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The pre-Roman elements of the Sardinian lexicon
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IV

External comparisons

10 Proposed connections to known languages

Parts of the non-inherited Sardinian lexicon have been compared to various languages spoken elsewhere in the Mediterranean region. This chapter discusses the proposed connections between Sardinian and Punic, Berber, Basque, and Etruscan respectively. The comparisons of the non-inherited Sardinian lexicon to substrate phenomena outside Sardinia are discussed in § 11.

10.1 Punic

A long-lasting Punic presence on Sardinia is well-established (§ 1.3.3.1). Various non-inherited Sardinian words have been argued to be Punic loans. These can be divided into two groups. One contains the words that can be attributed to the Punic language because they are morphologically analyzable as Semitic. The other contains Sardinian words that have correspondences in classical sources for which a Punic origin is likely, even when a Semitic etymology is lacking. Although the second group was likely introduced in Sardinia during the Punic colonization, their lack of a Semitic etymology raises the question whether they did indeed originate in Phoenician, or perhaps in the language(s) of native North Africans that were involved in Carthaginian colonial enterprises. Berber comparanda could be evidence of this (cf. Argiolas 2010: 23–24)(§ 10.2).

10.1.1 Lines of evidence for Punic loans

Most of the evidence for Punic loans in Sardinian Latin does not come directly from Punic texts. In some cases Sardinian words are compared to forms from other Semitic languages, in which case the existence of the Punic word is inferred. Stronger are the cases in which a Punic origin of Sardinian words is based on words attested in Classical Roman or Greek texts, especially when they are attributed to Punic, or to “African”.²⁷⁶ The main Classical sources in which Punic-Sardinian comparanda have been identified are medical works like Dioscorides’ *De materia medica* and Pseudo-Apuleius’ *Herbarius*. Most comparisons are therefore specific plant names, for which it is not always easy to establish a convincing Semitic etymology. In several cases, the Punic forms in question have been compared to modern Berber forms. The possible interpretations of this will be discussed in § 10.1.4.

²⁷⁶ On the imprecision with which Classical authors grouped various peoples of North-Africa together under terms like *Afri* or *Punici*, see Múrcia Sánchez (2011: 362, 616–617).

10.1.2 The lexical evidence

The following is an overview of the Sardinian words that were potentially introduced to Sardinia in the context of the Phoenician and Punic colonization of Sardinia. Most of these have been proposed by previous authors, some are proposed in this study. In each case, the compared forms are printed in bold; any relevant Semitic or Berber comparanda are included as well. For each comparison, an evaluation is offered of the formal and semantic correspondence between the compared forms:

- § 3.1.1: Srd. *kaḍòne*, *kaḍòni* etc. ‘annual mercury; goosefoot’ < ***katòne** (DES I: 259; Paulis 1992: 374–375); cf. Lat. **catone** ‘orache’ (Dioscorides; cf. Stadler 1899: 186, 219). Further comparisons include Kb. (*w*)**aktun** ‘goosefoot’ < ***(ā)k(ǂ)tūn**.

Formal match: **good**
 Semantic match: **good**
 Cognacy: **compelling**
 Origin: uncertain

- § 3.1.7: Srd. *tsikkiría* etc. ‘false fennel’ < ***šikkiría** (DES II: 589); cf. Pun. **σικκίριά** ‘dill’ (DES II: 589; cf. Dioscorides Anazarbei 1906: III: 58 RV). Further comparisons include Hebr. **שֵׁכָר** *šēkār* ‘alcoholic drink’ < Proto-Semitic ***šikar-** ‘id.’ (Blau 1873: 527; Kogan 2012a: 241), Gr. **σίχερα** ‘fermented liquor, strong drink’ (cf. Liddell et al. 1978: s.v. **σίχερα**), Tsh. **taskra** ‘*Echinops spinosissimus*’ (van den Boogert 1998: 178, 184),²⁷⁷ < **tāsakra**, **tāsikrā**, **sakrā**> (*Umdat aṭ-ṭabīb*; cf. Tilmatine & Bustamante 2002: 433) ‘black chameleon’, < **taskrat**, **teskera**> ‘*Echinops spinosissimus*’ < ***tā-sikrā** < ***šikkiryā** (Múrcia Sánchez 2011: 433),²⁷⁸

Formal match: **good**
 Semantic match: **good**
 Cognacy: **compelling**
 Origin: possibly Semitic, if from ***sikar-** ‘alcoholic drink’

²⁷⁷ Defined in a medieval wordlist as ‘dill (*Anethum graveolens*)’ (van den Boogert 1998: 178, 184).

²⁷⁸ If one reconstructs not two but just one short high vowel for Proto-Berber, this reconstruction would be ***tā-sakrā** < ***šakkaryā** (cf. Kossmann 2020a: 35–36).

3. § 3.1.19: Srd. *kúrma*, *kúruma*, *cruma* etc. ‘fringed rue; cat thyme’ < **kúrma* (Farina 1987: 363; 1989: 620; Paulis 1990: 608–612; 1992: 229–231); cf. Pun. *χουρμά* ‘rue’ (Dioscorides Anazarbei 1906: 57; Vattioni 1976: 527–528; Paulis 1990: 608–612; 1992: 231). Further comparisons include Akk. *hurmu* ‘a plant species’ (CAD VI: 266), Syr. (i.e. Dioscorides’ Σύροι) *άρμαλά* ‘rue (*Ruta chalepensis*)’ (Dioscorides Anazarbei 1906: 57), Bb. <*āwurmī*> (*Umdaṭ aṭ ṭabīb*; Tilmatine & Bustamante 2002: 428), Tsh. *iwrmi* ‘rue’. For the Berber forms, Múrcia Sánchez (2011: 440) proposes a derivation from **urme* < *(*h*)*urmay* < Pun. **hurmal*.

Formal match: **good**
 Semantic match: **good**
 Cognacy: **compelling**
 Origin: possibly Semitic

4. § 3.1.23: Srd. *grúspinu*, *gúspinu*, *grúspju*, *óspinu* ‘watercress’²⁷⁹ < **gúspinu* (DES I: 595 Paulis 1992: 241–242); cf. Pun. *cusmín* ‘watercress’ (Pseudo-Apuleius 20; Howald & Sigerist 1927: 59; Paulis 1992: 242).

Formal match: **good**
 Semantic match: **good**
 Cognacy: **compelling**
 Origin: uncertain

5. § 3.2.4: Srd. *síntsiri*, *sintsurru* ‘knotgrass; horsetail’ < **ḡinḡi/ur* (Paulis 1992: 386–387); cf. Pun. *sensur*, *zenzur*, *zunzur*, *sumsur* ‘knotgrass’ (Howald & Sigerist 1927: 55; Paulis 1992: 386–387; cf. André 1985: 279).

Formal match: **good**
 Semantic match: **good**
 Cognacy: **compelling**
 Origin: uncertain

6. § 3.3.14: Srd. *ḡíppiri*, *tsíppiri* etc. ‘rosemary’ < **ḡibbir-* (DES II: 593); cf. Pun. *zibbir* ‘rosemary’ (Pseudo-Apuleius 80: 31; Howald & Sigerist 1927: 145; Bertoldi 1947;²⁸⁰ DES II: 594). Further comparisons include Bb.

²⁷⁹ Also in the meaning ‘butcher’s broom, but this is probably secondary (cf. § 3.1.23).

²⁸⁰ *Non vidi*.

<*āzīr*> ‘rosemary’ (*‘Umdat at-ṭabīb*; Tilmatine & Bustamante 2002: 429), <*iazīr, aziīr, ouzbir*> ‘rosemary’ (Trabut 1935: 223), Rif., Tmz. *azīr* ‘rosemary, lavender; wormwood’ etc. < **ā-zVβīr* (Múrcia Sánchez 2011: 428–429).

Formal match: **good**
 Semantic match: **good**
 Cognacy: **compelling**
 Origin: possibly Berber

7. § 3.4.6: Srd. *tséurra* etc. ‘sprout, bud, shoot’ < **ǵérula* << **ǵèra* (DES II: 589); cf. Pun. ζερα[φοίστ] (Dioscorides Anazarbei 1907: 177), Hebr. ערִי זֶרָא’, Akk. *zēru, zarʷu* ‘seed’ (Paulis 1990: 616), reconstructed by Kogan (2012a: 200) as PSem. **dar*^c.

Formal match: **good**
 Semantic match: **good**
 Cognacy: **compelling**
 Origin: Semitic

8. § 4.2.1: Srd. *tsingòrra* etc. ‘eel’ < **ǵingòrra* (DES II: 592); cf. Akk. *singurru, zingurru* etc. ‘a kind of fish’, Mandaic *singūrā* (of unknown meaning) (Wagner 1997: 160; cf. Zimmern 1917: 52; CAD XV: 284–285).²⁸¹

Formal match: **good**
 Semantic match: **uncertain**
 Cognacy: **uncertain**

9. § 5.1.5: Srd. *ǵára* ‘basaltic and granitic highlands’ < **ǵára* (DES I: 603); cf. Hebr. עֵר יָאָר ‘wood, bush’ (Paulis 1994; cf. Putzu 2019: 6).²⁸²

Formal match: **good**
 Semantic match: **good**

²⁸¹ This would be a Punic loan, with the Akkadian form as evidence for its existence in Semitic (Wagner 1997: 160). Paulis (1990: 621–623) proposes a different etymology (cf. § 4.2.1).

²⁸² I have unfortunately not been able to consult Paulis (1994).

Cognacy: **compelling**

Origin: Semitic

10. § 5.2.5: Srd. *míttsa*, *míntsa*, *míṭṭa* ‘source’ < **míṭṭa* (AIS 852; DES II: 120–121); cf. Pun. *mysehi*, interpreted as ‘my exit’ (Plautus, *Poenulus* V: 921; Wagner 1957: 105–106; Friedrich 1957: 223), Hebr. מֵיֵיִן *mōšā* ‘exit’ < PSem. **yš* ‘to exit’ (Friedrich 1957: 223; DES: 120–121; Paulis 1990: 600). Pun. *mysehi* is however read as *mysethi* ‘I have come’ by Krahmalkov (2000: 303; 2001: 159). Srd. **míṭṭa* is explained by Guarnerio (1906: 245), REW (5614) and Mensching (1997: 298–301) as a derivation from Lat. *mītis* ‘ripe, mellow’, which is equally possible.

Formal match: **good**Semantic match: **good**Cognacy: **unnecessary**, due to a plausible Latin etymology and possible different interpretations of the Punic form.

11. Srd. *kému*, *kémbu*, *kèmos* ‘four, five, a handful, small quantity’ (DES I: 327–328);²⁸³ cf. Hebr. חָמֵשׁ *ḥāmēš* ‘five’ (Spano 1863: 91 fn. 3; Wagner 1997: 160; 1957: 106–108; DES I: 327–328; but cf. Friedrich 1957: 323–324; Paulis 1990: 617–620, who are skeptical).

Formal match: **problematic**Semantic match: **possible**Cognacy: **unlikely**

10.1.3 Discussion

Most of the proposed connections between Punic and Sardinian words can be accepted on formal and semantic grounds. The comparison between Srd. **ṡingòrra* ‘eel’ (8) and Akk. *singurru* ‘a fish species’ and Mandaic *singūrā* is intriguing, but since no Punic form is attested and because of the vague semantic identification of the Akkadian and Mandaic forms, a Punic loan in Sardinian rests on too many assumptions to be convincing (cf. Paulis 1990: 621–623). A Punic origin for Srd. **míṭṭa* ‘source’ (10) is phonologically and semantically possible if one assumes a Punic cognate **mūšō* ‘exit of water’ on the basis of Hebr.

²⁸³ Wagner (DES I: 327–328) suggests *kèmos* to be original, metathesized from **kòmes*, but Paulis (1990: 618–620) shows that both **kòmes* and **kèmos* are formally impossible reconstructions. He proposes the Srd. *kèmos* to be from Old Cat. *quern* ‘number of four’.

mōšā ‘exit’. This is rather speculative, especially since Wagner (1957: 105–106) and Friedrich’s (1957: 223) interpretation of Pun. *mysehi* as meaning ‘my exit’ is disputed (cf. Krahmalkov 2000: 303; 2001: 159). Mensching (1997) has shown that a derivation from Lat. *mītis* ‘ripe, mellow’ for a body of water has parallels elsewhere in Romance, rendering a Punic etymology unnecessary. The connection of Srd. *kému*, *kèmos* ‘four, five, handful’ to Hebr. שָׁמֶשׁ *hāmēš* (Spano 1863: 91 fn. 3; Wagner 1997: 160) must be rejected on formal grounds (Friedrich 1957: 323–324; Paulis 1990: 617–620). We are left with eight likely loans that entered Sardinian Latin from the language of the Punic population in Sardinia. Six of these are words for specific plant species (1–6), one is the word for ‘sprout’ (from the Punic word for ‘seed’; 7), and one denotes a type of terrain (9). A further candidate could be Srd. *frísa*, *fríssa*, which is cognate to *afrissa* ‘dragon lily’ (§ 3.1.8) found in Pseudo-Apuleius (cf. André 1985: 7). However, Pseudo-Apuleius does not identify this word as specific to Africa, and the only indication favoring a possible Punic origin is that the work as a whole was composed there (Pradel-Baquerre 2013: 20–21). Table 10.1.1 is an overview of the evaluation of the proposed Punic loans in Sardinian.

	Srd.	Comp.	Form.	Semant.	Cogn.	Origin	In Bb.
1	* <i>katòne</i> ‘annual mercury; goose-foot’	Lat. <i>catone</i> Bb. *(<i>ā</i>) <i>k</i> (<i>Ń</i>) <i>tūn</i>	✓	✓	✓	Uncertain	✓
2	* <i>θikkiría</i> ‘false fennel’	Pun. <i>σικκίριά</i> Bb. * <i>tā-síkrā</i>	✓	✓	✓	Possibly Sem.	✓
3	* <i>kúrma</i> ‘fringed rue; cat thyme’	Pun. <i>χουρμά</i> Bb. * <i>urme</i>	✓	✓	✓	Likely Sem.	✓
4	* <i>gúspinu</i> ‘water-cress’	Pun. <i>cusmin</i>	✓	✓	✓	Uncertain	×
5	* <i>θinθi/ur</i> ‘knot-grass; horsetail’	Pun. <i>sensur</i> , <i>zensur</i> , <i>zunzur</i>	✓	✓	✓	Uncertain	×
6	* <i>θibbir</i> ‘rose-mary’	Pun. <i>zibbir</i> Bb. * <i>ā-zŃβīr</i>	✓	✓	✓	Maybe (Libyco-)Bb.	✓
7	* <i>θérula</i> ‘sprout, bud’	Pun. <i>ζερα</i> ‘seed’	✓	✓	✓	Sem.	×
8	* <i>θingòrra</i> ‘eel’	Akk. <i>singurru</i> , Mandaic <i>singūrā</i>	✓	?	?	Uncertain	×
9	* <i>ǵára</i>	Hebr. יָעָר <i>yá‘ar</i>	✓	✓	✓	Sem.	×

Srd.	Comp.	Form.	Semant.	Cogn.	Origin	In Bb.
10 * <i>míθθa</i> 'source'	Pun. * <i>mūšō</i> , Hebr. מוֹשָׁא <i>mōšā</i>	✓	✓	×	Lat.	×
<i>kému, kèmos</i>						
11 'handful, low number'	Hebr. חַמֵּשׁ <i>hāmés</i>	×	?	×	Uncertain	×

Table 10.1.1: Proposed punicisms in Sardinian.

10.1.3.1 Distribution of Punic words in Sardinia

Four out of seven Sardinian words (viz. 2: **θikkiría*, 5: **θi/unθur*, 6: **θíppiri*, 7: **θérula*) with an accepted Punic etymology are attested predominantly in the Campidanese dialects, which is roughly in line with Wagner's (1997: 158) prediction (see § 1.3.3.1). Representatives of **katòne* (1) are found not only in Campidanese, but also in Logudorese, while **kúrma* (3) and **gúspinu* (4) occur in the Nuorese dialects (cf. Figure 10.1.1). Additionally, Paulis (1990: 602) reports toponymic attestations of *típpiri*, the expected Logudorese outcome of **θíppiri* 'rosemary', to the northwest of the area where *tsíppiri* 'rosemary' is attested as a lexical word. As Paulis (1990) concludes, it is thus clear that Punic linguistic influence in Sardinia reached farther than assumed by Wagner (1997: 158), although it is most clearly visible in the Campidanese dialects.

10.1.3.2 Punic loans with a Semitic etymology

Among the eight accepted Punic loans in Sardinian, only two are easily etymologizable within Semitic:

- Srd. **θérula* 'sprout' (7) << Pun. ζερα < PSem. **zr* 'seed'
- Srd. **járà* 'basaltic and granitic highlands' (9), cf. Hebr. יָעָר *yá'ar* 'wood, bush'

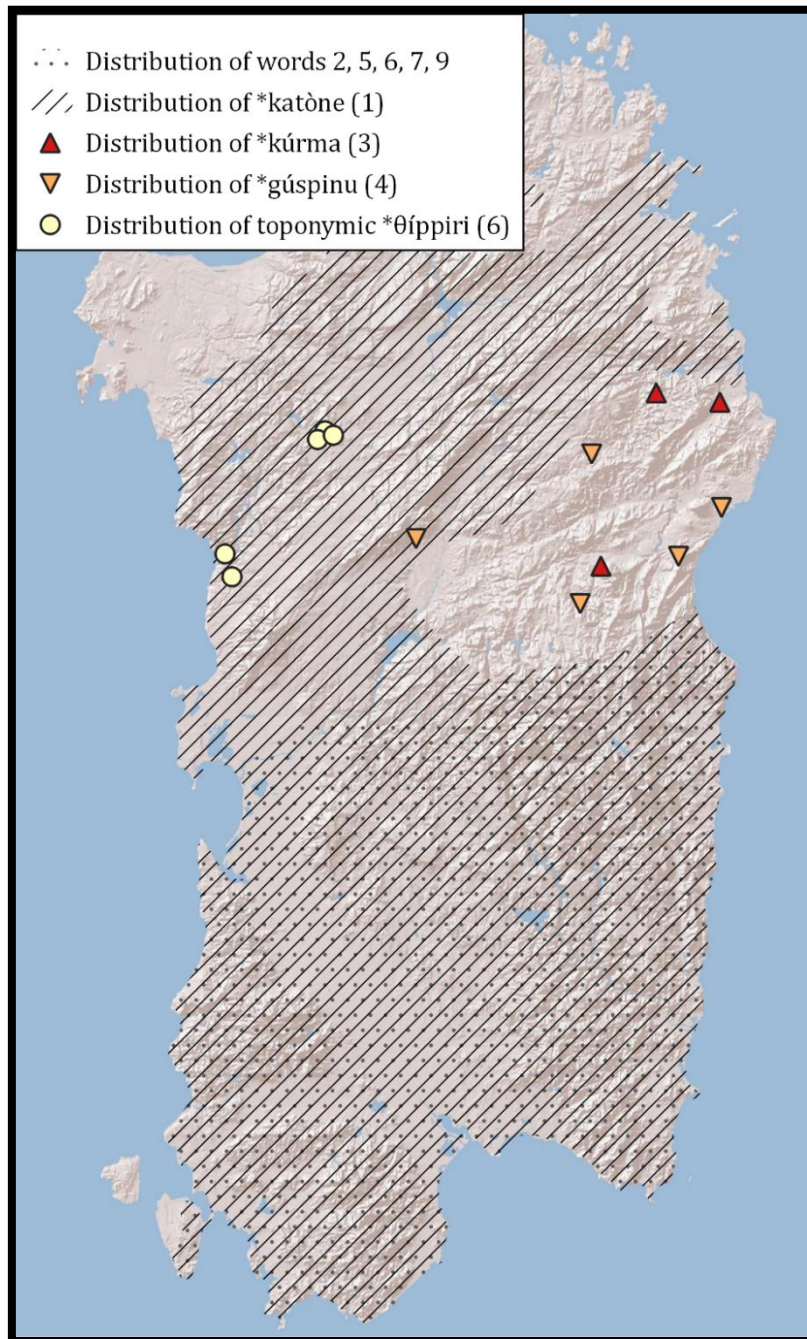


Figure 10.1.1: Distribution of Punicisms in Sardinian

A Semitic etymology has also been proposed for “African” *σικκιριά* ‘dill’ (2) by Blau (1873: 527), who compares Hebr. שִׁכָּר *šēkār* ‘alcoholic drink’. Reflexes of Proto-Semitic **šikar-* ‘alcoholic drink’ and the verbal root **škr* ‘to become inebriated’ are well-attested across Semitic (Kogan 2012a: 241). In order for Punic *σικκιριά* to be of Semitic origin, we would thus need to accept the semantic shift ‘alcoholic drink’ > ‘dill’. The other Punic word with a proposed Semitic etymology is “African” *χουρμά* ‘rue’ (3), which has been compared to Akk. *hurmu* ‘a plant species’ (CAD VI: 266), Syr. (i.e. Dioscorides’ Σύροι) ἀρμαλά ‘rue (*Ruta chalepensis*)’ (Dioscorides Anazarbei 1906: 57). Vattioni (1976: 527–528) and Múrcia Sánchez (2011: 440) reconstruct **hrml* and **hurmal* respectively. It is unclear to me how the *-l* would have been lost in Pun. *χουρμα* >> Srd. *kúrma*.

10.1.3.3 Punic loans with comparanda in Berber

Four of the eight accepted Punic loans have been compared to modern Berber forms:

- Srd. **katòne* ‘annual mercury; goosefoot’, Lat. *catone* ‘id.’, Bb. *(*ā*)k(ǂ)*tūn* ‘id.’ (1)
- Srd. **šikkiría* ‘false fennel’, “African” *σικκιριά* ‘dill’, Bb. **tā-sikrā* ‘*Echinops spinosissimus*’ (2)
- Srd. **kúrma* ‘fringed rue; cat thyme’, “African” *χουρμά* ‘rue’, Bb. **urme* ‘id.’ (<< Pun. **hurmal*) (3)
- Srd. **šibbir* ‘rosemary’, Pun. *zibbir* ‘id.’, Bb. **ā-zǂβīr* ‘id.’ (6)

In the case of Bb. **urme* ‘rue’ (3), a connection to Srd. **kúrma* is only plausible by assuming that both were borrowed from Pun. **hurma(l)* (Múrcia Sánchez 2011: 440). For Lat. *catone* ‘orache’ (1), a North African origin is in fact only supported by its exclusive occurrence in the Latin translation of Dioscorides (Stadler 1899: 186, 219), which may be of African origin (Adams 2007: 533). In addition, there is a probable Berber cognate *(*ā*)k(ǂ)*tūn* ‘rue’. The fact that the Sardinian and Berber meanings are closer to each other than to the Latin meaning, is evidence against a Latin loan into Berber. Even if we assume that a similar form existed in Punic, there is no Semitic etymology that could account for these forms. The same goes for Pun. *zibbir* ‘rosemary’ (6), which has a potential Berber cognate **ā-zǂβīr* ‘id.’. The “African” form *σικκιριά* (2) corresponds formally to Bb. **tā-sikrā* ‘*Echinops spinosissimus*’. The semantic discrepancy between ‘dill’ and a species of thistle is not easy to explain, although Tsh. <*taskrā*> is defined as ‘dill’ in some anonymous medieval Arabic-Berber word lists (van den Boogert 1998: 178, 184).

10.1.4 Conclusion

It is beyond doubt that Phoenician was spoken as a native language in Sardinia at the time of the Roman conquest. This is evidenced by the fact that Phoenician texts continued to be produced centuries after Carthaginian influence on the island had ceased (Paulis 1990; Adams 2003: 209). The distribution of the punicisms in Sardinia suggests that Punic linguistic influence extended to most of Sardinia, although it was most pronounced in the south (§ 10.1.3.1). However, only a few of the accepted punicisms in Sardinian can satisfactorily be etymologized as Semitic, and several of the words that do not have a good Semitic etymology, are attested in Berber. There are two scenarios that could explain this:

1. The Punic language borrowed words from native North-African languages ancestral or related to Berber, after which these words entered Sardinia along with Carthaginian colonists.
2. Speakers of native North-African languages were involved in Carthaginian colonialism on Sardinia, and maintained their native language at least up to the Roman conquest.

In favor of the first scenario is the fact that the Sardinian words with both Punic and Berber comparanda are formally more similar to the compared Punic forms,²⁸⁴ than to the reconstructed Proto-Berber forms. Admittedly, this could be an artefact of Proto-Berber not being identical to the North-African language that Punic was in contact with and rather a sister or descendant language *vel sim.* Unless positive evidence in favor of the second scenario can be adduced from the field of Berber linguistics, it is more parsimonious to assume the first scenario. The fact that six out of the seven accepted punicisms in Sardinia refer to specific plant species, may indicate that the Punic population of Sardinia had specific cultural or practical (e.g. culinary) uses for these plants, although this is a matter of speculation (cf. Paulis 1992: 133).

On the basis of the available evidence, it is difficult to conclude much about the linguistic contacts between Sardinian Punic and the native pre-Roman Sardinian languages. The overlap in geographical distributions of words of Punic origin and of other pre-Roman words suggests that the languages coexisted at least until Sardinia's romanization.

²⁸⁴ And in the case of Srd. **katòne* to the (African) Latin form *catone*.

10.2 Berber

A “Libyan” or Berber substrate in Sardinia has often been proposed (see § 1.3.3.2). As seen in § 10.1.4, a number of accepted punicisms in Sardinian are also found in Berber, likely as the result of the intense and prolonged language contact between native North-African languages and Carthaginian Punic. The question is whether an earlier presence of Berber (or some affiliated North-African language) should be posited, independently from the Punic colonial context.

10.2.1 The lexical evidence

The following is an overview of the Sardinian words that have been proposed to have a cognate in Berber, and that would thus potentially point to a North-African (or “Libyan”) presence in Sardinia at an earlier stage than the Punic colonization. The forms that are to be compared are printed in bold. For each comparison, an evaluation is given for the formal and semantic correspondence between the compared forms:

1. § 3.2.2: Srd. *thinnigas*, *tsinníya*, *tinnía* etc. < ***ḡinníga**; *tsónni*, *tsónniḡa* etc. < ***ḡónni** ‘esparto grass’ (DES II: 547-548); cf. Nef. *tsənnít* ‘esparto grass’, *tsunít* ‘basket woven from rushes’, Kab. *isni* ‘big basket made from esparto grass’, Tuar. *tesānit* ‘big basket with two handles’ (Bertoldi 1950: 16; Ritter 2009: 434; Murcia Sánchez 2011: 468; Argiolas 2020: 41) < ***sānV̄y**/***sūnV̄y**/***sānī**/***sūnī**.²⁸⁵

Formal match: **good**, at least for Srd. ***ḡónni**

Semantic match: **good**

Cognacy: **compelling**

2. § 3.2.3: Srd. *sèssini*, *sèssene* etc. < ***sèssen(e)** ‘galingale’ (DES II: 412; Paulis 1992: 449). Four Berber comparisons have been proposed for this word:
 - a. cf. Kb. *azəzzu* ‘broom’ (Hubschmid 1953: 27; cf. Dallet 1982: 927).

Formal match: **problematic**

Semantic match: **problematic**

Cognacy: **unlikely**

²⁸⁵ Maarten Kossmann, p.c.

- b. cf. Beni Snous *tīyzzī* ‘dry esparto grass’ (DES II: 412; cf. Destaing 1914: 10).²⁸⁶

Formal match: **problematic**

Semantic match: **good**

Cognacy: **unlikely**

- c. Beni Snouss *zzīw* ‘strand’ (DES II: 412; cf. Destaing 1914: 50).²⁸⁷

Formal match: **problematic**

Semantic match: **problematic**

Cognacy: **unlikely**

- d. cf. Kb. *zzəmzəm* ‘to be slim’, *azəmzum* ‘twig’, Tmz. *azmu* ‘very fine rush used to make mats’, etc. (Argiolas 2020: 40–41; cf. Dallet 1982: 945; Taïfi 1991: 807).

Formal match: **possible**, for *zzəmzəm* and *azəmzum*

Semantic match: **problematic**

Cognacy: **unlikely**

3. § 3.3.22: Srd. *éni* ‘yew’ < **éni*/**áCini* (DES I: 489); cf. Ihahan *taga*, Ouarzazate *tiqqi*, Igliwa *tiqi* etc. ‘juniper’ (Hubschmid 1953: 25–26; Alessio 1957; cf. Laoust 1920: 490).

Formal match: **problematic**

Semantic match: **problematic**

Cognacy: **unlikely**

4. § 3.4.7: Srd. *mátta* ‘tree, plant, shrub’ etc. < **mátta* (DES II: 87); cf. Snh., Rif. *tamaṭṭa* ‘stack of sheaves that are to be threshed’ (Hubschmid 1953: 33; cf. Renisio 1932: 385; Serhoual 2002: 329); many other Romance comparisons in Hubschmid (1953: 33–35). Derived from Lat. *matta* ‘mat’ by REW (5424) and DCEC (III: 874–875).

²⁸⁶ In Destaing (1914) and DES as *ḡiḡzzi*.

²⁸⁷ In Destaing (1914) as *zzəu*, and in DES as *ž’zeu*.

Formal match: **good**

Semantic match: **possible**

Cognacy: **unlikely**. The Sardinian forms can simply be inherited from Latin, and the Berber forms are likely from Moroccan Ar. *məṭṭa*.

5. § 4.4.2: Srd. *ḡáiri* 'bird of prey' < **ḡá(C)iri*; cf. Chenoua *isyi* 'id.' (Paulis 2008: 24; cf. Laoust 1912: 136). Also compared is Bq. *sai, sari* 'vulture' (Paulis 2008: 24; cf. Löpelmann 1968: 1138).

Formal match: **problematic**

Semantic match: **good**

Cognacy: **unlikely**

6. § 4.4.8: Srd. *tiváni* 'raven' < **tifáni* (DES II: 492); cf. Rif. *asiwan, tasiwant* 'bird of prey' (DES II: 492; cf. Serhoual 2002: 550). Paulis (2017: 111) derives the Sardinian forms from the Greek personal name Θεοφάνης.

Formal match: **doubtful**

Semantic match: **possible**

Cognacy: **unlikely**. Paulis' (2017: 111) etymology is more plausible.

7. § 6.1.6: Srd. *bòḡḡa* 'old sheep' < **bòlla*/**vòlla* (DES I: 215). There are two possible Berber comparanda for this word:²⁸⁸
- a. cf. Bb. *ullī, wəllī* 'small livestock (i.e. sheep and goats)' < **wǃllī*/**wǃllē*.²⁸⁹

Formal match: **possible**

Semantic match: **good**

Cognacy: **possible**

- b. cf. Ghadames *taḡali*, Mali Tuar. *tehāle*, Nef. *tīli* etc. 'sheep' < **tē-bālē* (Kossmann 1999: 97).²⁹⁰

²⁸⁸ The alternative Calabrese comparison to this word is discussed in § 11.1.

²⁸⁹ Maarten Kossmann, p.c.

²⁹⁰ Maarten Kossmann, p.c.

Formal match: **possible**

Semantic match: **good**

Cognacy: **possible**

8. § 6.2.5: Srd. *čèrda* ‘mat woven from straw or rushes that serves to spread out fruits on and that is also put in carts, so that the transported straw or fruits cannot fall out’ < **kètra* (DES I: 446-447). Two Berber comparisons have been proposed for this word:
- a. cf. Bb. *ažeršil* ‘mat (made of esparto grass or rushes)’ (Bertoldi 1947b: 201; Hubschmid 1953: 22–23; cf. Haddadou 2007: 290) < **g*’*ṽrtil*.²⁹¹ Further comparisons include Lat. *caetra*, *cētra* ‘type of Spanish and/or African shield’ (Walde & Hofmann 1938: 135), Ast. *sardu*, *sarda*, *zarda* ‘wickerwork placed over the kitchen stove, to shelter the kitchen and in which hazelnuts are put to roast’²⁹² (Wagner 1943: 196; but cf. Hubschmid 1953: 22–23; DCEC VI: 102a).

Formal match: **problematic**

Semantic match: **good**

Cognacy: **unlikely**

- b. cf. Tmz. *γərd* (Ayt Izdeg) ‘to lie down on the floor’ (cf. Taïfi 1991: 202), Kb. *əyrurəd* ‘to sleep without being able to wake up’ (cf. Dallet 1982: 625) < **γrd* (Argiolas 2012: 2737–2741). Further comparisons include Lat. *cherda* ‘a plant species (probably eryngo, cf. André 1985: 62)’, Lat. *caetra*, *cētra* ‘type of Spanish and/or African shield’ (Argiolas 2012: 2737–2741).

Formal match: **problematic**

Semantic match: **problematic**

Cognacy: **unlikely**. Camp. *čèrda* ‘mat’ is most easily interpreted as a regular development of Lat. *caetra* ‘type of shield’, whatever its origin.²⁹³

²⁹¹ Maarten Kossmann, p.c.

²⁹² “Tejido de mimbres que se coloca sobre el llar, para abrigar la cocina y donde se ponen las avellanas para turrar”.

²⁹³ Cf. Múrcia Sánchez (2011: 423).

9. § 7.1.2: Srd. *ḡúḡḡa*, *tsúḡḡa* etc. 'bristle hair (of pigs and wild boars)' < *ḡúlla (DES II: 553); cf. Snh. *əzzuḡ* 'pubic and armpit hairs' (DES II: 553; cf. Renisio 1932: 320).

Formal match: **problematic**

Semantic match: **possible**

Cognacy: **unlikely**

10.2.2 Discussion

Only two of the six Sardinian words with a proposed Berber origin can be accepted on formal and semantic grounds: Srd. *ḡónni 'esparto grass' (1), Bb. *sǎnǎy/*sūnǎy/*sǎnī/*sūnī 'id.'; Srd. *bòlla/*vòlla 'old sheep' (7), Bb. *wǎllī/*wǎllē 'small livestock (i.e. sheep and goats)' or Bb. *tē-bǎlē 'sheep'. The others must be rejected because the compared forms are too dissimilar (2, 3, 5, 8a, 8b, 9), or because their meanings are too different (2a, 2c, 2d, 8b), or simply because the Sardinian form has an alternative, more convincing, etymology (4, 6, 8a, 8b). The following table summarizes the formal and semantic criteria of the comparisons, and whether cognacy is likely or not.

Srd.	Comp.	Form.	Semant.	Cogn.
1 *ḡinníga, *ḡónni 'esparto grass'	Bb. *sǎnǎy/*sūnǎy/*sǎnī/*sūnī '(basket made of) esparto grass'	✓	✓	✓
2a	Kb. <i>azəzzu</i> 'broom'	×	×	×
2b *sèssen(e)	Beni Snous <i>ttyzzi</i> 'dry esparto grass'	×	✓	×
2c 'galingale'	Beni Snous <i>zzíw</i> 'strand'	×	×	×
2d	Bb. *zmy 'to sew'	×	×	×
3 *éni/*áCini 'yew'	Ihahan <i>taga</i> , Ouarzazate <i>tiqqi</i> , Igliwa <i>tiqi</i> etc. 'juniper'	×	×	×
4 *mátta 'tree, plant shrub'	Snh., Rif. <i>tamaḡḡa</i> 'stack of sheaves that are to be threshed'	✓	?	×
5 *ḡá(C)iri 'bird of prey'	Chenoua <i>isyi</i> 'bird of prey'	×	✓	×
6 *tifáni 'raven'	Rif. <i>asiwan</i> , <i>tasiwant</i> 'bird of prey'	?	?	×
7 *bòlla/*vòlla 'old sheep'	Bb. *wǎllī/*wǎllē 'small livestock' Bb. *tē-bǎlē 'sheep'	✓	✓	✓ (?) ✓ (?)

Srd.	Comp.	Form.	Semant.	Cogn.
8a —* <i>kètra</i>	Bb. * <i>gʷVrtil</i> 'mat made of esparto grass'	×	✓	×
8b 'type of mat'	Tmz. <i>γard</i> 'to spread out on the floor', Kb. <i>əγrurəd</i> 'to sleep without being able to wake up' < * <i>γrd</i>	×	×	×
9 ' <i>gùlla</i> (of pigs and boars)' 'bristle hair'	Snh. <i>əzzuṭ</i> 'pubic and armpit hairs'	×	?	×

Table 10.2.1: Proposed Berberisms in Sardinian

10.2.3 Conclusion

On the basis of only two acceptable Berber-Sardinian comparisons that are not attested in Punic, it is unattractive to posit a pre-Roman presence of Berber in Sardinia, independently from the Punic colonial context (as was already suspected by Paulis 2008: 42). The two stronger cases (1, 7) are rather to be seen as part of the Punic loans in Sardinia, among which some potential Berber etyma have been identified (cf. § 10.1.3.3). Semantically, at least the word for 'esparto grass' (1) fits in well with the accepted punicisms (§ 10.1.4), which largely refer to culturally or economically relevant plants. The two words with accepted Berber cognates show a southern geographical distribution (Figure 10.2.1), like the majority of the accepted punicisms (Figure 10.1.1).

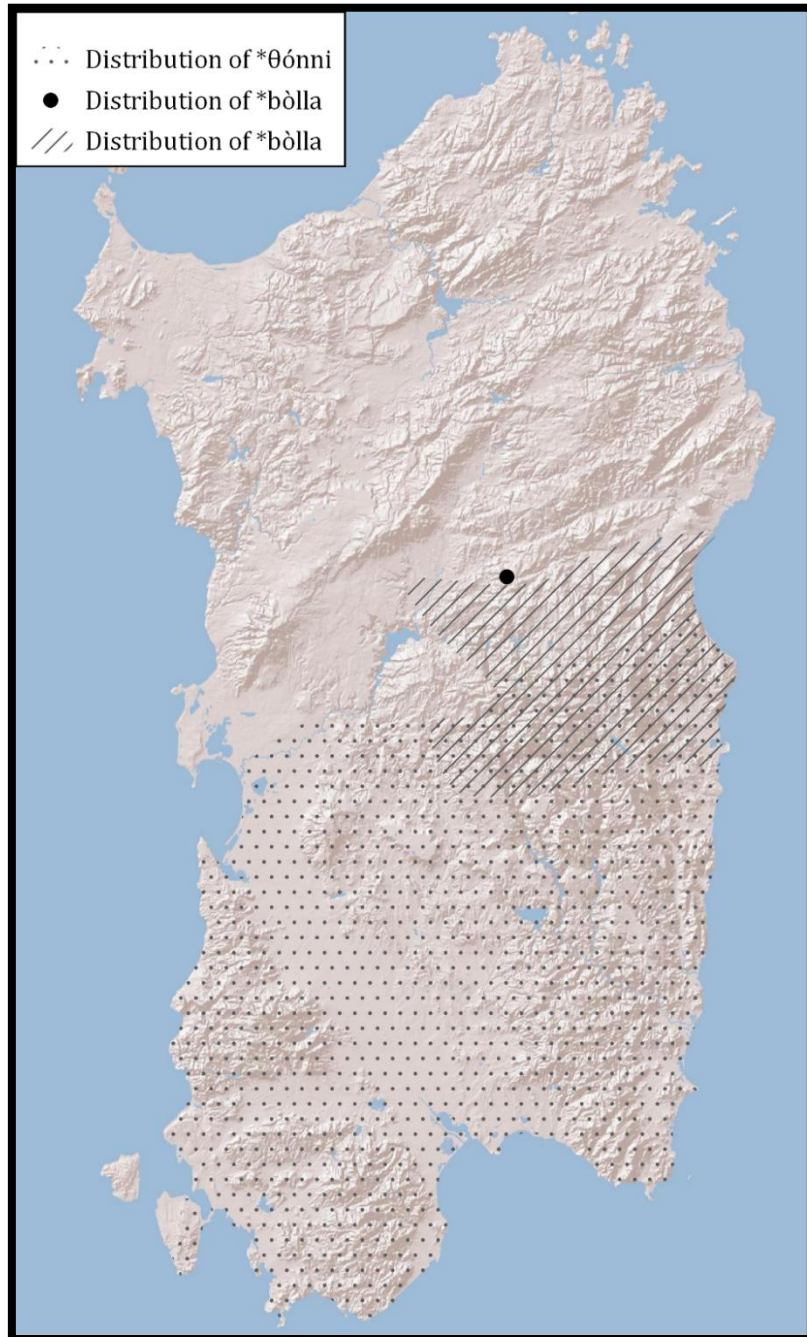


Figure 10.2.1: Distribution of Berberisms in Sardinian

10.3 Basque

A connection between Basque and pre-Roman Sardinian has been proposed by various scholars, often as part of a wider “Mediterranean substrate” (§ 1.3.2). Blasco Ferrer (2010a; 2010b; 2011; 2017) argues that the language of pre-Roman Sardinia was a sister language of Basque (but see § 1.3.3.3).

10.3.1 The lexical evidence

The following is an overview of the pre-Roman words that have been proposed to be shared by Sardinian and Basque, by various authors. In each case, the form that is to be compared is printed in bold (both for Sardinian and Basque), and a brief overview is given of any comparanda in other languages, and of any further relevant etymological considerations. For each comparison, an evaluation is given for the formal correspondence between the Sardinian and Basque comparanda, as well as for their semantic correspondence. These are used to evaluate whether cognacy between the Sardinian and Basque forms in question is at all possible and, if so, whether it is plausible.

- § 3.1.15: Srd. *tḡánḡa*, *aḡánḡa*, *ánna* etc. ‘poppy’ < ***(ḡ-)anda** (DES I: 151); cf. Bq. **andere** ‘lady’ (Bertoldi apud Wagner 1932: 237). Further comparisons include: Egyptian *ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲓ* ‘poppy’; Lang. *āndèr*, *ōndèr* (dep. Lot) ‘id.’ (Bertoldi 1937a: 151 fn. 1), Gr. *ἄνθος* ‘flower’ (Pittau apud Paulis 1992: 319). Cf. also Lakarra et al. (2019: 48–50).

Formal match: **possible**

Semantic match: **problematic**

Cognacy: **unlikely**. Only the Lengadocian comparison is formally and semantically acceptable.

- § 3.3.7: Srd. *golóstju*, *golóstri*, *olósti*, *golósti?e* etc. ‘holly’ < ***golósti** (DES I: 584); cf. Bq. *gorosti* ‘holly’ < ***golosti** (Bertoldi 1929: 261 fn. 3). Further comparisons include: Gr. *κίλαστρος* ‘holly’ (Hofmann 1949: 142); Navarr. *colostia*, *golostia* etc. (Hubschmid 1953: 29 fn. 1); Lang. *agaloussé* ‘id.’ < ***agalústo-** (Jud 1931: 439; cf. FEW XXI: 106); Bret. *kelenn*, OIr. *cuilenn* ‘id.’ < PC ***kolinno-** < ***kolis-n-** (Hubschmid 1953: 29; van Sluis, Jørgensen & Kroonen 2023: 200); OHG *hulis*, Du. *hulst* ‘id.’ < PGm. ***hulisa** < ***kulis-** (Kroonen 2013: 253). The Mediterranean comparanda (i.e. Basque, Greek and Lengadocian) offer a match that is strong both formally and semantically (cf. § 11.1), with an exact correspondence between Sardini-

an and Basque. The Celtic and Germanic forms are formally further removed.

Formal match: **good**
 Semantic match: **good**
 Cognacy: **compelling**

3. § 3.3.8: Srd. *aúrri* 'hop-hornbeam' (DES I: 153) < **a(C)urri*/**aruli*; cf. Bq. *aurri* 'plant with long roots and wide leaves' (Wagner 1932: 231). Cf. also Michelena (1958: 405–406).

Formal match: **uncertain**
 Semantic match: **uncertain**
 Cognacy: **uncertain**

4. § 3.3.9: Srd. *kòstike*, *kòstiye*, *kòsti* 'maple' < **kòsti* (DES I: 392–93); cf. Bq. *astigar*, *gastigar*, *gaztigar* 'maple' < *(*g*)*azt-* + *ihar* 'maple' (Bertoldi 1931: 131). Further comparisons include: Tusc. *còstolo* 'ash tree'; Gr. Hes. ἄκαστος (Hesychius Alexandrinus 2018: 109); OProv. *agast* 'maple' (Alessio 1949: 132; FEW XXIV: 276). All of these are formally and semantically attractive comparanda to the Sardinian and Basque forms. Cf. also Hubschmid (1953: 82) and Michelena (1953: 48; 1990: 253 fn. 49).

Formal match: **possible**
 Semantic match: **good**
 Cognacy: **possible**: the Tuscan, Greek and Provençal comparisons are good, but the internal structure of the Basque form is not well-understood.

5. § 3.3.20: Srd. *giđđòstre*, *giđđòstru*, [*sa*] ?*idđòstra*, [*su*] *idđòstro* 'tree heather' < **gill(-)óstr-* (DES I: 578); cf. Bq. *gillar*, *gilharre*, *ilharri* 'heather' < **gil-ar(r)-* (Hubschmid 1953: 29; 1958: 214) or **inar* (Trask 1997: 306; Santano Moreno 2000: 170). Hubschmid (1958: 214) doubts his own earlier proposal. Note further that the evidence for **-óst(r)-* as a suffix in Sardinian is limited (§ 9.2.9).

Formal match: **problematic**

Semantic match: **good**

Cognacy: **unlikely**, because of the formal discrepancy.

6. § 3.3.22: Srd. *éni* ‘yew’ < **éni* (< **á(g)ini* [?]) (DES I: 489); cf. Bq. *(h)agin* ‘yew’ (Bertoldi apud Wagner 1941a: 45).

Formal match: **possible**

Semantic match: **good**

Cognacy: **possible**, but the formal base of comparison is slim.

7. § 3.4.2: Srd. *kárva* ‘tree branch’ < **kárva/kárba* (DES I: 311); cf. Bq. *karbasta*, *garbazta* etc. ‘stick with branches’, *karbaza* ‘stem, trunk’ < **karba-* (Wagner 1932: 231; Michelena 1990: 251), or derived from Bq. *arba* < *abar* (Lakarra et al. 2019: 3–8). Other comparisons include: Ast. *garbu* ‘small firewood’, Gasc. *garbalhe* ‘pine needles’, Prov. *garbo* ‘hollow tree trunk’ etc. (Wagner 1932: 231; DCEC I: 856); Lat. *carbō*, *-ōnis* ‘piece of charcoal’ (de Vaan 2008: 91–92).

Formal match: **good**

Semantic match: **good**

Cognacy: **possible**, but the compared forms may not be old in Basque (Lakarra et al. 2019: 3–8).

8. § 4.4.2: Srd. *śáiri* ‘bird(s) of prey; harmful bird(s)’ < **śá(C)iri* (Paulis 2008: 24); cf. Bq. *sai*, *sari* ‘vulture’ (Löpelmann 1968: 1138; EH: 558) < **sai* (Trask 2008: 389). Also compared is Chenoua Bb. *isyi* ‘bird of prey’ (Paulis 2008: 24; cf. Laoust 1912: 136).

Formal match: **problematic**

Semantic match: **good**

Cognacy: **unlikely**

9. § 4.5.3: OSrd. *gjarar*, *jjararu* Srd. *ǵájaru* ‘hunting dog’ < **ǵákaru* (DES I: 602); cf. Bq. *txakur* ‘dog’ (Schuchardt 1905: 227; Wagner 1932: 232). Further comparisons include: Cors. *ghjácaru* etc. ‘shepherd dog’ (Wagner 1932: 232); Byz. Gr. ζαγάριον, MGr. ζαγάρι, Turkish *zağar* ‘hunting dog’, Georg. ძაღლი *dzaghli* ‘dog’ (Schuchardt 1905: 227). Schuchardt (1905)

proposes the Sardinian forms to be a Byzantine loan, but Wagner (1932) rejects this because of the Corsican and Basque comparanda. Nevertheless, in light of the well-established presence of Byzantine loans in Sardinian (Paulis 1983; 2017), Schuchardt's proposal remains attractive.

Formal match: **possible**

Semantic match: **good**

Cognacy: **possible**, but probably as the result of a more recent loan origin of this word in both Sardinian and Basque.

10. § 4.5.5: OSrd. *bita*, Srd. *bètte*, *bítti* etc. 'fawn, lamb, small animal' < **bett-*, **bitt-* (DES I: 211-12); cf. Bq. *pitika* 'kid (young goat)' (Wagner 1932: 233). Further comparisons include: Cat. *bita*, *bitè*, Gasc. *pito*, For. *bette*, *bitte* 'goat' < **bitt-*, **bett-*, **pitt-* (Hubschmid 1953: 70; Hubschmid 1955: 189–190; cf. FEW XXII/I:288). Wagner (DES I: 212) and Michelena (1959: 525) prefer to explain these forms as independent sound-symbolic formations. This is supported by the fact that these forms are also well-attested as animal calls (FEW XXII/I: 288).

Formal match: **possible**, although there are various incongruencies within and between the different languages.

Semantic match: **good**

Cognacy: **uncertain**; there is a possibility that these forms are independent formations originating in animal calls.

11. § 5.1.4: Srd. *littu* 'dense forest, forested terrain' < **littu*/**líCtu*/**líddu*/**líCdu* (DES II: 33); cf. Bq. *lito*, *litho* 'deep place' (Wagner 1932: 242) < **lu(r)* 'earth' + **it(h)o* 'drowned, choked' (Michelena 1990: 81 fn. 17).

Formal match: **problematic**

Semantic match: **problematic**

Cognacy: **unlikely**

12. § 5.1.6: Srd. *mòyoro*, *mòyuru* 'hillock, low hill' < **mòkor-* (DES II: 122; Paulis 1987: 514); cf. Bq. *mokor* 'tree trunk, crust of bread, lump' < **m-okor* (Wagner 1932: 227; Hubschmid 1953: 49). Michelena (1990: 272) analyses Bq. *mokor* as a recently *m*-prefixed variant of *sokor* 'lump' and *okor* 'slice'. Wagner (1932: 227) and Hubschmid (1953: 49) also compare Bq.

mukurru ‘summit’, but this is likely metathesized from a loan from Lat. *cumulus* ‘heap, pile’ (Michelena 1990: 331).²⁹⁴ Finally, Trask (2008: 276) mentions Bq. *mokoru* (Gipuzkoa) ‘height, summit’. Other comparisons include: Old Cat. *mocorró*, Cat. *mogró* etc. ‘nipple’ < Lat. *mūcrō*, *-ōnis* ‘sharp point’ (Hubschmid 1953: 49; DCEC IV: 184); Prov. *maguelo*, Lang. *maghêlo*, *maghiêlo* etc. ‘steep hill, steep place’ < Pre-Rom. **maguella* (FEW XXI: 15b); Alb. *magulë* ‘small pile, heap’, Rom. *măgură* ‘mountain, hill’, MGr. μαγούλα, PSl. **mogyla* ‘burial mound’ (Wagner 1932: 228; Ciorănescu 1958: *măgură*; Orel 1998: 109).

Formal match: **possible**, but only for Bq. *mokoru* ‘height, summit’, as *mokor* ‘lump’ and *mukurru* ‘height, summit’ have alternative etymologies.

Semantic match: **good**

Cognacy: **possible**, for Bq. *mokoru* ‘height, summit’. Ibero-Romance forms like Cat. *mugró* ‘nipple’ are inherited and thus unrelated. The forms from Southern France and the Balkans may still be compared (cf. § 11.1).

13. § 5.1.9: OSrd. *bega*, Srd. *bèya* ‘marshy valley’ < **bèka* < *(*i*)*baika* (DES I: 191-92; Wagner 1997: 254-255); cf. Bq. *ibai* ‘river’; Old Leon. *vajka*, Sp. *vega* etc. ‘meadow, fertile plain’ < Pre-Rom. **ibai-ka* (Bertoldi 1937: 148; DCEC V: 753-754). There is a possibility, however, that the earliest attestation of OSrd. *bega* does not predate Ibero-Romance linguistic influence on Sardinia.

Formal match: **problematic**; an unattested derivation of the Basque form must be assumed, as well irregular vocalic apheresis (Trask 1997: 420-421).

Semantic match: **good**

Cognacy: **unlikely**. It may be an early loan from Spanish, through Catalan.

14. § 5.1.17: Srd. *trókku* ‘ravine, gorge’ < **tórku*/**trókku* (DES II: 522); cf. Bq. *troka* ‘ravine’ < **torka* (Hubschmid 1953: 42; DCEC V: 521b-522). Other comparisons include: dial. Sp. *torco*, *torca* ‘chasm; unstable terrain; pot-

²⁹⁴ Another treatment of the same loanword is found in Bizkaian *bonburu*, *gonburu* ‘summit’ (Michelena 1990: 331).

hole etc.’ (Hubschmid 1953: 42). The Basque and Ibero-Romance forms are certainly related, but Corominas (DCEC V: 521b–522) considers a Latin etymology in *torques* ‘collar’, and argues that the Basque word is of recent origin.

Formal match: **good**

Semantic match: **good**

Cognacy: **possible**, but rather to the Ibero-Romance forms. An inherited origin in Sardinian is not excluded.

15. § 5.1.24: Srd. *óspile* ‘enclosure; gorge, natural cavern; secluded place’ < **óspile* (DES II: 198); cf. Bq. *ospel* ‘shady place’ < **ospel* (Wagner 1932: 227). Trask (2008: 320) suggests that Bq. *ospel* contains **bel* ‘dark’, but has no explanation for the first element. Cf. also Michelena (1990: 272–273) on variants of the Basque word.

Formal match: **good**

Semantic match: **good**

Cognacy: **compelling**

16. § 5.2.4: Srd. *moređína*, *moretína* etc. ‘pile of rocks, dry stone wall’ < **moretína* << **mora-* (DES II: 127–28); cf. Bq. *more(a)*, *mora* ‘cairn, pile of rocks; dolmen’ < **mora* (DCEC IV: 146). Other comparisons include: Cors. *mora*, *mola* ‘pile of rocks or wood’, Tusc. *mora* ‘pile of rocks’, Laz. *mora* (Castelmadama) ‘boulder, very big rock’ (DES II: 128); Sp. *morena*, Pg. *moreia* ‘pile of plant material’, Frpr. *moréna* (Savoy) ‘glacier moraine’ (DCEC IV: 146). Cf. Hubschmid (1943: 150–151), Michelena (1990: 23–25), FEW (VI/III: 276b).

Formal match: **good**

Semantic match: **good**

Cognacy: **compelling**

17. § 6.2.1: Srd. [*pan*] *ispéli* ‘bread made of acorn flour and clay’ < **ispéli* (Wagner 1921: 60); cf. Bq. *ezpel* ‘box tree’, through a presumed shared original meaning ‘pestle’ (Paulis 2011; cf. Putzu 2019: 4).²⁹⁵ However, Bq.

²⁹⁵ I have unfortunately not been able to consult Paulis (2011) myself.

ezpel likely goes back to **ez-*, a morph found in Basque tree names, and **-bel* 'dark' (Trask 1997: 256; 2008: 188).

Formal match: **problematic**

Semantic match: **problematic**

Cognacy: **unlikely**

18. § 7.1.3: Srd. *tuttúrru* 'cheek', *tutturòne* 'mumps' < **tuttúrru* (DES II: 537); cf. Bq. *tutur* 'crest, bump on the head', *tuturru* 'point, summit' etc. (Hubschmid 1953: 75–76) < expressive **Cu(n)Cur*; cf. Bq. *kunkur*, *konkor* 'bump on the head', *kukur* 'bird's crest' and *kokor*, *kukutz* 'peak, summit' (Trask 1995: 70; 2008: 344).

Formal match: **problematic**; the Basque forms do not appear to be old.

Semantic match: **problematic**; 'cheeks' are not straightforwardly interpreted as 'crests' or 'summits' of the head.

Cognacy: **unlikely**

19. § 7.2.4: Srd. *barraòne*, *barisòne*, *barraólu* etc. 'tangle/bundle of wood (generally to block passages)' < **barrVs-* (DES I: 181–82); cf. Bq. *barra* 'bar' (Rohlf's 1927b: 402; DCEC I: 510b, DECLC I: 645b). Other comparisons include: Pg. *barda* 'fence made of intertwined branches and brambles', Cat. *barda* 'portable barrier to lock up livestock', *bardissa* 'thicket; hedge' (DCEC I: 510; DECLC I: 644–645); OProv. *barta* 'bush, brushwood' etc. (FEW I: 262). However, Bq. *barra* may be of Romance origin (Micheleno 1990: 269).

Formal match: **possible**

Semantic match: **good**

Cognacy: **possible**, but the Romance comparisons are semantically stronger, and the Basque form may originally be from Romance.

10.3.2 Discussion

From the overview of proposed cognates between Sardinian and Basque, it is clear that not all comparisons can be maintained. Some must be rejected on formal grounds (5, 8, 11, 13, 17, 18), while for others the meanings of the compared forms are too divergent or uncertain (1, 3, 11, 17, 18). In some other cases there does seem to be a reliable connection, but with the possibility that it is of recent origin either in Sardinian (9, 15), or in Basque (7, 9, 11, 1). The following table

summarizes the formal and semantic criteria of the comparisons, and whether cognacy is likely or not.

	Srd.	Bq.	Form.	Semant.	Cogn.
1	* (ϑ) ánda ‘poppy’	andere ‘lady’	✓	×	×
2	*golósti ‘holly’	gorosti ‘holly’	✓	✓	✓
3	*a(C)urri/*aruli ‘hop-hornbeam’	aurri ‘unspecified plant’	?	?	?
4	*kòsti ‘maple’	*(g)azt- ‘maple (?)’	✓	✓ (?)	✓ (?)
5	*gillóstr- ‘tree heather’	*gilar(r)-/*inar- ‘heather’	×	✓	×
6	éni < *éni/*á(C)ini ‘yew’	(h)agin ‘yew’	✓ (?)	✓	✓ (?)
7	*kárva ‘branch’	*(k)arba- ‘branch, trunk etc.’	?	✓	✓ (?)
8	* ϑ á(C)ir(i) ‘bird of prey’	*sai	×	✓	×
9	*jákaru ‘hunting dog’	txakur ‘dog’	✓	✓	✓ (?)
10	*bett-, *bitt- ‘fawn, lamb’	pitika ‘kid’	✓ (?)	✓	?
11	*líCtu ‘dense forest’	*lu(r)-it(h)o ‘deep place’	×	×	×
12	*mòkor- ‘hillock, low hill’	mokoru ‘height, summit’	✓ (?)	✓	✓ (?)
13	*béka ‘marshy valley’	ibai ‘river’	×	✓ (?)	×
14	*tórku ‘ravine’	*torka ‘ravine’	✓ (?)	✓	✓ (?)
15	*óspile ‘secluded place’	*ospel ‘shady place’	✓	✓	✓
16	*moretína << *móra- ‘pile of rocks’	*mora ‘pile of rocks, dolmen’	✓	✓	✓
17	*ispéli ‘bread made of acorns and clay’	*ez-bel ‘box tree’	×	×	×
18	*tuttúrru ‘cheek’	*Cu(n)Cur ‘point, summit; crest, bump’	×	×	×
19	*barrVs- ‘tangle of wood’	barra ‘bar’	✓ (?)	✓	✓ (?)

Table 10.3.1: Proposed Sardinian-Basque comparisons

For ten of the nineteen discussed proposals for “Sardo-Basque” cognates, the respective formal reconstructions as well as semantics are similar enough to consider a shared origin. However, for some there are indications for a more recent origin of the compared forms in either Basque or Sardinian. The forms in question are:

- Bq. *karbaza*, *karbasta* ‘etc.’ (7) (<< *arba < *abar, according to Lakarra et al. 2019: 3–8; cf. also the various Ibero- and Gallo-Romance forms of similar form and meaning)

- Srd. *ǵáyarū* 'hunting dog', Bq. *txakur* 'dog' (9) (cf. Byz. Gr. ζαγάρος; Schuchardt 1905: 227)
- Bq. *pitika* 'kid' (10) (maybe of sound-symbolic origin; Michelena 1959: 525; DES I: 212)
- Bq. *troka* < **torka* 'ravine' (14) (<< dial. Sp. *torco*, *torca* 'chasm, pit etc.:'; DCEC V: 551b–522).

Because of the possibility of a more recent origin of these forms in either Basque or Sardinian, they cannot be used as evidence in favor of a prehistoric linguistic connection between Basque and the pre-Roman language(s) of Sardinia.

There are two sets of comparanda in Basque and Sardinian that potentially match both formally and semantically, but for which some caution is needed either on the formal or on the semantic side. One is the connection between Srd. *éni* 'yew' and Bq. (*h*)*agin* 'id.' While Srd. *éni* could in principle go back to **agin*, this is only one of the options. Other possible reconstructions include **éni*, **égin(i)*, **áin(i)*. Because of the multitude of possible Sardinian reconstructions, the formal comparison to the Basque word loses its strength, despite the excellent semantic match. Similarly, the comparison between Srd. *kòsti* 'maple' and Bq. *gazitigar* (*g*)*astigar* 'id.' is based on the idea that the Basque forms are a compound of **gazt-* and *ihar* 'maple'. However, **gazt-* is not attested on its own (Michelena 1953: 48). Therefore, while there is formal similarity between it and Srd. *kòsti* 'maple', the meaning of Bq. **gazt-* cannot reliably be verified.

As a result, we are left with four more or less convincing sets of words that show comparable form and meaning in Sardinian and Basque, and for which a more recent (loan) origin is not evident. These words are:

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------|
| • Srd. <i>*golósti</i> 'holly' | Bq. <i>gorosti</i> 'id.' |
| • Srd. <i>*mòkor-</i> 'hillock' | Bq. <i>mokoru</i> 'summit' |
| • Srd. <i>*óspile</i> 'secluded place etc.' | Bq. <i>ospel</i> 'shady place' |
| • Srd. <i>*moretína</i> << <i>*móra</i> 'pile of rocks' | Bq. <i>mora</i> 'id.; dolmen' |

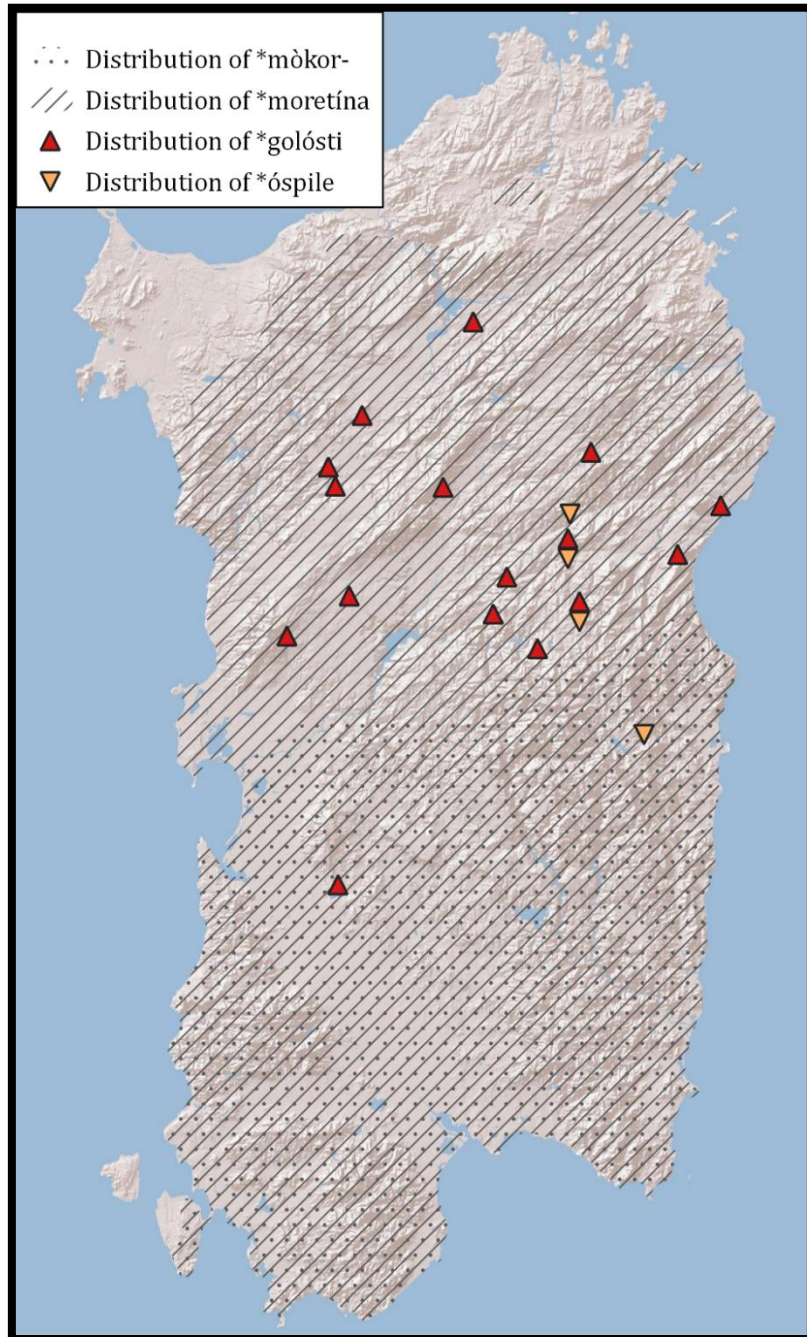


Figure 10.3.1: Distribution of possible Sardinian-Basque cognates

The small number of four Sardo-Basque comparisons that do not entail immediate formal, semantic or etymological difficulties, does not favor the hypothesis that the language(s) spoken in Sardinia prior to the arrival of the Phoenicians and Romans was a relative of Basque. Yet, it is unattractive to explain all of these forms as mere chance resemblances, especially in view of the perfect correspondences of phonologically complex forms, such as Srd. *golóstju* and Bq. *gorosti* 'holly'.

The low number of compelling Sardo-Basque comparisons is also unlikely to be the result of a geographically restricted Vasconic presence in Sardinia, as most of these words have a wide distribution across the Sardinian dialects (Figure 10.3.1). An alternative explanation is that these words did not originate in a language related to Basque, but that both Basque and Sardinian acquired them as loans from a third language or language family. Closer examination of the remaining four comparisons reveals that they are not restricted to Sardinian and Basque, with the exception of Srd. *óspile* 'secluded place', Bq. *ospel* 'shady place'. The word for 'holly' has comparanda in Occitan and Greek; the word for 'hillock' has been compared to forms in Occitan, Greek, Albanian and Romanian; and the word denoting 'pile of rocks' has potential cognates in Ibero-Romance, Gallo-Romance and Italo-Romance. The same is true for the less certain cases listed in Table 10.3.1: e.g. for Srd. *kòsti* 'maple', Bq. *(g)astigar* 'id.', cf. OProv. *agast*, Gr. Hes. ἄλαστος 'id.'; for Srd. **karva* 'branch', Bq. **(k)arba-* 'branch, trunk', cf. Ast. *garba* 'small firewood', Lang. *garbasso* 'young oak', Gr. ξάρφος 'arid stalk, twig, halm, hay'; for Srd. **bar(r)Vs-* 'tangle/bundle of wood used to block passages, Bq. *barra* 'bar', cf. Cat. *barda* 'portable barrier to lock up livestock', *bardissa* 'thicket; hedge', OProv. *barta* 'brushwood'.

An additional indication that the Sardo-Basque comparisons need not originate in a language related to Basque, is the fact that the labial nasal **m* is not reconstructed for the Proto-Basque phonological system (Michelena 1990: 267). The modern occurrences of *m* in Basque are explained as the result of loans or by nasalization of original **b*, by assimilation to the dental nasal *n* (Michelena 1990: 267–271; Trask 1995: 70). Therefore, Bq. *mokoru* 'height, summit' and *mora* 'cairn, pile of rocks; dolmen' are not easily reconstructible to Proto-Basque. Michelena's reconstruction of the Proto-Basque phonological system, lacking **m*, is estimated to have been in place approximately two thousand years ago (Trask 1995: 67), which postdates the Roman conquest of Sardinia. This makes the assumption that *m-* in Bq. *mokoru* and *mora* developed secondarily and was then borrowed into the Latin of Sardinia chronologically impossible.

10.3.3 Conclusion

To conclude, in light of the small number of compelling Sardo-Basque comparanda, the Sardinian lexicon does not provide convincing evidence for the presence of a language related to Basque in pre-Roman Sardinia (cf. Paulis 2008: 27). In fact, the fact that the bulk of suspected pre-Roman Sardinian words cannot be accounted for with an appeal to Basque is counter-evidence to a Vasconic presence. Most of the small number of pre-Roman words found both in Sardinian and Basque are more widely distributed in the Mediterranean region. This cannot be accounted for by our current understanding of the historical extent of the Basque and Aquitanian languages. The Vasconic language family did occupy a larger territory on both sides of the Pyrenees, but was decidedly oriented toward the Atlantic coast. On the Mediterranean coast different, unrelated, languages were spoken (Gorrochategui 1995: 57; Trask 1995: 87). Thus, the distribution of words like Srd. *golóstju*, Bq. *gorosti*, Lang. *agaloússēs*, Gr. *κῆλαστρος* ‘holly’ require a different explanation that does not involve Basque as the ultimate donor language. This will be discussed in § 11.

10.4 Etruscan

The Etruscan evidence that has been proposed to point toward a connection with pre-Roman Sardinian, consists of lexical comparisons (§ 10.4.1) and structural comparisons (§ 10.4.2). Additionally, comparisons between modern Tuscan and Sardinian have been taken as evidence in favor of a Tyrrhenian presence in Sardinia (cf. § 10.4.3). For a discussion of Pittau’s hypothesis involving a linguistic relationship between pre-Roman Sardinian, Etruscan, and Lydian, see § 1.3.3.4.

10.4.1 Etruscan lexical comparisons

Etruscan lexical evidence is more difficult to come by than Basque (for which see § 10.3.1). The main reason for this is that Basque is a living and well-documented language. In the case of Etruscan, we run into several issues. Firstly, the number of Etruscan lexical items whose meaning has been determined with confidence, and which can therefore be compared to Sardinian words of pre-Roman origin, is rather low (Wallace 2008: 123). Secondly, due to the nature of the attested inscriptions, many of the Etruscan words for which a meaning has been identified concern commonly used verbs, kinship terms, and specific culture terms relating to Etruscan society and religion (Wallace 2008: 123–124). We do *a priori* not expect to find substrate words in the semantic domains of common verbs and kinship terms, as these are largely regularly inherited from Latin. On the other hand, the Etruscan cultural and religious lexicon is highly specific to the Etruscan context, e.g. various types of magistrates. It is questionable whether these concepts

ever existed in pre-Roman Sardinia. At the same time, the semantic domains that are most prone to be represented in linguistic substrates, such as flora, fauna, geographical terminology etc., are largely unknown from Etruscan. As a result, it is not surprising that only a single Etruscan word has convincingly been compared to Sardinian: OSrd. *muteclu* ‘rockrose’, cf. the Etruscan gloss μούτουκα ‘thyme’ (Dioscorides Anazarbei 1906: 48; Bonfante & Bonfante 1983: 190). This does not mean that there is no lexical evidence at all however; other lines of lexical evidence are discussed in § 10.4.3 – 10.4.4.

10.4.2 Etruscan structural comparisons

In the structural domain, there are several proposals for morphological parallels between Etruscan and the pre-Roman Sardinian material.

One parallel is the sequence *-en(n)-* attested on various Sardinian toponyms like *Azzen*, *Aratena*, *Ortobène*, *Salvènnero* etc. (Serra 1952: 409; Hubschmid 1963a: 173–174; Terracini 1927: 143; Pittau 1995: 196; cf. Wolf 1998a: 63). Terracini (1927: 143) compares this to African toponyms, but Hubschmid (1963a: 173–174) and Pittau (1995: 196) prefer a Tyrrhenian explanation. Presumably, this preference is based on Latin formations referring to persons containing *-enna/us* (e.g. Lat. *sociennus* ‘partner’), hypothesized to be of Etruscan origin (cf. Weiss 2009: 485). The comparison between the Sardinian toponyms and the potentially Etruscan suffix found in Latin is problematic for several reasons. On the Sardinian side, *-en(n)-* is exclusively found on toponyms, whose semantic opacity renders any analysis of its function difficult (cf. § 2.1.2.2.1).²⁹⁶ On the Etruscan side, *-en(n)-* is actually not attested as such. There is a suffix *-na-*, which forms possessive adjectives from nouns (Wallace 2008: 53), but it is not evident that it is related to *-en(n)-*. Formally, the Sardinian toponyms with *-en(n)-* are more similar to Lat. *-enna/us* (Wigman 2023: 28). Due to our poor understanding of the element *-en(n)-* in Sardinian toponyms, as well as its discrepancy with the actual attested Etruscan forms, it is impossible to confidently attribute *-en(n)-* in Sardinian toponyms to a Tyrrhenian source.

Hubschmid’s (1963a: 175) suggestion that the pre-Roman suffix *-Vr-* (§ 9.2.6.2) is somehow related to Etruscan is more substantiated. This suffix has been interpreted by Terracini (1927: 139) as an original plural marker. Hubschmid compares it to the Etruscan plural ending *-r, -r(a)-* (1963a: 175). If Terracini’s analysis

²⁹⁶ Hubschmid (1963a: 174) does mention cases like the toponym *Tettène*, which might be derived from *tétti* ‘smilax’ (DES II: 480). But, here too the connection between *Tettène* and *tétti* rests solely on formal similarity, without any verifiable shared semantics.

of Srd. $\acute{V}r$ - as an original plural is correct, there is indeed a good formal and functional match with the Etruscan morpheme. It should be noted however that Etr. $-r, -r(a)$ - is used to form plurals of animate nouns only (Wallace 2008: 51), which is not the case for the pre-Roman Sardinian suffix. It is however imaginable that a hypothetical Tyrrhenian language spoken in Sardinia generalized this suffix to inanimate nouns.²⁹⁷

Finally, Pittau (1995: 197) proposes a connection between the prefix ϑi - found on numerous pre-Roman Sardinian words (§ 9.1.2), and the Etruscan demonstrative pronoun *eta, ita, ta*. Functionally, this is imaginable, as $*\vartheta i$ - was probably a morphosyntactic element. However, if Srd. $*\vartheta i$ - is originally identical to $*kV$ -, as proposed in § 9.1.3.1, the connection to Etr. *ita, eta, ta* becomes less likely. Interestingly, Etruscan also had a demonstrative pronoun *ika, eca, ca*, however, apparently with identical meaning and function to Etr. *eta, ita, ta* (Wallace 2008: 59–60). Pittau (1995: 197) could thus still be right in arguing that Srd. $*kV$ - (>> $*\vartheta i$ -) has a match in the Etruscan demonstrative pronoun, with the adjustment that Etr. $(e/i)ka$ is a more suitable comparandum than $(e/i)ta$.

For two features attested in the Pre-Roman part of the Sardinian lexicon (i.e. $*\acute{V}r$ - and $*kV$ -/ $*\vartheta i$ -), a connection to Etruscan morphemes is possible on formal and functional grounds. In both cases however, the behavior of these morphemes in the Sardinian lexicon is not identical to their presumed Etruscan counterparts. Plural $-r, -r(a)$ - is restricted to animate nouns in Etruscan, unlike Srd. $*\acute{V}r$. Etruscan $(e/i)ka$ functioned as a demonstrative pronoun that could be enclitic to the noun, while Srd. $*kV$ - and $*\vartheta i$ - preceded the lexical stem. It is therefore unlikely that the pre-Roman donor language of these Sardinian features — if they are indeed related to the Etruscan forms — was Etruscan itself. Rather, we would perhaps be dealing with a related Tyrrhenian language spoken in Sardinia, which is in line with what Pittau (1995) assumes.

10.4.3 Comparing Tuscan

One other avenue for drawing lexical parallels between Etruscan and the pre-Roman Sardinian language(s), is through Tuscan (cf. Pittau 1995: 197). As the distribution of the modern Tuscan varieties lines up roughly with the ancient extent of Etruscan, it stands to reason to ascribe etymologically obscure and seemingly non-inherited words in Tuscan to an Etruscan substrate. However, comparisons between etymologically obscure Sardinian words on the one hand,

²⁹⁷ Pittau (1995: 196) claims that he is the first to make this connection, but it is in fact presented in Hubschmid (1963a: 197).

and etymologically obscure Tuscan words on the other, entail a double uncertainty. In such cases an etymological connection is possible, i.e. when if the formal and semantic criteria are met, but an unequivocal attribution of the forms in question to an Etruscan origin is problematic. Our understanding of the prehistoric linguistic diversity of the region is simply not advanced enough to rule out the existence of other pre-Roman languages from which both Sardinian and Tuscan could have incorporated words.

10.4.4 The lexical evidence

The following is an overview of the linguistic comparisons that can be adduced in favor of the view that the pre-Roman language(s) of Sardinia are related to Etruscan, according to Pittau (1995: 197–233). I have left out comparisons that are exclusively based on person names or toponyms, as well as some forms that have received more convincing etymologies in works in previous scholarship. All of the comparisons are evaluated in terms of their formal as well as their semantic agreement.²⁹⁸

1. § 3.1.6: Srd. *kuyúsa*, *ǧurgúsa* etc. ‘Celery, fool’s watercress; water hemlock’ < **gusa* (DES I: 422, II: 555), Srd. *áússa* ‘poison hemlock’ < **a(C)ussa* (DES I: 153); cf. Lat. *cicūta* ‘poison hemlock’ (Pittau 1995: 209).²⁹⁹

Formal match: **problematic**

Semantic match: **good**

Cognacy: **unlikely**

2. § 3.1.11: Srd. *buđđúri*, *búđđaru*, etc. ‘poison hemlock’ < **bull-úri/Vr-* (DES I: 204; Paulis 1992: 151); cf. Tusc. *billeri* ‘mayflower’ (Paulis 1992: 151; Pittau 1995: 203). Other comparisons include Lat. *berula* ‘lesser water parsnip (*Berula erecta*)’ (DEI I: 520b; André 1985: 35).

Formal match: **possible**

Semantic match: **possible**, although not straightforward

Cognacy: **possible**

²⁹⁸ For the sake of consistency, the order adhered to here is the same as in chapters § 3 – 7, and may deviate from Pittau (1995).

²⁹⁹ Lat *cicūta* has been compared to Celtic forms (Pedersen 1909: 209; Wigman 2023: 193).

3. § 3.3.13: OSrd. *mutclu* ‘rockrose’ < **muték(u)lu* (DES II: 150-51); cf. Etr. *μούτουκα* ‘thyme; rockrose’ (Dioscorides Anazarbei 1906: 48; Bertoldi 1936: 312 fn. 1; Bonfante & Bonfante 1983: 190). Other comparisons include: Calab. *mútaca*, *múndaca*, *amùndaci*, *amùndici* ‘etc. ‘narrow-leaved cistus (*Cistus monspeliensis*)’ (Bertoldi 1936: 312; Alessio 1949: 114; Rohlfis 1977: 439, 447), Lang. *mouche*, *mouge* etc., Cat. *módega* ‘id.’ (Hubschmid 1953: 36; FEW VI/III: 306; DECLC V: 715-716) < **mútVka*; Cat. *motxera* (reg. Roussillon) ‘id.’ (FEW VI/III: 306) < **mutukária*.

Formal match: **good**

Semantic match: **good**

Cognacy: **compelling**

4. § 3.3.21: Srd. *sárpa* etc. ‘willow species’ (DES II: 384) < **sárpa*; cf. Lat. *sirpus*, *scirpus* ‘bulrush’ < **skerpo-* (Pittau 1995: 227; cf. de Vaan 2008: 546). However, Srd. *sárpa* may be a derivation of Lat. *sarpō* ‘to cut off, to prune’ (cf. Weiss 2009: 299, 300).

Formal match: **problematic**

Semantic match: **possible**

Cognacy: **unlikely**.

5. § 3.4.3: Srd. *bòddoro*, *bòddero* ‘juniper berry’ < **bóllVr-* (DES I: 215; Pittau 1995: 202); cf. Tusc. *bòllora* (Lucca) ‘gall (on plants)’. Other comparisons include Sic. *bòddaru* ‘grain, kernel; bump’ (DES I: 215).

Formal match: **good**

Semantic match: **good**

Cognacy: **compelling**, although a sound-symbolic origin (either shared or independent) is also imaginable (cf. Paulis 1992: 444).

6. § 3.4.8: Srd. *kòkkoro*, *kòkkolo* ‘walnut’ < **kòkkoro* (DES I: 356); cf. Tusc. *cóccoro* ‘big, round hazelnut’ (Castelnuovo di Garfagnana) (DES I: 356; Pittau 1995: 207). Other comparisons include: Nap. *còccola* ‘walnut husk’, Laz. *kùkkęę* ‘half of a walnut husk’ (Castro dei Volsci), Romagnol *cocla* ‘walnut’; Arag. *coca* ‘walnut’; Pg. *cócora* ‘cooked chestnut’ etc. (DES I: 356). Wagner (DES I: 357) explains these forms from Lat. *cocum*, presumably with secondary addition of pre-Roman **Vr-* (cf. § 9.2.6.2).

Formal match: **good**

Semantic match: **good**

Cognacy: **possible**, but perhaps from Lat. *coccum*.

7. § 4.1.9: Srd. [káddʰ e] *pilíkke* ‘dragonfly’, *tsimpilíye* ‘grasshopper’ < **pilíke* (DES II: 265, 547); cf. Tusc. (s)*piluccare* ‘eating little bits at a time’ (Pittau 1995: 223) << Lat. *pilāre* ‘to depilate’.

Formal match: **problematic**

Semantic match: **problematic**

Cognacy: **unlikely**

8. § 4.5.10: Srd. *mufròne*, *muyròne* etc. ‘mouflon’ < **mufròne* (DES II: 134-135); cf. Cors. *mufrone*, *muvrone* etc. ‘mouflon’ < **mufròne* (DES II: 134-135; Pittau 1995: 218), Lat. *mufron* (Polemius Silvius, 5th c. CE) ‘mouflon’ (TLL VIII: 1557; Ernout & Meillet 2001: 417).

Formal match: **good**

Semantic match: **good**

Cognacy: **compelling**, for the Sardinian and Corsican forms. The Latin attestation likely represents a direct loan from either Corsican or Sardinian. There is no evidence for an Etruscan origin.

9. Srd. *barrókku*, *borrókku* ‘cliff, ravine, gully, gorge’ < **barrokk-* (Paulis 1987: 470; Pittau 1995: 202; cf. 5.1.28); cf. Tusc. *borro*, *borròne*, *burrone* ‘channel, ditch, precipice’ (Pittau 1995: 202) < *bótro* ‘id.’ << Gr. βότρος ‘hole, trench’ (DEI I: 568b, 574b).

Formal match: **problematic**

Semantic match: **good**

Cognacy: **unlikely**

10. § 5.1.15: Srd. *péntuma*, *ispéntumu* ‘precipice, cliff, ravine’ < **péntum-* (DES II: 244); cf. Etr. *penθuna*, *penθna* ‘stele, cippus’ (Breyer 1993: 347 fn. 515). Further comparisons include: Laz. *pèndima* (Nemi) ‘sloping rock face’, Campan. *péndam^a* (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). The Sardinian form may however be a descendant of a regional Latin formation (Parodi 1907: 772; Rohlfs 1927a: 163 fn. 1; Aebischer 1934).

Formal match: **uncertain**

Semantic match: **problematic**

Cognacy: **unlikely**

11. § 5.1.28: Srd. *karróppu*, *garróppu*, *korróppu*, *gorróppu* etc. 'whirlpool; crevice etc.' < **garrópp-* (DES I: 308); cf. Tusc. *karravone*, Cors. *kar-ravóni* 'ravine' (Hubschmid 1953: 58; Pittau 1995: 206). Other comparisons include: Irpino *sgarrupá*, Abruzz. *scarrupà* 'to fall down, to plunge', Laz. *carapone* (Castelmadama) 'whirlpool, swamp', Nap. *scarrupo*, *sgarrupo* 'cliff, precipice', Calab. *garroppa* (Petronà) 'trough' etc. (Rohlfs 1932: 336; Wagner 1932: 243; DES I:308); Calab. *karafínu* 'puddle' (Hubschmid 1953: 58).

Formal match: **good**

Semantic match: **good**

Cognacy: **compelling**, but cf. § 5.1.28.

12. § 5.2.4: Srd. *moretína* etc. 'pile of rocks; dry-stone wall' < **moretína* << **mora* (?) (DES II: 127-28),³⁰⁰ cf. Tusc. *mòra*, *móra* etc. 'pile of rocks; dry-stone wall' (Pittau 1995: 219).³⁰¹ Other comparisons include: Cors. *mora*, *mola* 'pile of rocks or wood', Laz. *mora* (Castelmadama) 'boulder, very big rock' (DES II: 128); Bq. *more(a)*, *mora* 'cairn, pile of rocks; dolmen' < **mora* (DCEC IV: 146); Sp. *morena*, Pg. *moreia* 'pile of plant material', Frpr. *moréna* (Savoy) 'glacier moraine' (DCEC IV: 146; cf. Hubschmid 1943: 150-151; Michelena 1969: 23-25; FEW VI/III: 276b).

³⁰⁰ I do not include Pittau's (1995: 219) connection to Srd. *múra*, *núrra* and *nuráke*. The occurrences of the first form (i.e. *múra*) in the Condaghe di Santa Maria di Bonarcado (Viridis 2003: sec. 1.18, 53.1, 176.2, 207.6) are misidentified by Pittau as meaning "pile of rocks' and 'nuraghe'", but it actually denotes a 'mulberry tree' (DES II: 137-38; Viridis 2003: 263). The other forms, *núrra* 'pile of wood or rocks; chasm' and *nuráke* 'nuraghe', cannot be compared to *moretína* (or to hypothetical **mora*) because of the phonetic distance between the forms.

³⁰¹ Pittau (1995: 220) compares Lat. *mūrus* 'defensive wall', but this goes back to PIE *(*H*)*moi-ro-*, and thus does not belong here (de Vaan 2008: 396).

Formal match: **good**
 Semantic match: **good**
 Cognacy: **compelling**

13. Srd. *garuléu*, *galuréu*, *galiléu* ‘pollen deposited in honey’ (Pittau 1995: 211–212) < **galuléu*;³⁰² cf. Etr. γαρουλέον ‘chrysanthemum’ (Bonfante & Bonfante 1983: 189; Pittau 1995: 212).

Formal match: **good**, although the Sardinian form is similar to other productively derived words.
 Semantic match: **problematic**
 Cognacy: **unlikely**

14. Srd. *gurúle* (Bitti) ‘pass, ravine between mountains’ < **gurúle* (DES I: 597, II: 609); cf. Lat. *cūria* ‘division of the Roman people; meeting place’ < Plt. **ko-wir-ija* (de Vaan 2008: 157), Lat. [*sella*] *curūlis* ‘type of official chair’ (Pittau 1995: 213). Lat. *curūlis* has been proposed to be an Etruscan loan, but it could equally well be a derivation of *currus* ‘chariot’ (de Vaan 2008: 157).

Formal match: **possible**, but only in the case of Lat. *curūlis*, which moreover has an alternative etymology entailing a productive derivation.
 Semantic match: **problematic**. Pittau (1995: 213) presumably envisages a semantic shift from ‘chair’ to ‘mountain pass’ (cf. It. *sella* ‘saddle; mountain pass’). However, it is Lat. *sella* that refers to a chair, not *curūlis*, rendering the comparison unconvincing.
 Cognacy: **unlikely**

15. Srd. *nárvas*, *návras*, *náβras*, *náirisi* etc. ‘earrings; earlobes’ (DES II: 157–58) < **nápr-/náb(e/i)r-*; cf. Lat. *napurae* ‘straw ropes’, proposed to be from Etr. *naper* ‘some surface measure’ (Ettmayer 1926: 29; Breyer 1993: 265–266; TLL IX/I: 49; Bonfante & Bonfante 1983: 217). Wagner

³⁰² The ending of these words is reminiscent of that found *murguléu* ‘cat thyme; cotton lavender’ etc. (§ 3.1.5), which Paulis (1992: 119) derives from **véru* ‘true’ — cf. also *karduréu* ‘thistle’ < Lat. *carduum verum* (DES I: 300). It is not clear to me what the element *gali/u-* could be.

(DES II: 157-58) doubts the Latin etymology on formal and semantic grounds.

Formal match: **possible**

Semantic match: **problematic**, at least for the Etruscan comparandum.

Cognacy: **unlikely**; if any of the listed words are related, inheritance of the Sardinian forms from the Latin forms is semantically far more likely than a connection between the Sardinian and Etruscan forms.

10.4.5 Discussion

Of the fifteen comparisons that could potentially be indicative of the presence of a Tyrrhenian language in pre-Roman Sardinia, only five are formally and semantically close enough to be considered as evidence. These are the words for ‘rockrose’ (3), ‘juniper berry’ (5), ‘mouflon’ (8), ‘whirlpool, crevice’ (11), and ‘pile of rocks; dry-stone wall’ (12). For the ten remaining cases, either the semantics are too distant to confidently posit a common origin, or the formal details speak against a connection. The words for ‘poison hemlock’ (2) and ‘walnut’ (6) are uncertain cases. Table 10.4.1 summarizes the formal and semantic criteria for each discussed word.

	Srd.	Comp.	Form.	Semant.	Cogn.
1	*-gusa ‘watercress, celery; water hemlock’	Lat. <i>cicūta</i> ‘poison hemlock’	×	✓	×
2	*bull-úri/-Vr- ‘poison hemlock’	Tusc. <i>billeri</i> (pl.) ‘mayflower’	✓ (?)	?	?
3	*muték(u)lu ‘rockrose’	Etr. μούτουχα ‘rockrose; thyme’	✓	✓	✓
4	*sárpa ‘willow’	Lat. <i>sirpus</i> , <i>scirpus</i> ‘bulrush’	×	?	×
5	*bólVr- ‘juniper berry’	Tusc. <i>bòllora</i> ‘gall (on plants)’	✓	✓	✓
6	*kókkVr- ‘walnut’	Tusc. <i>cóccoro</i> ‘big hazelnut’	✓	✓	?
7	*pilíke ‘grasshopper/dragonfly’	Tusc. (s) <i>piluccare</i> ‘to eat little bits at a time’	×	×	×
8	*mufróne ‘mouflon’	Cors. <i>mufròne</i> , Lat. <i>muflon</i> ‘mouflon’	✓	✓	✓
9	*barrokk- ‘cliff, ravine, gorge’	Tusc. <i>borro</i> ‘channel, ditch, precipice’	×	✓	×

	Srd.	Comp.	Form.	Semant.	Cogn.
10	* <i>péntum</i> - 'precipice, cliff, ravine'	Etr. <i>penθuna</i> 'stele, cippus' ?		×	×
11	* <i>garropp</i> - 'whirlpool; crevice'	Tusc. <i>karravone</i> , Cors. <i>karravóni</i> 'ravine'	✓	✓	✓
12	* <i>moretína</i> << * <i>móra</i> 'pile of rocks; dry-stone wall'	Tusc. <i>móra</i> , <i>mòra</i> , Cors. <i>mola</i> , <i>mora</i> 'id.'	✓	✓	✓
13	* <i>galuléu</i> 'pollen deposited in honey'	Etr. γαρουλέον 'chrysanthemum'	✓	×	×
14	* <i>gurúle</i> 'mountain pass, ravine'	Lat. [<i>sella</i>] <i>curúlis</i> 'official chair'	?	×	×
15	* <i>nap(V)r</i> -/* <i>nab(V)r</i> - 'ear-rings'	Lat. <i>napurae</i> 'straw ropes'; Etr. <i>naper</i> 'surface measure'	?	×	×

Table 10.4.1: Proposed lexicial evidence for Tyrrhenian Sardinian contact

10.4.5.1 Etruscan and Sardinian

As noted before, the presented material, including the convincing cases, consists of three categories: comparisons between Sardinian and Etruscan, comparisons between Sardinian and Latin, and comparisons between Sardinian and Tuscan. Of the first group, there is only a single case in which the Sardinian and Etruscan are formally and semantically close enough to consider a shared origin.³⁰³ This is the word for 'rockrose' (3): Srd. **mutéklu*, Etr. μούτουκα. While this can potentially be invoked as an argument in favor of an Etruscan presence in Sardinia, it should be noted that continuants of **mutaka* are also found in the Iberian Peninsula (e.g. Cat. *módega*), southern France (e.g. Lang. *mouche*), and southern Italy (e.g. Calab. *mútaca* 'rockrose'). Given that Etruscan is not known to have been spoken in such a wide territory, it is better to interpret the Sardinian form in a wider Western Mediterranean context rather than as a direct loan from Etruscan (§ 11.3).

10.4.5.2 Latin and Sardinian

As far as un-etymologized Latin words with correspondents in Sardinian are concerned, there is once more just one example: Srd., Cors. **mufróne*, **múfra* 'mouflon', Lat. *mufro* 'id.'. However, this does not constitute evidence for an Etruscan origin of the Latin form. In light of the late attestation of this word (Polemios Silvius, 5th c. CE), and the fact that it refers to specifically Sardinian

³⁰³ This is perhaps already more than we would expect, in light of our limited knowledge of the Etruscan lexicon.

and Corsican animals, it is more likely that Lat. *mufron* is a direct loan from a pre-Roman Sardinian or Corsican language. The Latin forms *musmō* and *imbrōs* (acc. pl.), both plausibly referring to the mouflon, are attested earlier and similar albeit formally less close to Srd., Cors. **mufrone* (cf. TLL VII/I: 140; VIII: 1705). If these forms are related to **mufrone*, the assumption of a loan from a native Sardinian or Corsican source stands to reason. In short, there is no evidence that any of these words for ‘mouflon’ is of Tyrrhenian origin, as claimed by Pittau (1995: 218).

10.4.5.3 Tuscan and Sardinian

The third category is somewhat more substantial, with a total amount of three compelling cases found in Pittau (1995).

- Srd. **bòllVro* ‘juniper berry’ Tusc. *bòllora* ‘gall (on plants)’
- Srd. **moretína* << **móra* ‘pile of rocks’ Tusc. *mòra, móra* ‘id.’
- Srd. **garróppu* ‘whirlpool; crevice’ Tusc. *karravone* ‘ravine’

In all these cases, the Sardinian forms correspond well semantically and formally to Tuscan words that are of unknown origin. This makes them candidates for Etruscan loans. However, as with the words referring to ‘rockrose’ (3), all three of these Sardinian-Tuscan connections are distributed beyond Sardinian and Tuscan, beyond the known extent of Etruscan. The word for ‘juniper berry’ (5) has a likely cognate in Sic. *bóḍḍaru* ‘grain, kernel; bump’; that for ‘pile of rocks; dry-stone wall’ (9) corresponds to Bq. **mora* ‘cairn, pile of rocks; dolmen’, Sp. *morena* ‘pile of plant material’ etc.; and that for ‘whirlpool, crevice’ (12) is attested further south as Nap. *scarrupo* ‘cliff, precipice’, Calab. *garroppa* ‘trough’ etc. In view of this geographical distribution, it is not evident that the Tuscan forms go back to Etruscan. This weakens the argument for a Tyrrhenian origin of the corresponding Sardinian forms.

10.4.6 Conclusion

As we have seen, there is limited evidence for the hypothesis that the pre-Roman Sardinian was related to Etruscan. On the structural side, two morphological elements in the non-inherited Sardinian lexicon, i.e. pluralizing **-Vr* and morphosyntactic **kV-/*ḡi-*, could correspond to known Etruscan morphemes, i.e. animate plural *-r, -ra-* and demonstrative *(e/i)ka*. On the lexical side however, there is but a single Sardinian word with an direct counterpart in Etruscan, viz. Srd. **muteklu*, Etr. *μούτουκα* ‘rockrose’. The accepted Etruscan and Tuscan comparanda show a wide distribution across Sardinia (Figure 10.4.1).

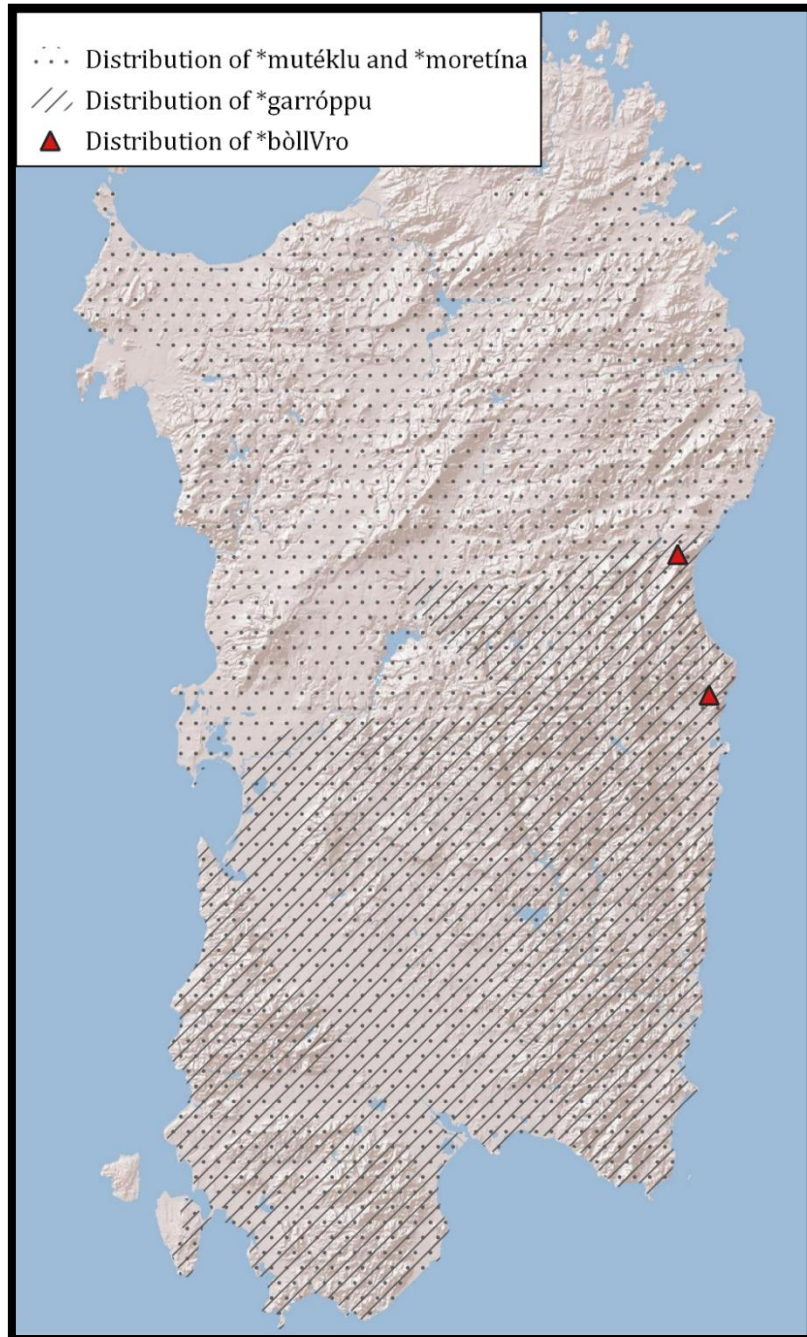


Figure 10.4.1: Distribution of accepted Etruscan and Tuscan comparisons

Because of our limited knowledge of the Etruscan lexicon, and because of the semantic nature of the parts that are known, a low number of identifiable lexical correspondents is to be expected in any scenario of contact. The dearth of clear lexical correspondences does as such not necessarily contradict the hypothetical presence of a Tyrrhenian language in Sardinia. However, even in the case of the Latin and Tuscan comparisons discussed in § 10.4.5.2 and § 10.4.5.3 it is hard to unequivocally attribute any to an Etruscan source. This is mainly due to the fact that the compared forms are distributed over a geographical area that greatly exceeds the current consensus on the historical extent of Etruscan and the Tyrrhenian language family in general. This problem in fact also applies to the single convincing Sardinian-Etruscan correspondence, i.e. the word for ‘rockrose’, which has compelling cognates in Catalan, Occitan and Calabrian. The distributions of the words, discussed in § 10.4.5, fit into a larger pattern of apparent pre-Roman word families found across portions of the Mediterranean (cf. § 11). On the basis of the scarce linguistic evidence presented here, it is not possible to either confirm, or reject the presence of a Tyrrhenian language in pre-Roman Sardinia, despite the two morphological correspondences discussed in § 10.4.2 being tantalizing clues.

