</i> (1: Orgosolo) ‘humid terrain’<br>Paulis (1987: 520): <i>orgòsa</i> (Barb.) ‘humid, marshy place’<br>Blasco Ferrer (1988: 175): <i>oryòsa</i> , <i>uryúsa</i> (2: Fonni) ‘meander’,<br>(3: Urzulei, 4: Triei, 5: Baunei) ‘open-air source, water pool,<br>place where water flows and where herds are taken to drink’ |
| 2: * <i>org-</i>   | Blasco Ferrer (1993: 180; 2011: 79): <i>òrga</i> , <i>òrge</i> (Alta Ogliastro<br>reg., Baronie reg.) ‘open-air source, water pool, place where<br>water flows and where herds are taken to drink’                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |

This word is formally close to the toponym *Orgòsolo* (It. Orgosolo), a town in which this word is actually attested. Wagner (1997: 267) and Blasco Ferrer (1988: 175; 1993: 180) point out several other Sardinian toponyms containing the element *orgos-* or *org-*, many of which refer to similar watery places. This word’s lack of a Latin etymology, as well as its phonotactic structure and its apparent occurrence in the island’s toponymy point toward a pre-Roman origin, as proposed by Wagner (1997). Wagner’s (1997: 267–268) tentative connection with Gr. ὀργάς, -άδος ‘humid, fertile (of earth, land)’ must be rejected, as this eventually goes back to PIE \**uerǵ-* ‘swell of juice, strength, anger’ (Beekes 2010: 1097). On the basis of the forms of type 2, and of toponyms like *untána òrya* (Dorgali) and *báðu oryé* (Urzulei) etc. (Blasco Ferrer 1988: 175), the ending *-òsa* can be interpreted as a suffix (Wagner 1997: 266). Although it is homophonous with the reflex of Lat. *-òsus*, *-a* (Wagner 1952: 83–84), the non-inherited ending *-olo* in *Orgòsolo* speaks against an a Latin origin for *-òsa* in the nouns of type 1. Blasco Ferrer’s (1993: 181) proposal to interpret *-òsa* as the reflex of a pre-Indo-European root \**ausa* is not convincing.<sup>181</sup>

<sup>180</sup> Actually as *orgòsa* in DES, but in light of its rendering as *orgòsa* in Wagner (1997: 266), Paulis (1987: 520) and Puddu (2023: s.v. *orgòsa*), this is probably a typographical error.

<sup>181</sup> Cf. § 3.1.6.

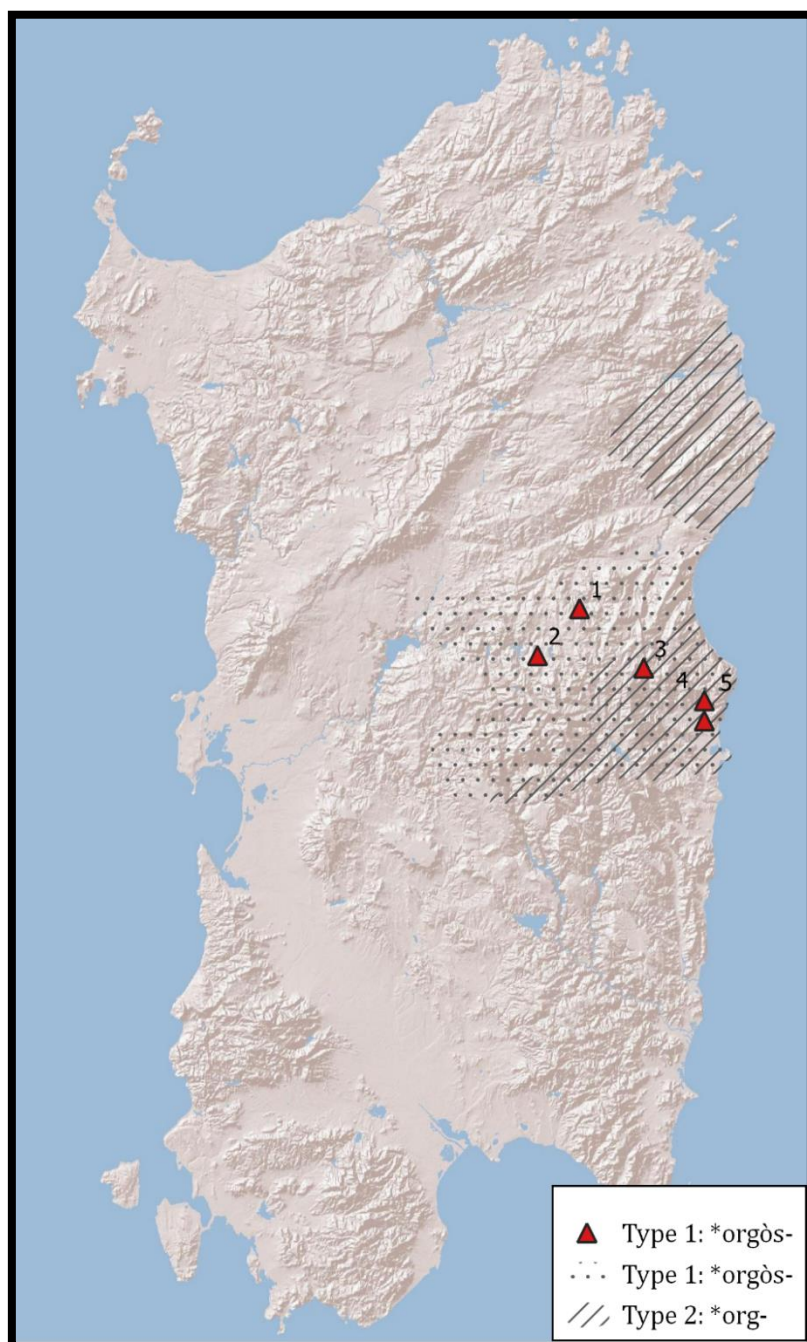


Figure 5.1.7: Humid place

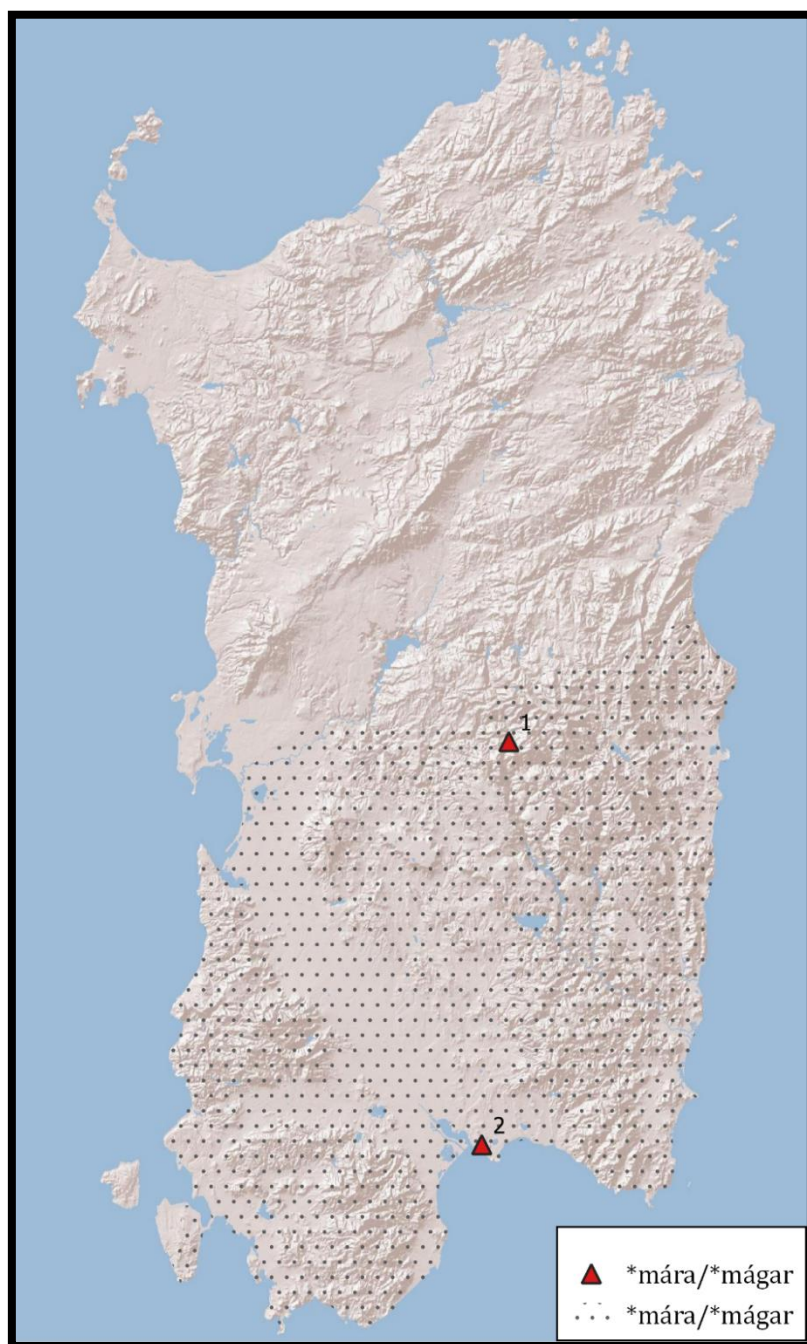


Figure 5.1.8: Marsh

### 5.1.8 Marsh

| Reconstruction                | Forms                                                                                                                                                        |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| * <i>mára</i> /* <i>mágar</i> | DES (II: 71): <i>mára</i> (Camp.) ‘marsh, swamp, bog’, (2: Cagliari) ‘sewer, drain’; deriv.: <i>marètta</i> (1: Belvì) ‘permanent puddle of water in a cave’ |

This word, which refers to various kinds of watery places in the Campidanese dialects, is attested in toponyms, such as *sa mara de Urzulei*, *sa mara ‘e Usíni*, *sa mara ‘e Padria*, as well as the town names *Mara Arborei* (It. Villamar) and *Mara* (It. Maracalagonis) (DES II: 71). All of these fall within the Campidanese dialect area, with the exception of the toponym near Padria, which is significantly farther to the north. The name of the town *Mara* is attested as *Magar* in documents from the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Wolf 2011: 612). It is formally possible that lexical *mára* ‘marsh, swamp, bog’ goes back to \**magar* too, but it is not certain that the name *Mara* contains the same lexeme.

This word has had a long history of discussion. Terracini (1927: 144) first noted the similarity between the Sardinian and various North Italian forms, especially regarding their denotation of swamp-like places etc. He, and Wagner (1932: 241) and Hubschmid (1953: 67) with him, convincingly argue that the Sardinian forms cannot be from Latin, but must rather be from a pre-Roman source.<sup>182</sup> The North Italian forms adduced by Hubschmid (1953: 63–65) include Lad. *mara* ‘place subjected to landslides’, *lamár*, [*la*] *mar* ‘swampy place; landslide caused by a spring of water’,<sup>183</sup> Lad. *marena* ‘landslide caused by a spring of water’, Ven. *marecia* ‘marshy terrain’, It. *marazzo* ‘puddle, marsh’. Wagner (1932: 241) further compares Laz. *marana* (Velletri) ‘artificial waterway’ and Cors. *mara* ‘deviation of water to irrigate gardens’, which resemble the meaning ‘sewer, drain’ found in Cagliari (2). Also similar in form and meaning is Gr. ἀμάρρα ‘trench, channel’ (Alessio 1944: 117–118; Hubschmid 1958: 223), which is of uncertain origin and may or may not be related to Alb. *amë* ‘river bed’.

Because of the obvious formal and semantic similarity between Srd. *mára* ‘marsh, swamp, bog’ and Lat. *mare* ‘sea’, Hubschmid (1953: 67) proposes that the Sardinian word is of pre-Roman origin, but originally somehow related to the Latin word and its Indo-European cognates (cf. de Vaan 2008: 365). This would

<sup>182</sup> As opposed to REW (5349), where many of these forms are subsumed under Lat. *mare* ‘sea’.

<sup>183</sup> Hubschmid (1953: 64) notes that forms like Lad. *la mara* could in theory have been secondarily formed from *la mar* (which is also attested) < Lat. *mare* ‘sea’, but not in Srd. and Cors., where *máre* ‘sea’ is preserved as such.

suggest the presence of an unattested pre-Roman Indo-European language in Sardinia, as Lat. *mare* ‘sea’ and its cognates are generally taken to be of Indo-European origin (de Vaan 2008: 365). Hubschmid (1953: 120; 1958: 223) however proposes a rather intricate scenario by which Indo-European elements entered some non-Indo-European languages in the Mediterranean region, whose speakers then brought them to Sardinia during their hypothetical migrations. This is impossible to verify on the basis of the available data.

The large amount of similar forms in various languages confuses the picture of the origin of this word. It has on the one hand been compared to Indo-European words for ‘sea, lake’, on the other hand to words for ‘landslide’ and ‘marsh’ in northern Italy, and to words for some kind of ‘artificial waterway’ in Corsica, central Italy and Greece. It is difficult to uphold an Indo-European origin of Srd. *mára*, as proposed by Hubschmid (1953; 1958); chance similarity with forms like Lat. *mare* ‘sea’ < PIE *\*mori-* is more likely. The comparisons with Gr. ἀμάρρα ‘trench, channel’, Cors. *mara* ‘deviation of water to irrigate gardens’, as well as the various northern Italian words referring to marshes etc. are formally and semantically more attractive. From the Sardinian evidence, it is clear that semantic shifts between ‘marsh, swamp’ on the one hand and ‘sewer, drain’ (or other kinds of artificial waterways) are possible, but if Cors. *mara*, Gr. ἀμάρρα and other forms are indeed somehow related to the Sardinian forms, it is difficult to establish whether the word originally referred to swampy areas or artificial waterways, or whether the polysemy is old.

Crucially, all proposed connections only work if the Sardinian lexical forms go back to *\*mára*. If, on the other hand, the lexical forms are cognate to the place name *Mara* (It. Maracalagonis), attested in the 12<sup>th</sup> century as *Magar* (Wolf 2011: 612), none of the putative cognates can be upheld.

#### 5.1.9 Marshy valley

| Reconstruction | Forms                                                       |
|----------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>*bèka</i>   | DES (I: 191-192): <i>bèya</i> (Camp.) ‘marshy valley’       |
|                | AIS (428): [ <i>un</i> ] <i>èya</i> (1: Sant’Antioco) ‘id.’ |

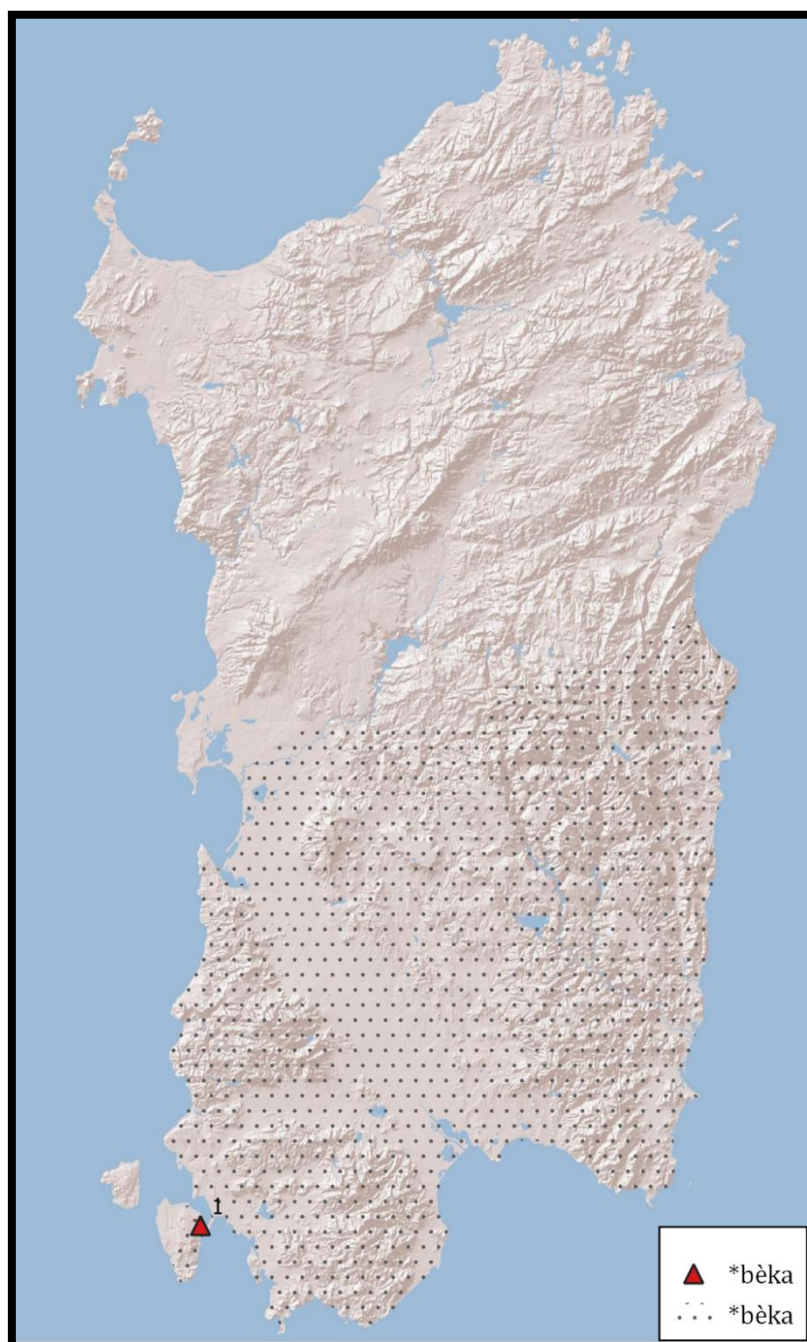


Figure 5.1.9: Marshy valley

Wagner (1997: 254; DES I: 192) recognizes the similarity between this Sardinian word on the one hand, and Sp. *vega* ‘meadow, fertile plain’ on the other.<sup>184</sup> Yet, he argues that the Sardinian word cannot be the result of a Spanish loan, as *bega* is attested in the *Carte Volgari* (Solmi 1905: sec. 2: 2). This work has been identified as an authentic document from the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Solmi 1905: 273, 283), which would be several centuries too early for linguistic influence from Castilian on Sardinian (Wagner 1907a: 408). This leads Wagner (1997: 254) to propose a pre-Roman origin for Camp. *bèya*, shared with Sp. *vega*, from hypothetical *\*baika*, presumably related to Bq. *ibai* ‘river’. This view is shared by Hubschmid (1953: 38), Corominas (DCEC V: 753–54), and Paulis (2008: 37), but Trask (1997: 420–421) argues that a putative pre-Roman form *\*baika* is not explainable from a Basque perspective.

It is important to note, however, that Paulis (1997: 133–139) has argued against an early date for the attested version of the text in which Srd. *bega* is first attested. In fact, Paulis (1997: 135–137) demonstrates the presence of two likely Catalanisms: *implassandullu* << Cat. *embrace* ‘to embrace’ and *cumenzat*, *cumenzzat*, *cumençat* etc. << Cat. *comensar* ‘to begin’, as well as the Catalan spelling of [k] as *-qu-* in *pasquiri*. We would not expect to see this kind of kind loans before the presence of the Aragonese on Sardinia, some centuries later. For scroll XI therefore, containing the form *implassandullu*, Paulis (1997: 135) proposes an origin somewhere in the 15<sup>th</sup> century at the earliest, based on the hypercorrection from *\*imprassandullu*. The rhotacism of post-consonantal *-l-* that is the cause of this hypercorrection starts showing up sporadically from the 15<sup>th</sup> century onward (Paulis 1997: 135). The word currently under discussion, *bega*, is attested in scroll II, which contains the Catalanism *cumenzzat* (Paulis 1997: 137a). While an exact dating of this piece is absent, it unmistakably shows that certain Ibero-Romance elements had already penetrated Campidanese Sardinian. This raises the question whether Camp. *bèya* is in fact not a loan too (cf. Blasco Ferrer 2010a: 55–56). Corominas (DCEC V: 753–54) notes that *vega* is rare in Aragonese and absent from modern Catalan. As there is no evidence in the *Carte Volgari* for Castilian Spanish linguistic influence on Sardinian, this would speak against a recently borrowed origin of Camp. *bèya*. Nevertheless, DCEC (V: 755 fn. 3) does mention various sporadic attestations of *vega* in Catalan and Valencian linguistic contexts, including on the Balearic islands, which are explained as loans from Castilian.

<sup>184</sup> For more Ibero-Romance cognates of Sp. *vega*, cf. DCEC (V: 753–56).

The pre-Roman origin of Camp. *bega*, *bèya* has been based on its attestation in the *Carte Volgari*. While an Ibero-Romance loan is still problematic because of this word's apparent non-existence in Catalan, and the absence of evidence for Castilian elements in the *Carte Volgari*, Wagner's argument has become significantly weaker. Whether or not this word may be considered to be of shared pre-Roman origin with Sp. *vega*, depends on the origin date of scroll II of the *Carte Volgari* and of the original existence of *vega* in Catalan. If it truly is of pre-Roman origin, Corominas' (DCEC V: 755b fn. 4) objection that the \*-k- in hypothetical pre-Rom. *\*baika* should have been preserved is unjustified. In the *Carte Volgari*, there is sufficient evidence showing that the sonorization of post-vocalic voiceless stops had already taken place, e.g. *fegit* < Lat. *fecit*, *iugi/juigi* < Lat. *iudicem*, *logu* < Lat. *locus* etc. The development of \*-ai- (as in *\*baika*) in Campidanese as -e- is attested too; e.g. Camp. *méstu* 'master' < Old Camp. *maistru* < Lat. *magistrum*; Camp. *arrèga* 'radish' < *\*radica* (Wagner 1941a: 44). However, these forms often coexist with variants in which the hiatus has been preserved, e.g. Camp. *maistu*, *arraíya* (ibid.). It is implausible that the contraction of -ai- > -e- would have been completed in this specific word already in Old Campidanese, as it is not even completed in the modern dialects. Corominas (DCEC V: 755 fn. 4) suggests that pre-Roman *\*baika* could have entered Sardinian Latin as *\*baeca*, regularly yielding Srd. *bèya*, which would solve this issue. In summary, a shared origin of Srd. *bèya* and Sp. *vega* in a pre-Roman form *\*baika* is formally possible. However, an early Ibero-Romance loan into Sardinian is not out of the question.

#### 5.1.10 Pit

| Reconstruction | Forms                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
|----------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>*kèia</i>   | DES (I: 326): <i>kèya</i> , <i>kèa</i> (Log., Nuor.), <i>čèa</i> (Camp.) 'valley or plain in between mountains; ditch, pit (specifically the big pit in which charcoal burners stack wood in order to carbonize it)'; [sa] <i>yèa</i> [ <i>dessu attìle</i> ] (1: Osilo), [sa] <i>χèa</i> [ <i>essu aḡìle</i> ] (3: Dorgali) 'the hollow of the neck' <sup>185</sup> |
|                | Böhne (1950: 77): [sa] <i>žèa</i> 'plain'                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|                | Hubschmid (1953: 38): <i>chea</i> (2: Bosa), <i>cheia</i> (4: Desulo) 'pit, grave'                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |

<sup>185</sup> All these forms are also listed in Wagner (1930: 70–71; 1997: 269–270).

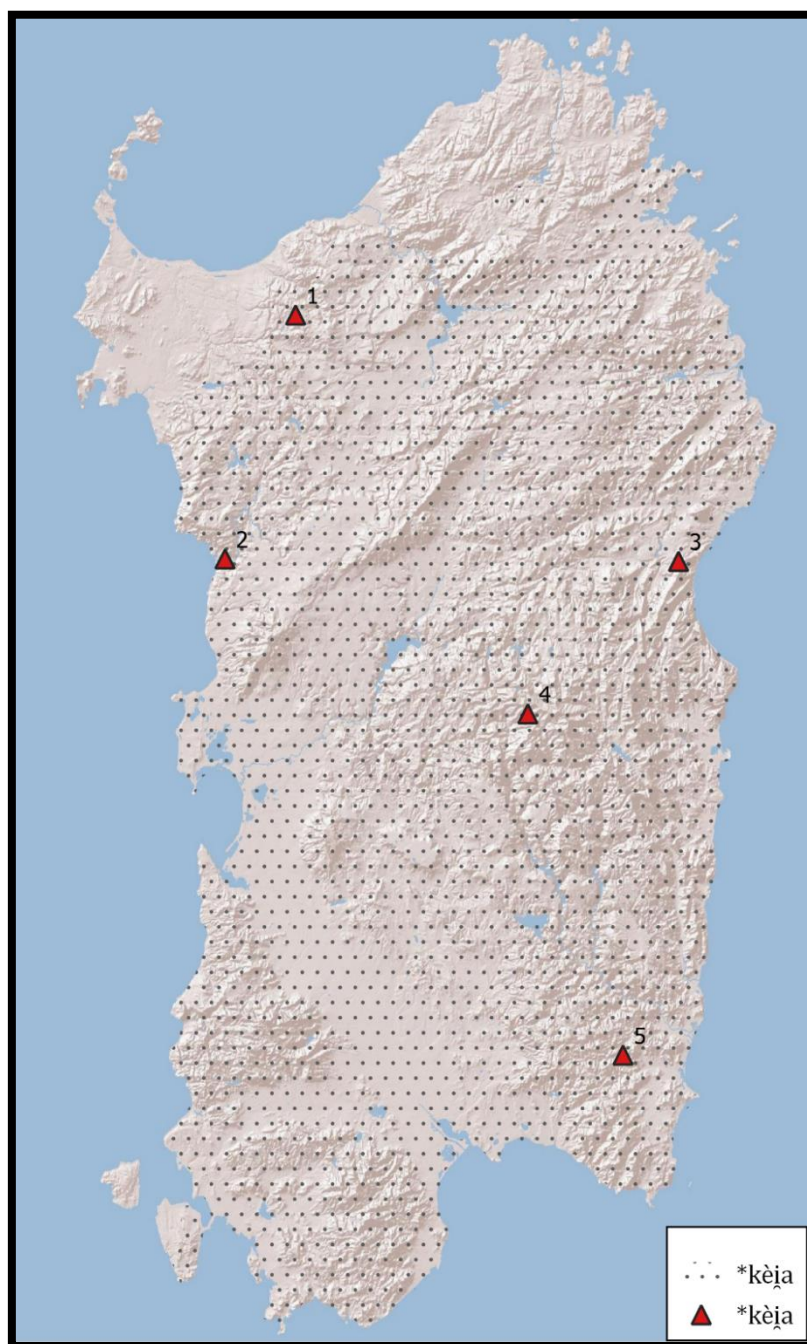


Figure 5.1.10: Pit

Besides the forms listed above, DES (I: 326) also notes the presence of this word in Old Sardinian texts as part of toponyms, and once as a noun in the syntagm “*sa keia dessu lauore de Gosantine Locco*” ‘the grain *keia* of Gosantine Locco’, found in the Condaghe di San Pietro di Silki (Bonazzi 1900: sec. 241), where it appears to refer to some kind of pit to store grain (DES I: 326). For this word, which appears to go back to *\*kēia*, the notion of ‘pit, hollow’ may explain the various other attested meanings.<sup>186</sup> Wagner (1930: 71 fn. 2; 1997: 270; DES I: 326–27) rejects several previously proposed etymologies and argues for a pre-Roman origin.

Wagner’s position is in agreement with the views of Hubschmid (1953: 38–40) and Corominas (DCEC II: 58–59), who compare a range of Aragonese and Catalan forms, including Arag. *cea*, *cija* ‘silo; underground cavity used for grain storage and to imprison slaves’; Cat. *cía* (western Ribagorza) ‘chasm’, *ŕia*, *síya*, *sía* (prov. Huesca) ‘grain silo’ (DCEC II: 58–59); Cat. *sitja* ‘pit covered with earth for storing grain’, *sitges* (Mallorca) ‘silos, hewn out in the rock inside houses’, OProv. *setgia* (Narbonne), Lang. *siejo* (Montréal-de-l’Aude) ‘grain silo’ (Hubschmid 1953: 38–39). All of these forms provide perfect formal and semantic matches with the Sardinian ones, allowing us to reconstruct pre-Roman *\*kēia*,<sup>187</sup> which appears to have referred to some kind of pit used for storage purposes. DECLC (VII: 959) further compares various suffixed forms: Elban *čialē* ‘shelter under a protruding rock’, Dauphinois *sialet* ‘chasm; land collapse in high plateaus’ (cf. FEW XXI: 18), and Friul. *céole*, *cévole* ‘chasm’.

DCEC (II: 59) and DECLC (VII: 959) see a link with Gr. Hes. *καίῃα* ‘pits (split by earthquakes)’, Gr. *καιάδᾱς* ‘pit or cavern in Sparta, into which convicted persons were thrown’ etc. (cf. Beekes 2010: 615; Hesychius Alexandrinus 2020: 499). These Greek attestations are semantically close to the Romance forms, but there are some formal problems. One is the fact that Greek intervocalic -i- cannot go back to *\*-i-*, which would have been lost. It could probably go back to *\*-iū-* or *\*-ui-* (cf. Beekes 2010: 615), but this is incompatible with the Romance forms. Another is the presence of -ατ- in the Greek form, which would have to be some kind of suffix. Beekes (2010: 615) posits a pre-Greek origin for *καίῃα*, *καιάδᾱς*. For the wide geographical distribution of this potential pre-Roman word, see § 11.2.1.

<sup>186</sup> Cf. Puddu (2023: s.v. *cèa*) for more examples and uses of this word, including the meaning ‘grave’.

<sup>187</sup> On the length of the vowel, see DECLC (VII: 957).

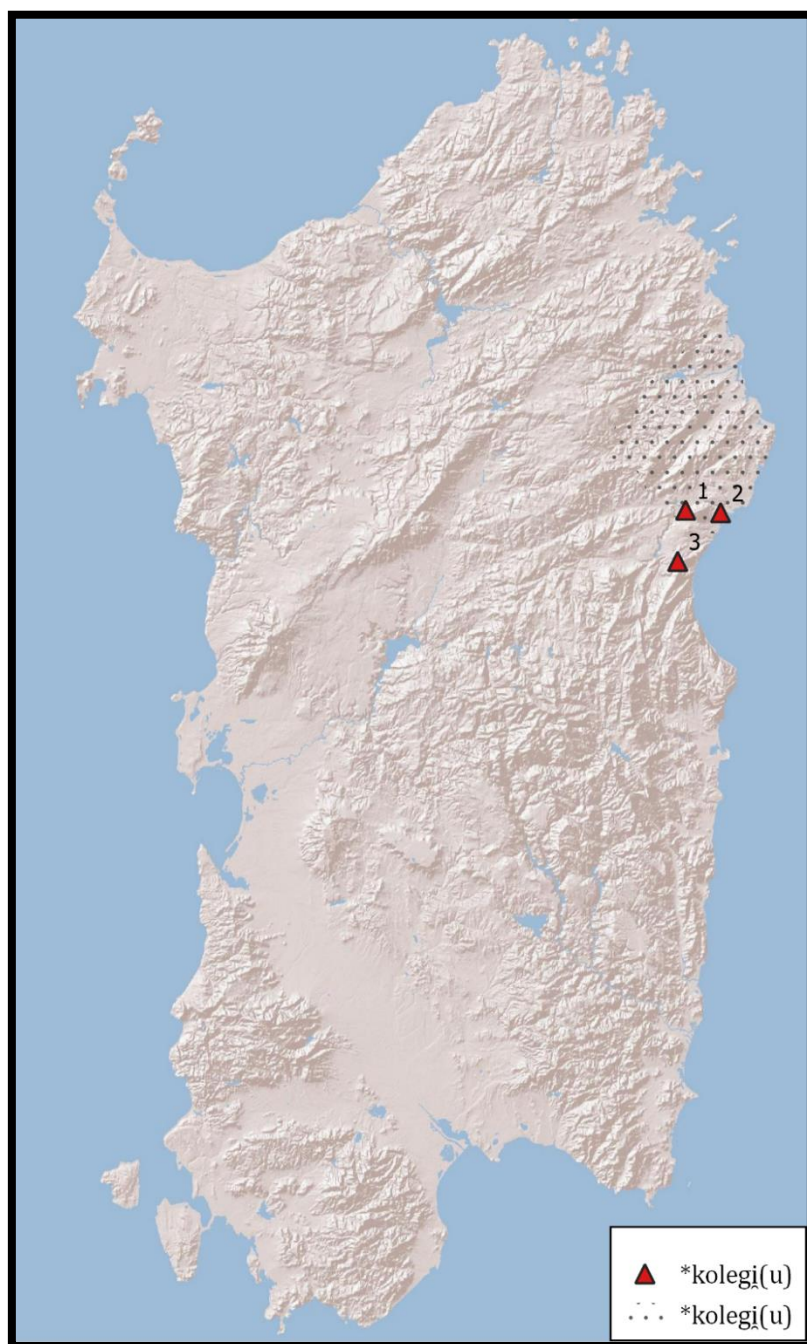


Figure 5.1.11: Plateau

5.1.11 Plateau

| Reconstruction     | Forms                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| * <i>kolegi(u)</i> | DES (II: 608): <i>golléi, gulléi</i> (1: Galtelli) 'plateau'<br>Spano (1872: 58): <i>Guillèi, Gullèi, Gulai, Gullai</i> (2: Orosei) 'name of a mountain near Orosei'<br>Blasco Ferrer (1989: 61–62): <i>golléi</i> (Baronie reg.) |

Wagner (DES II: 608–609) regards this word as “certainly pre-Roman”, probably on the basis of its irregular phonological alternations and its occurrence in local toponymy. The ending *-éi* (and *-ai*) is frequently found in toponyms, especially in the eastern part of Sardinia; e.g. Orosei, Urzulei, Baunei, Lanusei, Ulassai etc. (cf. Terracini 1927: 139; Wagner 1997: 265). The geminate *-ll-* in *golléi, gulléi* etc. cannot be original, as this would have yielded *\*\*-dɔ-* (Wagner 1941a: 195). However, Blasco Ferrer (1989: 61–62) has convincingly shown that this noun can be from *\*colēgium* < Lat. *collēgium*, with the same irregular degemination of *-ll-* as in the verb *kollíre* ‘to collect’ < Lat. *colligere*.

5.1.12 Plateau, characterized by jagged rock outcroppings

| Reconstruction | Forms                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|----------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| * <i>tákk-</i> | DES (II: 458): <i>tákku</i> (northern Camp., <sup>188</sup> Barb.) ‘name for small plateaus consisting of jagged dolomitic formations’<br>Blasco Ferrer (1988: 176): <i>tákka</i> (1: Baunei), <i>tákka, tákku</i> (Ogl., Barb. di Seulo) ‘piece of sandy or calcareous terrain; square-shaped rock; plateau with jagged rock formations’ |

This word refers to a type of landscape typical for certain parts of Sardinia, and is as such on the border between being a proper noun and being a toponym.<sup>189</sup> DES (II: 458) considers it to be of pre-Roman origin. This is possible, but there is no evidence for it besides its lack of an etymology.

<sup>188</sup> Wagner’s (DES II: 458) attribution of this word to “northern Campidanese” is rather non-specific and is probably meant to denote those regions where this type of landscape occurs. In Figure 5.1.12, all of Campidanese is indicated.

<sup>189</sup> See Spano (1872: 112) for instances of toponyms containing *tákku*.

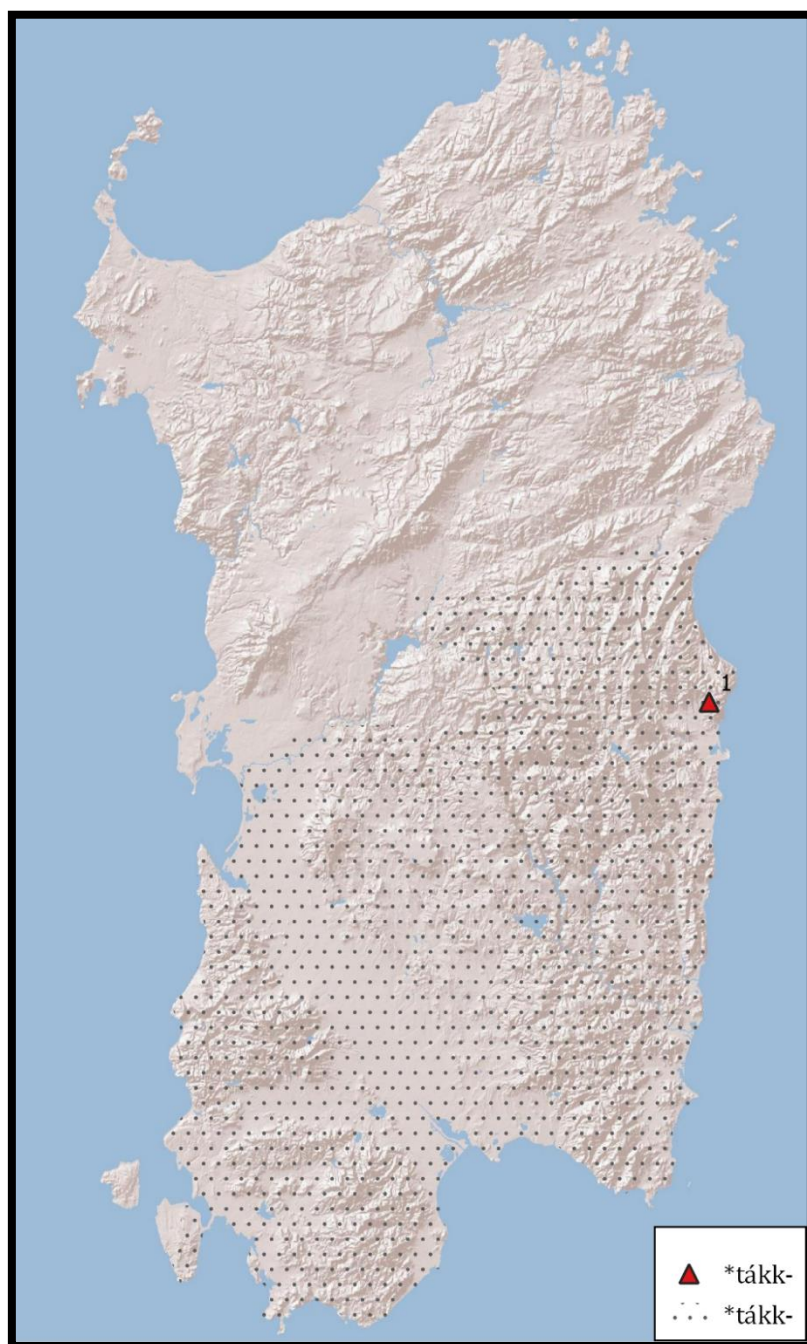


Figure 5.1.12: Plateau, characterized by jagged rock outcroppings

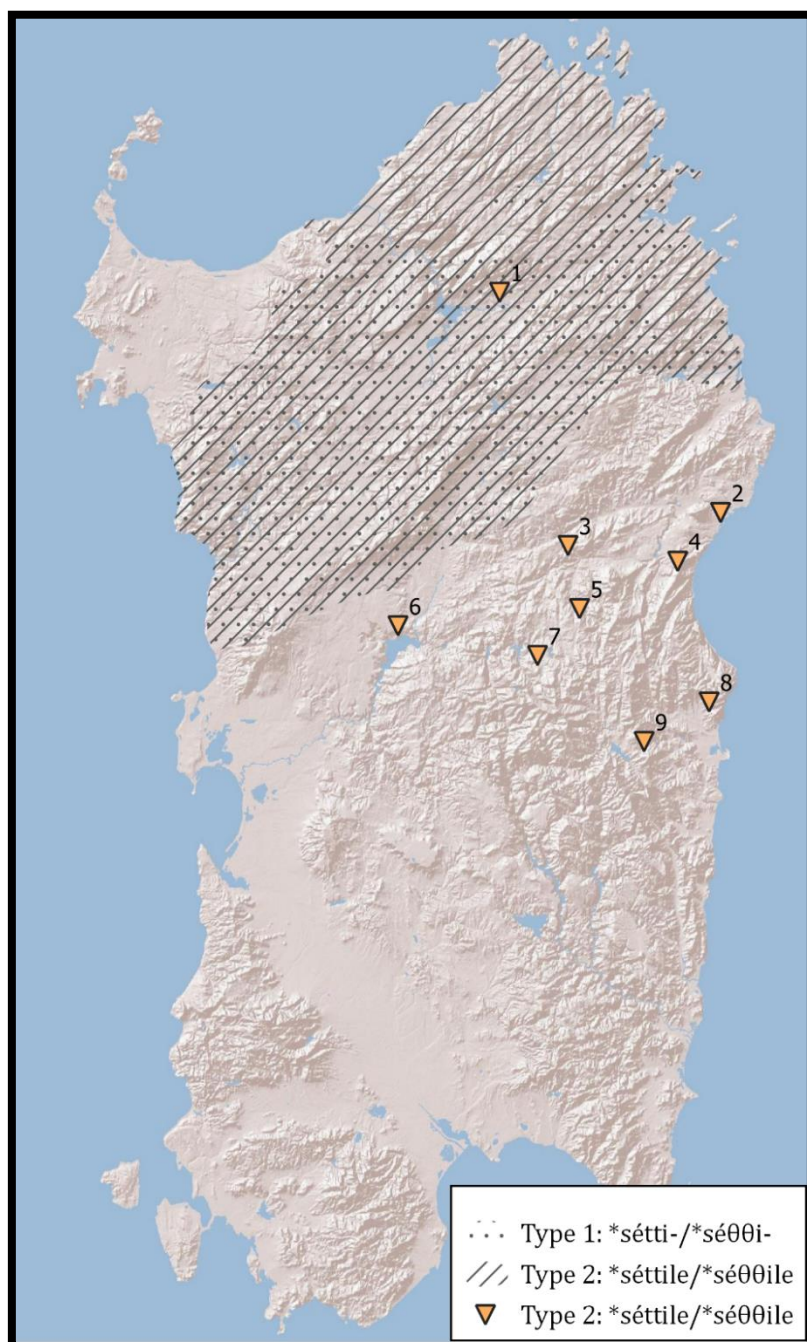


Figure 5.1.13: Plateau, flat terrain

## 5.1.13 Plateau, flat terrain

**ReconstructionForms**

1: \**sétti*-/\**séṡṡi*-DES (II: 413): 1: *séttiā*, *séttiū* (Log.) 'small elevation, small protrusion'; deriv.: *settiāre* (Log.) 'to watch, observe from above'

2: \**séttile*/  
\**séṡṡile* DES (II: 413): *séttile* (Log.) 'small depression in the terrain on a plateau', (7: Fonni) 'hillock', (8: Baunei) 'valley', (9: Villagrande Strisaili) 'plains'; deriv.: *assettiliyádu* (Log.) 'small, flattened depression in the terrain on a plateau'

Pittau (2013: s.v. *séttiles*): *séttile*, *séthile* (Log.), (Gallur.) 'plateau on top of a hill, (1: Berchidda) 'small depression on a plateau', (2: Orosei) 'rolling plateau, wide hillock', (3: Nuoro, 9: Villagrande Strisaili) 'plains', (4: Dorgali) 'small plateau in a steep area', (5: Orgosolo) 'flat and rolling terrain in mountainous areas', (7: Fonni) 'hillock', (8: Baunei) 'valley'; *séttile* [*e linna*] (6: Sedilo) 'expanse of wood'

All of these forms refer in one way or another to a place with relatively flat terrain in a mountainous area. Wagner (DES II: 413) considers a derivation from *séttiḍu*, *séttiū*, the past participle of *sèḍere* 'to sit', but believes this to be morphologically and semantically difficult. Because of the lack of an etymology he keeps open the possibility that these forms could be of pre-Roman origin. Pittau (2013: s.v. *séttiles*) cites Nuor. *séthile* next to *séttile*, but the existence of the former is confirmed neither by DES (II: 413), nor by Puddu (2023: s.v. *sétile*, *sétili*). Pittau derives this word from Lat. *sectilis* 'cut, cleft, divided', through the idea of a 'section of terrain'. While this is formally possible for *séttile*, its meanings seem too specific to go back to 'section of terrain'. Moreover, Lat. *sectilis* can formally explain neither Log. *séttiā*, *séttiū*, nor Nuor. *séthile*. Perhaps Wagner is right in suggesting a pre-Roman origin, but there is no positive evidence.

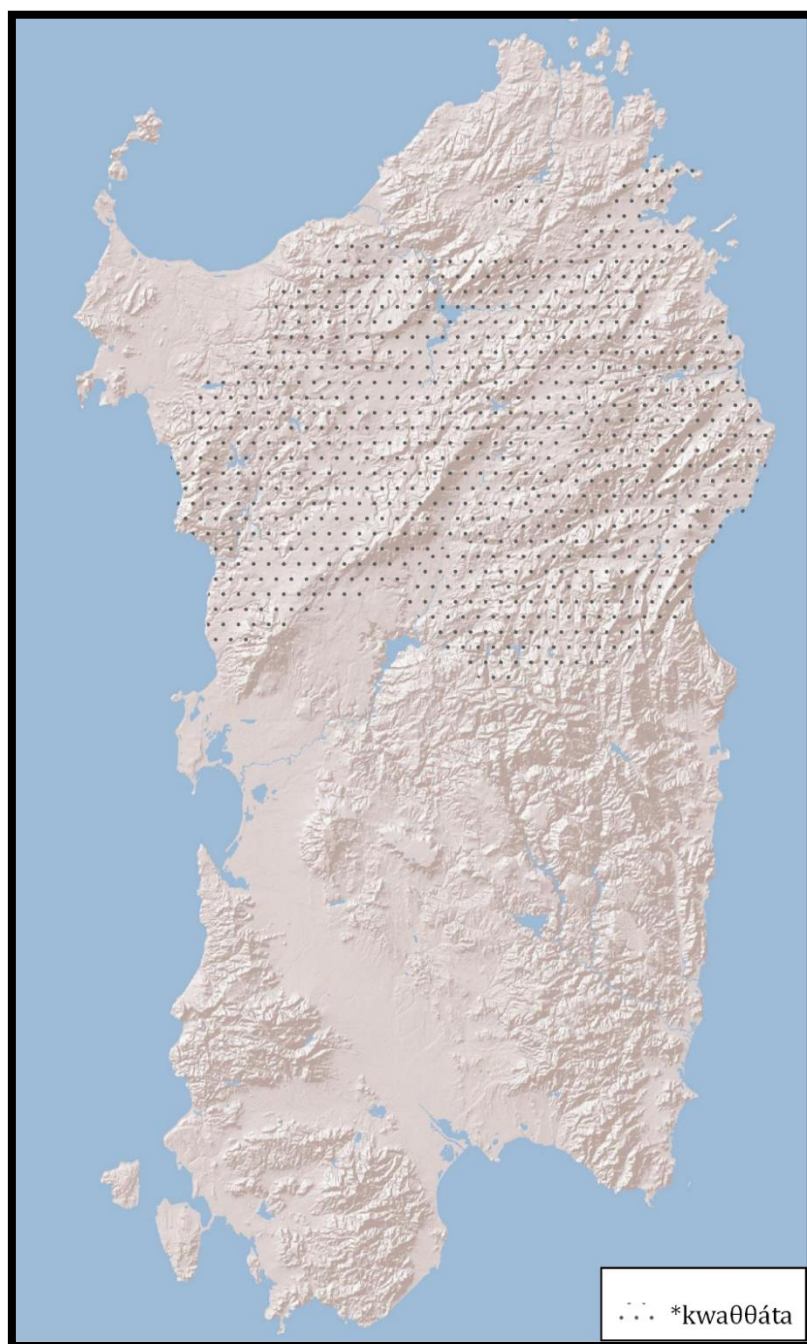


Figure 5.1.14: Small plateau

## 5.1.14 Plateau, small

| Reconstruction    | Forms                                                                                                               |
|-------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| * <i>kwaʒʒáta</i> | DES (II: 236): <i>pattáda</i> (NLog.) ‘small plateau; elevated place from where one has a wide view’ <sup>190</sup> |
|                   | Paulis (1987: 522): <i>pattáda</i> (Log.), <i>pattháta</i> (Nuor.) ‘id.’                                            |

Wagner does not provide an etymology besides noting: “perhaps pre-Roman?”. He does mention various toponyms of the same shape, found in the same area. Paulis (1987: 522) proposes it to go back to \**coactiata*, derived from \**coactiare* ‘to press together’. Although this presupposes a relatively abstract shift in meaning, parallels can be found in Gallo-Romance, e.g. dial. Fr. *casse* ‘clod of earth’ < \**coactiare*, Aostan *katé* ‘id.’ < \**coactitare* (FEW II: 806a, 813b). Pittau (2013: s.v. *pattada*) prefers to derive it from \**pactiare* ‘to make a pact’. Semantically, Paulis’ etymology is more likely. For the development of Lat. \**coa-* > Srd. \**pa-*, cf. Srd. *báttile* ‘cloth put between a horse’s or donkey’s back and the saddle’ < Lat. *coactilis* ‘felt’ (DES I: 187–88), Log. *padzáre* ‘add rennet to milk’ < Lat. *coagulāre* ‘to cause a fluid to curdle’ (DES I: 237).<sup>191</sup> Wagner’s suggestion of a pre-Roman origin for this word is in any case not necessary.

## 5.1.15 Precipice, cliff, ravine

| Reconstruction   | Forms                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| * <i>péntum-</i> | DES (II: 244): <i>péntuma</i> (Log.) ‘chasm’, (1: Bonorva) ‘cavern of which the bottom is not visible’, <i>ispéntumu</i> (Log., Camp.) ‘precipice, cliff’, <i>ispéntuma</i> (2: Orgosolo) ‘ravine’ |

Forms of similar shape and meaning have been documented for much of southern Italy: cf. Laz. *pèndima* (Nemi) ‘sloping rock face’, Campan. *pèndam*<sup>a</sup> (Formicola), *péngima* (Ausonia) ‘steep rock’, Salent. *péntima* (Manduria, Taranto), *péntuma* (Calimera) ‘isolated boulder; cliff’ etc. (Parodi 1907: 772; Rohlfs 1927a: 163 fn. 1; Ribezzo 1933; Aebischer 1934).<sup>192</sup> Parodi, Rohlfs and Aebischer regard this as an originally Latin word. According to Parodi (1907: 772) it could be a derivation from \**penditus* ‘hanging’, with the Latin suffix *-īmus*, *-ūmus*. Rohlfs (1927a: 1963 fn. 1) considers it a specifically southern Italian “provincial term” in Latin, without offering a more specific etymology.

<sup>190</sup> Freely translated from: “luogo eminente dal quale lo sguardo spazi in un ampio orizzonte”.

<sup>191</sup> The development of \**-g(ǔ)l-* > *-dz-* in Srd. *padzáre* < Lat. *coagulare* is not regular, but may be influenced by Log. *kadzáre* ‘to curdle’ < It. *cagliare* ‘id.’ (Wagner 1941a: 163; DES I:396–97).

<sup>192</sup> Cf. these sources also for toponymic comparisons.

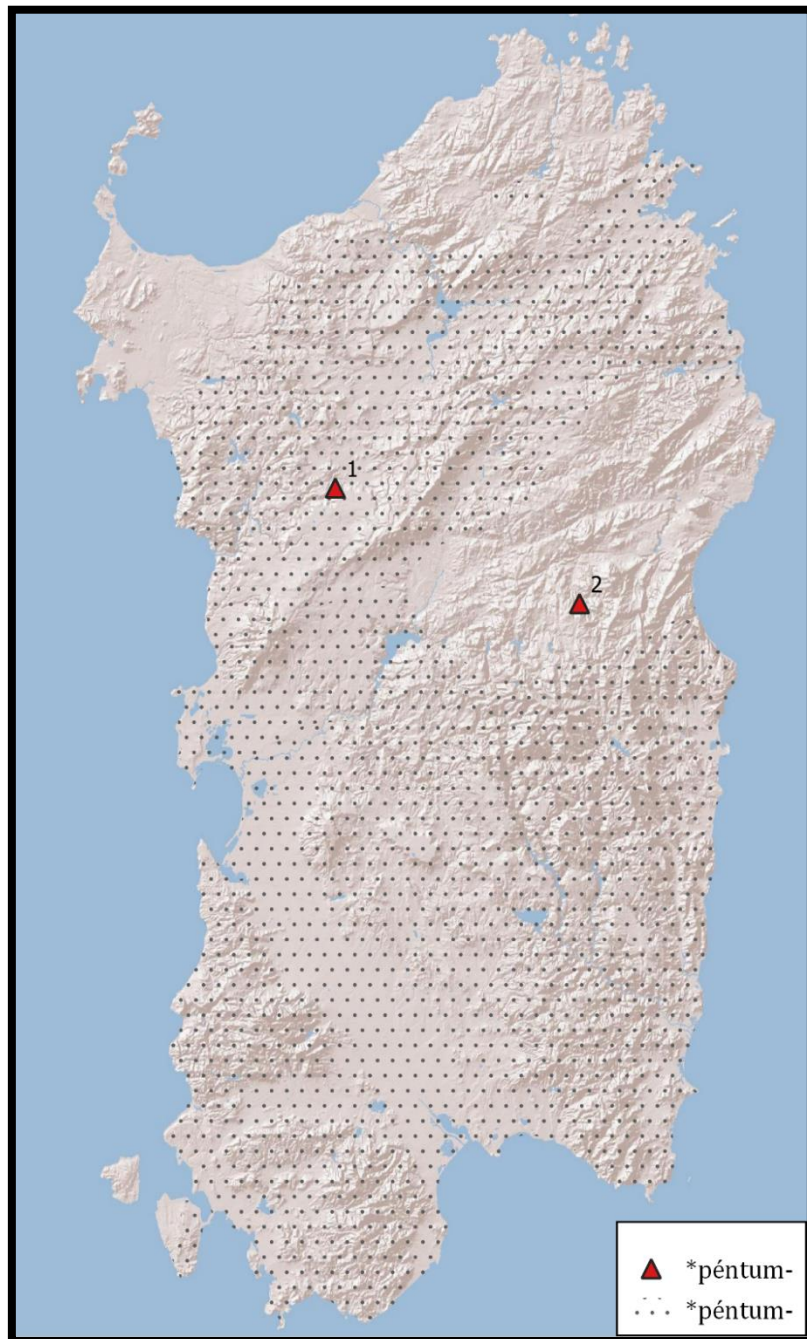


Figure 5.1.15: Precipice, cliff, ravine

Ribezzo (1933; 1953: 119 fn. 9) and Hubschmid (1953: 59) instead prefer a pre-Roman origin, potentially related to Etr. *penθuna*, *penθna* ‘stele, cippus’ (Ribezzo 1953: 119 fn. 9).<sup>193</sup> I am more convinced by the analysis of this word as an originally Latin formation particular to southern Italy and Sardinia, even if its formation within Latin is not fully understood (cf. Wagner 1932: 243). Perhaps the various forms listed by Hubschmid (1953: 59–60) — e.g. Campan. *pentúoška* (Benevento) ‘clod’, Cors. *péntica* ‘steep slope’ — are derivations of the same Latin root with different suffixes.<sup>194</sup> If this analysis is correct, Srd. *péntuma* etc. does not provide us with any information of the pre-Roman languages of Sardinia. The comparison of these words meaning ‘slope; cliff’ etc. to Etr. *penθuna*, *penθna* ‘stele, cippus’ is, in any case, a rather large semantic leap.

#### 5.1.16 Puddle

| Reconstruction    | Forms                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|-------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| * <i>bibitíle</i> | DES (I: 204): <i>biðíle</i> (Barb.), <i>iðíle</i> (Log.), <i>biðíli</i> , <i>iðíli</i> (Camp.), [unu] <i>iðíle</i> (1: Orgosolo, 2: Norbello, 3: Urzulei, 4: Baunei, 5: Desulo), <i>biðíri</i> (6: Isili), <i>biðílli</i> (7: Escalaplano), <i>irí</i> (9: Narcao), <i>ǵiríli</i> (10: Sant’Antioco), <i>biðíli</i> (11: Teulada) ‘puddle of water in the mountains; marshy place in a field’ <sup>195</sup><br>Böhne (1950: 77): [su] <i>iðíʔi</i> (8: San Vito) ‘fish pond’ |

Wagner (1932: 227) compared this Sardinian word to Bq. *itil* ‘puddle’, but in DES (I: 204; II: 607) he notes that a formation of the type \**bibit-íle*, derived by means of inherited morphemes, is phonetically also possible. Furthermore, Michelena (1959: 525–526) doubts the reliability of the Basque word, and identifies it as a variant of Bq. *istil*, *tistil*, *txistil* ‘puddle, gutter, mire etc.’, which does not appear to be old in Basque. Wagner (DES I: 204), followed by Paulis (1987: 472), partly bases his preference for a pre-Roman origin of Srd. *biðíle* etc. on the attestation of a toponym *Gítil*, attested in various old Sardinian sources, whose form cannot go back to \**bibitíle*. However, as Wagner himself notes (DES I: 204), the meaning of the toponym *Gítil* is not known. This means that its connection with *biðíle* etc. cannot be established with confidence, and *Gítil* cannot be used as an argument for a pre-Roman origin of Srd. *biðíle* etc.

<sup>193</sup> For the meaning of the Etruscan form, cf. Breyer (1993: 347 fn. 515).

<sup>194</sup> Forms like Fr. *pente*, Prov. *pendo* are from \**pendita* << Lat. *pendere* ‘to hang’ (FEW VIII: 181, 183).

<sup>195</sup> DES (I: 204) mentions some further specificities of this word’s meaning in its various places of attestation. It sometimes seems to refer also to ‘marsh, bog’, while in some other places (2: Norbello, 6: Isili, 8: San Vito) it specifically denotes a permanent and walled pool of water.

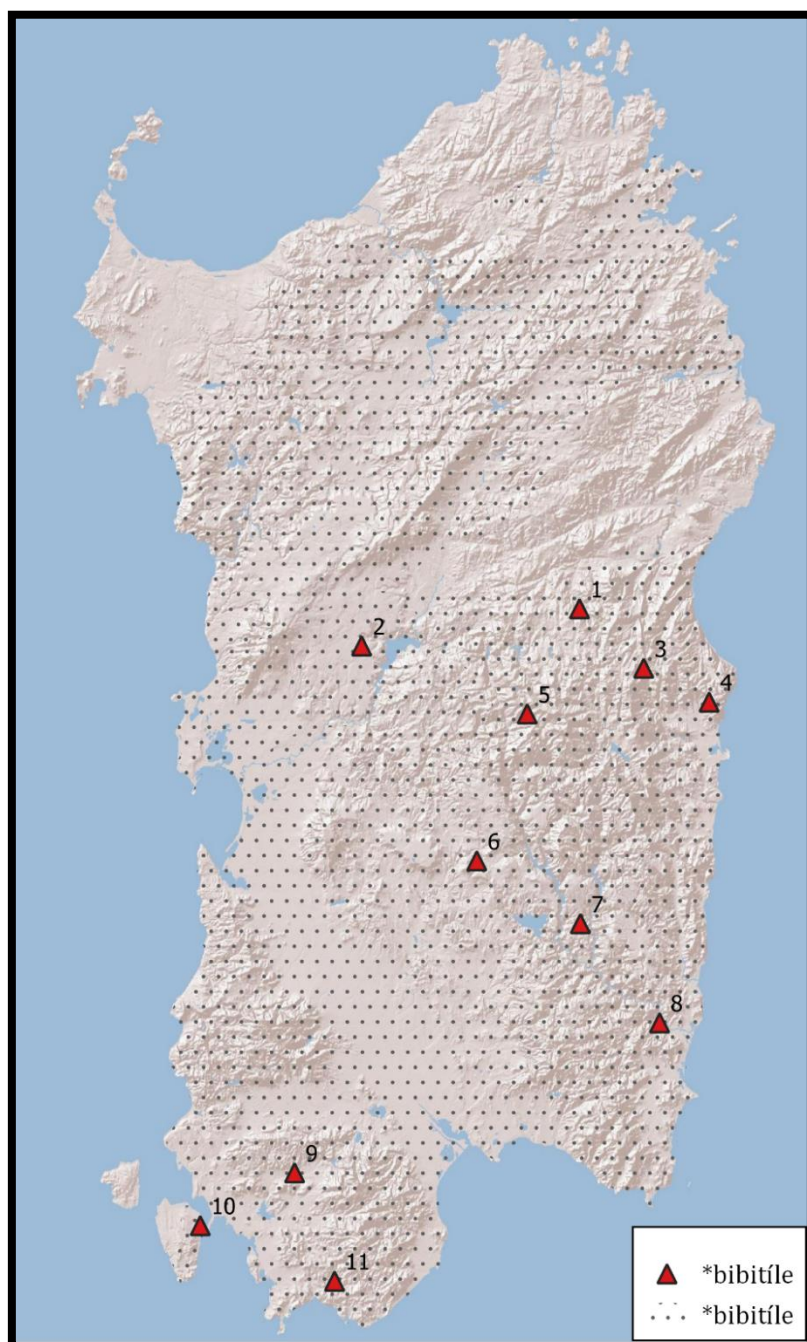


Figure 5.1.16: Puddle

Since the Basque connection is to be rejected too, nothing stands in the way of simply accepting *\*bibit-île* as an etymology for this word, which is what Wagner (DES II: 607-8) settles on as well.

#### 5.1.17 Ravine, gorge

| Reconstruction | Forms                                                                                                      |
|----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>*tórku</i>  | DES (II: 522): <i>trókku</i> (1: Fonni) ‘ravine, gorge’<br>Paulis (1987: 543): <i>trókku</i> (Barb.) ‘id.’ |

Besides the lexical form from Fonni, DES (II: 552) lists several toponyms containing this etymon, near the towns of Talana and Tonara. Wagner (1997: 269) considers it pre-Roman, and suggests a shared origin with *tròkko*, *tòrko* ‘clay used to make acorn bread’ (§ 6.2.2), found in the Ogliastro (DES II: 522), which is semantically quite a stretch. Hubschmid (1953: 42) compares some formally similar and semantically closer forms from the Iberian Peninsula, such as Bq. *troka* ‘ravine’, dialectal Sp. *torco* (Navarre) ‘chasm caused by water erosion; unstable terrain, on which it is dangerous to put one’s feet’, (Álava) ‘pothole’, (Bilbao) ‘pit for carbonizing wood’ etc. (cf. also DCEC V: 551b-52a for more examples, including feminine *torca* in the same meanings). While Hubschmid (1953) is convinced of a pre-Roman origin for both the Sardinian and Iberian forms, Corominas (DCEC V: 521b-522) hesitates between a pre-Roman origin and an etymology in Lat. *torques* ‘necklace, collar’, which would be semantically motivated by the Iberian words’ reference to depressions with circular edges (cf. also Santano Moreno 2000: 166–167).

While the formal difficulties highlighted in DCEC (V: 552) — notably the lack of diphthongization of Lat. *-ō-* in the Spanish varieties — might favor a pre-Roman origin, we do in fact find a good semantic parallel for the polysemy between ‘gorge’ and ‘necklace, collar’ in Srd. *gútturu* ‘throat, mountain gorge’ and derived *gutturáta* ‘horse collar’ (DES I: 599).<sup>196</sup> Hubschmid (1953: 43) and Corominas (DCEC V: 553 fn. 2) agree that Bq. *troka* likely goes back to *\*torka*, and Corominas (DCEC V: 553 fn. 2) suspects that the word is not originally Basque, due to the low frequency of initial *t-* in the Basque inherited lexicon.

<sup>196</sup> This is an example of the extension from ‘throat’ to ‘gorge’ on the one hand, and to ‘collar’ on the other. The question is whether the opposite semantic extension, from ‘collar’ to ‘gorge’ (perhaps with ‘throat’ as an intermediate step) is also possible.

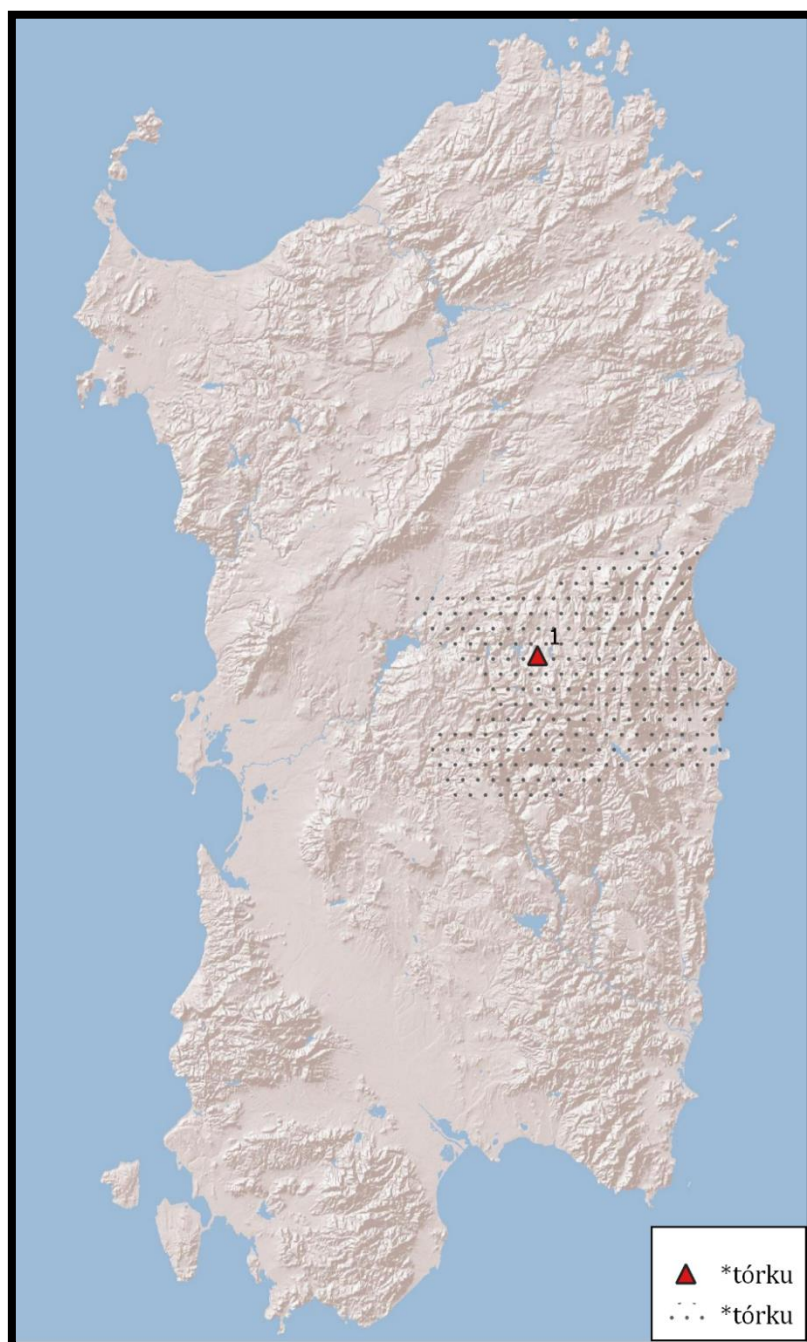


Figure 5.1.17: Ravine, gorge

Sardinian *trókku* too can very well go back to *\*tórku*, a metathesis that is in fact attested for near-homonymous *tròkko*, *tòrko* ‘clay used to make acorn bread’ (§ 6.2.2), raising the question whether Srd. *trókku* ‘ravine, gorge’ too could be from Lat. *torques*, for which only a replacement of final *\*-e* with *-u* needs to be assumed.<sup>197</sup> Although an inherited origin of Srd. *trókku* ‘ravine, gorge’ and dial. Sp. *torco*, *torca* ‘ravine, pit, pothole etc.’ is far from certain, we cannot reliably use Srd. *trókku* to say anything about the linguistic substrate in Sardinia.

#### 5.1.18 Rock, boulder

| Reconstruction   | Forms                                                                                                                                                     |
|------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>*marráriu</i> | DES (II: 78): <i>marrárdzu</i> (Log.), <i>marrágǵu</i> (NLog.) ‘rocky place’, <i>marrágǵu</i> (Sass.) ‘big rock’, <i>marráldzu</i> (1: Sennori) ‘boulder’ |

These forms, going back to *\*marráriu*, are derived by means of inherited *\*-ariu* from a base *\*marr-*, which Hubschmid (1953: 52) identifies as a pre-Roman word for ‘rock’. He lists a large amount of examples of words containing *\*marr-* in Romance varieties ranging from the Pyrenees (e.g. Gasc. *marràlh* (Lourdes) ‘big stone’) to the eastern Alps (e.g. Lomb. *marògn* (Bergamo) ‘boulder’) and southern Italy, interspersed with similar formations referring to various kinds of piles/stacks (of wood, hay etc.) (Hubschmid 1953: 52–57; cf. also FEW VI/I:368–373).<sup>198</sup> If these connections are correct, this provides interesting evidence for pre-Roman linguistic connections in the western Mediterranean (§ 11).

<sup>197</sup> For the development of *\*-qu-* > *-k-* needed for this form, cf. Srd. *tòrkere* < Lat. *torquere* (DES II: 496).

<sup>198</sup> I am less convinced by the forms Hubschmid (1953: 55) adduces for Ibero-Romance. They are limited to a toponym and the name of a game.

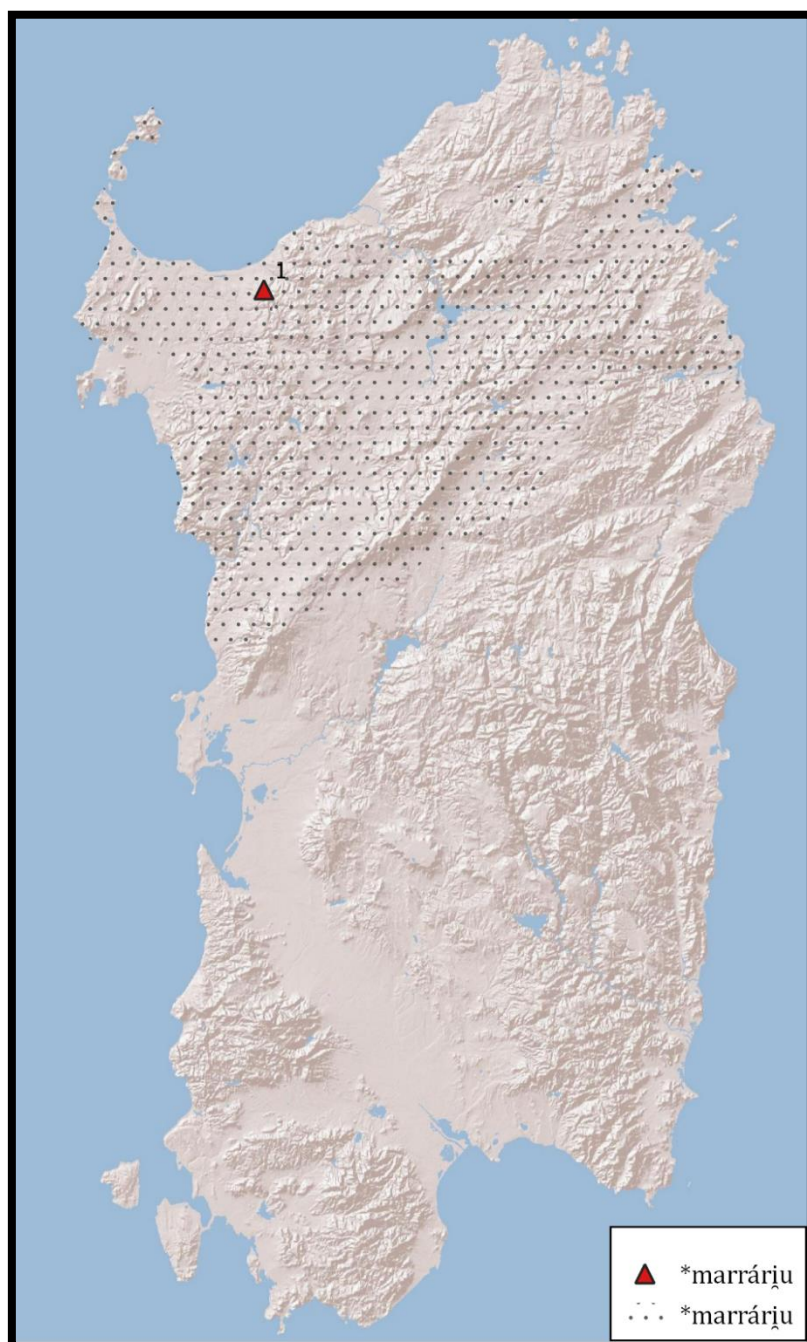


Figure 5.1.18: rock, boulder

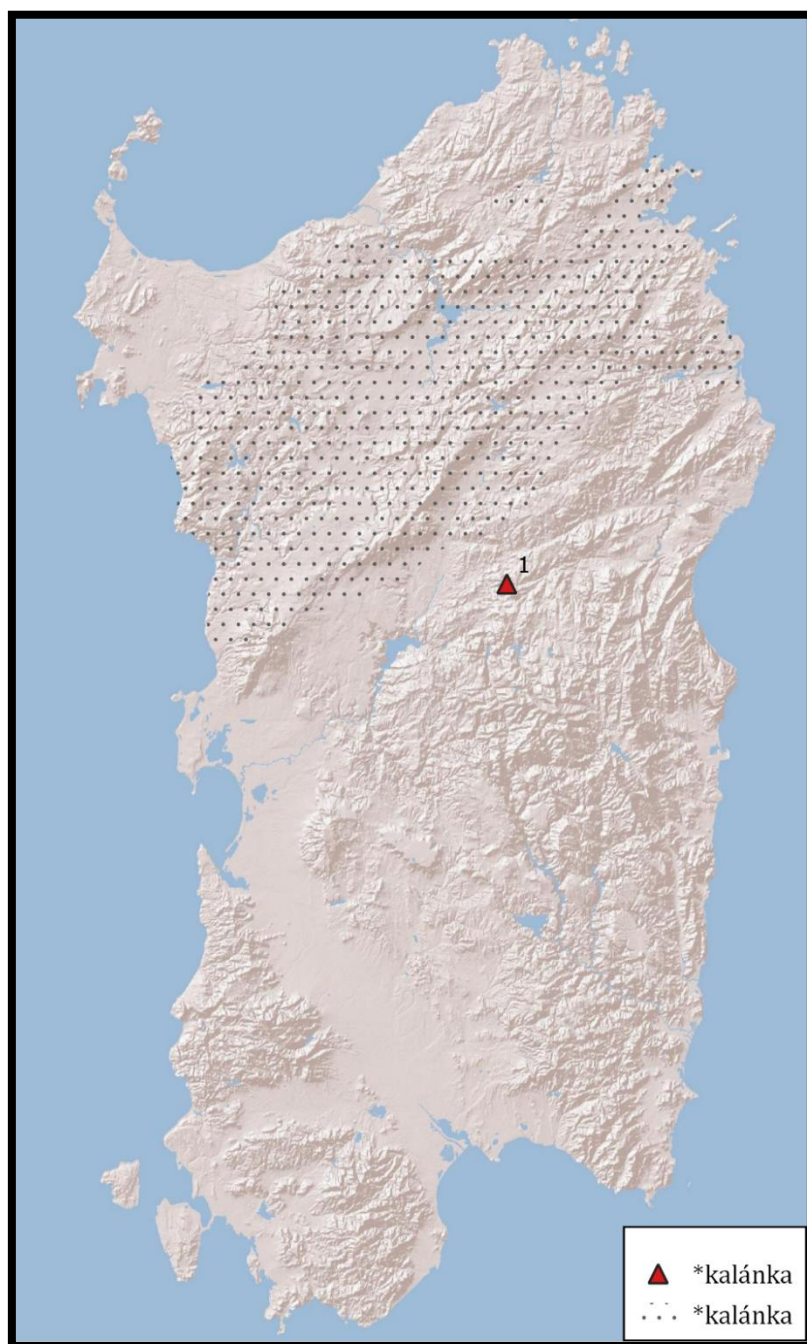


Figure 5.1.19: Rock crevice

5.1.19 Rock crevice,

| Reconstruction   | Forms                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| * <i>kalánka</i> | DES (I: 266): <i>kalánka</i> (Log.) 'rock crevice; precipice; cave'<br>Blasco Ferrer (1988: 174): <i>kolonkòne</i> (1: Orani), <i>kalánka</i> ,<br><i>kalankòne</i> 'large inlet; rock crevice; precipice; eye socket' |

This word has good comparanda in Cors. *calanca*, *calónca* 'sheltered place between mountains or hills; rocky inlet', OProv. *calanca* 'narrow alley', Prov. *caranco* 'narrow bay where ships take shelter; deep spot along the sea or a river, where one can find fish', *kalānko* 'rock crevice' (dep. Var), *kanānko* 'caverne' (dep. Alpes-Maritimes), Tusc. *calanco* 'rockslide', Calab. *kalankə* 'landslide' etc., and is also attested in multiple toponyms in these regions (cf. Rohlfs 1932: 139; FEW II:56; DES I:266; Ambrosini 1983: 12; BDLC: s.v. Cors. *calanca*). The various different meanings attested united by their common reference to a narrow and often steep place in rocky terrain. Wagner (1932: 242; DES I:266) and FEW (II: 56) believe that Srd. *kalánka* and its apparent cognates are of pre-Roman origin, and that they are derivations from \**kála* 'secluded, sheltered place', whence Srd. *kála* 'animal den; cove, inlet' (§ 5.1.3). Since \*-(a)*nka* is neither a productive nor an inherited suffix in any of the languages in which these words occur, this derivation would have to have taken place in its hypothetical pre-Roman source language. While there may be evidence for such a suffix in some of the other languages mentioned (FEW II: 56), we do not have this evidence for Sardinian and I am not aware of other proposed pre-Roman Sardinian words ending in -(a)*nka/u* besides *kalánka* 'rock crevice' and *katánka* etc. 'tick' (§ 4.1.16). Wagner (1932: 242) and FEW (II: 56) are probably correct in positing a pre-Roman origin for this word. However, the restriction of this word to Logudorese, in the north of Sardinia, raises the question whether its Sardinian representative could somehow be a more recent acquisition from Cors. *calanca* 'sheltered place between mountains or hills', whose meaning is very close to the Sardinian one. Whether \**kalánka* 'narrow place between rock (vel sim.)', found in France and Italy, is indeed eventually a derivation from \**kála* 'sheltered place (vel sim.)', found in more or less the same regions (§ 5.1.3), depends on the evidence for \*-(a)*nka* as a suffix in the originally pre-Roman lexicon of these other languages, but there does not seem to be good evidence that \*-(a)*nka* was ever a productive suffix in any language spoken on Sardinia (§ 9.2.5).

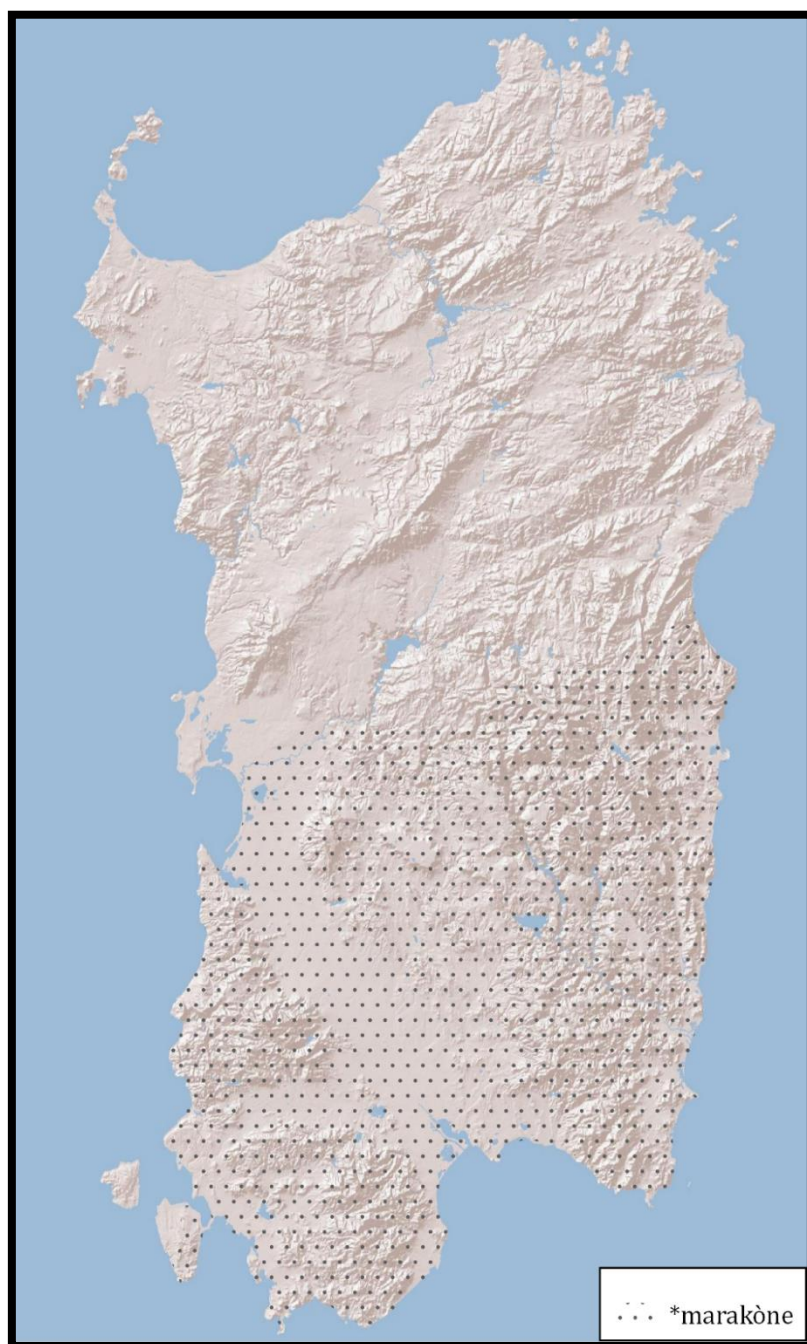


Figure 5.1.20: Rock crevice

5.1.20 Rock crevice<sub>2</sub>

Reconstruction Forms

\**marakòne* DES (II: 72): *marayòni* (Camp.) 'rock crevice'

This word has been much discussed in the literature. Terracini (1927: 144–145) derives the mountain name *Monte Maragonis* from Srd. *mára* 'marsh' (§ 5.1.8), about which Wagner (1932: 241 fn. 1) expresses his doubts on semantic grounds. Hubschmid (1953: 65–66) argues that semantic shifts between 'marsh' and 'rock crevice' or 'precipice' are not uncommon, and provides some Gallo-Romance parallels. He connects Srd. *marayòni* 'rock fissure' to Abruzz. *maragone* which in some parts means 'large quagmire, formed by flooding' and in others 'precipice'.<sup>199</sup> Later however, Hubschmid (1958: 223) retracts his idea of the cognacy between Srd. *marayòni* 'rock fissure' and Abruzz. *maragone* 'large quagmire', as the latter was explained by Alessio (apud Hubschmid 1958: 223) as a reflex of \**margone* << Lat. *marga* 'marl'. It is not clear whether Hubschmid also rejects the connection between Srd. *marayòni* and the South Italian forms in the meaning 'precipice, cliff; ravine'. This latter connection is in any case still continued in DES (II: 72) and in DCEC (III: 782), who further adds Sp. *malecón* 'embankment, dike made to prevent water damage' and proposes all forms to eventually go back to \**muriconem* << Lat. *mūrex*, *-icis* 'pointed rock, caltrop'. This semantic development may work for the Spanish word, and with some imagination perhaps even for the South Italian forms in the meaning 'precipice'. However, a development from 'pointed rock, caltrop' to 'rock crevice' seems rather implausible, not to mention the irregular vowel developments that are needed to derive Srd. *marayòni* from \**muriconem*. Wagner (DES II: 72) finally also mentions Cors. *varangonu*, *vangaronu* 'ravine; landslide', whose comparison to Srd. *marayòni* is not evident either.

In summary, the only connection that withstands scrutiny is the one to Abruzz. *maragone* (Gallo, prov. Caserta) in the meaning 'precipice' and perhaps to Lucanian *ɣammònu* (San Chirico Raparo, prov. Potenza) 'precipice, cliff' and *ɣammòna* (Oriolo, prov. Cosenza) 'ravine' further south, with apparent metathesis (AIS 428). That is, only if these forms are not in fact identical to Abruzz. *maragone* 'large quagmire', in which case they too go back to Lat. *marga*, leaving Srd. *marayòni* isolated. This seems semantically less likely, though.

<sup>199</sup> Cf. AIS (428), where in the meaning 'precipice, cliff' we find *marayòne* (Gallo, prov. Caserta).

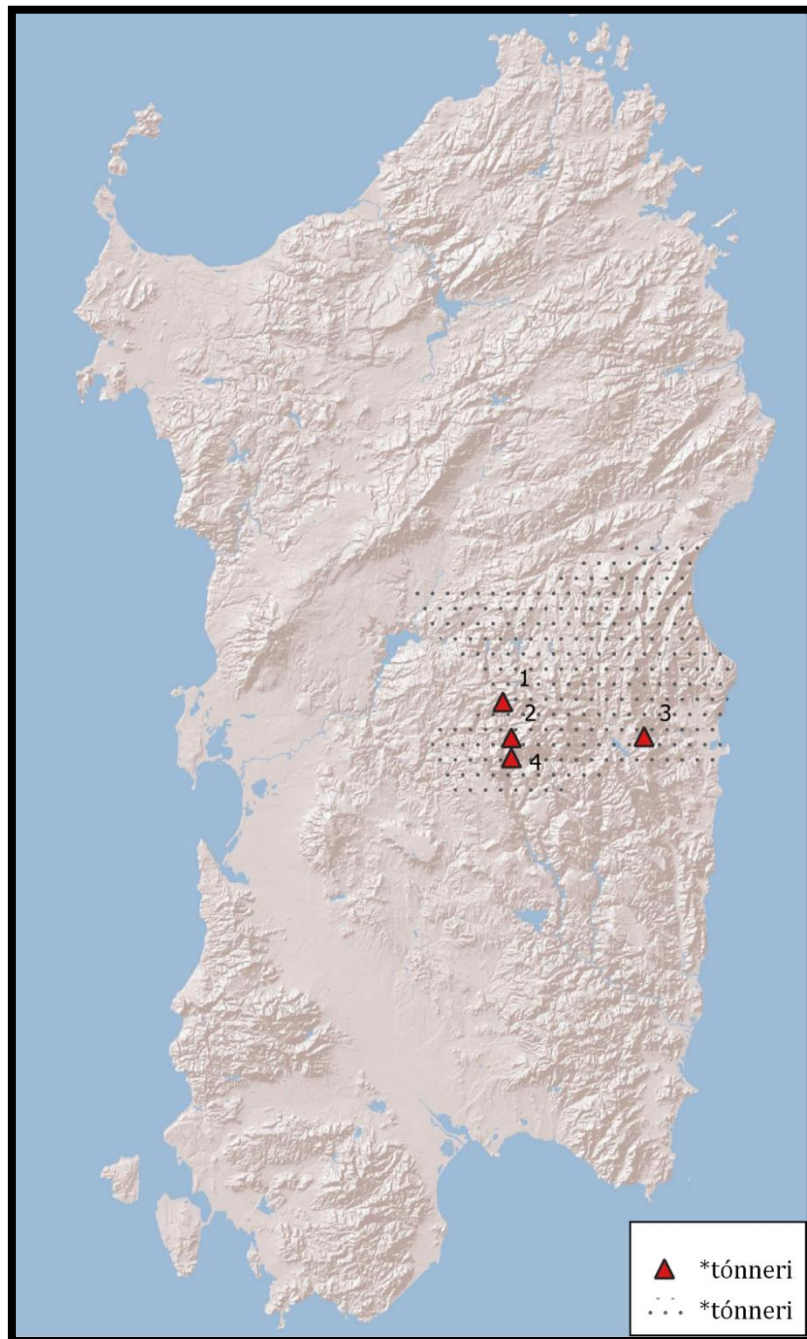


Figure 5.1.21: Rock outcropping

5.1.21 Rock outcropping<sub>1</sub>

| Reconstruction   | Forms                                                                                                                                                              |
|------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| * <i>tónneri</i> | DES (II: 495): <i>tón(n)eri</i> (Barb., 1: Tonara, 2: Belvì, 4: Aritzo)<br>'type of conical rock outcroppings'; (3: Villagrande Strisaili)<br>'vertical rock wall' |

According to Wagner (DES II: 495), this word is of pre-Roman origin. This is plausible due to its phonological shape (cf. § 8.1.5.1), and its reference to regionally specific geological features. Wagner (DES II: 495) further notes that an element *\*ton(n)-* is found in several toponyms in the region where the outcroppings referred to as *tónneri* are found (e.g. Tonara). While this is certainly suggestive, the semantic opacity of these toponyms does not allow us to draw any conclusions about this potential link. Finally, Wagner (DES II: 495) mentions a Corsican hydronym *Tónnari* collected by Bottiglioni (1929: 82 fn. 2), who derives it from Etruscan. In this case, too, the opaque nature of the semantics of toponyms prevents any firm conclusions.

5.1.22 Rock outcropping<sub>2</sub>

| Reconstruction    | Forms                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|-------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| * <i>karaCile</i> | Puddu (2023: s.v. <i>caraïle</i> , <i>caràili</i> , <i>caràili</i> ): <i>caraïle</i> , <i>caràili</i> , <i>caràili</i> 'rock outcropping that is difficult to traverse etc.'<br>Paulis (2008: 23): <i>caràili</i> (1: Ilbono) 'big rock' |

The vowel hiatus in *caraïle*, *caràili* suggests the original presence of a consonant (possibly *\*-b-*, *\*-v-*, *\*-d-*, *\*-g-*) between the antepenultimate and the penultimate syllable. Paulis (2008: 22, 23) believes this word to be of pre-Roman origin, and hypothesizes that it might be the origin of *Caralis*, the Latin name of modern day Cagliari. Moreover, *caràili* etc. would be proof of the existence of the pre-Roman root *\*kar(r)-* 'rock' in Sardinia (cf. Hubschmid 1953: 108–109). However, the origin of the ending *\*-aCile* is not clear. I am not convinced by Paulis' (2008: 22) comparisons of this word to Cat. *quer* 'rock' etc.

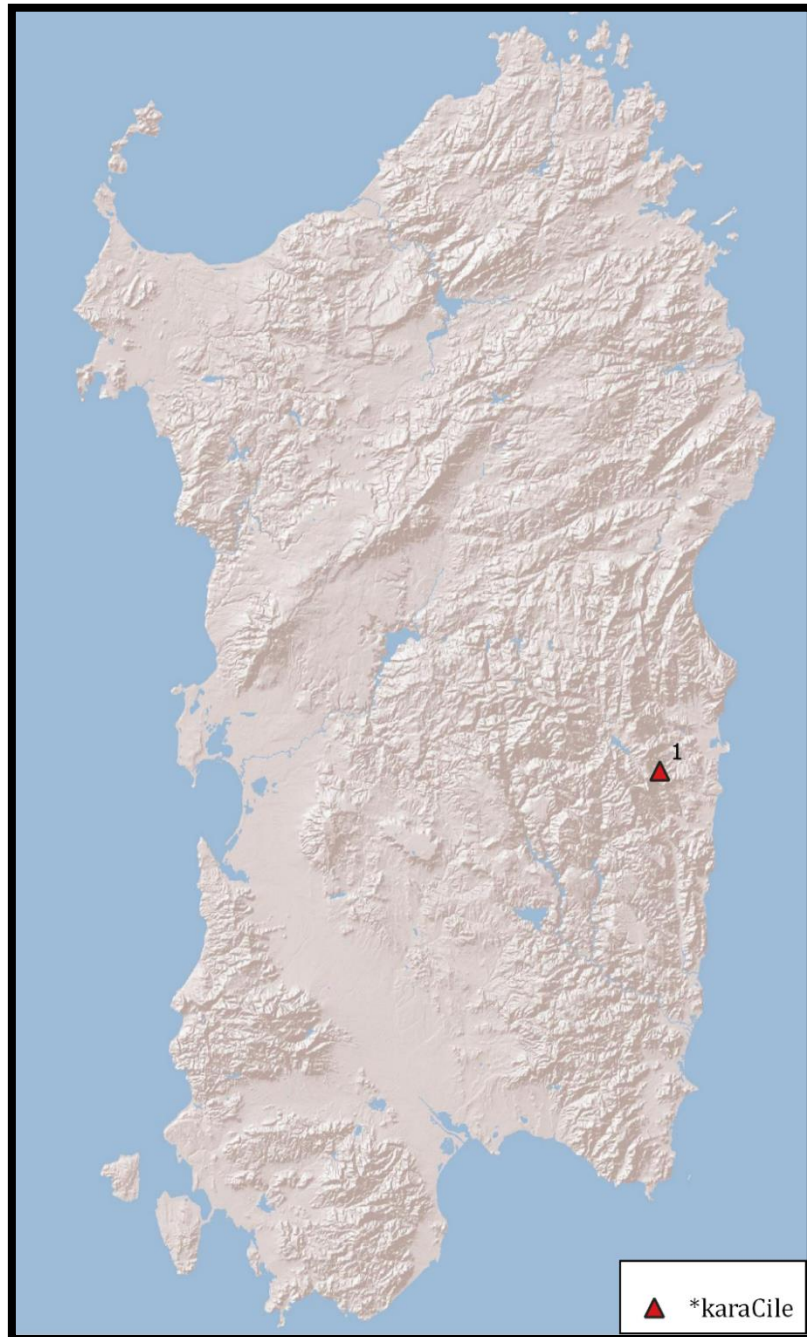


Figure 5.1.22: Rock outcropping

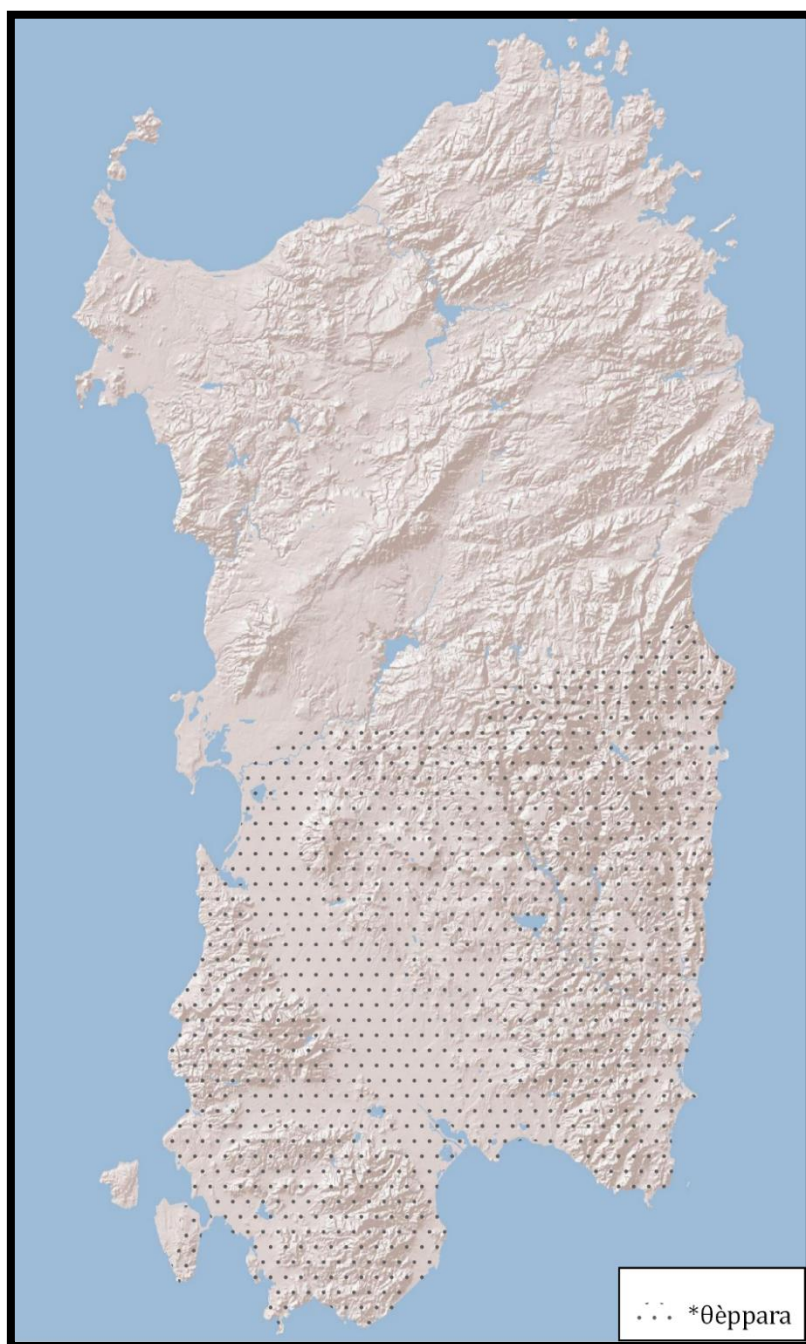


Figure 5.1.23: Rocky plain

## 5.1.23 Rocky plain

| Reconstruction | Forms |
|----------------|-------|
|----------------|-------|

|                 |                                                                    |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>*ðèppara</i> | DES (II: 588): <i>tsèppara</i> (Camp.) 'rocky plain; hill, summit' |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|

Hubschmid (1953: 47–48) and Wagner (DES II: 72) consider this word to be of pre-Roman origin. Paulis (1985: 232a) agrees and suggests that the form *Theppar* attested in the Condaghe di Santa Maria di Bonarcado (Virdis 2003: sec. 173) may belong here too, as well as the toponym *Theppage* attested in the Condaghe di San Pietro di Silki (Bonazzi 1900: sec. 295), be it with a different suffix. Among Hubschmid's (1953: 47–48) comparisons are Cors. *sápara* 'cave' and Bq. *zapalda* 'natural shelter for livestock', but he later retracts the Basque comparison (Hubschmid 1958: 220). I agree with Battisti (1955: 477) that the connection of the Sardinian word to Cors. *sápara* 'cave' is difficult as well, from a semantic point of view. Hubschmid (1953: 48) and Wagner (DES II: 72) think that this word contains the pre-Roman suffix *-ara* that must be posited on the basis of other words (§ 9.2.6.2), and which may have had a plural or collective function (Terracini 1927: 139). For *tsèppara*, the toponym *Theppage* could be evidence for a root *\*ðèpp-* with a suffix *-ara*, although it is not certain that these forms are cognates.

## 5.1.24 Secluded place

| Reconstruction | Forms |
|----------------|-------|
|----------------|-------|

|                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>*óspile</i> | DES (II: 198): <i>óspile</i> (1: Lollove, 2: Nuoro) 'enclosure in an estate where calves are kept', (3: Orgosolo) 'small, undeeep gorge', (4: Villagrande Strisaille) 'gorge, natural cavern hidden by branches' |
|----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

The exact meanings of this word are rather intricate and specific, and expanded upon by Wagner (1932: 226). The common semantic feature of the forms listed is that of some secluded place. Wagner (1932: 227; DES II: 198) compares these words to Bq. *ospel* 'shady place' and (*h*)*ozpil* 'cold, chilly'. These two Basque words are probably not etymologically related to each other however. According to Trask (2008: 320), Bq. *ospel* 'shadowy place' may contain *\*bel* 'dark', while the first part is obscure. Bq. (*h*)*ozpil* 'cold', on the other hand, likely contains Bq. *hotz* 'cold' (DES II: 198). As a consequence, the comparison is restricted to Srd. *óspile* and Bq. *ospel* 'shady place' only. Wagner may be right in considering this word a pre-Roman remnant, although there is no positive evidence that *-ile* is a suffix in this word, as he suggests (cf. § 9.2.3.3).

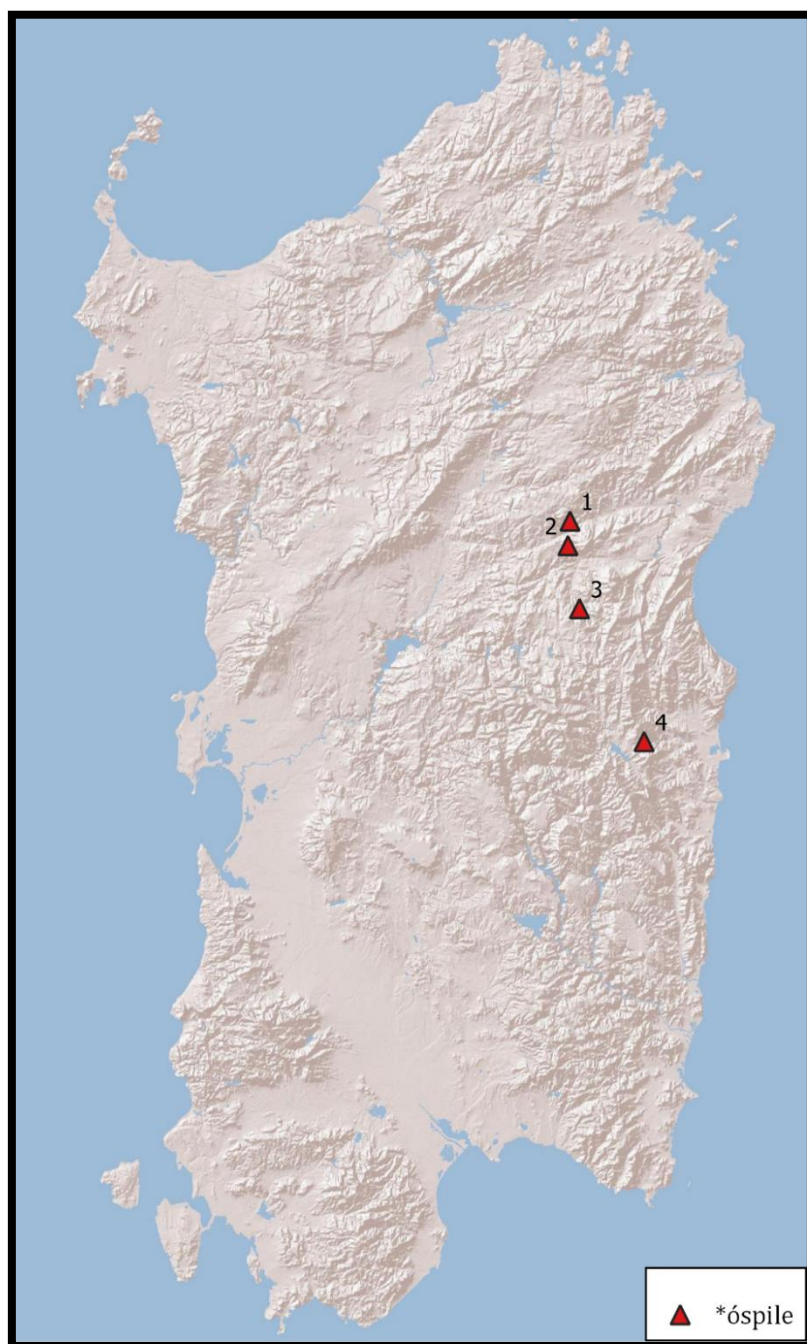


Figure 5.1.24: Secluded place

The formal and semantic proximity between Srd. *óspile* ‘secluded place etc.’ and Bq. *ospel* ‘shady place’ is close enough to tentatively posit a shared origin for these words. It remains to be seen on the basis of more evidence what this potential Basque-Sardinian connection means for the prehistoric linguistic situation of Sardinia (§ 10.3, § 11).

#### 5.1.25 Stream, torrent

| Reconstruction | Forms                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| * <i>ròja</i>  | DES (I: 127): <i>ròya</i> (Camp.) ‘downfall of water’, <i>arróyu</i> , <i>arròya</i> (1: Bitti) ‘low and watery place’, <i>orròà</i> (2: Tonara) ‘stream, torrent’, (4: Belvì) ‘valley’, (5: Laconi) ‘marshy valley’, <i>arròà</i> (3: Desulo) ‘watery ravine, gorge’<br>Porru (1866: 1085): <i>ròja</i> ‘downfall of water’ |

All Sardinian forms can go back to *\*ròja*, with regular vowel prothesis before initial *r-* (cf. DES I: 127).<sup>200</sup> This word has been much discussed in the literature. Wagner (1940: 152) compares the Sardinian forms to Sp. *arroyo*, Pg. *arroio* ‘stream, brook, creek’, which in turn have been derived from Lat. *arrugia* ‘tunnel’ (REW 678) — cf. also Cat., Val. *roll* ‘stream of water, irrigation ditch’, Gasc. *arrouio*, *arrouil* ‘gutter, rivulet’, Bearn. *arroulho* ‘irrigation ditch’ etc. < *\*arrugula* (DCEC I: 359; FEW XXV: 343–44), Bq. *arroil*, *arrolla* ‘gutter, ditch, trough’ (DCEC I: 359);<sup>201</sup> Piem. *ruġa* (Valsesia), Lomb. *róġa* (Como), Ven. *roza*, Lad. *roia* (Val Gardena), *roa* (Val di Fassa), Friul. *roye* ‘millrace’ < *\*rugja* (REW 678; Bertoldi 1932: 400; Hubschmid 1950c: 34–35). However, Lat. *arrugia* is only attested in Pliny (*Nat.* 33.25), referring specifically to shafts in gold mines in Hispania, indicating that this word entered Latin (and Romance) from a local Hispanic language (cf. Hubschmid 1950c: 35; 1953: 67). A direct derivation from Lat. *rūga*, as proposed by Walde and Hofmann (1938: 69, 849), is not possible, as the majority of Romance forms point to *arrugia* with a short *\*-ǔ-* (Bertoldi 1932: 401).

<sup>200</sup> Camp. *ròja*, cited by Porru (1866: 1085) (and as *ròya* in DES I: 127), is probably to be interpreted as a graphic rendering of /arròya/. In Campidanese, vowel prothesis before initial *r-* is productive (Wagner 1941a: 53–54).

<sup>201</sup> Bq. *arroil* is likely a loan from Gascon (FEW XXV: 343b).

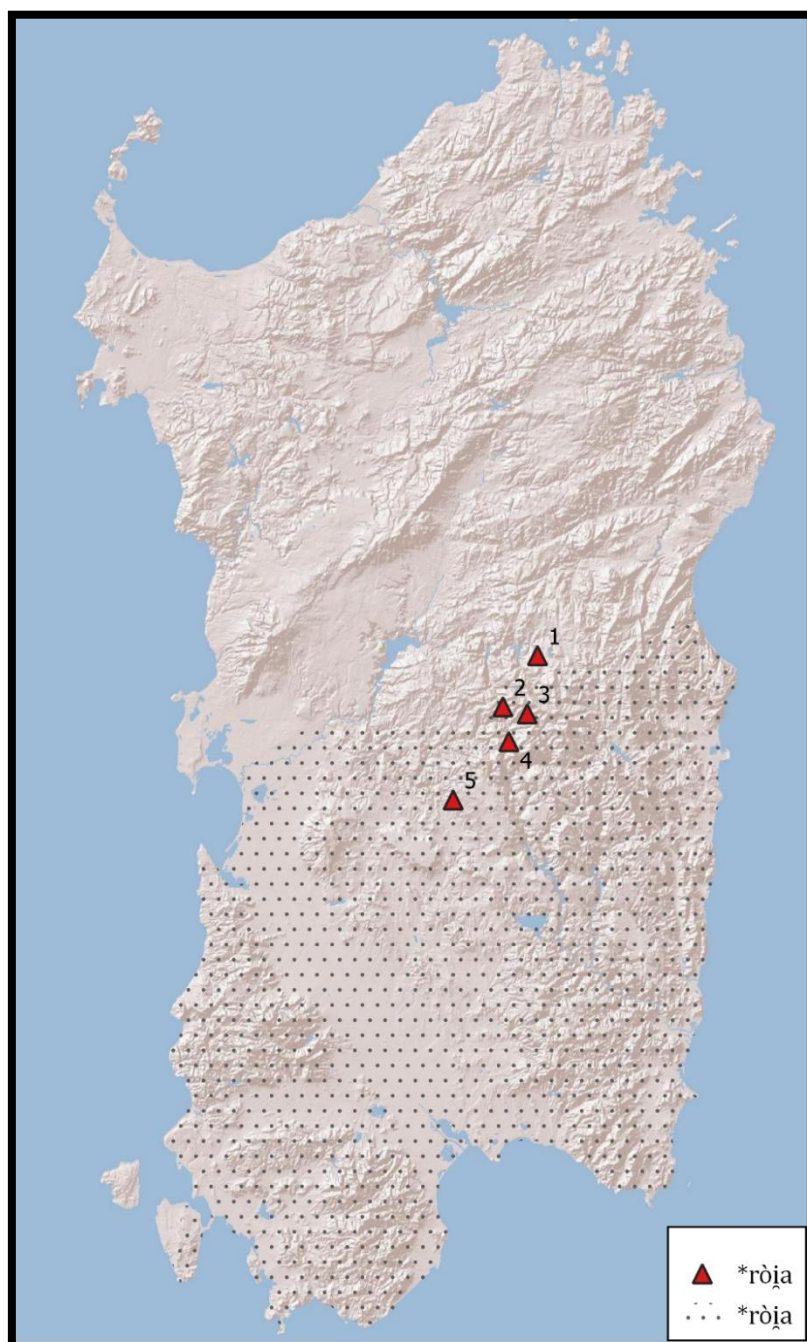


Figure 5.1.25: Stream, torrent

Nevertheless, Hubschmid (1953: 68–69) is favorable to an Indo-European, albeit not a Latin, origin of *arrugia*, on the basis of the attestation of *corrugos* (acc. pl.) ‘pipelines to wash fallen material’ (in the same context, Plin. Nat. 33.25; cf. Adams 2003: 452),<sup>202</sup> and the comparison to Gr. ὀρύσσω ‘to dig’, ὀρυγή, ὀρυγή ‘digging’ < PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>reu-k-* (cf. Beekes 2010: 1113).<sup>203</sup> The forms *arrugia* and *corrugus* have been seen as cognates, due to their shared Hispanic context and similar meanings (e.g. DCEC I: 359b; Adams 2003: 452 fn. 135). If this is correct, it is attractive to analyze *corrugus* as *\*kon-rug-*, suggesting an Indo-European origin. As Corominas (DCEC II: 277) notes however, there are no clear Italic or Celtic formations that could account for both *arrugia* and *corrugōs*, and it is indeed uncertain that these forms are in fact related (DCEC II: 277b).

Returning to the Sardinian forms, it is clear that they cannot go back directly to *arrugia*, as *-u-* would have been maintained in Sardinian (Wagner 1940: 152); the same issue applies to Gr. ὀρυγή ‘digging’ (cf. Hubschmid 1953: 69). Wagner (1940: 152; DES I:127) also rules out a loan from Sp. *arroyo*, as Srd. *arroia* is attested already in the Condaghe di Santa Maria de Bonarcado (cf. Virdis 2003: sec. 119). This work was composed in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries (Virdis 2003: 11–12), and as such predates Spanish political as well as linguistic influence in Sardinia.<sup>204</sup> Similarly, although Cat. *rolh* ‘stream of water; irrigation ditch’ would formally work as a source of borrowing for the Sardinian forms, with the same development of Cat. *-lh-* as in Srd. *sakkáyu* ‘one-year old lamb, kid’ << Cat. *segalh* ‘id.’ (DES II: 374; DCEC V: 189), the first attestation of Srd. *orroia* predates the Aragonese presence in Sardinia. This leads Hubschmid (1953: 69) and Wagner (DES I: 127) to propose a pre-Roman origin for the Sardinian forms as well, with an original variant *\*arrōgia* with a short *\*-ō-* that is corroborated by Western Leon. *arruoyo* (DCEC I: 359). As of yet, this appears to be the most plausible scenario.

The *orroia* mentioned in the Condaghe di Santa Maria di Bonarcado (Virdis 2003: sec. 119) is described as being in the vicinity of *Sancte Eru* ‘San Vero Milis’, which is in the Campidano di Milis in the west of the island. This shows that the word in question must at one point have had a wider distribution than its modern representatives suggest.

<sup>202</sup> Probably from *\*cōrrūgus*, judging by its Ibero-Romance descendants like Sp. *cuérrago*, Pg. *córrego*, Cat. *còrrec* (DCEC II: 276–77).

<sup>203</sup> In his earlier article however, Hubschmid (1950c: 35) notes that a Celtic origin is unlikely based on the geographic distribution of these words.

<sup>204</sup> The form *orroia* is attested on page 48v, which is dated to 1171–1184 (Virdis 2003: 11).

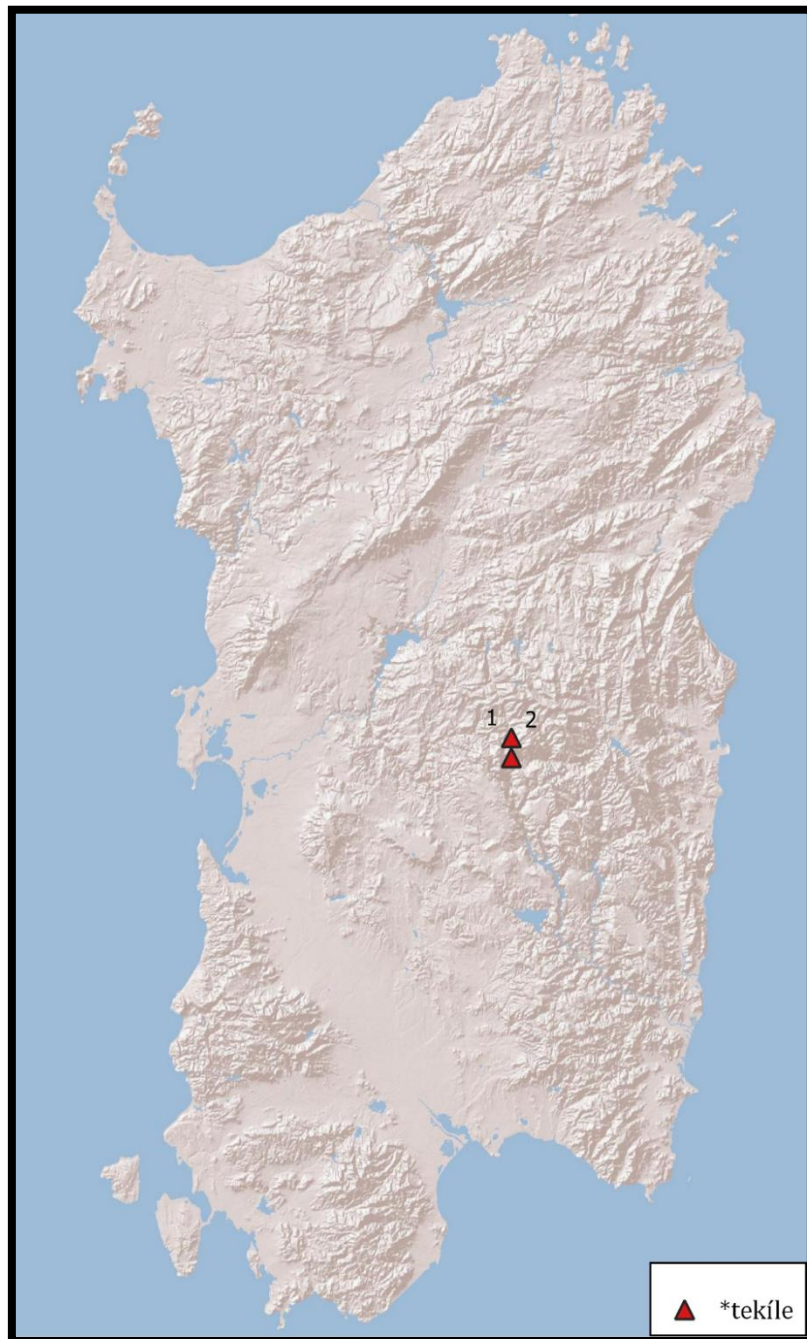


Figure 5.1.26: Isolated summit

## 5.1.26 Summit, in isolation

| Reconstruction  | Forms                                                                                   |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| * <i>tekíle</i> | DES (II: 481); Spano (1872: 114): <i>težíle</i> (1: Belvì, 2: Aritzo) ‘isolated summit’ |

This word, which goes back to \**tekíle*, is restricted to the region around Belvì. Wagner (DES II: 481) calls it “certainly pre-Roman”, without further argumentation. The ending *-íle* is found in other Sardinian words of uncertain origin as well (§ 9.2.3.3), but this word does not show evidence of it being a suffix.

## 5.1.27 Water basin; source; stream

| Reconstruction   | Forms                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| * <i>ǵúrgalu</i> | DES (II: 555): <i>ǵúrgalu</i> (Nuor.) ‘downpour of water’, <i>túrgalu</i> (Log.) ‘a groove cut out in the mountain by rainwater’; deriv.: <i>inturgaláre</i> , <i>intulgaláre</i> (Log.) ‘to channel water into gutters’, <i>istrugaláda</i> , <i>istrúgulu</i> (NLog.) ‘shower of rain’<br>AIS (852, 854): <i>ǵúrgalu</i> (1: Baunei) ‘(basin of a) water source’ |

Wagner considers these forms to be of pre-Roman origin, on the basis of the presence of \*ǵ-, and rightly notes that a connection to It. *trogolo* ‘trough’ is phonetically impossible. Pittau (2013: s.v. *Tulgaru*) also connects forms like *trúbulu* (Oliena) ‘temporary stream of water’, *troccale* (Mamoiada) ‘little stream of water’ and Log. *trógliu* ‘trough, basin’, as well as the toponym *Durgále* (It. Dorgali). None of these forms contain ǵ- however, which was the reason to posit a pre-Roman origin in the first place, and which would be expected at least in Oliena and Mamoiada.<sup>205</sup> This and other phonetic objections make it more sensible to keep the forms listed by Pittau apart from \**ǵúrgalu* for now. Log. *tról’u*, *dról’u* (written as *trógliu* in Pittau) is explained by Wagner as a loan from Cat. *toll*, *doll* ‘deep trough in a river bed, small pool of water’, influenced by It. *trogolo*.

<sup>205</sup> The form *troccale* (Mamoiada) ‘little stream of water’, more likely belongs with Barb. *trókku* ‘ravine, gorge’ (§ 5.1.17).

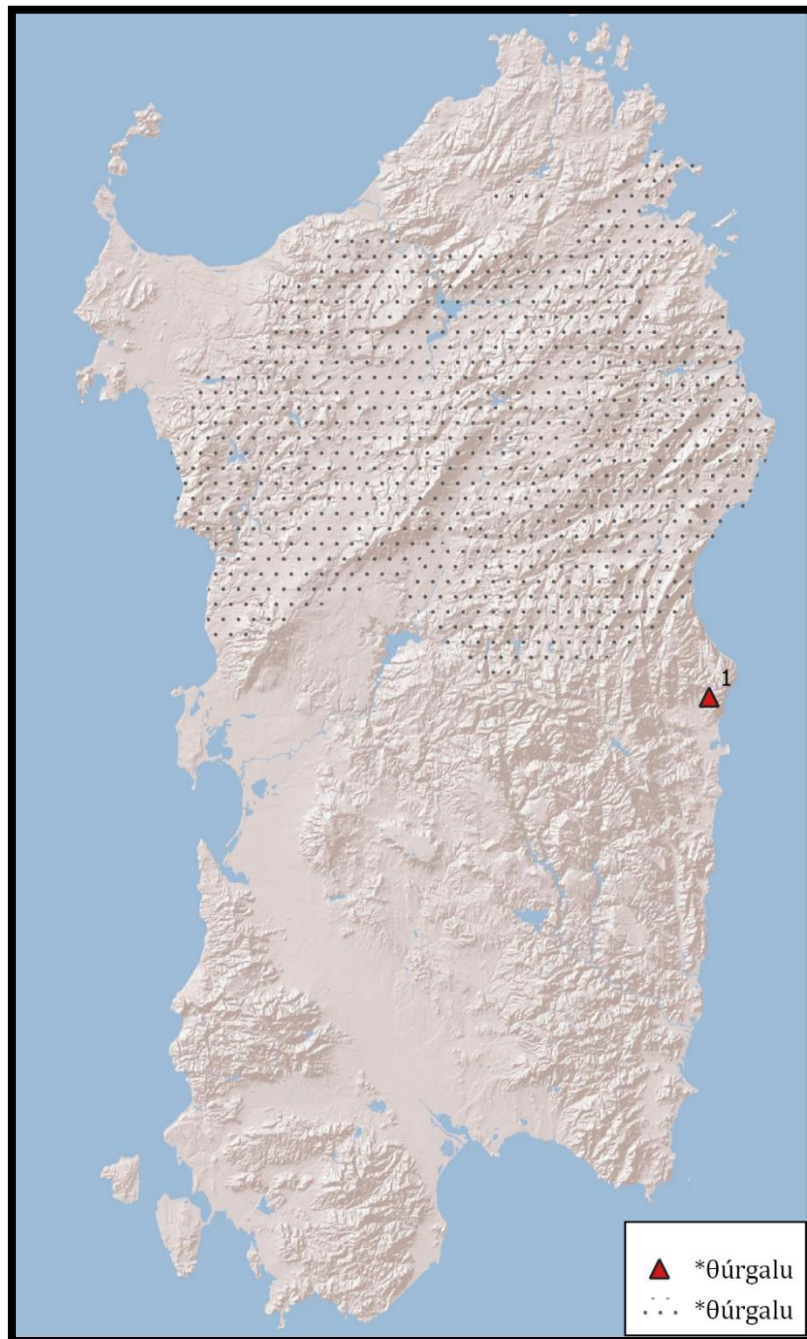


Figure 5.1.27: Water basin; source; stream

## 5.1.28 Whirlpool; crevice

| Reconstruction    | Forms                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| * <i>garrópp-</i> | DES (I: 308): <i>korróppu</i> , <i>gorróppu</i> (Barb.), <i>karróppu</i> , <i>garróppu</i> (Camp.) ‘whirlpool’, <i>garóppu</i> (1: Oliena) ‘crevice’, [unu] <i>γarróppu</i> (5: Mogoro) ‘whirlpool, whirlwind’; deriv.: <i>šgarroppaiši</i> ‘to fall down, to plunge’ |
|                   | AIS (429): [ũu] <i>garóppu</i> [di ákwa] (6: Villacidro) ‘whirlpool’                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|                   | Wagner (1932: 243): [su] <i>garróppu</i> (3: Villacidro) ‘water well in the countryside’                                                                                                                                                                              |
|                   | Blasco Ferrer (1988: 174): <i>korróppu</i> , <i>gorróppu</i> (2: Urzulei, 3: Triei, 4: Baunei)                                                                                                                                                                        |

This word is also represented in toponymy, including in the name *Gola di Gorropu*, one of Europe’s largest canyons, between Orgosolo and Urzulei. Within Sardinian we find some phonetic alternations, such as pretonic *-o-* next to *-a-*, and initial *k-* next to *g-*. Both of these phenomena can be explained as relatively recent developments however (cf. Wagner 1941a: 24–27, 206). Santano Moreno’s (2000: 163) derivation from Lat. *rūpes* ‘cliff’ is semantically attractive, but formally impossible. Wagner holds this word to be of pre-Roman origin and compares it to similar forms outside Sardinia: Irpino *sgarrupá*, Abruzz. *scarrupà* ‘to fall down, to plunge’, Laz. *carapone* (Castelmadama) ‘whirlpool, swamp’, Nap. *scarrupo*, *sgarrupo* ‘cliff, precipice’, Calab. *garoppa* (Petronà) ‘trough’ etc. (Rohlf 1932: 336; Wagner 1932: 243; DES I:308). Hubschmid (1953: 58) connects even more forms, predominantly from Italo-Romance. Several of them are semantically and/or formally too far removed to be useful, but potentially relevant are South Tusc. *karravone*, Cors. *karravóni* ‘ravine’,<sup>206</sup> Calab. *karafúnu* ‘puddle’.<sup>207</sup> From Gallo-Romance we may add Lang. *caraven* ‘chasm, precipice’ and Bearn. *garimbáut* ‘precipice, ravine, dangerous pass’ (FEW XXI: 20).

Hubschmid (1953: 58) also mentions dialectal Greek *χάραβος* ‘gorge, cliff, trench’. Although close in form and meaning, it is not clear to me what the provenance of this form is and whether it is ancient or modern Greek. Wagner (1932: 244) and Hubschmid (1953: 58) believe that this Sardinian word and its cognates contain some kind of “*p*-suffix”, but there is no clear evidence that would suggest that these forms are indeed built up of more than one morpheme.

<sup>206</sup> BDLC (s.v. Cors. *caravone*) has Cors. *caravone* ‘precipice’ (Quenza).

<sup>207</sup> Sic. *garbera* ‘ravine’ (listed by Hubschmid 1953: 58) has a similar meaning and contains similar consonants, but its syllable structure is rather different than that of the other forms mentioned above.

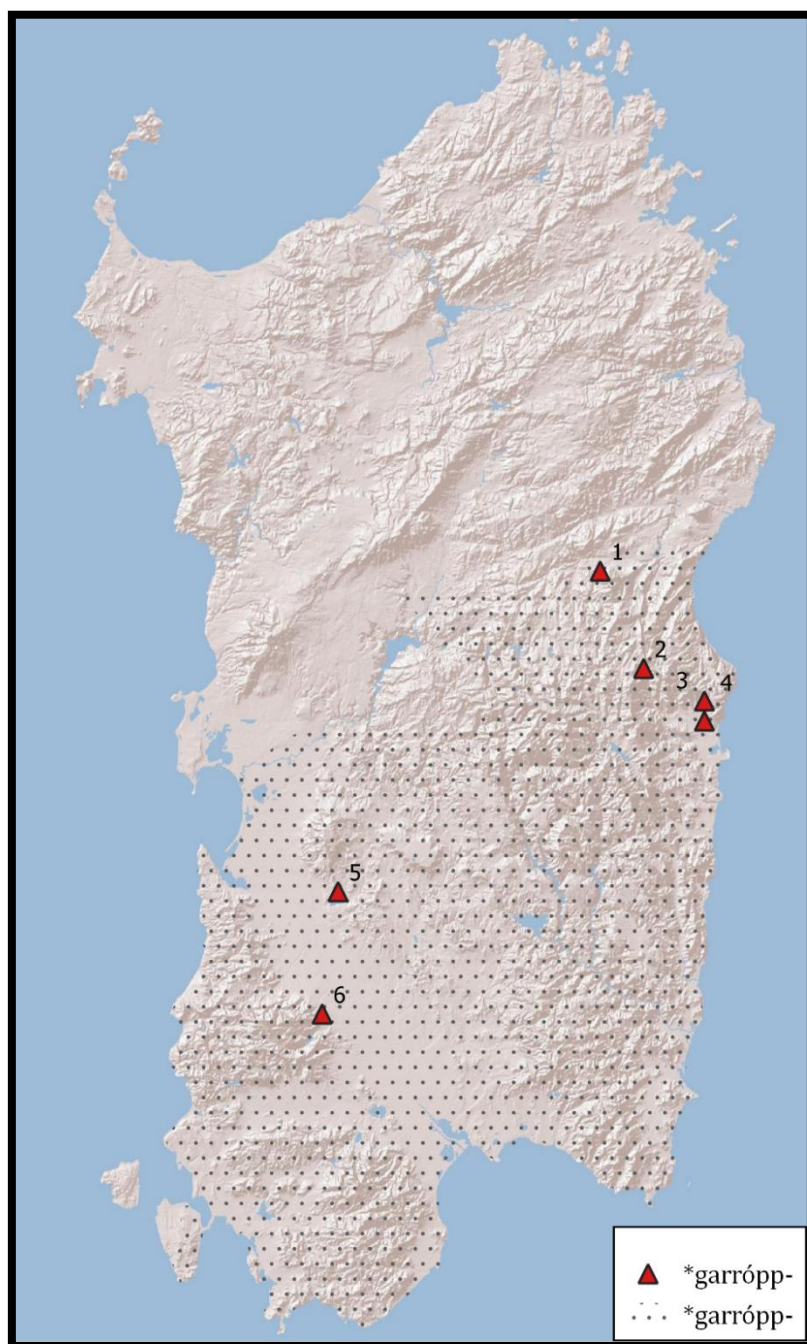


Figure 5.1.28: Whirlpool; crevice

The meanings of the various adduced comparanda ranges from ‘puddle’ to ‘whirlpool’ to ‘crevice, ravine’, all of which are also attested for the Sardinian forms, and it is difficult to establish which might have been the original, or if the polysemy is old. I agree with Wagner (1932: 244) that it is plausible that Sardinian *gorróppu* etc. ‘whirlpool, puddle, crevice’ shares a pre-Roman origin with the Italo-Romance forms mentioned above. Yet, Wagner (1932: 244) is right that there is some evidence for contamination from other word families, such as It. *grosso di vento* ‘whirlwind’, *dirupo* ‘cliff, precipice’ etc. One may also consider Sp., Pg. *barranco* ‘trench, ravine, gully’ and Gr. φάργξ ‘id.’.<sup>208</sup> These forms cannot be demonstrated to be related either to each other, or to the Sardinian and Italo-Romance forms discussed here (DCEC I: 522-23). Yet, they are strikingly similar in structure, the only substantial difference being the order of the consonants.<sup>209</sup> This raises the question to what extent these formations are somehow subject to some cross-linguistic tendencies of sound-symbolism regarding ‘ravines’ etc. This problem is outside the scope of this study however.

## 5.2 Man-made structures

### 5.2.1 Border, limit

| Reconstruction      | Forms                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1: * <i>lákkanā</i> | DES (II: 2–3) <i>lák(k)ana</i> (Log., Camp.) ‘border, limit (of a territory)’, [r’a] <i>r’ákana</i> (Sass.) ‘boundary’, [prèðā e] <i>lá?na</i> ‘border stone’ (8: Fonni), <i>allákkana</i> [de íðða] ‘boundary marker between villages’ (14: Crucuris)                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|                     | AIS (1421): [sa] <i>lákkanā</i> (1: Ploaghe, 4: Nuoro, 5: Dorgali, 6: Macomer, 7: Santu Lussurgiu, 9: Milis, 11: Baunei, 12: Desulo, 13: Laconi, 15: Mogoro, 16: Perdasdefogu, 17: Escalaplano), [sa] <i>lá?ana</i> (8: Fonni), [sa] <i>lákkanā</i> (18: Villacidro) ‘border, limit (of a territory)’, [sa] <i>lákkanā</i> (2: Bitti) ‘border between a community meadow and private property’, [sa] <i>lákkanā</i> (10: Busachi) ‘border between villages’ |
| 2: * <i>lákuna</i>  | DES (II: 2–3): <i>lákuna</i> (3: Orosei) ‘trough’                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |

<sup>208</sup> Similar in form is Srd. *barrókkū, borrókkū* ‘cliff, ravine, gully, gorge’, cited by Paulis (1987: 470) and Pittau (1995: 202), but absent from DES. Its relation to Srd. *gorróppu* etc. ‘whirlpool, crevice’ and to Sp., Pg. *barranco* ‘trench, ravine, gully’ is unclear.

<sup>209</sup> I am explicitly not suggesting a common origin for the Sardinian and Italo-Romance forms on the one hand, and the Greek and Ibero-Romance forms on the other.

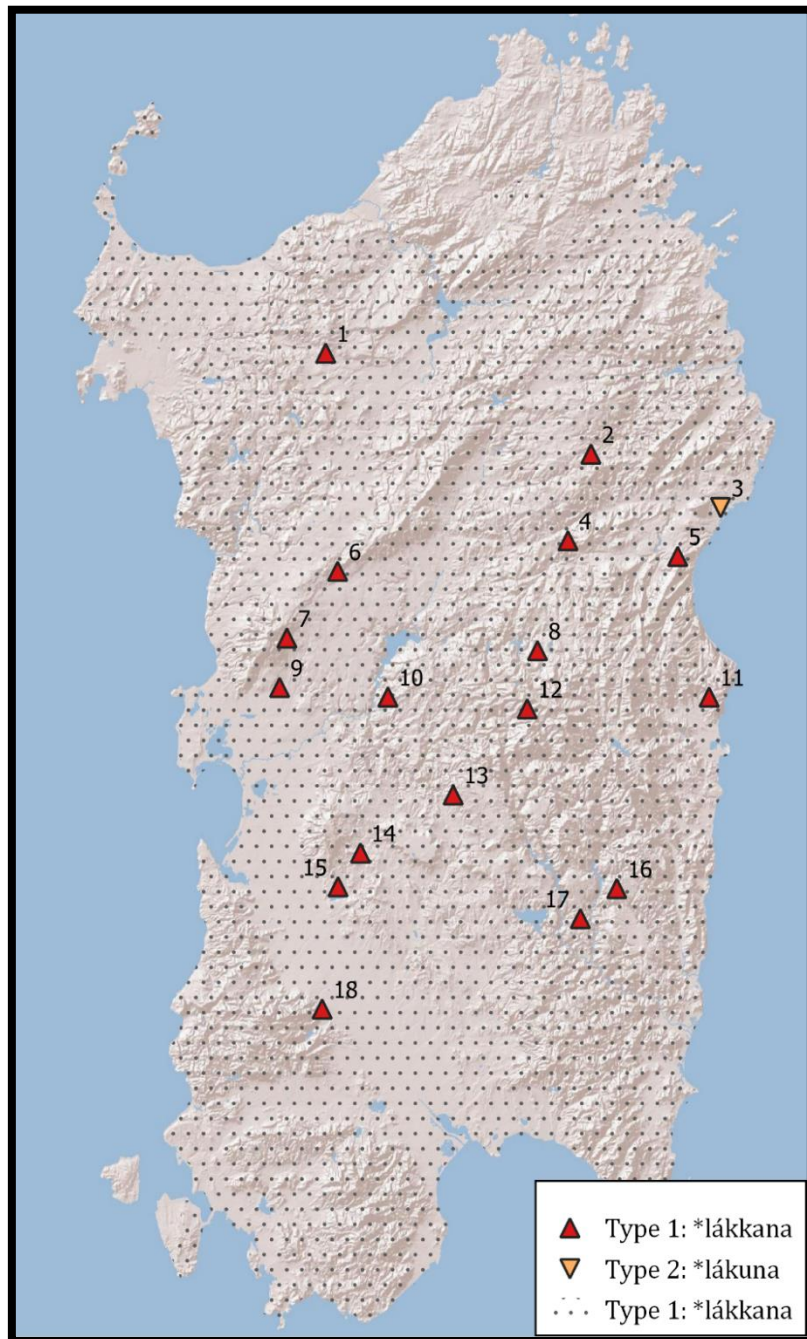


Figure 5.2.1: Border, limit

Wagner (DES II: 2) considers this word, which is attested all over Sardinia, to be of pre-Roman origin. As Wagner notes, a derivation from Srd. *lákku* ‘basin, trough, puddle’ is difficult, because *‘ana* and *‘una* are not productive suffixes in Sardinian. I do think that type 2 may rather be from Lat. *lacūna* ‘ditch, pool, pond’, with an accent shift to the first syllable (cf. Wagner 1941a: 1–5). However, it is not possible to derive the forms of type 1 from Lat. *lacūna* too, since inherited singleton *-c-* would have sonorized to *\*\*·-γ-* in most dialects. Geminate *-kk-* in Srd. *lákku* is attested already in late Lat. *laccus* (DES II: 4), but there is no evidence for a geminate stop in *lacūna*. Semantically the meaning of Lat. *lacūna* ‘ditch, pool, pond’ is also closer to type 2 ‘trough’ than to type 1 ‘border, boundary’. The connection by DEI (III: 2197) to Tusc. *legone* ‘big rock’ and Bq. *legarra*, *lakarra* ‘gravel, pebble’ does not convince either (cf. DES II: 3).

### 5.2.2 Nuraghe

| Reconstruction       | Forms                                                                                                                        |
|----------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1: <i>*nuráke</i>    | DES (II: 176–179): <i>nuráke</i> (Nuor.), <i>nuráye</i> (Log.), <i>nuráži</i> ‘nuraghe’ (C amp.)                             |
| 2: <i>*runák(k)e</i> | DES (II: 176–179): <i>runáke</i> (1: Ardara, 4: Siligo, 5: Ittireddu), <i>runáye</i> (2: Ittiri, 3: Ozieri, 6: Thiesi) ‘id.’ |
| 3: <i>*murák(k)e</i> | <i>muráke</i> (7: Silanus, 8: Macomer, 9: Abbasanta, 10: Bonarcado, 11: Paulilatino) ‘id.’                                   |

Nuraghes are by a wide margin the most visible and recognizable human-made structures on Sardinia, and have been so roughly for the past 3500 years. Thousands of these tower-like buildings still exist in Sardinia, and they range in size and complexity from single towers to enormous complexes with up to 21 towers (Nuraghe Arrubiu, Orroli). Built mainly between 1700 and 1200 BCE, their use rapidly declined in the start of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE, although a number of them were reused for agricultural practices, as sanctuaries, or as tombs in Punic and Roman times (cf. Lilliu 1963). No doubt in part due to their monumentality and their importance for the Sardinian historical identity, many proposals concerning the etymology of the word *nuraghe* have seen the light. It is clear that the forms of type 1 are original, while those of type 2 represent a metathesis and those of type 3 a contamination with *múru* ‘wall’ (cf. DES II: 176–179).

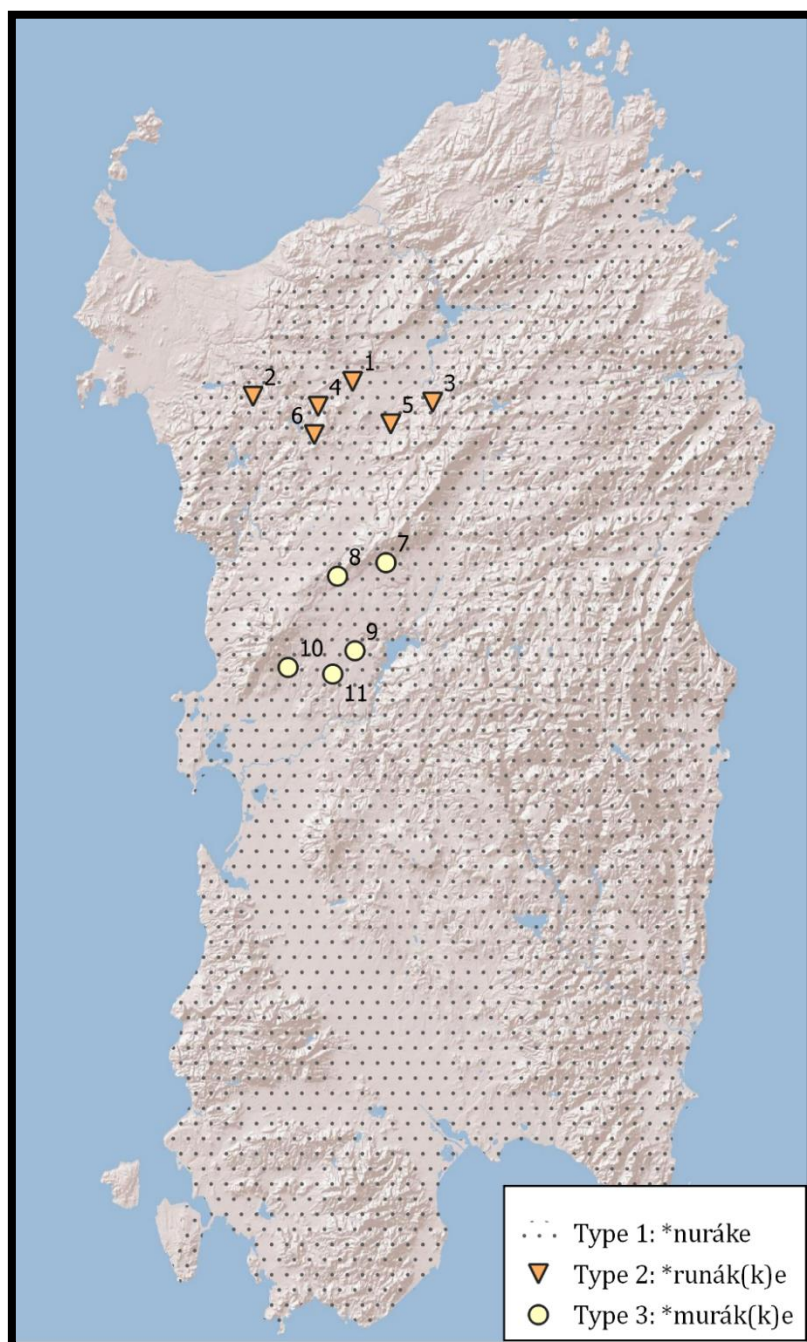


Figure 5.2.2: Nuraghe

That *\*nurák(e)* must have been the original form of this word, is demonstrated by the word *NURAC* found in a Roman inscription on the nuraghe *Aidu Entos* in Bortigali (Gasparini 1992: 303–306). This inscription also makes *\*nuráke* one of the very few Sardinian words of proposed pre-Roman origin of which we can be certain that they were actually in use in a form and meaning similar to that attested in modern Sardinian. Wagner (DES II: 176–179) discusses and rejects a range of proposed etymologies that need not all be repeated here. At any rate, etymologies deriving *\*nurák(e)* from a Latin formation, such as from *mūrus* ‘wall’ (cf. Flechia 1872: 9), or from *honor* ‘honor’ (cf. REW 4171), can be put aside.

The pre-Roman etymologies are not without problems either. Wagner’s (DES II: 176) analysis of *nuráke* containing a pre-Roman suffix *-áke* is exclusively based on the presumed presence of this suffix in other words (§ 9.2.2.1). While it is not impossible that *nuráke* originally consists of more than a single morpheme, there is no direct evidence for this — unless one accepts Terracini’s (1936: 55) and Hubschmid’s (1953: 45–47) connection of *nuráke* to Srd. *núrra* ‘chasm, shaft; pile’ (§ 5.1.1), which is not particularly convincing semantically. Blasco Ferrer’s (2010a: 108–109, 115) analysis of *\*nuráke* as consisting of *\*nur* ‘(pile of) rocks’ and the Basque plural suffix *-ak* is to be rejected in any case, because nominal plurality in Basque is originally exclusively marked on definite determiners and not on nouns (Trask 1997: 90, 198–200).

For methodological reasons outlined in § 2.1.2.1, I do not think the various toponyms starting in *Nor-*, *Nur-* etc. that have been compared to *nuráke*, are indicative of anything (cf. DES II: 176–178 and refs.). In conclusion, Battisti’s (1955: 477) and Wagner’s (DES II: 178–179) observation that the etymology of *nuráke* has not yet been satisfactorily clarified, still applies.

### 5.2.3 Pile of rocks

| Reconstruction                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Forms                                                                      |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>*marganiòne</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | DES (II: 74): <i>marganġòni</i> , <i>mraganġòì</i> (Camp.) ‘pile of rocks’ |
| This word is formally identical with Camp. <i>marganġòni</i> ‘large eel’ << Sic. <i>maragghiuni</i> ‘male moray eel’ (DES II: 74). This must be coincidental however. Wagner (DES II: 74) considers this word “probably pre-Roman” and compares several similar Sardinian toponyms, such as <i>Morgongiori</i> and <i>Margangioni</i> . I am not convinced by Wagner’s (DES II: 72) suggestion that it is related to Camp. <i>marayòni</i> ‘rock crevice’ (§ 5.1.20), as there are significant semantic and formal discrepancies. On the basis of the current data, not much more can be said about this word. |                                                                            |

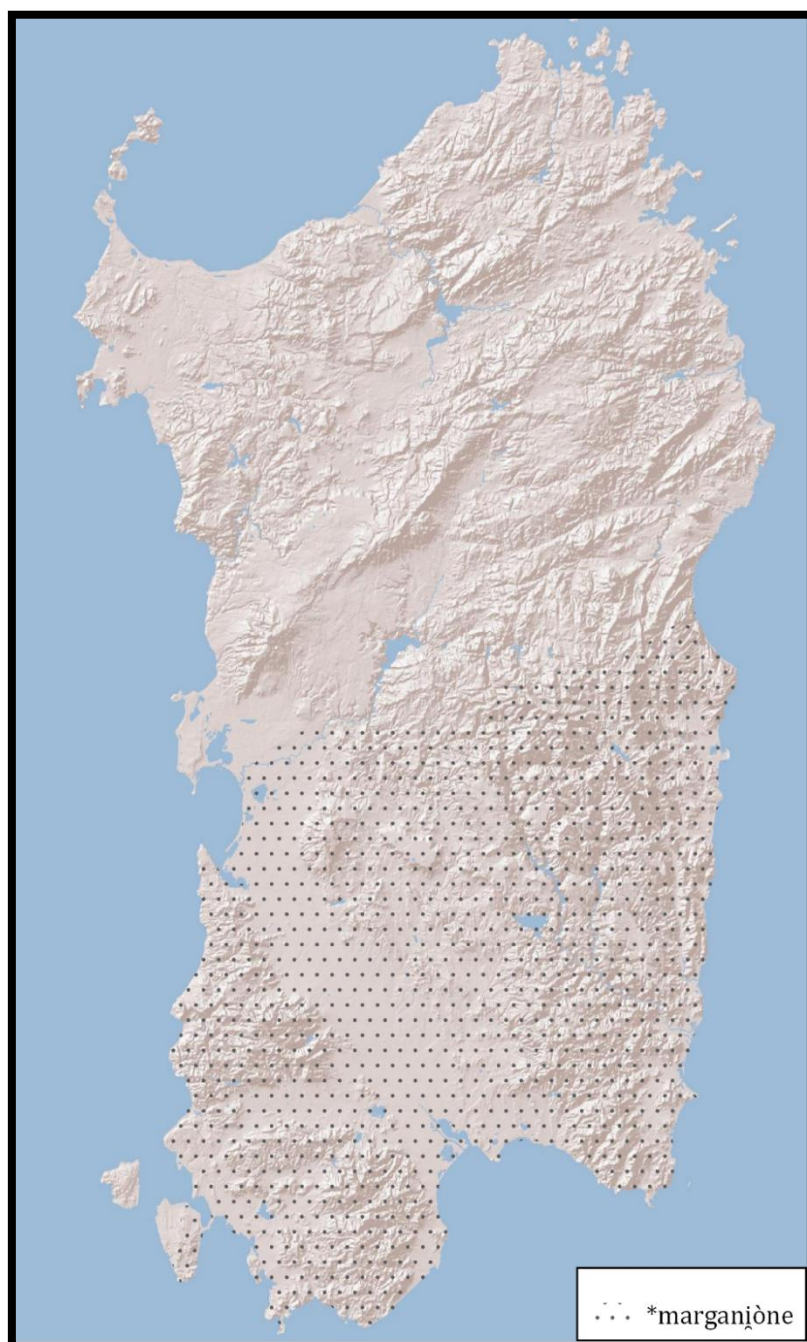


Figure 5.2.3: Pile of rocks

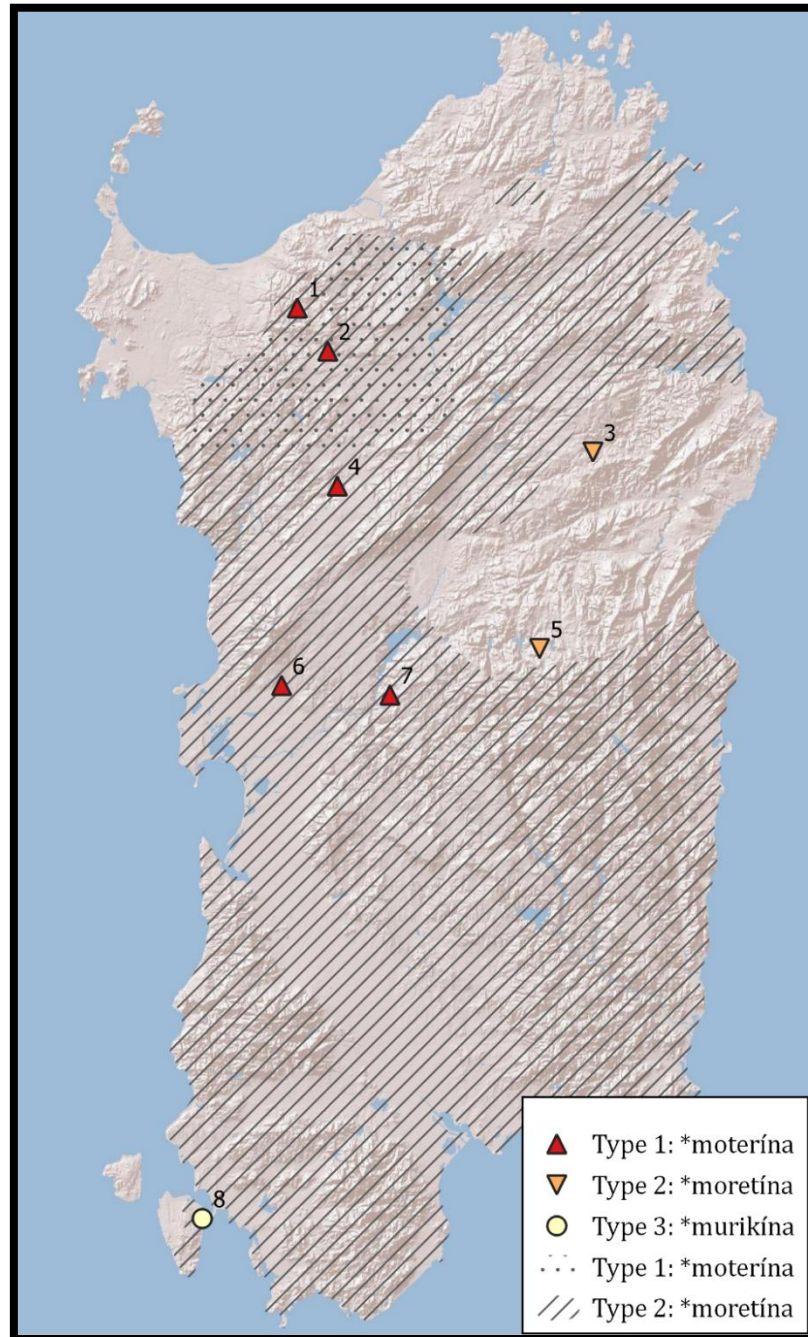


Figure 5.2.4: Pile of rocks; dry stone wall

## 5.2.4 Pile of rocks; dry stone wall

| Reconstruction       | Forms                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
|----------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1: * <i>moterína</i> | DES (II: 127–128): <i>mođerína</i> (NLog., 1: Osilo, 2: Ploaghe, 4: Bonorva), <i>muđería</i> (6: Milis), <i>muđerína</i> (7: Busachi) ‘pile of rocks, dry stone wall’                                                |
| 2: * <i>moretína</i> | DES (II: 127–128): <i>moređína</i> , <i>muređína</i> (Log., Camp.), <i>moretína</i> (3: Bitti), <i>muretína</i> (5: Fonni) ‘id.’<br>Paulis (1987: 515): <i>moridína</i> (Log., Camp.), <i>muritína</i> (Nuor.) ‘id.’ |
| 3: * <i>murikína</i> | DES (II: 127–128): <i>muriyína</i> [ <i>de βèrða</i> ] (8: Sant’Antioco) ‘id.’                                                                                                                                       |

These words can probably all be derived from original \**moretína* (type 2), as it is still found in Bitti (3). The shift of pretonic *-o-* > *-u-* could be due to influence from *múru* ‘wall’ (DES II: 128). The forms in type 1 show a metathesis, which is common in Sardinian (Wagner 1941a: 242–244). Wagner (DES II: 128) derives these forms from a hypothetical pre-Roman base \**mora*, for which he adduces as evidence Cors. *mora*, *mola* ‘pile of rocks or wood’,<sup>210</sup> Tusc. *mora* ‘id.’, Laz. *mora* (Castelmadama) ‘boulder, very big rock’, Sp. *morón* ‘small hillock’, Pg. *moiroiço*, *moiroiço* ‘pile, mound’ etc. (cf. Jud 1911: 11 fn. 2). The ending *-etína* found in the Sardinian forms could have been extended from Lat. *parietina* ‘of walls; old fallen-down wall’, as Corominas (DCEC IV: 147 fn. 8) proposes. DCEC (IV: 146) also compares Sp. *morena*, Pg. *moreia* ‘pile of plant material’, Gal. *moreas* ‘the little piles of rocks that are made on plots of land when they are being worked’,<sup>211</sup> Frpr. *morêna* (Savoy), *mořána* (Vaux) ‘bump which forms at the lower edge of a sloping field; glacier moraine’, and Bq. *more(a)* (found in toponyms), *mora* ‘cairn, pile of rocks; dolmen’ (cf. Michelena 1969: 23–25). Hubschmid (1943: 150–151) and FEW (VI/III: 237b) want to derive all Romance forms of the type \**mor-ena* from a base \**mürr-* ‘snout, muzzle’, but the single *-r-* in many of the forms denoting ‘pile’ etc. as well as the *-o-* vocalism in Basque and in Sardinian make this rather problematic. I agree with Corominas’ (DCEC IV: 146a) suggestion that the two word families may partly have been conflated by the rather common semantic development of ‘nose, muzzle’ to ‘muzzle-shaped rock, rounded hill’, as found for instance in Prov. *mourre* (DCEC IV: 146a).

Wagner’s (DES II: 130) link to the Corsican and Tuscan forms is formally and semantically convincing, and we may add Bq. *more(a)*, *mora* ‘pile of rocks’, as

<sup>210</sup> Also ‘haystack’, ‘heap of wheat after threshing’ and ‘mound of earth’ (BDLC: s.v. Cors. *mora*).

<sup>211</sup> “[L]os montoncitos de piedras que se hacen en las heredades cuando las trabajan.”

well as the various Ibero-Romance and Gallo-Romance formations of the type *\*mor-ena* denoting artificial piles and/or natural piles like moraines. The most widely dispersed meaning is that of an artificial stacking of rocks. Thus, while a derivation from Lat. *mūrus* would seem attractive for the Sardinian forms like Log., Camp. *muređina*, the difficulty of explaining -o- in the other forms, as well as the existence of semantically and formally very similar formations requiring *\*mora* in other Romance languages, makes a shared pre-Roman origin of these forms more probable. It is nevertheless important to be aware of chance similarities in such a phonologically simple base as this one, the risk of which is clearly pointed out by Corominas (DCEC IV: 146) for Sp. *morón* ‘hillock’,<sup>212</sup> and of which unrelated Lat. *mūrus* ‘wall’ < PIE *\*(H)moi-ro-* (de Vaan 2008: 396) is an example as well.

#### 5.2.5 Source

| Reconstruction   | Forms                                                                                                                                                                 |
|------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1: <i>*míṣṣa</i> | DES (II: 120): <i>míttsa</i> (Camp.), <i>míntsa</i> (3: Gesturi, 5: Escalaplano, 6: Siurgus, 7: Suelli), <i>míṣṣa</i> <sup>213</sup> (9: Villaputzu) ‘source, spring’ |
|                  | AIS (852): <i>míttsa</i> (1: Milis, 2: Busachi, 4: Mogoro, 8: Villacidro), <i>mítsa</i> (10: Cagliari), <i>míca</i> [ <i>i akwa</i> ] ‘id.’                           |

This word was originally proposed by Guarnerio (1906: 245) to continue *\*mītia* ‘wilted’ << Lat. *mītis* ‘ripe, mellow etc.’, which is widespread in Romance (cf. REW 5614). Wagner (1997: 159; 1957: 105–106; DES II: 121) expresses his doubts about this etymology on the basis of the semantic distance between ‘wilted’ and ‘water source’, and instead proposed a derivation from Pun. *\*mīṣṣā*, which would be a deverbal noun from the root *\*yṣ* ‘to exit’. This etymology was discussed from a Semitist point of view by Friedrich (1957: 223), who argued that a more likely Punic source form would be the cognate to Hebr. מֵצֵא *mōṣā* ‘exit (of water)’, from the same root *\*yṣ* ‘to exit’. According to Friedrich (1957: 223), the -i-vocalism of Srd. *míttsa* could reflect raising and fronting of original *\*mōṣā* to *\*mūṣā* > *\*mūṣō*, supposedly attested as *mysehi* in Plautus’ *Poenulus* (931) (cf. Argyolas 2010: 27). This specific form however is analyzed by Krahmalkov (2000: 303; 2001: 159) as *mysethi* ‘I have come’.<sup>214</sup>

<sup>212</sup> DCEC (IV: 146a) explains this as a back-formation from *desmoronar* ‘to crumble’.

<sup>213</sup> The dialect of Villaputzu, in the Sarrabus, does not have -ṣ- as a phoneme (Contini 1987: 560). This form should probably be *míttsa* too.

<sup>214</sup> For yet other interpretations, see Mensching (1997: 295 fn. 10).

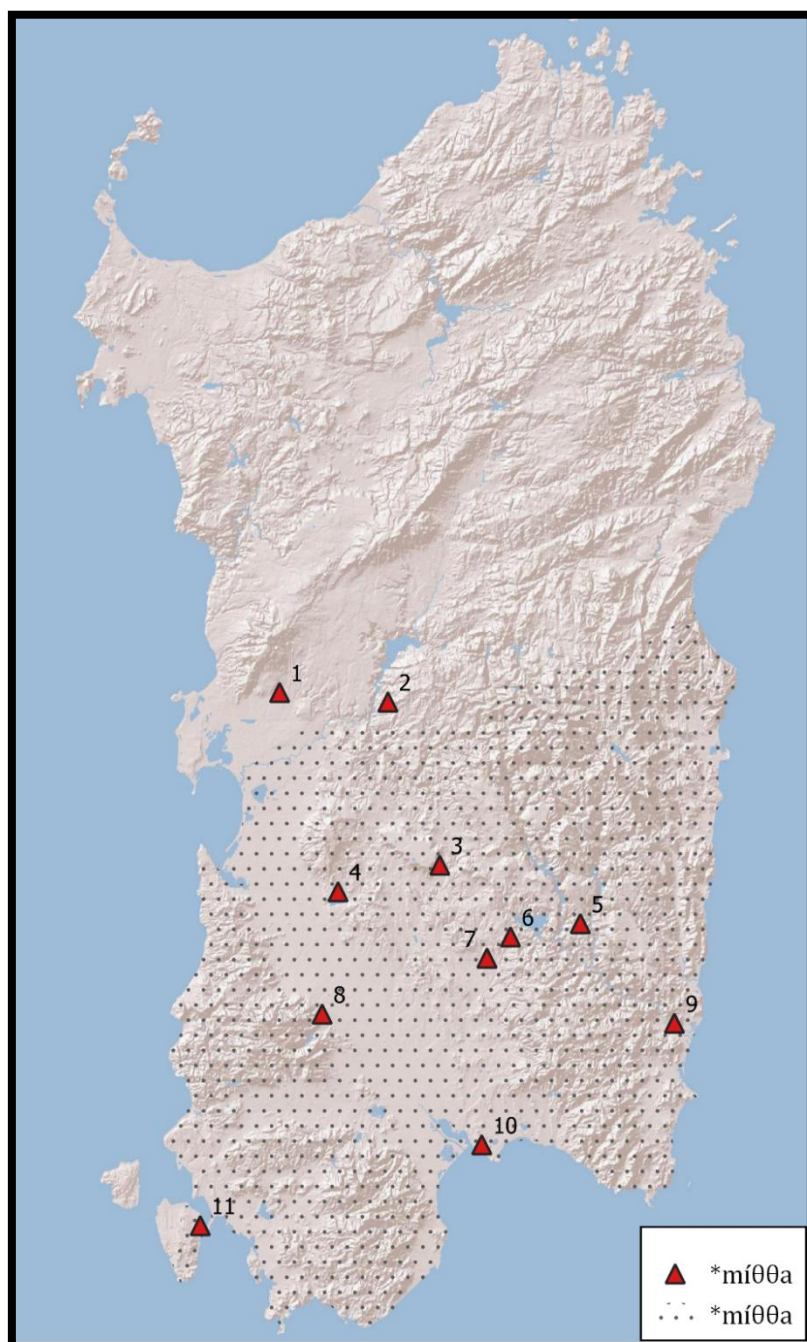


Figure 5.2.5: Source

On the basis of the uncertainties regarding the reading of the form *mysehi* and phonology of potential Punic source word, Mensching (1997) returns to Guarnerio's original etymology, and shows parallels within Romance for the use of this very etymon in the meaning 'wet, swampy area' or even 'pond' (Mensching 1997: 298–301). It thus appears that a Punic origin is not necessary after all.