The Mixed People of Etruscans

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ABSTRACT – In this work the Etruscan people is studied as a confederation of tribes having different origins. Ancient and modern geographical names and historical people names of Italy are analysed in order to distinguish the main Etruscan lienages. Some migration hypotheses are introduced.

KEYWORDS – Etruscans, Confederations, Name analysis, Migrations.

INTRODUCTION

In a recent study[1] introducing a new diffusion theory, *Etruscans* have been presented as a mixed people composed of tribes speaking different languages and descending from two disticnt lineages. The aim of this work is to develop and validate that theory by finding traces of the two lineages in ancient and modern geographical names of Italy.

By observing the time and space distributions of ancient Euro-Asian ethnonyms, toponyms, and eponyms, it is possible to distinguish some migration waves departing from Central Asia. Among the migrating peoples, some tribes can be individuated, whose name can be derived from those of two distinct ancestors: *Thyrg^w aunas* and *G^w aulg^w aunas* (Fig. 1). According to the cited study, these two lineages were originally opposite and fighting each other, but successively interacted and joined into a confederation of peoples. In the west direction, these peoples started to move in the second half of the III millennium BC and settled around the Aegean area mainly during the period from the great migration of the XIX-XVIII century BC to that of the XIII-XII century. In course of the latter, they were pressed towards Central Europe and whence they spread to the peripheral areas of the continent. In Italy, the descendants of this people confederation were known as *Etruscans* and considered by *Romans* as a homogeneous population. Actually, they were a confederation of tribes still having different customs and speaking different languages, which had settled along the Italian peninsula before the Roman age.

THYRG^W AUNAS and G^W AULG^W AUNAS

In the cited study, the name *Swag^w au-tas* was reconstructed for the ancestors of *Scythians*. From that name, in fact, the Greek forms - (-*sagetae*[2]) and (*Scythians*[3]) and the Ass. *Askuzai* (*Scythians*[4]) can be easily derived through common phonetic changes. To the name *Swag^w au-tas* the meaning of "breeders of cow" has been attributed. The ancestors of *Scythians* and their descendants were also indicated by the alternative forms *Swag^w au-nas* (from whose ablative *Swag^w aunat* the Hebr. *Askenaz*[5] comes) and *Swag^w au-las*, and the derivations of derivations

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[1] Fabbri 2017; 2018.
[2] Herodotus, I, 201-216.
[3] Herodotus, IV, 6.
[4] Szemerényi 1980, 7.
[5] Genesis, 10, 3; Jeremiah, 51, 27.

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Swag^w au-ta-las, *Swag^w au-la-tas* (whence the Gr.　　ó　, *Scolotoi*[6]), *Swag^w au-la-nas*, and the abbreviations *G^w au-tas*, *G^w au-nas*, *G^w au-las*. Originally, *Swag^w autas* lived in the prairies between southern Russia and Sogdiana and probably spoke the language that is called Proto-Indo-European or common Indo-European.

Figure 1 – Westward migrations of *Thyrg^w aunas* and *G^w aulg^w aunas* (from Fabbri 2017 and 2018).

Among the Scythian tribes, Herodotus mentions that of *Thyssagetae* (　　　　　[7]). This name has been derived from *Thyrswag^w autas*[8], term by which some *Swag^w autas* were indicated, who lived on the border (cf. Gr.　　, door) with mongoloid morphology populations, that they interbred changing their own morphology and language. *Thyrswag^w au-tas* were probably indicated also by the name *Thyrswag^w au-nas*, whence the name of the Schytian people of *Issedones* (Gr. *Ῑ　　　　*[9]) derives, as we will see. Alternative names also were *Thyrg^w au-nas* and *Thyrg^w au-as*, from which the forms *Thyrghunas*, *Thyr'hunas*, *Thyr'unas*, *Thyrkunas*, *Thyrsunas*, *Thyrk-*, *Huna* and *Sunas* can be derived. These forms lead to the names of *Tyrrhenians* (or *Tyrrhinians*, Gr.　　　　, *Tyrrhenoi*[10]), *Tyrsenians* (or *Tyrsinians*, Gr.　　　　ì[11], *Tyrsenoi*), *Turks*, and *Huns*. Since the language of *Turks* and *Huns* is Altaic, it is probable that the dialects spoken by *Thyrswag^w autas* / *Thyrg^w aunas* were Proto-Altaic. Moreover, it is interesting to observe that the *–na* derivation, occurring in the forms *Thyrswag^w au-nas* and *Thyrg^w au-nas*, is very common in the language of *Etruscans*[12], who were the Italic *Tyrsenians* and *Tyrrhenians* according to Herodotus[13] and Strabo[14].

In the III millennium BC some tribes of *Swag^w autas* broke into the lands by *Volga River*, separating *Thyrg^w aunas* into two branches (Fig. 1). A western branch was pushed towards Mesopotamia, Anatolia, and Eastern Europe, an eastern one towards Mongolia and China. The

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[6] Herodotus, IV, 6.
[7] Herodotus, IV, 22.
[8] Fabbri 2017.
[9] Ptolemaeus, VI, 16, 7.
[10] Strabo, V, 1, 7.
[11] Herodotus, I, 94, 7.
[12] Pallottino 2016, 466.
[13] Herodotus, I, 94.
[14] Strabo, V, 1, 7.

latter would then flow back to the west during the great migration of the XIII-XII century BC, due to the pressing of Mongol and Chinese peoples.

On the border between *$Swag^w autas$ and *$Thyrg^w aunas$, it is probable that the terms *$G^w aulg^w aunas$ and *$G^w aulg^w auas$ diffused to distinguish the ones, who had kept the original language and customs of the cow-breeding people, from the others. From the name of *$G^w aulg^w auas$ that of the *Volga River* derives, in whose territory they remained settled for a long time. Hence, *$G^w aulg^w aunas$ were pushed by *Eastern* *$Thyrg^w aunas$ towards Central Europe during the XII-XIII century BC great migration. It is also possible that by analogy with the term *$G^w aulg^w aunas$, in which the root $g^w au$ is repeated with an intensifying function, the name *$Thyrthyras$ was coined to indicate *$Thyrg^w aunas$. From this term the name of *Tartars* can be derived.

*$G^w aulg^w aunas$ stayed in contact with *$Thyrg^w aunas$ for a long time before migrating to Europe. In the contraposition of *$G^w aulg^w aunas$ and *$Thyrg^w aunas$ the term $g^w auna$ lost over time the original meaning of "bovine", "related to cows", "fodder for cows", "fence for cows", "cow breeder", "group of cows" and acquired that of "shelter", "refuge", "fortified place", "village", "group of breeders", "community". Through the phonetic changes that we will discuss in the next section, we can recognise the term $g^w auna$ with the meaning of village or community for example in Celt. **bona** (cf. *Ratis**bona***, *Vindo**bona***, ***B**ona*) and in Etr. *zena* translated into Lat. *sena / sina* (cf. *Bolsena, Cesena, Felsina, Sarsina, Sena*). Actually, in Celtic languages, due to the influence of the descendants of *$Thyrg^w aunas$, the term **$g^w auna$** also results in **di**n / **du**n,* latinised in **di**num / **du**num* (cf. *Vin**din**um*, *Lon**din**um*, *Lug**dun**um*, *Novio**dun**um*, ***Dun**um*). Similarly, due to the influence of the descendants of both *$G^w aulg^w aunas$ and *$Thyrg^w aunas$, the term $g^w aus$ assumed in Germanic languages the meaning of country or region (cf. Ger. *gau* as in *Breisgau* and *Thurgau*, both from *$Thyrg^w auas$, Dutch *gouw*, Frisian *goa*).

Over the centuries the tribes of *$G^w aulg^w aunas$ and *$Thyrg^w aunas$ interacted, clashed and allied themselves, constituting in the last half of the II millennium BC a sort of confederation that in the Aegean area was known as the "*Mixed People*", namely *$Mykg^w aunas$ or *$Mykg^w auas$.

PHONETIC CHANGES

The Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Altaic dialects, spoken respectively by *$G^w aulg^w aunas$ and *$Thyrg^w aunas$, evolved with linguistic exchanges, but maintained distinct characteristics. It is probable that, when *Western* and *Eastern* *$Thyrg^w aunas$ were separated, their language still was not very different from that of *$Swag^w aunas$. The language of *Western* *$Thyrg^w aunas$ would have then been partially influenced by Proto-Indo-European peoples, while *Eastern* *$Thyrg^w aunas$ would have evolved their dialects in contact with Oriental peoples.

In the dialects of *Western* *$Thyrg^w aunas$, the original g^w labiovelar changed mainly into voiced and unvoiced velar, which was also subsequently aspirated or muted (such a tendency is still alive in the descendants of the tribes migrated to Turkey and Tuscany). Moreover, the dialects of *Western* *$Thyrg^w aunas$ tend to transform the *th* phoneme into *s* or *t*. In Mesopotamia we find an example of voiced velar and *th* mutated into *s* in the name **Sargon** (< *$Thyrg^w auna$). In Anatolia we find instead aspirated unvoiced velar and *th* mutated into t in the name of *$Tarchunas$ or *$Tarhunas$ and their eponymous divinity **Tarhun**, that was worshiped as god of the storm. The name of the Lithuanian god of thunder **Perk nas** (< *$Thyrg^w auna$), originally introduced in the area between Baltic Sea and Black Sea by *Western* *$Thyrg^w aunas$, results through phonetic changes due to the peoples subsequently immigrated in that area and in eastern lands, as we see below.

In the dialects of *Eastern* *$Thyrg^w aunas$ the *th* phoneme changed into *s*, *sh* or *ph* or fell, while the g^w labiovelar was transformed primarily into dental (*d*) also aspirated (*z*) or sibilant (*s*) and less frequently in velar. As we anticipated, we find *th* fallen and g^w mutated into *d* in the name of the **Isse**d**ones** (< *$Thyssadonas$ < *$Thyrswag^w aunas$) who lived on the northern and eastern borders of

the area occupied by Scythian peoples. In Anatolia, where *Eastern *Thyrg^w aunas* penetrated already during the period between the XX-XIX century BC great migration and the XII-XIII century BC one, we find *th* changed to *s* e *g^w* to *d* in the name of **Shardana** or **Sharden** (< **Thyrg^w aunas*), *th* fallen and *g^w* changed into *z* (< *dh*) in the names of *Arzawa* (< **Thyrg^w auas*), and *th* mutated to *ph* and *g^w* to *g* in the name of **Phrygians** (Gr. [15] < **Phyrges* < **Thyrg^w auas*). The phonetic change of *th* into *ph* (also not aspired as in Lith. *Perk nas* or Etr. *Pursenas*) was due to the influence of *Proto-Gaul-Latin* (**G^w aulas / * G^w aulatas / * G^w aulatanas*[16]) peoples (cf. Gr. with Lat. *foris*, door), that settled for a long time in the area between Baltic Sea and Black Sea on the border with the *Mixed People*, before the latter pressed them to Central Europe. For example, we can find such a phonetic change to the East in the name of **Ferghana** (<**Thyrg^w auna*) *Valley*, between current Uzbekistan and Kyrghizia, and to the West in the name of **Fersina** (< Etr. **Pherzna** < **Thyrg^w auna*) torrent near Trento in Italy.

In the dialects of **G^w aulg^w aunas* the initial *g^w* labiovelar changed mainly to aspirated voiced labial (*v*) and, more frequently in the late age, not aspirated (*b*), while the internal *g^w* labiovelar changed to labial, velar or dental, by influence of the bordering peoples, among whom even **Thyrg^w aunas*. As we anticipated, we find initial *g^w* mutated to labial and internal *g^w* changed to velar in the name of **Volga** (< **G^w aulg^w aus*) river, and similarly in the name of **Volci** and **Belgae** (the latter without initial aspiration). Moreover, from the name of **G^w aulg^w auas* also Lat. **vulgus** (and parallelly **bulbus* > Etr. *puplu* > Lat. *poplus* > lat. *populus*) and Ger. **Volk** derive (while the Germanic synonym *Theod* derives from **Theudones* < **Thyrdones* < **Thyrg^w aunas*, namely the *Teutones*). We saw in fact that the terms **G^w aulg^w aunas* and **G^w aulg^w auas* had assumed the meaning of "tribe of **G^w aulas*" and then tribe or people. In the Schytian area the descendants of **G^w aulg^w aunas* were also kown, through those of **Thyrg^w aunas*, as **Halizones** (Gr. Ἁ ω [17] < ****Valzones* < **G^w aulg^w aunas*). Similarly, in Italy we know the name of the tribes descending from **G^w aulg^w aunas* mainly through the descendants of **Thyrg^w aunas*, who changed the internal labiovelar to *z* (as in Etr. *Velzna* < **G^w aulg^w aunas*). However, the original names survived in the local dialects, also to the Roman reinterpretation, and lead to believe that the internal labiovelar in the names of **G^w aulg^w aunas* had mainly changed to aspirated labial (**Volvoni*), subsequently fallen (**Bol'oni*).

Actually, as we will demonstrate by analysing some Etruscan and related toponyms, in the Etruscan dialects the initial *g^w* labiovelar results in aspirated voiced labial (*v* as in Etr. *Velathri*, *Volterra*), while the internal one results in aspirated velar (*ch* as in Etr. *Tarchnas*, *Tarquinia*) and mainly in voiced dental (*d* as in *Modena*), also aspirated (*z* as in Etr. *Velzna*, *Bolsena / Orvieto* and *Bologna*), subsequently unvoiced (*t* as in Lat. *Mutina* and *s* as in Lat. *Volsinii* or Lat. *Felsina*). Moreover, the *th* phoneme results in *t* (as in Etr. *Tarchnas*) or *s* (as in Lat. *Sarsina*) and mainly in *ph* (as in Etr. *Phersna*, *Perugia*) and subsequently *p* (as in Lat. *Per'us-ia*, *Perugia*).

The *ch*-result of the internal labiovelar seems due to the influence of the descendants of *Western *Thyrg^w aunas* and **G^w umbras* or **G^w aumbras* (< **G^w auna *Hub'ras*). The latter was a mixed people resulting from the merging of Proto-Scythians (**Swa-g^w aunas* or **Swa-g^w autas*) and Proto-Iberians (**Hubaras*) with other minoritary peoples[18]. It probably rose inside the Ún tice culture[19], in a cultural exchange area reacheable through Rhine, Elbe, Vistula, Danube, and Boristhenes rivers, which were the main ancient commercial routes between Europe and Asia. Whence **G^w aumbras* were pressed westwards by newcomers and spreaded to peripheral areas. In the names of their descendants the *g^w* labiovelar results in unvoiced velar also aspirated and muted: **Cimbri**, **Cambri**, **Cumbri**, **Humber**, **'Umbrians**, **'Ambrones**. This tendency to aspirate the velars was probably received by *Western *Thyrg^w aunas*, whose influence we have already observed in the

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[15] Herodotus, VII, 73.
[16] Fabbri 2018.
[17] Herodotus, IV. 17.
[18] Fabbri 2017.
[19] Gimbutas 1965, 44; 2017, 56;

Baltic area. They probably reached Central-Eastern Europe shortly after *Swag^w autas between the end of the III and the beginning of the II millennium BC.

The d-, z-, and s-result of the internal labiovelar in the Etruscan names seem instead to be influenced by the descendants of *Eastern *Thyrg^w aunas*. In the late Etruscan language, attested by the inscriptions, the few texts and the loans to the Latin, the voiced occlusives were missing and substituted by the respective unvoiced ones, while the o vowel was substituted by u[20]. The d-result of g^w labiovelar, characteristic of *Eastern *Thyrg^w aunas*, then occurs in Etruscan changed to t (cfr. *Thyrg**^w**auas > *Pha'das > *Pad-ua > Lat. *Patavium*), while the aspirated form z occurs also unvoiced and changed to s (cf. Etr. *Velzna* and Etr. *Velsna*[21]). However, in the spoken language the original forms should have survived at least in Northern Italy, since, as we will see, they occur in several current names of cities founded by descendants of *Thyrg^w aunas*. The Etruscan d-result also survived in proper names, as attested by the Old Latin inscription on the Duenos triple vase[22], where Duenos probably is the name of an Etruscan artisan and means good (**d**uenos = **b**onus < **g**^w auna).

These phonetic changes have been determined by analising the distribution of names consistent with a diffusion model[23] considering migration waves departing from Central Asia. The changes obtained for the Middle-Eastern area have been confirmed also for the Europe. After having analysed these phonetic changes, it is now easy to recognise in the Aegean area the name of the *Mixed People* in the Thyrg^w aunian tribes of *Myg**d**onians* (Gr.   [24] < *Myk**g**^w aunas, later also *Mace**d**onians*) and of *My**s**ians/Moe**s**ians* (Gr.   /   [25] < *Myk**g**^w auas), who settled between Anatolia and Balkan Mountains at the end of the II millennium BC, and in the G^w aulg^w aunian tribes who had their capital in the city of *Mycenae* (gr.   [26] < *Myk**v**ainas < *Myk**g**^w aunas). We can find evidences of the presence in the Aegean area of a bilingual people having a Proto-Altaic and Proto-Indo-European origin in the Greek language, in which several doubles[27] occur, such as ǫ́ and   (*I live*; with an aspirated dental and a labial, respectively), and some words present an anomalous result of the labiovelars, such as the interrogative pronoun ί (*Who*; with a dental, while we find a velar, for example, in Lat. **q**uis, Sans. **k**as, Got. **h**vas). In the Aegean area, *Thyrg^w aunas / *Thyrg^w aulas were also known as *Tyrsinians* (or *Tyrsenians*, Gr.   ί[28]) and *Thessalians* (Gr.   [29] < *Thersalas < *Thyrg^w aulas; cf. *Thyssagetae < *Thyrsagatas < *Thyrswag^w autas), who settled respectively East and West of Propontis. Attestations of the original language of *Tyrsinians / Thessalians* remain in a stele and ceramic fragments found on the island of Lemnos in the north-eastern Aegean sea. The language of the inscriptions of these remains, dating from the sixth century BC, has affinities with the Etruscan[30].

In the Etruscan area, the name of *Myk**g**^w aunas resulted in some toponyms such as *Misano* and *Miseno* and in the Etruscan word *mech*[31], which initially was used to indicate the *Mixed People* and later assumed the meaning of "confederation of people", "confederated people", and simply "people".

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[20] Pallottino 2016, 240.
[21] Pallottino 2016, 277.
[22] Gordon, A. E. 1975.
[23] Fabbri 2017; 2018.
[24] Strabo, VII, 3, 2.
[25] Strabo, VII, 3, 2; Herodotus, VII, 20.
[26] Strabo VIII, 6, 19.
[27] Villar 2011, 556.
[28] Herodotus, I, 94.
[29] Herodotus, VII, 130.
[30] Villar 2011, 493.
[31] Pallottino 2016, 311.

TYRSINIANS ANS VOLSINIANS

The migratory process that culminated in the great migration of the XIII-XII century BC was started by the back flow of *Eastern *Thyrg^{w}aunas* into the territory of **G^{w}aulg^{w}aunas*, due to the pressure of the oriental populations. In the Orient **Thyrg^{w}aunas*, nomad cow breeders, had come into contact with peoples culturally more advanced. Probably, they had learnt arts such as the ornamental manufacturing of metals, the drainage of morasses, and perhaps the writing. When they flowed back among the roughest **G^{w}aulg^{w}aunas*, they created with some of them, as we saw, a confederation of peoples speaking different languages, over which they took the power, although they were a minority. During the migration process, such a confederation reached Anatolia, the Balkan region, and the Alpine area, whence it descended on Italy penetrating the local tribes up to Campania. The migration of **Thyras / *Thyrg^{w}aunas / *Thyrg^{w}aulas* through the Alpine area is attested by toponyms and hydronyms such as *Friuli* (< **Phry'ulas < *Phyrghulas < *Thyrg^{w}aulas*), *Tyrol* (< *Tyral*[32] < **Thyrghal < *Thyrg^{w}aulas*), *Kanton Thurgau* (< **Thyrg^{w}aus*), and *Thur* river, affluent of the *High Rhine* river (Ger. *Hoch Rhein*; both from **Thyr-rhein < *Thyrg^{w}auna*; cf. Gr. , *Tyrrhenos*[33]). An additional attestation can be recognised in the name of the Alpine people of *Raeti* (Lat. *Raeti*[34] < **Redas < *Thredas < *Therdas < *Thyrg^{w}auas*), similar to *Etruscans* in the language and customs. As we will see, an attestation of **G^{w}aulg^{w}aunas* in the Alpine area can be found in the name of the city of *Bolzano* (< **G^{w}aulg^{w}auna*) and probably in that of the city of *Golasecca* (< **Golasena < *G^{w}aulg^{w}auna*; cf. Etr. *Velsena* with local dialect *Vuraseca*[35]), cradle of the homonymous culture.

On the northern side of Alps and in the adjacent valleys, the tribes coming from **G^{w}aulg^{w}aunas* settled mainly to the East and those from **Thyrg^{w}aunas* to the West (along the *Thur-Rhein* river). Their descendants were probably known as **Bolboni* (< **G^{w}aulag^{w}aunas*) or **Bolboi* (< **G^{w}aulag^{w}auas*) and **Thyrdones* or **Tarsenar* (< **Thyrg^{w}aunas*) and lastly distinguished themselves by the way the terms *G^{w}aunas* or *G^{w}auas* resulted in their own dialects. They used for example names such as *Bon-i* or *Boi-i* to indicate the tribes descending from **G^{w}aulag^{w}aunas* and *Don-es* or *Sen-ar* for those descending from **Thyrg^{w}aunas*. In the Alpine and further north-western area some tribes from **G^{w}aulag^{w}aunas* and a few from **Thyrg^{w}aunas* had merged with sparse ancient depigmented Mongoloid morpholoy tribes related to Proto-Finns, Caucasoid morphology peoples remotely immigrated such as Iberians (**Hubaras*) and Proto-Schytians (**Swag^{w}autas*), and with Indo-European populations more recently come such as the Proto-Gaul-Latin ones, originating the Gaul-Celtic people that had evolved over the centuries, acquiring homogeneous morphology (scarcely pigmented Caucasoid), language, and culture. From the Rhin valley **Thyrg^{w}aunas* also contributed to the creation of the Germanic nation.

When the confederation of tribes coming from **Thyrg^{w}aunas* and *G^{w}aulag^{w}aunas* descended on Italy, it found there peoples having different origins. On a palaeoanthropic substrate, several peoples had overlapped, who were in different relationship with **Swag^{w}autas*. *Iberians / Ligurians* (Lat. *Hiberi / Ligures* < **Hubaras / *Lubaras*) had common ancestors, but they spoke dialects far from the language of the cow breeder people. On the contrary, *Umbrians* (Lat. *Umbri* < **G^{w}aumbras < *G^{w}auna *Hubras*), *Sabines / Sabates / Sabelli* (Lat. *Sabini / Sabates / Sabelli* < **Swag^{w}aunas / *Swag^{w}autas / *Swag^{w}aulas*), *Italics* (Lat. *Itali* < **Sg^{w}etas / *Sg^{w}ytas / *Sg^{w}ytuli*), *Latins* (Lat. *Latini* < **G^{w}aulatanas*) spoke languages less or more similar to the dialects of **G^{w}aulg^{w}aunas*[36]. In this multiplicity of dialects, the names of the confederation tribes were distorted in different ways, even remaining attributable to the original forms.

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[32] Kühebacher 1991, 470-1.
[33] Strabo, V, 1, 7.
[34] Plinius, III, 133.
[35] Casca Queirazza et. al 1996, 310.
[36] Fabbri 2017; 2018.

Reporting the foundation myths of the Etruscan cities, the ancient historians often used the Greek terms _ι_[37] (_Tyrsinians_ or _Tyrsenians_) and _ι_[38] (_Tyrrhinians_ or _Tyrrhenians_), translated in Lat. _Tyrseni_ and _Tyrrheni_, respectively, strarting by _T_. However, in the Etruscan and related toponyms we can rarely find an initial _T_ out of the Alpine area and the territory of _Tarquinia_ (in whose name _T_ occurs followed by the change of _yr_ into _ar_, that we also saw in those of _Shardana_ and _Arzawa_). More frequently, we find an initial _Ph_ or _P_. This leads to think that the tribes descending from *_Thyrg^waunas_ were further known in the Italic peninsula as _Phyrsini_ or _Pherseni_ (and similar forms deriving from the endonyms *_Phyrzna_ / *_Pherzna_ < *_Thyrg^waunas_ and *_Phyrzla_ / *_Pherzla_ < *_Thyrg^waulas_). The name of the tribes descending from *_G^waulg^waunas_ diffused in Italy mainly through the descendents of *_Thyrg^waunas_. We find the form received by Romans in the name of the city of _Bolsena_: _Volsinium_ (or _Volsinii_[39]), namely the city of _Volsini_ or _Volsones_[40] (from Etr. _Velzna_ or _Velsna_ < *_G^waulg^wauna_). Actually, the endonym should have sound as _Volvoni_ or _Bolboni_, as we saw. However, in the following the Italic tribes descending from *_Thyg^waunas_ and *_G^waulg^waunas_ will be indicated by the terms _Tyrsinians_ and _Volsinians_, respectively.

In the different dialects of the confederation, tribes and cities were called or pronouncied in different ways. From the alternation of *_Thyrs-unas_ and *_Thyrch-unas_ (or *_Tarchunas_, whence Etr. _Tarchna_) the term *_Thyrsch-unas_ or *_Thyrsch-as_ originated, whence later Umb. _Tursko_[41], Lat. _Tuscus_ and Lat. _Etruscus_ (probably with an additional euphonical prothetic _e_ preceding *_Thr'schas_ < *_Thyrskas_, as in Etr. _ep'l_ from Etr. _pul_[42]). Similarly, from the alternation of *_Vols-unas_ and *_Volch-unas_, the term *_Volsch-unas_ or *_Volsch-as_ originated, whence Lat. _Volsci_, the name by which _Volsinians_ were known in Southern Italy.

We can find a recall to the common origins of _Etruscans_ (< *_Thyrg^waunas_) and _Scythians_ (< *_Swag^wautas_ / *_Swag^waunas_) in the foundation myth of _Tarquinia_. In this legend, the divination art and rituals are in fact revealed to the eponymous founder _Tarchunus_ or _Tarchon_ (< *_Thyrg^wauna_) by an entity named _Tarchies_ (< *_Thyrg^waus_, Lat. _Targes-Targetis_ or _Tages-Tagetis_[43], eponymous deity), whose name recalls that of _Targitaos_[44], the _Scythian_ progenitor, to whose sons gold symbols of arts and social divisions appeared from the sky.

TYRSINIAN CITIES

It is probable that the tribes of the _Mixed People_ descending from *_Thyrg^waunas_ arrived as the last in the Italic peninsula, persuing those descending from *_G^waulg^waunas_. The latter stopped in lands most suitable for cow breeding, while the former headed for the commercial ports and towards the marshes, the "maremme", which they were able to transform into fertile lands, having learned and developed drainage techniques in the Orient[45]. It is also probable that in the commercial ports of the Tyrrhenic Sea, they met people descending from _Western_ *_Thyrg^waunas_, arrived by sea. In the historical age _Tyrsinians_ appear to be settled mainly by the coast of Adriatic Sea from Veneto to Marche regions, by the coast of the Tyrrhenic Sea from Liguria to Campania regions, in the internal Tuscany region, and bordering on Lazio and Umbria regions. _Tyrsinian_ cities were also located along the routes from Alps to the Tuscan-Emilian Apennine and were kept also when _Volsinians_,

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[37] Herodotus, I, 94.
[38] Strabo, V, 1, 7.
[39] Plinius, II, 53.
[40] Pallottino, 454.
[41] Pallottino, 6.
[42] Pallottino, 477.
[43] Cicero 2, 23.
[44] Herodotus IV, 5.
[45] Keller 1971, 59.

Figure 2 – Cities of *Tyrsinians* (gray circle), *Volsinians* (white circle), other Italic peoples (white square), mixed cities of *Tyrsinians* and *Volsinians* (circle and cross), mixed cities of Etruscans and other Italic peoples (square and cross).

settled in the surrounding country with their herds, started infiltrating and controlling the urbanised centers.

In Triveneto, the ancient Regio X, east of the border of current Italian State, we can recognise the past presences of *Tyrsinian* tribes in the territory of the Istrian city of *Pore* , the ancient *Parentium*. As we will also see in the following examples, when Romans fouded a city, often gave it the name of a previous village or of the territory. Moreover, they frequently used to transform the *Tyrsinian* and *Volsinian* names by introducing the methateses *dn > nt*, *zn > nti*, and *vona > nova* (see below: **Thyrg^w auna > *Phyr**dn**a / *Phyr**z**na > Fere**nt**um* and *Flore**nti**a*, **Velvona > Villa**nova***). Considering the actual name *Pore* , received through oral tradition, and the Roman transformation *Parentium*, we can assume that the original name was *Porzna* and previously *Pordena* (< **Phordena < *Thyrg^w auna*). A similar form we can find in the current name of the trivenetian city of *Pordenone*, in wich the *d*-result of labiovelar g^w is survived until nowadays. The original names, probably *Pordaona* (< **Thyrg^w auna*), *Pordena*, and *Pordna*, mixed in *Pordnaona*, gave the name to the *Naon* river (as Ger. *Rhein* from *Thur-rhein < *Thyrg^w auna*), leading to reiterpretate the name of the city as *Portus Naonis*. The *d*-result appears again in the same area in the name of the city of *Udine* (< *Udene < *Thy'dena < *Thyrg^w auna*). Additional evidences of the past presence of *Tyrsinian* tribes in Triveneto can be found in the name of the *Friuli* region (< **Phry'ulas < *Phyrghulas < *Thyrg^w aulas*), as we saw, in the name of the city of *Trento* (< **Try**dn**a / *Tre**dn**a < *Therdanas < *Thyrg^w aunas*, subsequently transformed in *Tride**nt**um* by Romans by doubling *d* and methatesing *dn*), and of the cities of *Treviso* and *Tarvisio* (both from Lat. *Tarvisus < *Tarvis-a < *Tarvis < *Thyrg^w aus*, with and anomalous *v*-result of the labiovelar by probable Volsinian influence). To confirm the *Tyrsinian* paternity of the city of *Trento*, the *Fersina* (< *Pherzna < *Thyr**g^w**aunas*) river, as we anticipated, flows nearby, in whose name the labiovelar results in dental too, but subsequently aspirated and unvoiced. It is interesting to observe that the methatesis *thyr > thry*, that results in the toponyms *Fri**ry**uli*, *T**re**nto*, and *T**re**viso*, is common in the names derived from **Thyrg^w aunas* or **Thyrg^w auas* (cf. **Thyrg^w auas > *Phy**r**ges >* Gr. ύ and **Thyrg^w auas > *Tha**r**kes >* Gr. ᾶ)[46].

The name *Triveneto* has currently the meaning of Triple Veneto. However, it is possible that this name reflects a dialectal term deriving from **Thyrg^w aunas* (> **Tyrvainas > *Trivenas > *Trivene-tas*) by influence of ancient *Veneti* (Lat. *Veneti < *Vene-tas / *Hune-tas < *G^w auna-tas*). These were a people related to *Gauls* and *Latins* (< **G^w aula-ta-nas*). While *Latins* descended on Italy, *Veneti* settled by the north-western coast of the Adriatic sea and penetrated the North-Eastern Italy after the arrival of the *Mixed People*. The language of *Veneti*, the Venetic, was close to Latin[47] and probably to that of **G^w aulg^w aunas*.

To the West, in Piedmont, we can attribute a Tyrsinian origin to the city of *Turin*. The area around *Turin* at the time of Hannibal was inhabited by *Taurini*[48]. According to Livy[49], *Taurini* were a half-Gallic people. According to Strabo[50] and Pliny[51] they were *Ligurians*, to Appian[52] *Gauls* and their capital was called *Taurasia*. (Gr. α). However, it is probable that they originally were descendants of **Thyrg^w aunas*. The Latin name *Taurini* (whence Gr. ῖ and the current Italian name of the city *Torino* come) seems in fact to be a reinterpretation of the name **Tur'ina* (< **Turgh na < *Thyrg^w auna*), by wich also their capital was called as usual for Etruscan cities. Actually, the name *Turina*, apocopated in *Turin*, is survived after the Roman reinterpretation in the local dialect until nowadays. The name *Taurasia* was probably a reinterpretation of an alternative form (**Tur'as-ia < *Turghas-ia < *Thyrg^w aus-ia*) as Lat. *Perusia* for the city of *Perugia* (Etr.

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[46] Fabbri 2018.
[47] Villar 2011, 447-482.
[48] Livius, XXI, 39.
[49] Livius, XXI, 38.
[50] Strabo, IV, 6, 6.
[51] Plinius, III, 22.
[52] Appianus, 5 or 2, 1.

Phersna, see below). The lands around *Turin*, from the Alps to the Tyrrhenian sea, were previously inhabited by *Ligurians*, tribes relative of *Umbrians*, and descendants of *Proto-Schytians* (**Swag^w autas / *Swag^w aunas / *Swag^w auas*), and subsequently by *Gauls*. In the Roman age these poples had overlapped and mixed. Hence the confusion of ancient historians on the origin of the inhabitants of *Turin*. The presence of peoples coming from *Proto-Schytians* in the area from Liguria to the Alps is attested by some toponyms such as *Vada Sabatia* (< *Sabates* < **Swag^w autas*), *Spezia* (< *Spetia* < *Sabatia*), *Savona* (< **Swag^w auna*), *Savoia* (< **Swag^w au-ia*). The presence in that area of descendents of **G^w aumbras* is instead attested by Plutarch[53], who refers that at the time of the war against *Cimbri* (< **G^w aumbras*) the Ligurian tribes allied with Romans entered the battle shouting as their own name the same that they heard shouted by the adversaries: *Ambrones* (Gr. Ἄμ   < 'Ambrones < **Chambranas* < **G^w aumbràn* = country of **G^w aumbras*). It is then possible that the muted result of the labiovelar in the name **Tur'ina* is simply due to the influence of these 'Umbrians / 'Ambrones*, who had the tendency to this result. However, it is also possible that the founders of the city themselves had this tendency, i. e. they were descendants of *Western* **Thyrg^w aunas*, arrived from the Alps or from the Thyrrenian sea.

The *Padanian Valley* (*Po Valley*) should be originally under the control of *Tyrsinians*. The names of *Po* river, in Greek[54] *Pados* (< **Pardos* < **Phardos* < **Thardaus* < **Thyrg^w aus*) and *Eridanos* ('Η   ὸ < **Therdana* < **Thyrg^w auna*), seem infact be derived after them. A Tyrsinian foundation can then be attributed to the city of *Padua*, whose name presents the characteristical Etruscan patronymic or plural desinence *-ua*, and can be interpreted as city of *Pa'das* (< **Pardas* < **Thyrg^w auas*). The same *d*-result of the *g^w* labiovelar, as we saw, should also occur in the original name of the Padanian city of *Modena*. The end in *-dena* (< *-g^w auna*), orally survived to the late transcription (Lat. *Mutina*), demonstrates a Tyrsinian foundation and a Tyrsinian influence still in the Roman age. The name of the Padanian city of *Parma* can also be attributed to *Tyrsinians*, but through different phonetic changes: *Parma* < **Pharna* < **Thar'auna* < **Thyrg^w auna*. In the *Parma* province we can find the *d*-result again in the name of the city of *Fidenza* (Lat. Fi**dent**ia < **Phi'**zn**a* / **Phi'**dn**a* < **Phyrdena* < **Thyrg^w auna*). In the Roman reinterpretation of this name, the Tyrsinian *d* has been doubled and then methatised as we saw in the name of *Trento* (Lat. Tri**dent**um < **Try**dn**a*). Moreover, in the name *Fidenza* the original *r* is missing, since most of the Tyrsinian tribes, partially having mongoloid morphology ancestors, did not pronounce this letter or prounonced it in a guttural way, as in German and French (the same pronounciation attitude had the descendants from **Thyrg^w aunas* who colonised the *Thur-Rhein* valley). This guttural pronounciation is still alive and characteristic in *Fidenza* zone and in general in the area between *Parma* and *Reggio Emilia*. It is probably that the Roman name of *Reggio*, Lat. *Regium*, was a reinterpretation from the territory of Tyrsinian **Redas* (> **Redium* > *Regium*; see above for *Raeti*).

The *Romagna* region and *Ferrara* (< **Pherarum gentium*, namely place of **Thyras/*Thyrg^w aunas*) province, bordering on the Adriatic Sea, were originally a Tyrsinian domain. The border between Emila and Romagna before separating the Longobardian and Byzantine domains, delimited the Volsinian area from the Tyrsinian one. However, in the course of time, *Tyrsinians* left some parts of Romagna to *Volsinians*. as once *Umbrians* left this region to the former.

The city of *Ravenna*, on the northwestern coast of the *Adriatic Sea*, rose in an area previously inhabited by peoples related to *Sabines*[55] (< **Swag^w aunas*; or *Sapi-nes*, derivation of river *Sapis* < **Sabis* < **Swag^w aus*; cf. *Tribus Sapinia*[56]). It was probably founded or refounded by *Tyrsinians*, who left to the city their endonym *Rasna* and previously *Rasena* or *Rasenna*[57] (or *Razna* < **Trazena* < **Tar**d**ena* < **Thyr**g^w**auna*, cf. *Vel**s**na* / *Vel**z**na* < **G^w aul**g^w**auna* > *Vol**v**ona*). The city

[53] Plutarch, 19, 3-4.
[54] Polybius, II, 16, 6.
[55] Plinius, III, 115. « Ravenna Sabinorum oppidum ».
[56] Livius, XXXI, 2; XXXIII, 37.
[57] Dionysius, I, 30,3.

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then passed under the control of *Volsinians*, who prounonced its name as *Ravona* or *Ravenna*, since they had changed in their language the labiovelar g^w into labial *v* or *b*. These events were confusely remembered at the time of Strabo[58], who reports that the city of *Ravenna* was founded by *Thessalians* (Gr.   *ì* < $*Thyrg^w aulas$). These, unable to suffer the outrages of neighbour *Tyrrhenians* (Gr.   < $*Thyrg^w aunas$), left the city to the *Umbrians*. Actually, *Sabines* (or *Sapinians*) descending from $*Swag^w aunas$ were related to *Penastae* (< $*G^w auna\text{-}sthas$) and *Pelasgians* (< $*G^w aula\text{-}sthas$; see below)[59], who settled in Thessaly before the arrival of $*Thyrg^w aulas$. However, in the Strabo's notice the succession from *Sabines* to *Tyrsinians* seems to be confused and condensed with that from *Tyrsinians* to *Volsinians*. In fact, it is more probable that the city was founded precisely by *Tyrrhenians* or *Tyrsinians* as a port for trade with $*Thyrg^w aunas$ from eastern Mediterranean Sea (**Sardanas* or **Dardanas*[60]). When later the roughest *Volsinians*, whom Romans and Greeks knew as *Etruscans* or *Tyrrhenians*, occupied with their herds the land close to the city, *Tyrsinians* partially moved to the South towards the Umbrian territory and the *Tyrrhenian* coast, leaving a part of the territories previously occupied to *Volsinians* themselves. We can find attestation of *Tyrsinians* between Romagna and Umbria in the name of the city of *Sarsina* (< **Sarz na* < **Tarz na* < $*Thyrg^w auna$), that in Roman age gave birth to Plautus, and in the name of the tribe of *Sarsinates*[61], that contributed to the foundation of Perugia.

In the Marches the city of *Pesaro* (< **Pesru* < **Phersus* < $*Thyrg^w aus$, Lat. *Pisaurum* < **Pi'saus-um* < **Phyrsaus* < $*Thyrg^w aus$) probably had a Tyrsinian foundation, as well as *Fermo* (lat. *Firmum* < **Phyrna* < $*Thyrg^w auna$; with the same anomalous change as in *Parma*), which rose on a *Villanovian* nucleus[62]. The city of *Senigallia* (Lat. *Sena gallica*) was instead fouded by those tribes of the *Mixed People* that settled north of Alps, integrated together with other populations in one people, as we have saw, and descended on Italy at the end of the V century BC. They were known by Romans initially through *Tyrsinians* as *Senones* (< *Sena* < $*\text{-}g^w auna$) and subsequently through *Volsinians* as *Boii* (< *Boio* < $\text{-}g^w aua$).

Several Tyrsinian settlements were located in the river valleys between Emilia and Tuscany. We can find traces of them in some hydronyms, such as *Reno* (cf. *Tyrrhenos* < $*Thyrg^w auna$; a testimony of the original labiovelar, aspired and muted by *Tyrsinians*, remains in the Bologna dialect name of the river: *Ra**gg**n* = Etr. *Ra**s**na*), *San-terno*, *Dia-terna*, and *Arno* (< **Tarchna* < $*Thyrg^w auna$).

On the northern coast of the Tyrrhenian Sea, in Liguria, we can find testomnies of *Tyrsinians* in the name of *Colle Sarzano* (*Sarzano Hill*), the ancient nucleus of the city of *Genoa*, and in that of the city of *Sarzana*. Both names come from $*Thyrg^w auna$ (> **Tarzana* > *Sarzana/o*). Moreover, in the Latin name of *Genoa*, *Gen-ua*, we find the Etruscan plural or patronymic desinence, while in the current *Genoa* dialect name, ***Z**ena*, we find the *z*-result of the labiovelar g^w, characteristic *Eastern* $*Thyrg^w aunas$. As we will see, *Genoa* was probably a mixed city.

In Northern Tuscany the main Tyrsinian settlement area was probably indicated by the names of the tribes **Phyrzna* (< **Phyrzena* < $*Thyrg^w auna$; later also *Phersna*) and **Phyrzla* (< **Phyrzola* < $*Thyrg^w aula$); later also *Phersu-la*). Founding a new city in this area, Romans reinterpreted the name **Phyrzna* as *Flore**ntia*** (with characteristic methatesis ***zn**a* > ***nti**a*), but the original form remained alive in the local population until nowadays. The name *Firenze*, in fact, does not reflect the Roman reinterpretation except for the metathesis, which was probably absorbed by the local population for the same euphonic reasons that led to introduce a *e* after the syllable *Phyr*. From the name **Phyrzla* or **Phyrzola* the Etruscan transcriptions *Vi sul* (with a Greek *rho*, later confused with a *p*, and *u* for *o*, absent in the Etruscan aphabet), *Visul*, and *Viesl* derive, by which in the late age the city of *Fiesole* (Lat. *Faesulae*) was indicated, which was the original capital of the area.

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[58] Strabo, V, 1, 7.
[59] Fabbri 2018.
[60] Fabbri 2018.
[61] Pallottino 2016, 128.
[62] Pallottino 2016, 150.

In this Ligurian and Tuscanian city name we have found the *z*-result of labiovelar g^w, which is characteristic of *Eastern *Thyrg^{w}aunas*. Further south near the Tyrrhenian coast, on the border between Tuscany, Lazio, and Umbria, we find instead the result in aspired unvoiced velar, which is characteristic of *Western *Thyrg^{w}aunas*. Actually, the result of labiovelar g^w in unvoiced velar, also aspired or muted, occurs, as we saw, in the names of the peoples descending from *G^waumbras*. It is then possible that this result in the Etruscan names is simply due to the Umbrian influence. However, it is more probable that *Tyrsinians* coming from the Alpine area found on the Tyrrhenian coast some commercial colonies founded by tribes descending from *Western *Thyrg^{w}aunas*, previously come from the same Alpine area or from Anatolia and Syria through stopovers on the African (colonists from *Tyre* < *Thyras*) and Sardinian (colonists from *Sardis* < *Thyrg^{w}auas*, or *Shardana / Sherden*) coasts. It is then possible that from western *Thyrg^{w}aunas* (*Tarchunas*), arrived in Italy during the great migration process before the eastern ones (Etr. *Razna*), or even migrated by sea as Middle-Eastern colonists, the lineage of the *Tarquins* descended, who had their origin in the city of *Tarquinia* (Lat. *Tarquinii*, Etr. *Tarchuna/Tarchna*), in whose Etruscan name the labiovelar g^w results in aspirated velar *ch*.

Results in velar, often subsequently palatalised, can be found also in some hydronyms and toponyms of internal Tuscany and Umbria having various origin, such as the name of the rivers *Caina* (< *Chaina* < *G^wauna*) and *Chiana* (Lat. *Clanis* or *Glanis* < *Chal'nas* < *Chalchnas* < *G^waulg^{w}aunas*), and compounds ending in -**ci**ano (pronounced -**c**ano with palatalized c), like the name of the city of *Chianciano* (< *Clanis-chana* < *G^Waulg^{w}aunas-g^{w}auna*; where –*ciano* means "city", corresponding to Etr. –*sena / -sina*). However, such results are probably due in this area to the Umbrian influence.

In *Tarquinia* territory, *Western* and *Eastern *Thyrg^{w}aunas* merged, giving rise to that variety of dialects from which, as we have said, the names *Tuscus* and *Etruscus* originated, which subsequently Romans employed to indicate indiscriminately all tribes of the *Mixed People*. We have in fact testimony of the infiltration in this area also of the result of the labiovelar g^w in aspirated dental and of *th* in *ph*, for example in the inscriptions found in some tombs. In the paintings of the *Tomb of the Augurs* (as well as *Tomb of Olympic games* and *Tomb of chariots*), depicting the different competitions that took place during the funeral celebrations, the fight with the dog[63] appears. Such a game, wich is characteristic of Etruscans, is indicated in the painting by the name **Phersu** (< *Thyrg^{w}au*), namely "the Etruscan game". This term and its derivation (**Phersu-na** < *Thyrg^{w}au-na*) were transferred over time to the mask dressed by the man agitating the dog and translated in Lat. *Persona*. In the late age, *Tyrsinians* merged in *Tarquinia* also with *Volsinians*, as we can understand from the name of the famous magistrate *Vel-thur* (< G^waul-thyr) *Spurinna*, who led a mixed confederation against Siracusae.

The same phonetic changes that we observed in the term **phersuna** can be found in Umbria in the Etruscan name of the city of *Perugia* (Etr. **Phersna** < *Therzna* < *Thyrg^{w}auna*). According to Servius[64], *Perugia* was founded by *Etruscans* and also populated by the Umbrian tribe of *Sarsinates*. Actually, as we already observed, the name *Sarsina-tes* (< *Thyrg^{w}au-na-ta*) can be attributed to a Tyrsinian tribe ("descendants of Sarsna"). Besides, the Latin name of *Perugia* was *Perusia* (< *Per'us-ia* < *Pherhus-ia* < *Therchus-ia* < *Thyrg^{w}aus-ia*), term in which the original labiovelar g^w results in unvoiced velar aspirated and then muted, as in the names of the peoples descending from *Western *Thyrg^{w}aunas* (*Tarchunas*) but also from *G^waumbras* (*Ubrians*). This variety of phonetic changes leads to think that *Perugia* was founded by different Tyrsinian tribes in a territory already inhabitated by *Umbrians*.

South of *Tarquinia* we find the phonetic change of *th* in *ph* and then in *p* with the internal labiovelar mutated into voiced velar subsequently palatalised in the name of the Tyrsinian port of **Pyrgi** (Gr. < *Thyrg^{w}aus*). The result of the internal labiovelar in voiced velar is probably due to the Latin (or previously G^waulatana) influence (cf. Lat. *vul**g**us* < *g^{w}aulg^{w}aus*). We can find this result

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[63] Banti 1969, 109.
[64] Banti 1969, 232; Pallottino 2016, 128; 216.

also in the name of the city of *Fregene* (Lat. *Fregenae* < **Phergenas* < **Thyrg^{w}aunas*) and, further south in the territory of *Volsci* near the border between Lazio and Campania, in the name of the city of *Fregelle* (Lat. *Fregellae* < **Pher̥gelas* < **Thyrg^{w}aulas*). Between *Volsci* and *Hernici* (probably from **Hernas* < **Thernas* < **Thyr̥nas* < **Thyrg^{w}aunas*) we find again initial *ph* and internal dental also aspirated in the names of the cities of *Ferentino* (Lat. **Ferentinum** < **Ferentum* < **Pherdnas* < **Thyrg^{w}aunas*) and *Frosinone* (Lat. **Frusino** < Vols. **Frusna** < Hern. **Frusina* < **Phyrzena* < **Thyrg^{w}auna*).

VOLSINIAN CITIES

In an Alpine enclave surrounded by *Tyrsinians* from *Tyrol* and *Trento* we find the first city of the Volsinian axis *Bolzano-Bologna-Bolsena*. In the Villanovian age, there probably were in the *Bolzano* area some Volsinian villages, that gave name to the territory where subsequently rose the city. The fact that the area was surrounded by *Tyrsinians* explains how the desinence *–zna* or *–zena* of the name by which they indicated the territory (**Velzna* < **G^{w}aulg^{w}auna*) has been received until nowadays with just a vowel change. The same cause influenced the name of *Bolsena*, while that of *Bologna*, as we will see, maintained a form more similar to the Volsinian one. Moreover, in the name of *Bolzano*, as well as in those of *Bologna* and *Bolsena*, the initial labiovelar results in voiced labial not aspirated. Although in the case of *Bolzano* and *Bologna* this result could be attributed to the influence of the *Gauls* who descended on Italy between the end of the V and the beginning of the IV century BC, the **Boii** (< **G^{w}auas*), such a hypothesis would not be validated in the case of *Bolsena*. This leads to think that already in late Volsinian language the labiovelar g^w was changed in not aspirated unvoiced labial *b*, and the aspiration occurred only in the Tyrsinian translation. Not far from Bolzano, we can find the result in not aspirated labial again in the name of the city of *Belluno* (< **Bell'uno* < **Velvuno* < **G^{w}aulg^{w}auna*), to which a Volsinian foundation can be attributed.

As we said, we can assume a Volsinian foundation for the city of *Golasecca*. Its name received in the local dialect, *Vuraseca* (with palatalised *c*), can in fact be a deformation or a reinterpretation of the forms by which the surrounding Tyrsinian tribes indicates the inhabitants of the territory: **Vulseta* (< **G^{w}aulg^{w}auta*; palatalised in **Vulseca*) or **Vulsena* (< **G^{w}aulg^{w}auna*; cf. Etr. *Velsena* / *Velsna*). Moreover, the *Golasecca* Culture, that developed in that territory from IX to IV century BC, had cultural and commercial close relationships with *Volsinians* of Bologna. In fact, when the latter flourished in the VI and V centuries BC, some people moved there form *Golasecca* area, as the funeral finds demonstrate[65]. The lands around *Golasecca* were previously inhabited by tribes of the *Canegrate* Culture[66], whose finds are strictly related to those of the *Hallstatt* Culture, to which minorly **Thyrg^{w}aunas* and majorly **G^{w}aulg^{w}aunas* also contributed. These tribes are commonly considered as generical Proto-Celtic and Pre-Gallic, but we can assume that, in particular, they were G^{w}aulg^{w}aunian. They merged with *Ligurians* and *Umbrians* in the *Golasecca* Culture and subsequently with *Gauls*. This explains the result in velar of the initial labiovelar in the current Italian name.

The city of *Melpum*, which should have been located near current Milan, could have a Volsinian foundation with the name *Bolboi* or *Volboi* (< **G^{w}aulg^{w}aus*), that *Tyrsinians* would have translated in *Velpa* (with a late desonorisation of the labial occlusive; cf. Lat. *Vibenna* with Etr. *Vpina*[67]), subsequently confused into *Melpa* (Lat. *Melpum*[68]), and then reformed into *Meldena* (which is a more correct translation in the Tyrsinian language), whence the Roman reinterpretation *Med[io]lanum* of the metathesis *Medlena*.

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[65] Sassatelli 1989; Sassatelli 1990; Locatelli 2013.
[66] Garbolino Boot 2003, 16; Farney and Bradley 2017, p. 722.
[67] Banti 1969, 129.
[68] Plinius, III, 125.

Volsinian capital in the *Padana Valley* was *Bologna*, mainly in the late age. We know its Tyrsinian name, *Velzna*, probably pronounced *Vélz na* and later desonorised into *Fels na*, whence Lat. *Felsina*. We have on the contrary no attestation of the Volsinian name. *Tyrsinians* indeed knew the alphabetic script. Perhaps, they learned it in Italy, through exchanges with Greek merchants[69], or previously in the Aegean area. They also could have contributed to the creation of the Phoenician alphabet through cultural exchanges between *$Thyrg^waunas$* from Anatolia (*Tyrsinians* and *Shardana*) and from Lebanon (*Tyrians* and *Sidonians*). *Volsinians* probably acquired the script previously elaborated by *Tyrsinian*s and use it in an ideographic way, like Medes and Persians used Aramaic written words as ideograms. This is to say that *Volsinians* wrote *Velzna* as *Tyrsinians* did, but the former pronouncied the word in their own language, namely *Volvona* or *Vol'ona* (cf. **Mykvainas* > Gr.   ) and later *Bolbona* or *Bol'ona*. Romans knew first the name of the city from *Tyrsinians* and translated it in *Felsina*. They knew the Volsinian name only after the coming of *Boii* and their integration with *Volsinians*. To the city that they founded in the territory of **Bolboni/*Bol'oni* Romans gave the name *Bononia*, but the original name of the area, *Bol'onia*, survived, as we said, in the local dialects until nowadays with minor deformations.

It is possible that the name *Volvona* or *Velvona* was still used at the Roman occupation time to indicate the eastern part of the Bologna territory near *Savena* (< *$Swag^wauna$*) river. This part was in fact first inhabitated[70] and probably less influenced by the infiltration of *Gauls*, more attracted by the riches of the late Volsinian city, further west between *Aposa* and *Ravone* or *Vallescura* torrents[71]. It is then possible that Romans reinterpreted this name as *Villanova* (with characteristic metathesis), whence the name of the locality in Castenaso district, which gives name to the *Villanovian* culture.

The name of *Ravone* torrent leads us to anderstand that in Bologna area there were also Tyrsinian settlements, that were gradually incorporated into the Volsinian city. *Ravone* torrent crosses the western part of the current city in an area where an Etruscan necropolis was located (Via Andrea Costa[72]). It probably takes its name, like the city of *Ravenna*, from *Tyrsinians* (*$Thyrg^w$**aunas** > Tyrsinian *Rasna* > Volsinian *Ravona*). The coexistence in the same area of dialects having different results of the initial and internal labiovelar is attested in the local surnames: ***Zi/ani*** and ***Boni*** (both from ***g^w***aunas), ***Zam-boni*** (mix of the previous ones), ***Bol-zoni*** (**G^w**aul-**g^w**aunas*), ***Be/or-gon-zoni*** (mix of ***Be/or-goni*** and ***Be/or-zoni***, both from **G^w**aul-**g^w**aunas*).

In Romagna the cities of *Faenza* and *Cesena* had probably a Volsinian foundation and subsequently passed under Tyrsinian control, as we can deduce by observing the result of the internal labiovelar. Both names can be in fact derived from the form **G^wau'g^wauna*, that in Tyrsinian dialects was changed to **Vaizna* or **Vezna*. The Graeco-Roman reinterpretation *Phoentia/Faventia* (< **Faez**na** < **Vai**zn**a*) with characteristic methatesis took over in *Faenza*, while the result of the initial labiovelar in unvoiced velar prevailed in *Cesena* (Lat. ***Caesena*** < **Kaizna* < **Vaizna*), due to the influence of *Umbrians*, in whose language such a phonetic change occurs, as we said. By Umbrian influence, from the term **G^wau'g^wauna* we can also derive the Etruscan family names ***Kaikna***, ***Ceicna***, and ***Caicna***, diffused in the area between Bologna, Volterra, and Volsinii[73].

In the mountain territory between Bologna and Florence, beside the Tyrsinian settlements, there were several Volsinian villages. We find attestation of the Volsinian past presence in this territory in many geographical names, such as those of *Calvana* mount chain, *Bisenzio* river, and *Calenzano* city. The mount chain of *Calvana* is located shortly north of Florence. The name ***Calvana*** can be derived from **G^waulg^{w}auna* through Umbrian result of the initial labiovelar and Volsinian result of the internal one. It was probably the name by which *Volsinians* were called in this area. Beside this

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[69] Pallottino 2016, 452.
[70] Pallottino 2016, 151.
[71] Sassatelli 2015; Ortalli 2016.
[72] Govi 2005.
[73] Pallottino 2016, 208.

one, the Umbrian-Tyrsinian form *Calzana* should also be used. Through the contracted form *Calzna* and the Roman reinterpretation *Calentia* alternated with *Calzana* we can obtain the name of the city of *Calenzano*. The presence of *Umbrians* and relatives in the mountain territory between Bologna and Florence is attested by hydronyms such as '*Ombrone* and *Sambro* (<*G^waumbra*; with Tyrsinian influence in the *s*-result of the initial labiovelar). The name of *Bisenzio* river can be derived from *G^wau'g^wauna* (as *Faenza* and *Cesena*) translated into Tyrsinian *Vezna* and reinterpretated with doubling of the internal labiovelar result (c.f. *Tridentum* and *Fidenza*) as *Bisentium*. The presence of Etruscans in this area is attested by several finds and the remains of the city in the locality of *Gonfienti* by *Bisenzio* river between *Calenzano* and *Prato* (probably from *Phrada < *Thyrg^waus*).

The city of *Populonia* was the main *Volsinian* center by the Tuscany coast. The Etruscan name was *Pupluna* or *Fufluna*, terms in which we can recognise the unvoiced and aspirated labials and the *u* vowel, which are characteristic of the Etruscan and later Latin transcriptions. However, the original name should be *Bolbona*, metathesised in *Boblona* (> Etr. *Pupluna*). The city was consecrated to the god *Fufluns*, metathesis for *Fulfuns*, eponymous deity of *G^waulg^{w}aunas*, that echoed with the names of saints and ecclesiastics (*Galgano*) and epic heroes (*Gawain / Gwalgwanus / Gualguanus*). In the Roman reinterpretation *Populonia*, city of peoples, we find the meaning that the term *G^waulg^{w}aunas / *G^waulg^{w}auas* left in the Latin and German language (cf. Lat. *poplus* from Etr. *puplu* and Lat. *vulgus*, Ger. *Volk*, from Proto-Gaulish-Latin *vaulgaus*, people).

The capital of *Volsinians* settled south-west of the Apennine chain and probably even of the Padanian ones was called by Romans *Volsinii* (or *Volsinium*, Etr. *Velsna / Velzna* < *G^waulg^{w}auna*, Etr. *Velsu / Velzu*[74] < *G^waulg^{w}aus*), namely city of *Volsini* (*Volsinians*). It was destroyed by Romans in the III century BC and rebuilt by the lake of **Bolsena** (< *G^waulg^{w}auna*). According to some historians[75], the ancient city was located at the current Orvieto, whose name would then derive from Lat. *urbs vetus*, ancient city. According to others[76], the old *Volsinii* was instead on the hills by *Bolsena* lake, and included the area of the subsequent Roman reconstruction, while in the current Orvieto the city of *Salpinum* (< *Salbinum < *Salvinum < *G^waulg^{w}auna*; with inverse result of the two labiovelars as in Etr. **Selvans**, Lat. **Silvanus** < *G^waulg^{w}auna* > *Seldana* > Etr. **Selthans**, Lat. **Vulcanus**) was located. Actually, the foundation of Orvieto could be more ancient and could be traced back to *Sg^wetas / *Sg^wetulas* (*Svitti / Itali*), whence the appellative *ubrs *svetas*, then the Etruscan-Umbrian *spur vitlu* (city of Italics / Vitelli), and finally Lat. *urbs vetus*. *Sg^wetas / *Sg^wytas* were descendants of *$Swag^w$autas* and close relatives of *G^waulas / *G^waulg^{w}auna*s[77]. The presene of *Volsinians* by *Bolsena* lake since remote times is also attested by the name of *Bisenzio* (Lat. *Visentium < Veizna < *G^wau'g^wauna*), a village risen on a Villanovian nucleus at the beginning of Marta effluent.

On the border with *Sabines* and *Umbrians*, the descendants of *G^waulg^{w}aunas* merged with those of *G^waulatas / *G^waulatanas* (*Collati / Collatini*), who settled in that territory shortly before the arrival of *Volsinians* and spoke a language very similar to the Volsinian one. Absorbing also Sabinian and Umbrian tribes, that spoke a language less similar but even relative they founded several urban centers, which only in a later age underwent the influence of Tyrsinian newcomers even maintaining a distinct culture. The delegates of these centers met in *Volsinii* at the sanctuary of God *Voltumna*. This name can be derived from *g^waula-tamanas*, by analogy with Gr. ἐμ ("delimited place", "sacred place", meaning the Lat. *sacrum* and *sacellum*), or even from *g^waulata-samanas* by analogy with Lat. *omnes* (all). The second derivation is supported by the fact that the God was also known under the name *Velth* (and was then eponymous deity of *G^waultas < *G^waulatas*). In both cases, the name of the deity demonstrates that it was worshipped

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[74] Pittau 2018, 279.
[75] Pallottino 2016, 131.
[76] Banti 1969, 163.
[77] Fabbri 2018.

by all peoples relative of $*G^w aulas$ / $*G^w aulatas$ / $*G^w aulatanas$. However, the Roman sources[78] refer that at their times at *Fanum Voltumnae* every year the delegates of all the Etruscan peoples met, not only the Volsinian relatives. This leads us to deduce that after the arrival of the Tyrsinian tribes *Volsinii* became a reunion center for all the *Mixed People* and its sanctuary was venerated as home of a deity that joined different peoples with different customs. Due to this variety, during the Roman age the deity became the god of the variety and change. The God *Voltumna* was in fact transformed into the God *Vertumnus* or *Volturnus* ($< *G^w aul\text{-}Thyr\text{-}g^w auna$). Actually, it is also possible that before the arrival of *Tyrsinians*, the deity was only worshipped as *Velth* and when the newcomer were included in the confederation the name changed to *Vel-thur-'na* latinised in *Volturnus*. In this case the name *Voltumna* would be a coorrupted transcription due to the way in which some Tyrsinian tribes pronounced the *r* (see above), and *Vertumnus* a rhotacised reformation in Latin.

The city of *Vetulonia*, located shortly south-east of *Populonia*, had probably an origin similar to that of *Volsinii*. The Etruscan name was in fact *Vetluna*, that can be derived through methatesis, as in case of *Populonia*, from *Veltuna*, another name of the God *Voltumna*. The city could then have been consecrated to the god worshipped by all $*G^w aulas$ / $*G^w aulatas$. However, as in case of *Orvieto*, the foundation could be more ancient and be traced back to $*Sg^w etas$ / $*Sg^w etulas$[79], whence the Latin name *Vetulonia* ($< *Sg^w etulanas$). In this case *Vetluna* would be a contracted transcription in the late Etruscan language (with characteristic *u* instead of *o*). In any case the city and its area were subdued to the influence of $*G^w aulas$ / $*G^w aulg^w aunas$ as we can deduce from the fact that in the Middle Age the city was renamed *Colonna* (probably from $*Gol'ona < *G^w aulg^w auna$ or from $*G^w aulana$) and *Colonnata*.

Several urban centers between Tuscany, Umbria, and Lazio originally were under the influence of the ancient Volsinian confederation and later passed under the control of *Tarchnas* or *Phersnas*. Among these were *Chiusi*, *Vulci*, *Veio*, *Caere*, *Falerii*, and *Capena*.

Chiusi was probably founded by *Umbrians* ($< *G^w aumbras$), from whom the name *Camars* ($< *Camras < *Cambras < *G^w aumbras$) derives, by which the city was previously called according to Livy[80]. Later it should have been refounded or repopulated by $*G^w aulg^w aunas$ / $*G^w aulatanas$, from whom the Etruscan name *Clevsin-a* ($< *Cevlsina < *G^w aulg^w auna$) comes, with anomalous result of the initial labiovelar due to the Umbrian influence. At the time of the birth of the Roman Republic *Chiusi* was ruled by *Tyrsinians*, as we can deduce from the name of its king *Lars Porsena* (Etr. *Pursenas < *Phyrzenas < *Thyrg^w aunas$).

Vulci was founded by *Volsinians* in a territory occupied by *Sabines* ($< *Swag^w aunas$), who shortly after *Umbrians* had descended on Italy together with *Sabates* ($< *Swag^w autas$) and *Sabelli* ($< *Swag^w aulas$), and had diffused through the *Padanian Valley* and along the *Thyrrenian* coast among *Ligurians*, *Umbrians*, and *Calabrians* (Lat *Calabri < *G^w alubras < *G^w aulas *Hubras$)[81]. The Etruscan name *Vulch* ($< *G^w aulg^w aua$) reflects the influence of *Tarchnas*, under which the city was passed and against which it rebelled at the end of Roma kingdom. At the time of the Etruscan kings of Rome, Sabinian, Volsinian, and Tyrsinian lineages coexisted in *Vulci*, as we can deduce from the names of the brothers *Caile* and *Avle Vipinas* (in Etruscan) or *Caelus* and *Aulus Vibenna* (in Latin; both from $< *G^w aula *Swag^w auna$) and from the name of *Macstarna* or *Mastarna* (probably a title meaning "from the Tyrsinian people" or "delegate of the Tyrsinian people" $< *Mechs Tarchnas$), later known as *Servius Tullius* (probably from $*Selv\text{-}ius *Turrh\text{-}ius < *G^w aulg^w au\text{-}ia *Thyrg^w au\text{-}ia$, i. e. delegate of both the lineages).

The city of *Veius* (Etr. *Veies*, Lat. *Veii* and *Veius* $< *G^w auas$) too was founded by descendants of $*G^w aulg^w aunas$ / $*G^w aulatanas$ and probably was longer independent of *Tyrsinians*. It often was in contrast with Rome due to the closeness but it received no aid from the other Etruscan cities when

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[78] Livius, IV, 25.
[79] Fabbri 2018.
[80] Livius, X, 25.
[81] Fabbri 2017.

Romans besieged it. Inside the ruins of *Veius* few inscriptions in Etruscan have been found[82]. This demonstrates that the Tyrsinian language was scarcely diffused. Even in *Falerii* (< *G^waulerum*), *Capena* (< *Ca'baina* < *G^waulg^{w}auna*), and other urban centers of that area prevailed a language derived from that of *G^waulg^{w}aunas / *G^waulatanas*. Of the language spoken in *Falerii*, the *Faliscan*, we received some attestations which show a close affinity with Latin[83].

According to the ancient historians[84] the city of *Caere* (Etr. *Cisra* and *Caisra* < *Caisla* < *G^wau'g^{w}aula*, Gr.   < *Vagula* < *G^wau'g^{w}aula*) was founded by *Pelasgians* coming from Thessaly. Actually, by the terms *Pelasgians* (Gr.   *ì*[85] < *G^waula-stha*) and *Penastae* (Gr. [86] < *G^wauna-stha*) the tribes of *G^waulas* and *G^waunas* were indicated, that settled (-*stha*) by the northern coast of the Aegean sea and remained there when *Thessalians* (Gr.   *ì* < *Thyrg^{w}aulas*) arrived, while other tribes such as *Siculi / Ascali* (< *Swag^{w}aulas*) and *Sicani / Ascani* (< *Swag^{w}aunas*) migrated to Italy and to the eastern Mediterranean coasts. Later *Thessalians* themselves were included in the subordinate class of *Pelasgians* and *Penastae*, when Thessaly was occupied by the historical Indo-European populations[87]. We have then to deduce that *Caere* was founded by *G^waulas* and subsequently belonged with its port *Alsium* (< *Valsas / *Vulchas* < *G^waulg^{w}auas*) to the ancient Volsinian confederation. When later the city passed under the control of *Tarchnas*, the port was left to *Volsinians*, while *Caere* utilised the already mentioned port of *Pyrgi*.

Even the centers in Chiana valley probably rose under the influence of the ancient Volsinian confederation and later passed to *Tyrsinians*. We can cite for example *Montepulciano*, whose name can be derived from *Volchana* (< *G^waulg^{w}auna*), through the form *Bolchana*, with desinence -*chana* charachteristic of *Tarchnas*, and later by desonorisation of *b* in *p*.

In Lazio *Volsinians* mingled with relative peoples previously immigrated such as *Latins* and *Sabines* west of the Tiberis river and *Osci* (Lat. *Osci* < *Swag^{w}auas* or < *G^wausg^{w}auas*[88]) on the border with Campania, where they were known as *Volsci*, as we said. However, the names of the cities in the Volscian area demonstrated a coexistence of *Volsinians* and *Tyrsinians*, as we will see.

In Campania *Capua* was probably founded or refounded by *Volsinians* integrated with *Oscans*. The Etruscan name *Campeua* can be in fact interpreted as "city of *Campeas*, *Campas*, or *Campa-nas*" (< *Calbas / *Calba-nas* < *G^waulg^{w}auas / *G^waulg^{w}au-nas*), in whose name the initial labiovelar results in velar due to the influence of *Oscans*, who spoke a language very close to the Umbrian. Later the city was refounded by *Tyrisnians*[89], assuming the alternative name *Vol-tur-'num* (< *G^waul-thyr-g^{w}auna*), namely mixed city of *Volsinians* and *Tyrisnians*.

MIXED CITIES

Several Etruscan cities were founded or developed in areas where *Tyrsinians* coexisted with *Volsinians* or related peoples previously immigrated. The names of these cityes are often composited of those of the two lineages. This is the case of the following cities, whose names all derive from *G^waul(a)-thyras*: *Feltre* (Lat. *Feltria*, Etr. *Felthuri*, Etr. *Velhatre*) in Veneto between *Volsinians* from *Belluno and Tyrsinians* from *Trento*; *Volterra* (Lat. *Volaterrae*, Etr. *Velathri*) in Tuscany between *Tyrsinians* from *Fiesole* and *Volsinians* from *Populonia*; *Caletra* (> Lat. *Caletranus*) in a Tuscan area inhabited by peoples having different origins, *Velletri* (Lat. *Velitrae*, Etr. *Veltri*, Etr. *Velthri*) and *Alatri* (Lat. *Aletrium*) in Lazio between *Volsci*, *Tusculi*, and *Hernici*.

[82] Banti 1969, 90.
[83] Villar 2011, 447-482.
[84] Plinius, III, 51; Strabo, V, 2, 3.
[85] Herodotus, I, 57.
[86] Aristoteles, II, 9, 3.
[87] Fabbri 2018.
[88] Fabbri 2017.
[89] Pallottino 2016, 213.

The names of other mixed cities were derived not by the name parts which distinguished *Thyrg^waunas* from *G^waulg^waunas* (*Thyr-* and *G^waul-*), but by the common one (*-g^wauna*). This is the case of *Genua* in Liguria and *Kainua* in the Apennine along the commercial route from the port of *Spina* and the city of *Bologna* to the Tuscany. Both theses cities were probably inhabited at their origins by peoples descending from **G^waul-g^waunas*, **Swa-g^waunas* and **G^waumbras* (< **G^waunas *Hubras*), i. e. *Volsinians* and peoples related to *Sabines* and *Umbrians*, and only later by *Tyrsinians*. We already shown attestations of the past presence of descendants of **Swa-g^waunas* in Liguria and of **G^waumbras* in Liguria and Emilian-Tuscan Apennine. We can find other attestations in the places related to *Kainua* in the name of the port of *Spina* itself (Etruscan transcription for **Sabina < *Swag^wauna*; cf. river *Sapis < *Sabis < *Swag^waus*) and in that of *Savena* river (< **Swag^wauna*; with Volsinian result of the internal labiovelar as for *Ravone* torrent). *Genua* and *Kainua* were then indicated by the name part common for all their inhabitants: **G^waunas*. This term was changed to **Kainas* by influence of *Ambrones* / *Umbrians* and to **Gainas* or **Gaenas* by influence of *Sabates* / *Sabines*. Later *Tyrsinians* added to the name of the inabitants the characteristic plural or patronymic desinence *–ua*. It is probable that initially both cities were indicated by the name *Kainua*, that later the *Sabatian* population prevalent in Liguria reformed into *Genua*. The fact that in Ligurian dialect the city of *Genova* is called *Zena* leads to think that beside the Tyrsinian-Sabatian form (*Genua*) also the Tyrsinian characteristic *Zena* or *Zna* occurred.

In other cases, all parts of the names *Thyr-g^waunas* and *G^waul-g^waunas* were used to create the names of the places in which a mixed population lived. Between Emilia and Romagna, for example, the mixed city of *Cla-ter-'na* was located, whose name can be derivted from **G^waul-thyr-g^waunas* as well as that of *Vol-tur-'no* river, that passes by the omonymous city (*Capua*). The result in velar of the initial labiovelar in the name of the former is due to the Umbrian influence.

In other more cases, the names of the cities or villages were derived by the names of the mixed people, i. e. **Mykg^wauas* or **Mykg^waunas*, namely in Tyrsinian dialects **Mykza*, **Mykzna*, **Myksena* or **Mysena*. This is probably the case of *Miseno Cape* and of the places called *Misano*.

The nature of the mixed cities is often attested also by the archaeologic finds. In some case it is possible to observe a duality or a plurality in the public structures. This is true for example for the mixed city of *Kainua*. Its ruines are particularly observable since no other city has been built on it.

In the city of *Kainua* the remains of the foundations of a Tuscanic sanctuary have been recently discovered[90]. This sanctuary was consecrated to the *Goddess Uni* and located outside the acropolis in a public area. That means that it was used for the cult by the people. According to E. Simon *Uni* was a deity of the Etruscan pantheon that had been absorbed by other Italic populations[91]. Actually, *Uni* (< **Huna < *Ghuna < *G^wauna*) was the eponymous deity of *G^waunas*, the peoples of cow breeders. In *Latins* she became a godness of abundance, the *Bona* (< **G^wauna*) *Mater*, identified with *Goddess Supra* or *Cupra* worshipped by *Umbrians*, and reassimilated under this name even by *Sabines*[92]. The *Goddess Uni* was later reabsorbed in the Roman pantheon from *Etruscans* as *Iuno*, wife of *Iuppiter*. The Tuscanic sanctuary of *Uni* discovered in *Kainua* has close simililarities to those in Southern Etruria, particularly in *Vulci* and *Caere*[93], cities initially belonging to the ancient Pre-Tyrsinian confederation of *Volsinii*, as we saw. It dates back to the end of the VI century BC and is the most ancient Tuscanic sanctuary discovered.

Beside the temple of *Uni*, a peripteral sanctuary consecrated to the *God Tina* was built in the first quarter of the V century BC[94]. It was bigger and more majestic than the other. The *God Tina*, *Tinia*, or *Tunia* (< **Tyr'n-ia < *Thyrg^waun-ia*) was the eponymous deity of the descendants of **Thyrg^waunas*, the most important god in the Etruscan pantheon, husband of *Uni*, and worshipped

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[90] Garagnani et Al. 2016.
[91] Simon 2006, 45.
[92] Fabbri 2017.
[93] Garagnani et Al. 2016.
[94] Sassatelli 2009.

as god of the sky, similarly to the Anatolian god of the sky and storm *Tarhun* ($< *Thyrg^{w}auna$). Moreover, in the acropolis of *Kainua* couples of structures have been individuated which are related to the foundation rite[95].

The archeological finds discovered in the city of *Kainua* demonstrate that this urban center was in origin closely linked to the populations of Southern Etruria, namely the confederation of *Volsinians* and related peoples who lived on the borders between Tuscany, Lazio, and Umbria and recognised a common origin in the affinity of the spoken languages. The fact that between the end of the VI and the beginning of the V century BC in the locality two new sanctuaries have been built leads to think that in this period the commercial exchanges between Tuscany and Emilia increased and the city became center of commerce and manufacturing. The economic well-being firstly allowed the city of $*G^{w}aunas$ to edificate a new public structure for the cult of their eponymous deity, but the arrival in the city of Tyrsinian merchants and artisans required shortly afterward the construction of a new public sanctuary consecrated to the eponymous deity of the newcomers. Moreover, the larger size and majesty of the sanctuary of *Tina* demonstrate that *Tyrsinians* and their deity had assumed a predominant role in the city already at the beginning of the V century BC. However, the edification of the second sanctuary beside the first one and not in a different zone shows that the Tyrsinian deity was posed not in contrast with that previously whorshipped in the city, but beside it, on the one hand to be invested with its power and legitimised in the eyes of the local population, on the other to symbolise the collaboration between $*G^{w}aunas$ and *Tyrsinians* that had led to the economic development of the place. Even the duality of the structures in the acropolis symbolises the cooperation between $*G^{w}aunas$ and *Tyrsinians* in refoundating the city, a case of the cooperation already validated several times between descendants of $*G^{w}aulg^{w}aunas$ and $*Thyrg^{w}aunas$.

CONCLUSIONS

In this study the diffusion of the Etruscan tribes along the Italic peninsula has been investigated by analysing the origins of the main cities related to them. In particular, two lineages have been distinguished, descending from the peoples of $*Thyrg^{w}aunas$ and $*G^{w}aulg^{w}aunas$, who started migrating from Central Asia at the end of the III millennium BC in subsequent waves, according to a recent migration theory[96]. To this aim, the phonetic changes occurred in the languages of the descendants of these peoples have been firstly analysed. This has allowed to relate ancient and modern Italian toponyms to the the tribes descending from $*Thyrg^{w}aunas$ and $*G^{w}aulg^{w}aunas$ who reached Italy between the end of the II and the beginning of the I millennium BC and diffused along the peninsula until the Roman age. In particular, some toponyms can be attributed to the tribes of *Tarchna* (*Tarquinia*) or $*Tur'ina$ (*Turin*), descending from *Western* $*Thyrg^{w}aunas$, some others to *Phersna* (*Perugia* and *Florence*), *Sarsna* (*Sarsina* and *Sarzana*), and *Rasna* (*Ravenna*), descending from *Eastern* $*Thyrg^{w}aunas$, and some more others to *Velsna* / $*Volvoni$ (*Bolzano*, *Bologna*, *Populonia*, *Bolsena*), $*Volvoi$ (*Melpum*), $*Calbanas$ (*Campania*), or $*Calbas$ (*Capua*) from $*G^{w}aulg^{w}aunas$. For some cities, mainly rose in late age, the cooperation between descendants of $*Thyrg^{w}aunas$ and $*G^{w}aulg^{w}aunas$ in the foundation or development as been deduced through the analysis of the toponyms. For the city of *Kainua* such a cooperation has been also recognised in the archeological remains.

The investigated toponyms are reported in the table in the appendix together with their derivations.

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[95] Sassatelli 2009.
[96] Fabbri 2017; 2018.

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APPENDIX

TABLE I - Italic names related to the Etruscan Mixed People						
DERIVATIONS					PEOPLE NAMES	GEOGRAPHIC NAMES
(West.) Thyrg^{w}aunas	Tharchaunas	Tarchunas				Etr. Tarchunas
			Tarchnas			Etr. Tarchnas
				Ar'nas		Lat. Arnus
	Thyrchainas	Thyrch nas	Tyrrh nas		Gr.	Gr.
				Rhenas		Lat. Rhenus
			Tur'inas			Loc. Turin
(West.) Thyrg^{w}aulas	Thyrchaulas	Thrychulas	Phry'ulas			It. Friuli
(West.) Thyrg^{w}auas	Tharg^{w}aus	Tharvus	Tarvis	Tarvis-as		Lat. Tarvisus
						It. Tarvisio
						It. Treviso
(East.) Thyrg^{w}aunas	Thardainas	Tard nas	Sard nas	Sarzanas		It. Sarzana
						It. Sarzano
				Sars nas	Lat. Sarsinates	Lat. Sarsina
			Trazenas	Razenas	Etr. Rasena	
					Etr. Rasenna	
					Etr. Rasna	
[G^{w}aul.] →	Tharvainas	Tarv nas	Travenas	Ravenas		Lat. Ravenna
[G^{w}aul.] →	Tharvaunas	Tarvonas	Travonas	Ravonas		Lat. Ravonis
	Thyrdainas	Therd nas	Therdanas	Erdanas		Gr. 'H ò
			Tredenas	Trednas		It. Trento
		Thyrd nas	Trydenas	Tryddnas		Lat. Tridentum
			Turdenas	U'denas		It. Udine
		Phyrd nas	Phyrzenas	Firzna		It. Firenze
						Lat. Florentia
			Phyrdnas	Fi'dzna		Lat. Fidentia
			Phryzenas	Frusna		Lat. Frusino
		Pherd nas	Pherzenas	Phersenas		Etr. Phersna
			Pherdnas	Ferentum		Lat. Ferentinum
		Phord nas	Pordena	Porznas		Lat. Parentium
						Cro. Pore
						It. Pordenone
				Pordnas		Lat. Portus Naonis
			Pordanas			
	Thyrdaunas	Phordonas	Pordonas			
[W. Thyr. / G^{w}aum.] →	Thyrchainas	Phyrchanas	Phyrchnas	Fir'na		Lat. Firmum
[W. Thyr. / G^{w}aum.] →	Tharchainas	Pharchanas	Pharchnas	Par'na		Lat. Parma
[Lat.] →	Thyrgainas	Pherg nas	Phregenas			Lat. Fregenae
(East.) Thyrg^{w}aulas	Thyrdaulas	Phyrdolas	Phyrzolas	Firzolas		Etr. Vi sul
				Fi'zolas		Etr. Vi'sul

			Fi'zlas			Etr. Viesl
						It. Fiesole
	Pherdolas	Pherzolas	Fe'zolas			Lat. Faesulae
[Lat.] →	Thyrgaulas	Pherg las	Phregelas			Lat. Fregellae
(East.) Thyrg^{w}aus	Thardaus	Thardos	Pha'dos	Pados		Gr.
				Pad-ua		Eng. Padua
						Loc. Padoa
						Lat. Patavium
	Thyrdaus	Therdas	Thredas	Redas	Lat. Raeti	Lat. Raetia
				Redium		Lat. Regium
		Phyrzaus	Pi'saus	Pisaus-um		Lat. Pisaurum
		Therdus	Phersus	Pesru		It. Pesaro
[W. Thyr. / G^{w}aum.] →	Thyrchaus	Therchus	Pherhus	Per'us-ia		Lat. Perusia
[Lat.] →	Thyrgaus	Phyrgus	Pyrgu			Gr.
G^{w}aulg^{w}aunas	Vaulvaunas	Volvonas	Bolvoni	Bol'oni		It. Bologna
			Bolboni	Boni/ones		Lat. Bononia
				Pulpuni		Etr. Pupluna
		[E. Thyr.] →	Volzonas	Volsonas	Lat. Volsones	
		[E. Thyr.] →	Volz nas	Volzanas		It. Bolzano
				Volsenas		It. Bolsena
				Volsinas		Lat. Volsinii
[E. Thyr.] →	Vaildainas	V ld nas	Velz nas	Velznas		Etr. Velzna
				Felsina		Lat. Felsina
[W. Thyr. / G^{w}aum.] →	Vaulchaunas	Volchanas	Bolchanas	Pulchanas		It. Pulciano
[Osc..] →	Kaulvaunas	Kalbanas	Campanas		Lat. Campani	Lat. Campania
[W. Thyr. / G^{w}aum.] →		Kalvanas				It. Calvana
[G^{w}aum. + E. Thyr.] →	Kauldainas	Kald nas	Calzna	Calentia		It. Calenzano
		Keuld nas	Cevlzinas	Clevsinas		Etr. Clevsina
	G^{w}au'-g^{w}aunas	Vaiz nas [E. Thyr.]	Veiznas	Visznas		Lat. Visentium
				Bisznas		Lat. Bisentium
			Faeznas			Lat. Faventia
						It. Faenza
[G^{w}aum. + E. Thyr.] →	Kaiz nas	Caizenas				Lat. Caesena
[G^{w}aum. + G^{w}aul.] →	Kaivainas	Cabainas	Cabenas			Lat. Capena
G^{w}aulg^{w}aulas	G^{w}au'g^{w}aulas	Kaidolas	Caizola	Caisla		Etr. Caisra
[Lat.] →	Vaugaulas	Vagulas				Gr.
G^{w}aulg^{w}autas	Vauldaitas	Vuld tas	Vulz tas	Vulseca		Loc. Vurseca
	Gaul-daitas	Gol-d tas	Gol-z tas	Gol-seca		It. Golasecca
G^{w}aulg^{w}aus	Vaulvaus	Volboi	Velpa	Melpa		Lat. Melpum
		[E. Thyr.] →	Veldena	Medlena		Lat. Mediolanum
[E. Thyr.] →	Vauldaus	Vaildus	Velzus			Etr. Velzu
		Valdas	Valzas	Valsas		Lat. Alsium

[W. Thyr. / G^waum.] →	Vaulchaus	Vulchas				Etr. Vulch
[Osc..] →	Kaulvaus	Kalbas	Campa	Campa-ua		Etr. Campeva
	G^wau'g^waus	Ka'bas	Capa	Cap-ua		Lat. Capua
G^waus	G^wau-as	Vai-as				Etr. Veies
G^waulthyras	Vaulthuras	Velthuras				Etr. Felthuri
		Velthras				Etr. Velthri
	G^waulathyras	Velathuras	Velathras			Etr.Velhatre
						Etr. Velathri
	[W. Thyr. / G^waum.] → Kailathuras	Chalathras				It. Alatri
		Chalethras				Lat. Aletrium
						Lat. Caletranus
G^waulthurg^waunas	Vaulthur-chainas	Volthur-chnas	Voltur'nas			Lat. Volturnum
	Kailthur-chainas	Calthur-chnas	Clatur'nas			Lat. Claterna
G^waunas	Kainas					Etr. Kainua
		G nas				Lat. Genua
	Dainas	D nas				Loc. Zena
Mykg^waunas	Mykdainas	Mykd nas	Myz nas			Gr.
						It. Misano

[W. Thyr.] →	= influenced by Western Thyrg^waunas
[E. Thyr.] →	= influenced by Eastern Thyrg^waunas
[G^waul.] →	= influenced by G^waulg^waunas
[G^waum.] →	= influenced by G^waumbras
[Lat.] →	= influenced by Latins
[Osci.] →	= influenced by Osci