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The pre-Roman elements of the Sardinian lexicon
Swanenvleugel, C.

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7 Miscellaneous

This chapter contains all words that are not easily categorized into one of the earlier chapters. Those in § 7.1 refer to body parts or bodily features in the broadest sense. The rest is subsumed under § 7.2.

7.1 Physical

7.1.1 Blind

Reconstruction	Forms
<i>*θúrpu</i>	DES (II: 555): <i>θúrpu</i> (Nuor.), <i>túrpu</i> (Log.), <i>tsrúppu</i> (Camp.) 'blind'
	AIS (188): <i>θúrpu</i> (1: Bitti, 2: Nuoro, 3: Dorgali, 5: Fonni, 8: Baunei), <i>túrpu</i> (2: Nuoro), <i>tsúrpu</i> (4: Santu Lussurgiu, 13: Escalaplano, 15: Cagliari, 16: Sant'Antioco), <i>tsrúppu</i> (6: Milis, 7: Busachi, 10: Laconi, 11: Mogoro, 14: Villacidro), <i>čúrpu</i> (9: Desulo), <i>issúrpu</i> (12: Perdasdefogu) 'id.'

This word for 'blind' is attested already in the Condaghe di San Pietro di Silki, in the personal name *Petru Natale su thurpu* (Bonazzi 1900: sec. 433). In the northern part of the Logudorese-speaking area, we find forms of the type *tséyu* 'blind' (AIS: 188; DES: 555). These must be loans from It. *cieco*, which suggests that cognates of *θúrpu* were once present in the north of the island too. REW (9006) considers Lat. *turpis* 'ugly, repulsive etc.' as a possible origin, but notes that it can only work if the initial *t-* of **turpu* was assimilated to the *θ-* of *θóppu* 'lame' in an original syntagm like **túrpu e θóppu* 'blind and lame'. This is formally and semantically unconvincing, and Wagner (1930: 137) therefore rejects the etymology. On formal grounds, Wagner (1930: 137) also rejects a derivation from Lat. *orbis* 'bereft, devoid', which is the source for other words meaning 'blind' in various Romance languages (REW 6086).

On the basis of the onset in **θ-*, Wagner (1930: 137; DES II: 555) takes this word to be of pre-Roman origin. Blasco Ferrer (1999: 68) instead proposes it to be the reflex of **supp(u)rus* << Lat. *suppūrāre* 'to form pus, to fester'. This requires a syncope to **supprus* and a subsequent metathesis to **surpus*. Additionally, a development of **s-* to **θ-* is needed to explain its outcomes *θ-*, *ts-*, *t-*.

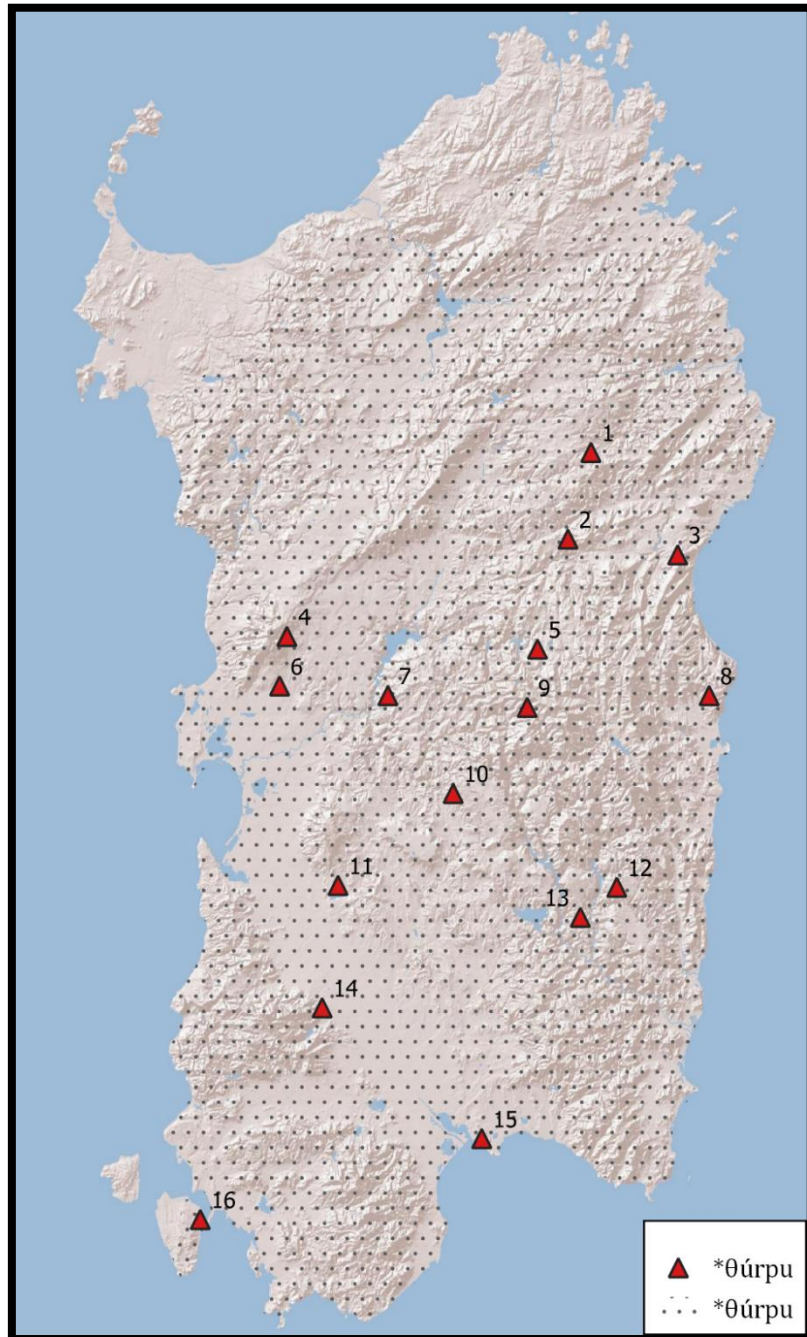


Figure 7.1.1: Blind

Whereas *ʒ- is admittedly attested as an irregular reflex of Latin *s-* in some words (cf. Paulis 1984b: 536–537), I agree with Areddu (2022: 263) that the hypothesized syncope would be unexpected in this position and that the semantic development from ‘build-up of pus, festering’ to ‘blind’ is not straightforward. Combined with the fact that the required Latin form **suppūrus* is not actually attested, Blasco Ferrer’s (1999: 68) etymology fails to convince.

Areddu (2022: 267, 277) returns to a substrate origin, as proposed by Wagner (DES II: 555), assuming it is the outcome of a pre-Roman introduction of Gr. τυφλός ‘blind’ in Sardinia.²³⁴ In order to make this work formally, he argues that there must have been a by-form *θυπλός, with a different dissimilation of the aspiration in original *θυφλός. While the similarity between Srd. θύρpu etc. and Gr. τυφλός is indeed striking, there are some issues with this account as well. One is the development of *-l- > -r- in the hypothetical form *θulpu, which purportedly arose after the metathesis of *-l- of Gr. *θυπλός.²³⁵ Whereas -r- is the regular outcome of *-l- before a consonant in almost all dialects of Sardinian, *-l- is usually preserved in all contexts in Baunei; e.g. *linnálβu* ‘white poplar’ (< Lat. *lignum album*), *splýu* ‘mirror’ (< Lat. **spiculum*), *dulče* ‘sweet’ (< Lat. *dulcis*) (AIS: 585, 675, 1266; DES I: 106, 483, 682). Areddu (2022: 269) adduces some cases in which there is an alternation between -r- and -l- in non-inherited words shared between Latin and Greek, but Wigman (2023: 346–349) argues that these are likely due to the intervention of a third language rather than direct Greek loans in Latin.

An additional problem is the rendering of hypothetical Gr. θ- as Srd. *ʒ-. There is indeed good evidence for this in words of Byzantine origin (Wagner 1941a: 109), but by this time Greek -θ- would have been fricative [θ], whereas a much earlier pre-Roman Classical Greek loan would still have had the aspirated plosive realization [t^h]. In light of the fact that in many early Greek loans in Latin original Gr. -θ- is realized as Lat. -t- (Wagner 1941a: 109), it is not at all self-evident that a Classical Greek loan containing [t^h] would appear with *ʒ- in Sardinian. Moreover, the evidence for a substantial linguistic presence of Greek before the Byzantine

²³⁴ Gr. τυφλός ‘blind’ < **d^hub^h-lo-* itself has a well-established IE etymology. Its root **d^heub^h-* is further attested in OIr. *dub* ‘black’, OHG *toub* ‘deaf’ etc. (Beekes 2010: 1521).

²³⁵ Note that in Areddu’s (2022) scenario this metathesis must have been of pre-Roman date. If it had taken place within Sardinian, where metathesis is very common, we would expect the *-p- to have lenited to **-β- in its original post-vocalic position in Campidanese and Logudorese; cf. Lat. *pētra* ‘rock’ > Log. *pēðra*, *prèða*, Camp. *pèrda* ‘id.’ (DES II: 254).

period is scarce. In conclusion, while a comparison between Srd. *θúrpu* ‘blind’ and Gr. τυφλός ‘id.’ might seem attractive at first sight, it is fraught with problems. Quite possibly, we are rather dealing with a chance similarity. So far therefore, Wagner’s (DES II: 555) proposal that Srd. **θúrpu* originated in a pre-Roman language remains the best option.

7.1.2 Bristle (of pigs)

Reconstruction	Forms
* <i>θúlla</i>	DES (II: 553): <i>tsúḍḍa</i> (Gallur., Camp.), <i>tsúḍḍu</i> (Sass.), <i>túḍḍa</i> (Log.), <i>θúḍḍa</i> (Nuor.) ‘bristle hair (of pigs and wild boars)’; [sar] <i>θúḍḍar</i> [dessu <i>póḍḍike</i>] (pl.) (6: Nuoro) ‘hangnail’, <i>túḍḍa</i> (Log., 5: Nule) ‘but, shoot, sprout (of plants)’ ²³⁶
	AIS (1093): <i>tsúḍḍi</i> (pl.) (1: Tempio, 2: Sassari), <i>túḍḍa</i> (3: Ploaghe, 5: Nuoro, 8: Macomer), <i>θúḍḍa</i> (4: Bitti, 10: Fonni, 13: Baunei), <i>tsúḍḍa</i> (7: Dorgali, 9: Santu Lussurgiu, 11: Milis, 12: Busachi, 15: Mogoro, 17: Escalaplano, 19: Villacidro, 21: Cagliari), <i>čúḍḍa</i> (14: Desulo), <i>súḍḍa</i> (16: Perdasdefogu), <i>zúḍḍa</i> (22: Sant’Antioco) ‘bristle hair (of pigs and wild boars)’ Böhne (1950: 115): [iz] <i>itsúḍḍas</i> (20: San Vito) ‘bristle hairs (of pigs and wild boars); inflamed eyelash’

The forms presented above correspond regularly to each other and go back to **θúlla*.²³⁷ Wagner (1941a: 115 fn. 1; DES II: 554) does not accept Salvioni’s (1914: 585) derivation from **seθúḍḍa* < **saeteulla* << **saeteus* << Lat. *saeta* ‘bristle’. He also opposes a derivation from *saetula* (Jud *apud* DES II: 554), or from the Latin plant name *sulla* (Jud *apud* DES II: 554).²³⁸ He likewise rejects a connection with Gr.Hes. θύλλος, θύλλα ‘shoots’, since the meaning ‘bud, shoot, sprout’, found in the Sardinian forms, is an extension of the original meaning ‘bristle’ and is restricted to Logudorese. According to Wagner (DES II: 554), this word has “every appearance” of being of pre-Roman origin. This opinion was presumably inspired by the initial **θ*- and the lack of a convincing etymology.

²³⁶ With many derivations; see DES (II: 553).

²³⁷ One exception is *tsúḍḍa* in Dorgali (7). If from **θúlla*, we would rather expect ***túḍḍa* or ***θúḍḍa*. I have no explanation for this.

²³⁸ I have not been able to trace Wagner’s (DES II: 554) reference to a publication by Jud in *Romània* (43: 194).

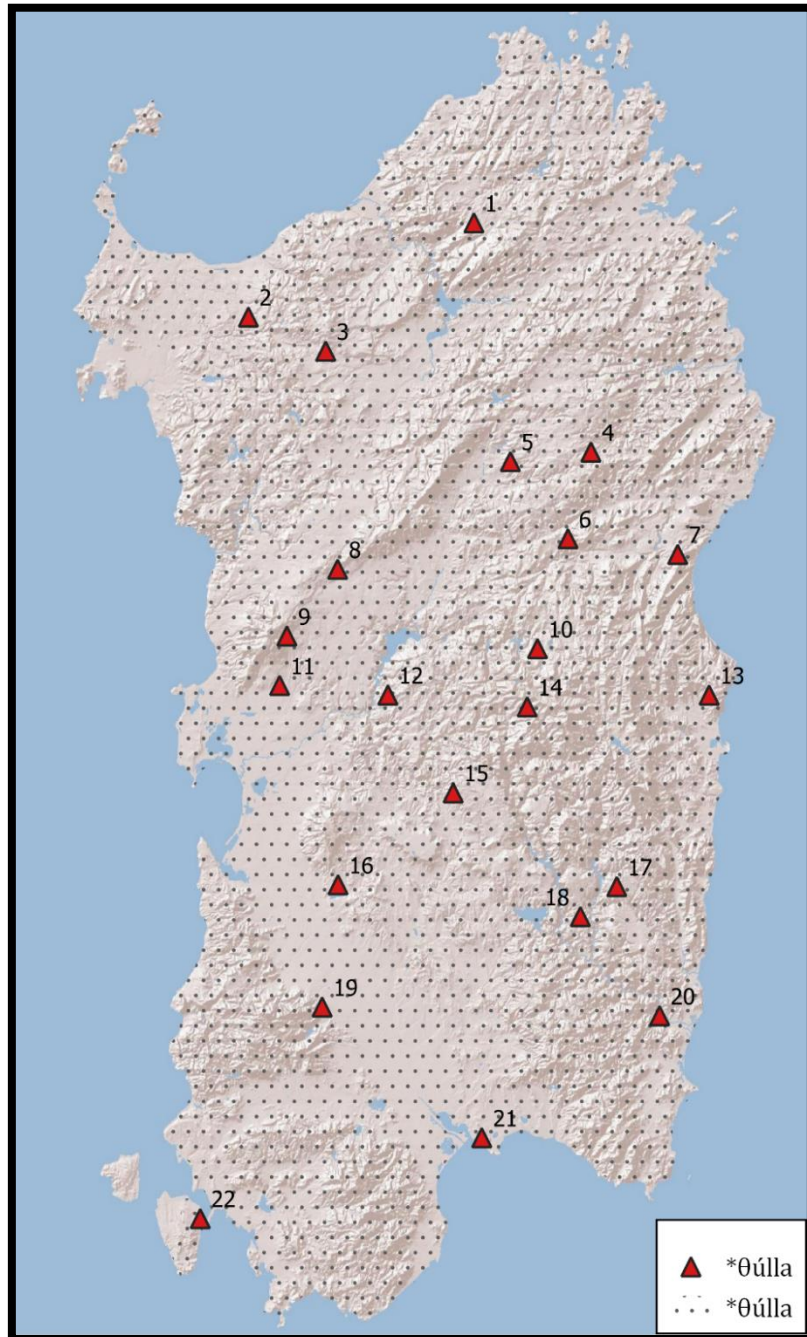


Figure 7.1.2: Bristle

Wagner (DES II: 554) instead proposes a connection to Snh. *əzzut* ‘pubic and armpit hairs’ (cf. Renisio 1932: 320). Formally, however, the comparison between this word and Srd. *ḡúdda* etc. < **ḡúlla* is by no means more attractive than the etymologies proposed by Salvioni and Jud. The etymology of this Sardinian word remains obscure.

7.1.3 Cheek

Reconstruction	Forms
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* <i>tuttúrru</i>	DES (II: 537): <i>tuttúrru</i> (Log., 2: Orosei) ‘cheek’, (3: Olzai) ‘pig missing one ear’; <i>tutturòne</i> (1: Siniscola) ‘mumps’
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The original meaning of this word appears to be ‘cheek’.²³⁹ Wagner (DES II: 537) follows Hubschmid (1953: 75–76) in connecting it to Bq. *tutur* (Biscay) ‘crest’, *tuturru* (Navarre) ‘point, summit’ etc. According to Trask (2008: 344), however, these Basque forms belong to a larger group of expressive formations with reduplication of *-t-* or *-k-*. Thus, next to *tutur* ‘crest’ we find *kukur* (Biscay, Navarre) ‘id.’, and next to *tuturru* ‘point, summit’ we find *kukutz* (Biscay), *kokor* (Labourd) ‘id.’ (Trask 2008: 344). This indicates that the Basque formations adduced by Hubschmid are rather recent. Moreover, the comparison between Srd. ‘cheek’ and Bq. ‘crest; summit’ is not at all straightforward semantically. In my view, a chance similarity between the Basque and Sardinian forms is more likely. This does not exclude a pre-Roman origin for Srd. *tuttúrru*, but the evidence is restricted to the absence of an etymology and perhaps its somewhat peculiar phonological structure. At any rate, this word must be kept separate from Srd. *tútturu* ‘round object; rolling pin etc.’ (DES II: 538).

²³⁹ Cf. also the various verbal derivations listed in DES (II: 537), meaning ‘to slap on the cheek’.

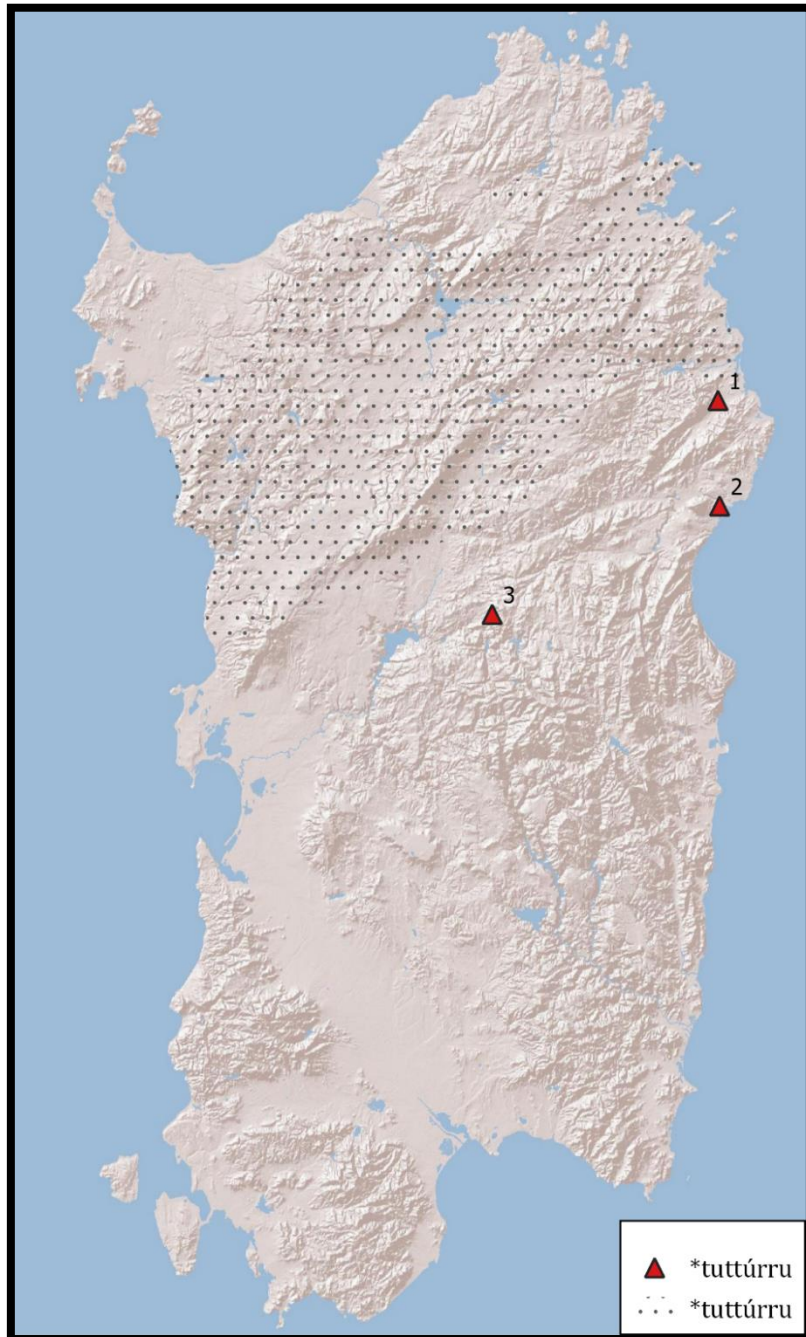


Figure 7.1.3: Cheek

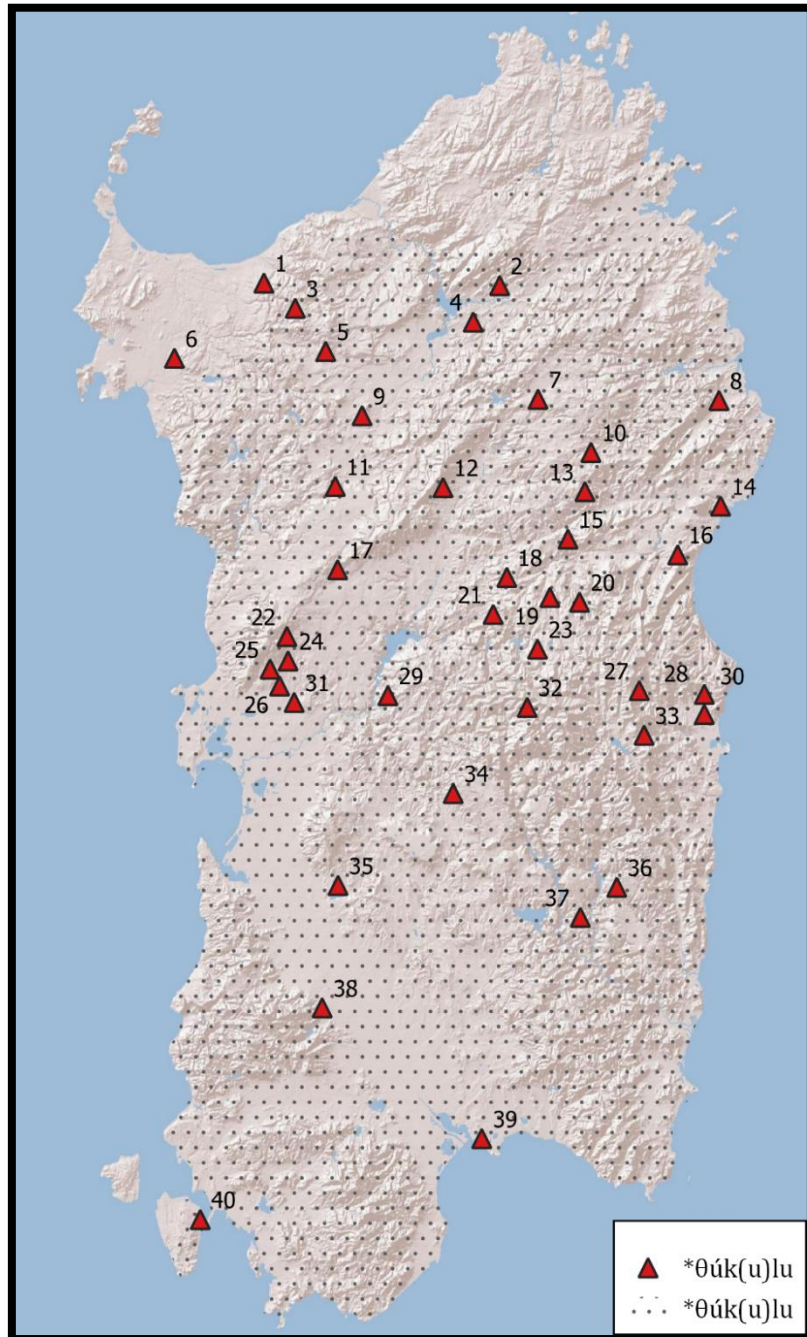


Figure 7.1.4: Neck

7.1.4 Neck²⁴⁰

Reconstruction	Forms
* <i>ǵúk(u)lu</i>	DES (II: 553): <i>túǵu</i> (NLog., 1: Sennori, 4: Oschiri, 7: Buddusò, 9: Mores, 11: Bonorva), <i>túǵu</i> (2: Berchidda), <i>túyu</i> (3: Osilo, 5: Ploaghe), (<i>b</i>) <i>utúyu</i> (6: Olmedo), <i>ǵrúk(k)u</i> (8: Siniscola, 10: Bitti, 13: Orune, 14: Orosei, 15: Nuoro), <i>trúyu</i> (Log., 12: Bono, 17: Macomer, 25: Seneghe), <i>ǵúčču</i> (18: Orani) <i>ǵúkru</i> (19: Mamojada, 23: Fonni), <i>ǵúlǵu</i> (20: Orgosolo), <i>tsúkkru</i> (22: Olzai), <i>tsúyu</i> (Camp.), <i>tsríyu</i> (24: Bonarcado, 31: Bauladu) <i>ǵúyru</i> (27: Talana, 28: Triei), <i>ǵúyulu</i> (30: Baunei), <i>ǵríyu</i> (33: Villa-grande Strisaili) ‘neck’
	AIS (118): <i>ǵríxu</i> (16: Dorgali), <i>tsúyu</i> (22: Santu Lussurgiu, 29: Busachi, 35: Mogoro, 37: Escalaplano, 38: Villacidro, 39: Cagliari), <i>tsríyu</i> (26: Milis, 34: Laconi), <i>čúyu</i> (32: Desulo), <i>súyu</i> (36: Perdasdefogu), [<i>su</i>] <i>zúyu</i> (40: Sant’Antioco) ‘id.’

This is the common Sardinian word for neck. It is present in all Sardinian dialects, but not in the Sardo-Corsican dialects spoken on the island (cf. Sass. *lu ggóǵǵu*, Gallur. *lu kóǵǵu*, AIS 118). All forms go back to earlier **ǵúk(u)lu*. Despite the perfect phonological regularity between the forms and their omnipresence in Sardinian, both of which might be indications for an inherited origin, **ǵúk(u)lu* cannot easily be shown to derive from any Latin formation. However, there are various etymologies that try to do exactly that.

Wagner’s (DES II: 553) derivation from Lat. *iugulum* ‘collarbone’, with a prefixed **ǵ-*, requires a number of assumptions. First of all, we would have to assume the prefixation of an inherited word with a non-inherited and probably pre-Roman element **ǵ(i)-* (cf. § 9.1.2). Second, it requires the assumption of a semantic development from ‘collarbone’ to ‘neck’, which is possible. Finally, it is necessary to assume the devoicing of *-g-*: *jugulum* >> *juculum* >> **ǵ-juculum* > **ǵúkulu*. This too is rather trivial in Sardinian, where many words get the ending *-*k(u)lu* secondarily on the basis of the frequent inherited suffix *-culus* (cf. Wagner 1952: 29–30).

Blasco Ferrer (1999: 67) instead believes Srd. **ǵúk(u)lu* ‘neck’ to regularly go back to Lat. *sucula* ‘screw/mechanism for lifting a wine/oil press’ (cf. Lewis & Short 1879: s.v. *sucula*). Not only is this semantically quite a leap, his argument that *ǵ-* would be the regular outcome of **s-* is exclusively based on *suglu* he adduces

²⁴⁰ These data are discussed in a similar fashion in Swanenvleugel (2024: 255–256).

from Baunei. However, not only is the form *ḡúyulu* with *ḡ-* documented for Baunei in AIS (118) and DES (II: 553), the *s-* in *suglu* could be from the neighbouring Ogliastran dialects, where it is in fact the regular outcome of **-ḡ-* (Wagner 1941a: 107). Blasco Ferrer's (1999) etymology does not resolve all problems surrounding this word.

If Wagner's etymology is correct, *ḡúkru* etc. 'neck' is another possible candidate for the secondary *ḡ(i)-*prefixation of a word inherited from Latin. However, Sardinian *-ḡ-* is the outcome of *-tj-* or *-kj-* (Latin <ci>) before a vowel, so in the case of *jugulum*, an initial **t-* or **k-* would work equally well. Additionally, we have no information about what the regular outcome of **ḡju-* or **ḡju-* would be, since a sequence **tjju-/kju-* did not occur in Latin. We are, as a result, forced to choose between **tjúkulu/*kjúkulu* that is phonetically warranted but morphologically opaque, and **ḡjúkulu* which is phonetically uncertain, but at least has some parallels when it comes to its derivation. For now it seems best to regard this word as no more than a possible example of secondary **ḡi-*addition, but at least a partial pre-Roman origin is plausible.

7.1.5 Rash, eczema

Reconstruction	Forms
<i>*ḡèrna</i>	DES (II: 544–545): <i>attèrra</i> (Log.), <i>tsèrra</i> (Camp.), <i>ḡèrra</i> (Nuor., 1: Bitti, 2: Dorgali, 4: Fonni, 7: Baunei) 'rash, eczema' AIS (683): <i>tsèrra</i> (3: Santu Lussurgiu, 5: Milis, 6: Busachi, 9: Laconi, 10: Mogoro, 13: Villacidro), <i>čèrra</i> (8: Desulo), <i>sèrra</i> (11: Perdasdefogu), <i>itsèrras</i> (pl., 12: Escalaplano), [<i>sa</i>] <i>zèrra</i> (14: Sant'Antioco) 'id.'

Lat. *zerna* 'rash, eczema etc.' is attested in various late Latin sources (cf. DES II: 544–545) and can be the regular source of the Sardinian forms. Wagner (DES II: 545) posits a pre-Indo-European origin for this Latin word. This is based on its initial *z-*, and on its irregular correspondence to *sarna* found in Isidore of Seville and continued by Sp. *sarna* (cf. DCEC V: 163–166), and by Bq. *sarra* 'rust, slag'. However this may be, it is clear that similar forms were widespread in the vulgar Latin of Roman Africa, Italy and the Western Mediterranean (DCEC V: 164). I see no reason to assume that Lat. *zerna* would have belonged to a pre-Roman Sardinian language. Srd. **ḡèrna* is therefore most likely inherited from late Latin *zerna*.

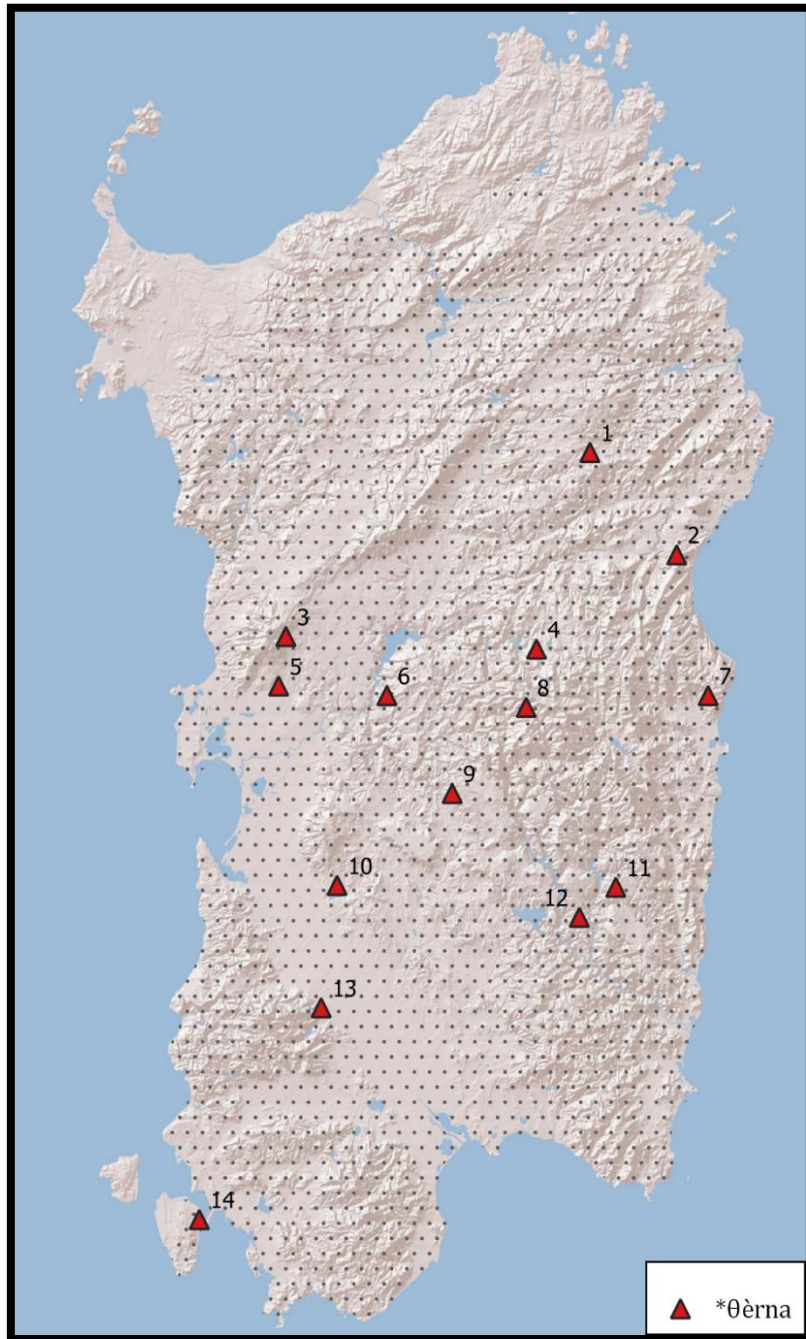


Figure 7.1.5: Rash, eczema

7.2 Other

7.2.1 Evil spirit

Reconstruction Forms

**turlío* DES (II: 526): *trullío* (1: Orgosolo), *turrío* (2: Fonni) 'evil spirit'

Wagner (DES II: 526) proposes a pre-Roman origin for this word. He does so for two reasons. One is its reference to a presumably pre-Christian superstition. The other is its final *-o*, which is rare in Sardinian nouns inherited from Latin (§ 8.1.5.2). These considerations are valid, and Wagner (DES II: 526) is likely right. The phonological discrepancy between the two attestations is reminiscent of Sardinian doublets like Log. *trúdda*, Camp. *túrra* < **trúlla*, **túrta* < Lat. *trulla* 'ladle' (Wagner 1941a: 173; DES II: 526). This suggests that the variation between *trullío* and *turrío* too is the result of a metathesis. It is not easy to establish the base form, but the fact that we find geminate *-ll-* in Orgosolo rather than ***-dd-* < **-ll-* suggests that *trullío* is the result of a metathesis from **turlío* after the change of original **-ll-* > *-dd-*.²⁴¹ The regularity of the development **-rl-* > *-rr-*, needed to explain *turrío* (2: Fonni) < **turlío*, is difficult to prove, since *-rl-* is a consonant cluster unknown to Latin. Still, *-rr-* is an outcome of **-rl-* in Campidanese forms like *méurra* 'blackbird' < **méurla* < *mérula*, after metathesis. It appears that a reconstruction **turlío* most easily explains all attested forms. Whether this in turn goes back to **turílo* vel sim. (like **méurla* < *mérula*) is impossible to say.

²⁴¹ It is possible that influence from forms like *trullú* 'rotten (of eggs)' played a role in the hypothetical metathesis from **turlío* to *trullío* (as suggested by DES II: 536).

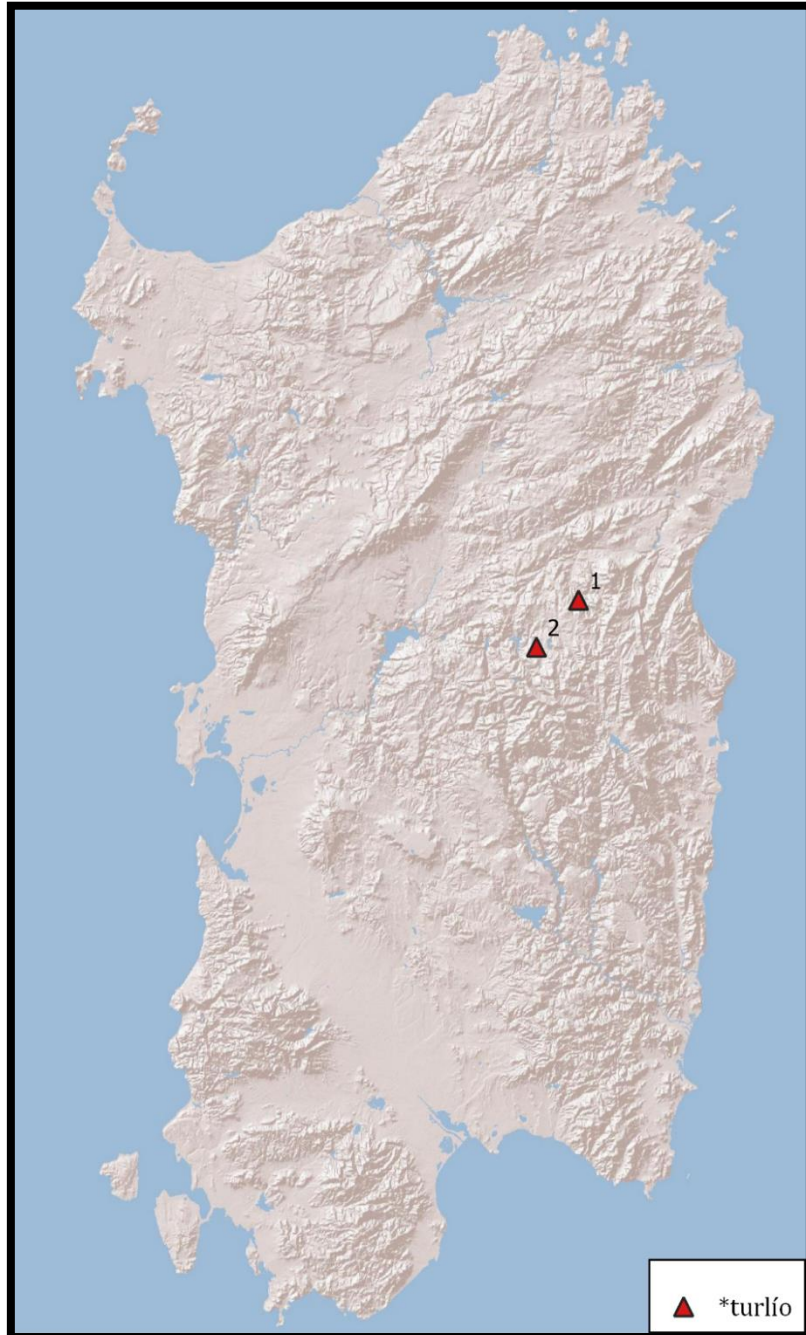


Figure 7.2.1: Evil spirit

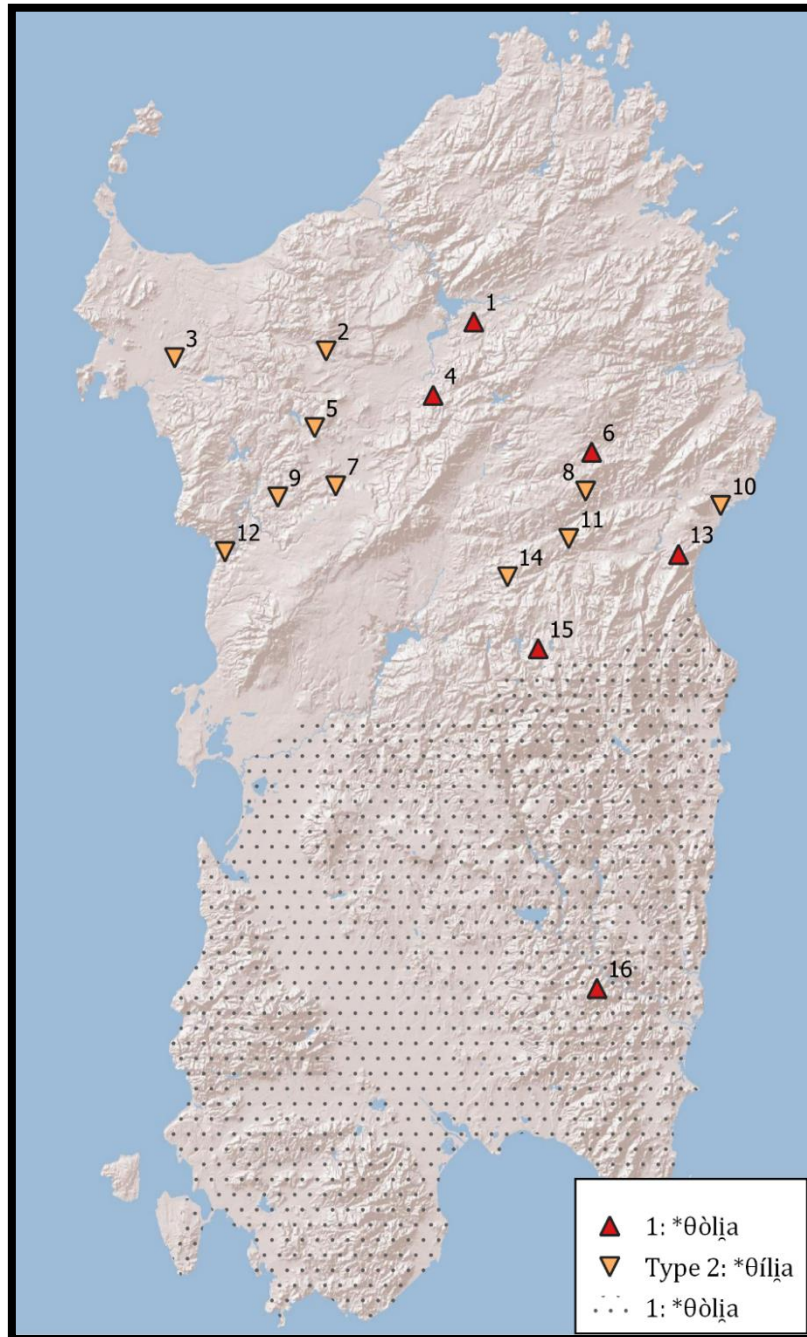


Figure 7.2.2: Film, layer

7.2.2 Film, layer

Reconstruction Forms

1: * <i>θòl̥ia</i>	DES (II: 549-50): <i>tòdza</i> (1: Oschiri, 4: Ozieri), <i>θòdza</i> (6: Bitti, 13: Dorgali), <i>θòǵǵa</i> (15: Fonni), <i>sòlla</i> (Camp., 16: Villasalto) ‘filth on one’s head, dandruff; any type of thin layer (e.g. of bread); in Dorgali also: ‘the woody part of hemp’; Villasalto: ‘snow flake’
2: * <i>θìl̥ia</i>	<i>tídza</i> (2: Ploaghe, 3: Olmedo, 5: Thiesi, 7: Bonorva, 9: Padria), <i>θídza</i> (8: Orune, 10: Orosei, 11: Nuoro, 14: Orani), <i>attídza</i> (12: Bosa) ‘filth on one’s head, dandruff; any type of thin layer (e.g. of bread)’

These forms for ‘dandruff; thin layer etc.’ are found across Sardinia. They occur in two types. Type 1 suggests a reconstruction **θòl̥ia*, type 2 instead **θìl̥ia* (cf. DES II: 550). The apparent vocalic alternation is hard to account for by any scenario involving a single etymology. Especially puzzling is the fact that, in certain regions, both types are found in neighboring towns (e.g. Bitti *θòdza* vs. Orune *θídza*). Jud (1914: 453 fn. 1) proposes a connection with Abruz. *zèlle* ‘ringworm’, Nap. *zella* ‘disease of the skin on the head’, which are of unknown origin. It is possible that these forms are somehow related to Srd. **θìl̥ia*, but a relation to **θòl̥ia* is formally difficult. All of this raises the suspicion that we might be dealing with the partial conflation of two etymologically originally distinct words, but their ultimate origin remains obscure.

7.2.3 Forked juniper trunk

Reconstruction Forms

* <i>dùri</i>	DES (I: 483): <i>dùri</i> (1: Nuoro, 2: Orgosolo) ‘forked trunk of a juniper tree with many side branches used to hang meat from’ Puddu (2023: s.v. <i>dùle</i>): <i>dùle</i> ‘dried or forked juniper tree used to hang tools from in a stable’
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Wagner (1921: 153–154) describes various types of wooden frames found mainly in *pinnetas* (i.e. shepherd’s huts) with horizontal bars to hang meat or other things from. Of these, the *dùri* is a specific type that is usually made of a juniper stem. In absence of an etymology, it is considered to be “possibly pre-Roman” by DES (I: 483). An indication for this might be its ending in *-i*, which is not frequent in the inherited lexicon (§ 8.1.5.1). The alternation between *dùri* and *dùle* is unexpected. Puddu (2023: s.v. *dùle*) does not provide a location for the form *dùle*. For lack of sufficient evidence, no more can be said about this word.

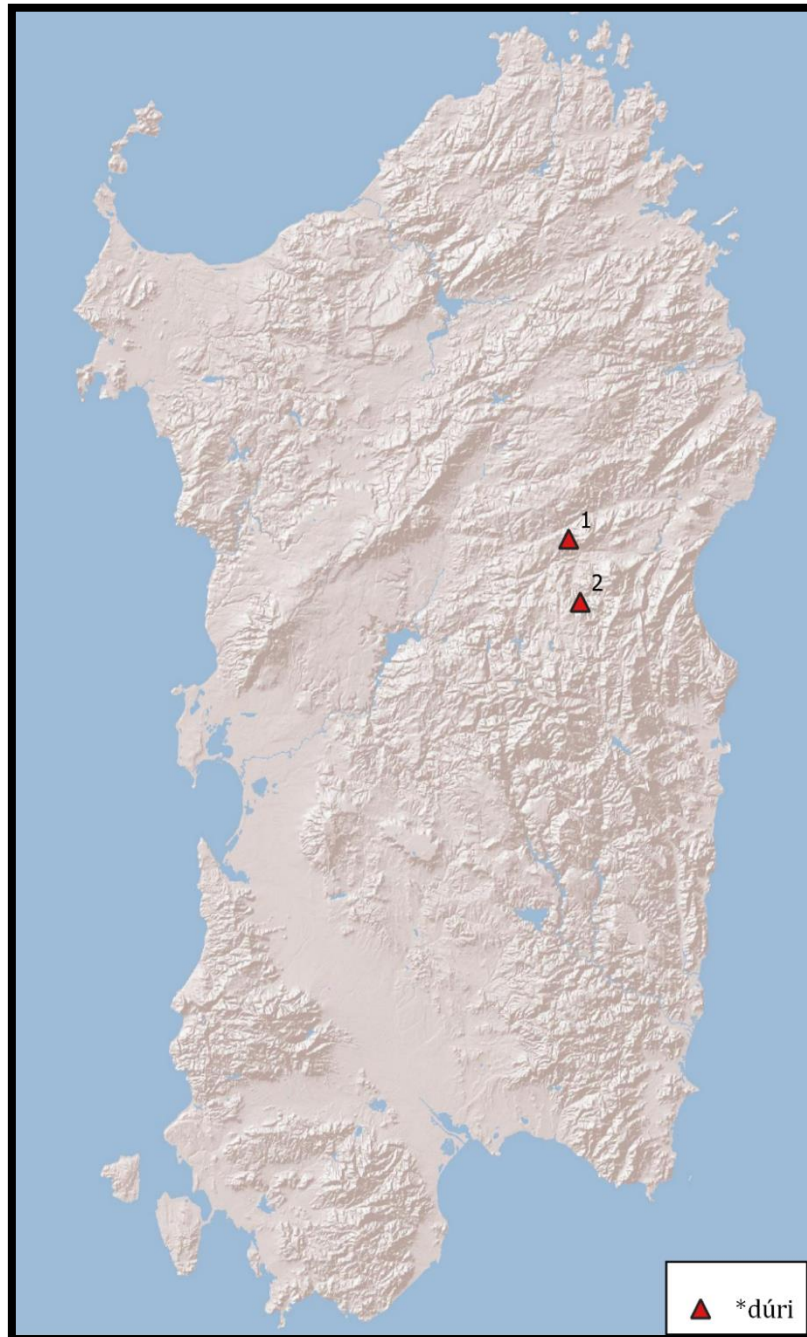


Figure 7.2.3: Forked juniper trunk

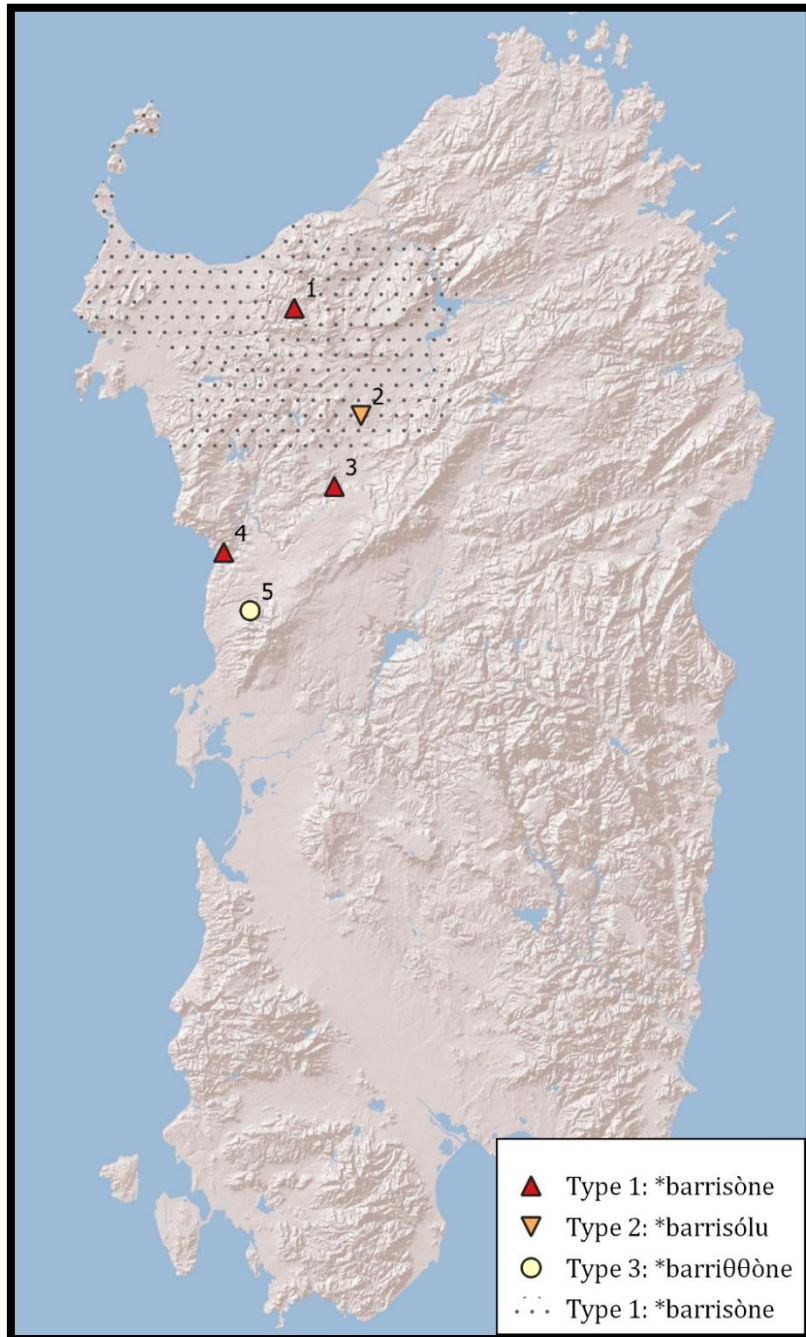


Figure 7.2.4: Tangle, bundle of wood

7.2.4 Tangle, bundle of wood

Reconstruction	Forms
1: <i>*barrisòne</i>	DES (I: 181–182): <i>barrasòni</i> (Sass.) ‘tangle of brushwood or shrubs used to seal off a gate’, <i>barrasòne</i> , <i>barisòne</i> (NLog.), <i>berrisòne</i> (1: Osilo, 3: Bonorva) ‘bundle of thorns; quantity of brushwood used to seal off breaches or entrances in the walls of a homestead’ Spano (1851: 203): <i>erisòne</i> (4: Bosa) ‘bundle of tangled wood used to seal off a passage’
2: <i>*barrisólu</i>	DES (181–182): <i>barrasólu</i> (2: Mores) ‘id.’ Casu (2011: s.v. <i>arresólu</i> , <i>barrasòne</i>): <i>arresólu</i> ‘bundle of thorns’; <i>barrasólu</i> ‘hawthorn (<i>Crataegus monogyna</i>)’
3: <i>*barriṣṣòne</i>	DES (181–182): <i>barrittsòne</i> (5: Cuglieri) ‘small load of wood that is transported by donkey’

Most forms listed above refer to tangles or bundles of spiny or impenetrable brushwood that are used to block some passage.²⁴² The forms in type 1 can most easily be derived from **bar(r)isòne*, with various vowel assimilations (e.g. in *barrasòne* and *berrisòne*) and loss of the initial *b-* due to generalization of post-vocalic forms (e.g. *erisòne*). Type 2 contains the same element **barris-*, but suffixed with *-ólu* < Lat. *-eolus* instead of the *-òne* found in type 1. Type 3 *barrittsòne* (5: Cuglieri) is likely the same as type 1, but with replacement of *-is-* by diminutive *-itts-* (cf. Wagner 1952: 28).

These words, which Wagner (DES I: 182) considers to be “certainly pre-Roman”, have previously been compared to Ibero-Romance forms of similar form and meaning. Notable comparanda are Pg. *barda* ‘fence made of intertwined branches and brambles’, Sp. *barda* ‘cover put over the fences of corrals’, Cat. *barda* ‘portable barrier to lock up livestock’ etc., Cat. *bardissa* ‘thicket; hedge’, among various others (DCEC I: 510; DECLC I: 644 45; Paulis 1992: 22). After Rohlfs (1927b: 402), Corominas (DCEC I: 510b) additionally compares Bq. *barra* ‘bar’, hypothesizing its original meaning to have been ‘barrier’ and noting that the alternation *-rr-* ~ *-rd-* is common in Iberian words of pre-Roman origin. However, Michelena (1990: 269) regards *barra* as an originally Romance word. At any rate, further probable comparanda are Occitan forms like OProv. *barta* ‘bush, brushwood’, Lang. *barto* (Lot-et-Garonne dep.) ‘hedge’, *bartas* (Aude dep., Hérault dep.) ‘hawthorn’ etc., which FEW (I: 262) reconstructs as **barrât-/*barrit-*. The proposal by

²⁴² Paulis (2008: 18–19) argues that the medieval Sardinian personal name *Barisone* is to be identified with this word.

FEW (I: 262) that this word is from Gaulish **barros*, and cognate to MW, OIr. *barr* ‘point, top, crest’ is semantically far-fetched. More likely is Rohlfs’ (1927b: 402; cf. also DCEC I: 510b, DECLC I: 645b) suggestion that it is of pre-Indo-European origin.²⁴³

The semantic correspondence between the Sardinian and the Ibero-Romance and Occitan forms is striking. For one, they all refer to fences or barriers made of tangled or intertwined plant material. If we assume a primary base **barr-/*bard-*, it must have been extended with an element **-is-* in Sardinia. This apparent suffix is attested in several other words of pre-Roman origin (§ 9.2.8).²⁴⁴ A Catalan loan origin for Srd. *barrisòne* etc. can at any rate be excluded on formal grounds, not least in view of the Algherese manifestation *baldíssa* (Alcover & Moll 2002: s.v. *bardissa*). As a consequence, the idea of a shared pre-Roman origin of the various forms discussed is plausible. We may conclude that this word forms part of a set of lexical correspondences connecting Sardinia, the Iberian Peninsula and southern France (§ 11.2.1).

²⁴³ Specifically of “Iberian” origin. Rohlfs (1927b) does not make a distinction between Basque and the Iberian language. Cf. § 1.3.2.2. on the use of the term “Iberian”.

²⁴⁴ The suffix *-issa* of Cat. *bardissa* is of Romance origin (< Lat. **-icia*) and is thus not the same as Srd. **-is-*.

