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Theories on the Origin of the Etruscan Language

Adelle Rogers
Purdue University

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THEORIES ON THE ORIGIN OF THE ETRUSCAN LANGUAGE

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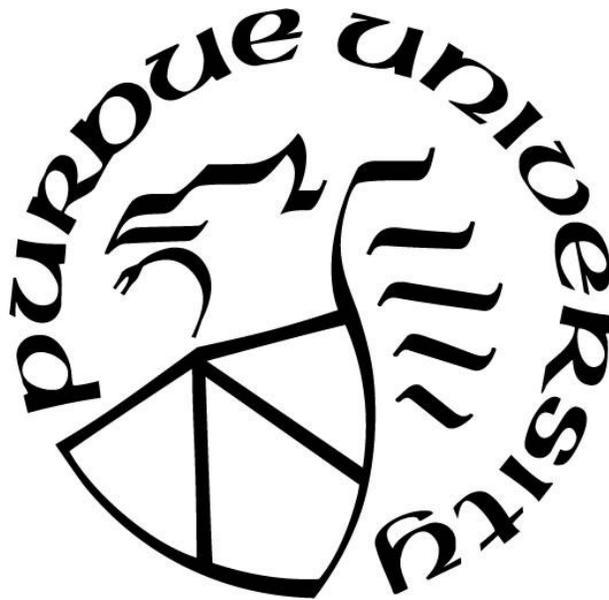
Adelle Rogers

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Purdue University

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Master of Arts



Department of Linguistics

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**THE PURDUE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL
STATEMENT OF COMMITTEE APPROVAL**

Dr. Mary Niepokuj, Chair

Department of English

Dr. John Sundquist

School of Languages and Cultures

Dr. Olga Dmitrieva

School of Languages and Cultures

Approved by:

Dr. Alejandro Cuza-Blanco

Head of the Graduate Program

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Richard and Laurine, and to my brother, Clay. They have been a tremendous source of love, support, and inspiration.

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ABSTRACT

Author: Rogers, Adelle, M. Choose Degree
Institution: Purdue University
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Committee Chair: Mary Niepokuj

Etruscan was a language once spoken in what is now Tuscany. The origins of both the Etruscan people and the Etruscan language have been debated for thousands of years. The languages of Lemnian and Raetic may be related to Etruscan, however very little is currently known about these two languages. The similarities between Raetic and Etruscan led to the ancient author Livy to claim that Raetic and Etruscan were related. The historian Herodotus had claimed that Etruscans and their language had originated in Anatolia. However, Dionysius of Halicarnassus claimed that the Etruscans were autochthonous to Italy. This debate has continued into the present day. This paper examines the various theories proposed for the origin of the Etruscan language. The methodologies and evidence provided by proponents of each theory are examined in order to gain insight into the reasons for the debate's longevity.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

The heart of the ancient land of Etruria was located between the Tiber and Arno Rivers of what is now Italy. The people of Etruria, the Etruscans, spoke a language that has been at the center of a great historical mystery. Ancient scholars of Rome and Greece debated the origins of the Etruscans and their language. Herodotus suggested that the Etruscans came from Lydia, while Dionysius of Halicarnassus argued that the Etruscans were autochthonous to Italy. Livy believed the Etruscans to be related to the Raetians in Northern Italy. In the modern era, Livy's claims of a relation between the language of the Etruscans and Raetic, the language of the Raetians, seems to be supported, but the origin of both of these languages is still unknown. Modern scholars continue the debate between autochthonous and Anatolian origins for the Etruscan language, as well as for the people themselves. In this paper, I will examine the various arguments for the origin of the Etruscans.

In Section 2, I will give a brief history of the Etruscans and the types of evidence found for the Etruscan language. In Section 3, I will cover features of Etruscan writing, phonology, and morphology. Sections 4 and 5 cover the less attested languages of Lemnian and Raetic which are believed to be related to Etruscan. Section 5 will also briefly cover the Nordic theory of Etruscan origins. Section 6 covers the Anatolian theory and its variants, and section 7 covers the autochthonous theory. Section 8 gives a discussion and conclusion, as well as a proposal for an additional way of looking at the evidence given by both the Anatolian and Autochthonous theory supporters.

CHAPTER 2. BACKGROUND

2.1 General Information

The Etruscans were a pre-Roman people living in Italy. The Etruscans called themselves *Rasenna*. The Romans called them *Tusci*, and the Greeks called them *Tyrrhenians*, also *Tyrsenoi*. The Tyrrhenian Sea to the west of Italy was named after the Greek name for the Etruscans because of its proximity to Etruria and the naval dominance of the Etruscans there. (Bonfante & Bonfante 2002, 8)

Ancient historians give different accounts of the origin of the Etruscans. According to Herodotus, the Etruscans originated in Lydia, part of Anatolia, but a famine led them to travel west across the sea to Italy led by a leader named Tyrrhenus. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, on the other hand, stated that the Etruscans were an autochthonous group, native to Etruria, and that their language and customs were unlike those of any other group. Livy gave yet another account of the origin of the Etruscans by claiming that they came from the north, over the Alps. To support his theory, Livy noted similarities between the Etruscans and the people of Rhaetia, a northern land near the Danube. (Barker & Rasmusen 2000, 43)

Archaeological evidence suggests that the Etruscans had been living in Etruria at least since the Iron Age or Late Bronze Age, about 1200 BC. The “Villanovan Period” is a term often used to refer to the Iron Age in Etruria. Bonfante suggests that the term “proto-Etruscan” might be a more apt name for that time period. (Bonfante & Bonfante 2002, 3) The first attestations of the Etruscan language began in the eighth century BC, and it is believed that Etruscan continued to be spoken until the first century BC, or possibly even until the first century AD. By the fourth century BC, the southern part of Etruria was under control of the Roman empire. (Wallace 2008, 1-2) The Roman’s sacking of the Etruscan city of Veii in 396 BC is said to be the event that marked the end of the Etruscans’ power in Italy. (Bonfante & Bonfante 2002, 17) By the second and third centuries BC, all of Etruria was under Rome’s control, and Latin became the dominant language in Etruria during the 1st century BC. However, the Etruscan divination practices continued to be taught long after the fall of Etruria, so it is possible that the Etruscan language may have survived into the Middle Ages, but only for use in divination, not as a commonly spoken language. (Wallace 2008, 1-2)

The Etruscans were well known for their divination practices. An Etruscan specialty was the use of animal entrails for divination called haruspicy. According to legend, a farmer had been plowing his field one day when a prophetic child sprung up from the freshly plowed earth. The child was named Tages, and Tages taught the Etruscans the art of divination, ordering that his instructions be written down. (Bonfante & Bonfante 2002, 205)

2.2 Geography

Etruria was located between the Tiber and Arno rivers, just to the north of Rome, in what is now known as Tuscany. However, the Etruscan language extended into the Po Valley in the North and some inscriptions have been found in Campania in Southern Italy. (Wallace 2008, 1-2)

Etruria was not a unified nation with a central government. Instead, Etruria was comprised of a collection of city-states that shared a common language and culture, although there were some regional differences. Southern Etrurian city-states were the wealthiest and included the cities of Tarquinia, Cerveteri, Veii, and Vulci. Northern and central Etrurian cities included Vetulonia, Roselle, and Populonia along the coast and Volsinii, Chiusi, Perugia, and Arezzo in the interior. (Bonfante & Bonfante 2002, 8-9) The city of Fiesole was the northernmost city in Etruria and was located between the Arno and a major mountain pass. (Bonfante & Bonfante 2002, 23)

The cities of Tarquinia and Cerveteri were the most prosperous of the Etruscan city-states. According to legend, Tarquinia was founded by a man named Tarchon who was either a companion or close relative of Tyrrhenus, who was thought to have led the Etruscans out of Lydia. Tarquinia was also thought to be the city where the divination practices originated, either through the revelations of the mythical figure Tages or from Tarchon himself. Tarchon is also sometimes credited as founding what is modern day Pisa. (Bonfante & Bonfante 2002, 9-10) The city of Cerveteri had a strong relationship with Rome and was the first Etruscan city to receive Roman citizenship. (Bonfante & Bonfante 2002, 16)

Etruscan cities are sometimes referred to by the modern names of the sites, and sometimes by the Latin names for the cities. The following is a table listing the modern names, Latin names, and Etruscan names (if known) for each of the major cities based on Wallace (2008, 2):

Table 1: Names of Etruscan Cities

Modern Name	Latin Name	Etruscan Name
Arezzo	Arretium	Aritim
Chiusi	Clusium	Kleusi
Cortona	---	Kurtun
Cerveteri	Caere	Kaiseri
Fiesole	Faesulae	---
Orvieto	Volsinii	Weltsna
Perugia	Perusia	Perfja
Pisa	Pisae	---
Populonia	---	Pupluna
Roselle	Rusellae	---
Tarquinius	Tarquinii	Tark ^h na
Veio	Veii	---
Vetulonia	Vetulonia	---
Volterra	Volterrae	Welat ^h ri
Vulci	---	Welka

2.3 Inscriptions

Over 10,000 Etruscan inscriptions have been found to date. Most of the inscriptions are short votive or funerary inscriptions. The Etruscans would write on linen, so most of the longer texts did not survive to the present day. About 700 of the known inscriptions are from Archaic Etruscan while all the rest are Neo-Etruscan. Many of the Etruscan words in the Etruscan inscriptions are personal names. (Wallace 2008, 2)

The Etruscans had extensive trade networks, so Etruscan pottery with inscriptions have been found as far away as Southern France. The longest known Etruscan text was found in Egypt, presumably having originated in Etruria and was then brought abroad to Egypt by an Etruscan traveler. There have even been found Etruscan boundary stones from the 2nd to 1st

centuries BC in Tunisia. The boundary stones are thought to have been from Etruscans who moved to Tunisia to flee from the Romans. (Wallace 2008, 2-3)

The longest Etruscan text, and only surviving linen book, is called the *Liber Linteus Zagrebniensis*, or *Liber Linteus* for short. The *Liber Linteus* preserved 200 lines of text with about 1300 word-forms. The *Liber Linteus* was a book containing an Etruscan religious calendar and instructions for rituals and prayers. The book made its way from Etruria to Egypt where it was torn into long strips and used as mummy wrappings. After the mummy was discovered by archaeologists, it was housed in the Zagreb Museum where researchers noticed the Etruscan writing on the wrappings. This is why the *Liber Linteus Zagrebniensis* is sometimes referred to as the “Zagreb mummy wrappings”. (Wallace 2008, 6)

Another long Etruscan inscription is called the *Tabula Capuana*. Like the *Liber Linteus*, the *Tabula Capuana* lists religious acts, but instead of being written on linen, it was inscribed on a terracotta tile, called a *tegola*. The *Tabula Capuana* contains sixty lines of text with around 300 words. (Wallace 2008, 6-7)

The *Tabula Cortonensis*, also called the *Cortona Tablet*, is another long inscription, this time on a bronze rather than gold tablet. It contains 40 lines of text with about 200 words. The *Cortona Tablet* was a legal contract dictating water rights. The tablet was broken into eight separate pieces, seven of which have been found. Luckily, the missing piece likely only contained signatures, so the vocabulary items and the syntax of the contract remain intact. (Wallace 2008, 7)

Another important discovery was the *Pyrgi Tablets*. The *Pyrgi Tablets* were three gold tablets found in Cerveteri’s port, *Pyrgi*. Two of the tablets were Etruscan and the third tablet was Punic. Etruscan tablet A described the same event as the Punic tablet, however neither was a direct translation of the other, making a solid syntactic analysis of the Etruscan tablet difficult. (Wallace 2008, 7-8)

A particularly famous Etruscan inscription is on a model liver fashioned out of bronze, known as the *Piacenza Liver*. The *Piacenza Liver* is believed to have been a reference or teaching tool for haruspicy. The liver is divided into sections and has the names of different gods carved on it. (Wallace 2008, 7)

CHAPTER 3. THE ETRUSCAN LANGUAGE

Before examining the theories of Etruscan origin, it is important to have a grounding in the basics of the Etruscan language. Due to the nature of the inscriptions, which were primarily funerary and votive, there are many parts of the grammar that are still unknown or uncertain. This section will summarize what is known about the Etruscan language, along with areas of contention among etruscologists. The summary will start with the Etruscan writing system and then move onto phonology and morphology.

3.1 The Writing System

3.1.1 Alphabet

The Etruscan alphabet was based on the Euboean Greek alphabet. The alphabet is thought to have been borrowed into Etruscan during the 8th century BC because the first known contact between the Etruscans and Greek colonists was during the middle of the 8th century and the earliest known Etruscan inscription was from around 700 BC. (Wallace 2008, 17) The Etruscan alphabet is very well attested in the form of abecedaria, lists of the letters of the alphabet in their standard order. Abecedaria have been found all over Etruria and were found from different time periods, allowing Etruscologists to see how the Etruscan alphabet changed over time as well as indicating variations by regions. (Wallace 2008, 18) The prevalence of abecedaria may be due to the fact that they were used not only for teaching, but also for decoration and possibly even for magic (Bonfante & Bonfante 2002, 75)

The most obvious difference between the Etruscan alphabet and the Greek alphabet from which it was borrowed is that the Etruscan alphabet, including the way each letter is written, appears to be backwards from its Greek counterpart. This is due to the Etruscans writing sinistroverse, from right to left. Although sinistroverse writing was by far the most common, there have been a few inscriptions found in which the writing was done in a spiral pattern or in boustrophedon. There have also been some findings of dextroverse writing in Etruscan. For a while during the change from the 7th to the 6th century BC in the southern cities of Caere and Veii, dextroverse writing was used, but this was eventually replaced by sinistroverse writing. Dextroverse writing did start to appear again near the end of the Etruscan period, during the 2nd

and 1st centuries BC. This is believed to have been from the influence of Latin. (Wallace 2008, 23)

The Etruscan writing was done in a scriptio continua style, where there was no separation of the words. However, some punctuation was occasionally used. In some of the oldest inscriptions, three vertical dots <:;> were used to separate words. Later inscriptions more often used only two dots <:> instead of three. (Wallace 2008, 25)

3.1.2 Alphabet Discussion

The earliest known abecedarium had 26 letters, although four of the letters were not used. The letters beta, delta, omicron, and samek are unattested in any Etruscan inscriptions other than the abecedaria and stopped being included in abecedaria after approximately two centuries. It is believed that they were unused due to Etruscan not having the phonemes that the graphemes represented in the alphabet of the Euboean Greeks. (Wallace 2008, 17) It should be noted that the Etruscan alphabet also had Phoenician features such as the inclusion of samek, possibly adopted into Etruscan from a very early version of the Greek alphabet. (Bonfante & Bonfante 2002, 53-55)

The following is a chart from based on Wallace, 2008 (page 20) and Bonfante & Bonfante, 2002 (page 76). The chart lists the letters of the Etruscan alphabet and the IPA transcription of the sound.

Table 2: Etruscan Alphabet

Letter	Sound	Letter	Sound
𐌀	/a/	𐌁	/n/
𐌂	--	𐌃	--
𐌄	/k/	𐌅	--
𐌆	--	𐌇	/s/, /ʃ/
𐌈	/e/	𐌉	/p/
𐌊	/w/	𐌋	/k/
𐌌	/ts/	𐌍	/r/
𐌎	/h/	𐌏 / 𐌐	/s/, /ʃ/
𐌑	/t ^h /	𐌒	/t/
𐌓	/i/	𐌔	/u/
𐌕	/k/	𐌖	/p ^h /
𐌗	/l/	𐌘	/k ^h /
𐌙	/m/	𐌚	/f/ or /ϕ/

The use of the IPA symbols to represent the proposed phonemic values of the Etruscan letters is different from the transliteration symbols used by Bonfante and Wallace. For the aspirated dental stop /t^h/, Bonfante uses the digraph <th> and Wallace uses theta <θ>. I have chosen to use the IPA representation rather than either Bonfante or Wallace's transliteration symbols because both <th> and <θ> can be more easily mistaken as representing the fricative /θ/ than the aspirated stop symbol in IPA would be. Likewise, the aspirated labial stop /p^h/ is represented as <ph> by Bonfante and as <φ> by Wallace, and the aspirated velar stop /k^h/ is represented as <kh> by Bonfante and as <χ> by Wallace. Once again, I have chosen to use the IPA transcription to avoid any confusion as to the proposed pronunciation of the letters and words.

Both Bonfante and Wallace transliterate the letter <𐌌> as <z>, while I always give the IPA transcription of the letter as /ts/. Both Bonfante and Wallace agree that the sound was a voiceless affricate rather than a voiced fricative, for reasons listed below, so my use of the IPA for transliteration makes this pronunciation clear. Bonfante and Wallace also both use the letter <v> to represent the Etruscan letter digamma <𐌊> in their transliterations, while I use the IPA symbol

/w/. Again, this is not due to a difference in the proposed pronunciation, but an effort on my part to make the pronunciation more transparent in the transliteration.

The Etruscans used the letters kappa <ϰ>, gamma <Ϟ>, and qoppa <ϱ> to represent the voiceless velar stop /k/. Kappa was only used before the vowel alpha <Α>, gamma only appeared before the vowels epsilon <ϵ> and iota <Ι>, and qoppa only appeared before the vowel upsilon <Υ>. (Wallace 2008, 23) Because these three graphemes have a complementary distribution, they are all believed to be representing the same sound, or at least representing a phonetic rather than phonemic contrast. (Bonfante & Bonfante 2002, 75) Eventually, qoppa fell out of use and was removed from the alphabet. Etruscans in the northern parts of Etruria also stopped using gamma and used only kappa to represent /k/. Etruscans in the southern parts of Etruria instead used gamma to represent /k/ and dropped the letter kappa. However, the North later switched to using gamma like the South, either due to the influence from the southern Etruscans or from Latin or from both. (Wallace 2008, 23)

It is interesting to note that the system of using kappa, gamma, and qoppa to represent /k/ in Etruscan matches the system that was used in Latin (Bonfante & Bonfante 2002, 75). It is believed that when Latin switched to using only gamma to represent /k/, it was doing so under influence from the southern Etruscan system. Eventually, the Latin speakers added a modified version of gamma <G> to their alphabet in order to represent /g/. (Bonfante & Bonfante 2002, 77) Thus, it could be said that Etruscan played a role in usage of the letters <c>, <k>, and <q> in English since the English alphabet is based on the Latin alphabet which was influenced by the Etruscan alphabet.

The letter digamma <Ϟ> is believed to have represented the bilabial /w/ rather than the labiodental fricative /v/. The reason for this is that it was often used in diphthongs such as /āw/ written as <ΑϞ>¹. The letter digamma would also alternate with the upsilon in various inscriptions, such as in the name /āwle/ which was sometimes written as <ΑϞ ϰϵ>² and other times as <ΑΥ ϰϵ>³. (Bonfante & Bonfante 2002, 77)

The character <Ϸ> was added to the end of the Etruscan alphabet and represented a labial fricative. Some believe that it represented voiceless bilabial /ϕ/. (Bonfante & Bonfante 2002, 78)

^{1,2,3} The Etruscan letters are written here from left to right to allow for an easier comparison with the phonemically transcribed form. Normally in Etruscan, the letters would have been written in reverse order as the Etruscans typically wrote from right to left.

Others believe that it represented the voiceless labio-dental /f/. The phonological value of this grapheme will be discussed in further detail in the phonology section of this paper. Before the letter <Ϝ> was added to the alphabet, the Etruscans used a digraph, either <Ϟϟ> or <ϟϞ>, to represent the labial fricative. (Wallace 2008, 21) The letter <Ϝ> possibly originated from <Ϟ>. It has been suggested that half of this more squarish symbol is the basis for the Latin letter <F>. (Bonfante & Bonfante 2002, 78)

The fricatives /s/ and /ʃ/ were represented by the letters three-bar sigma <Ϛ>, four-bar sigma <ϛ>, and sade <Ϟ>. The letters used for these fricatives varied by region. In Northern Etruria, sade was used for /s/ and three-bar sigma was used for /ʃ/. Central Etruria used the opposite system, so three-bar sigma was used for /s/ and sade was used for /ʃ/. In Southern Etruria, three-bar sigma was also used for /s/, but /ʃ/ was represented by four-bar sigma. (Wallace 2008, 21) Because the correspondences between letters in the different regions were regular, it is believed that they represented two separate sounds instead of each set being different ways of spelling a singular fricative. An example of the correspondence between these letters is the spelling of the word /ʃut^{hi}/ “tomb” in the different regions. In Southern Etruria, the word for “tomb” was always spelled with four-bar sigma, while in Central Etruria, it was always spelled with sade, and in Northern Etruria, always with three-bar sigma. (Wallace 2008, 21)

For the remaining letters of the Etruscan alphabet, they are believed to have the same sound value as they held in the Greek alphabet from which they were borrowed. For example, phi <ϕ> in Etruscan is believed to represent /p^h/ because that is the sound it represented in Ancient Greek, which the letter was borrowed from.

3.2 Phonology

The phonology of Etruscan seems to be fairly well agreed upon overall, particularly in comparison to the debates over Etruscan morphology. Our knowledge of the Etruscan phonology comes primarily from an examination of the writing system, and also from the comparison of Greek loanwords in Etruscans to the spelling and pronunciation of the original terms in Greek.

3.2.1 Consonants

The Etruscan phonemic inventory lacked voiced obstruents. There were four fricatives, all of which were voiceless: /f/, /s/, /ʃ/, and /h/. According to some scholars, the labial fricative may have been bilabial /ɸ/ instead of labio-dental /f/. The argument for /ɸ/ over /f/ is that certain Etruscan words had alternations in spelling between <p> and <f> in words such as *pupluns/fufluns* “Bacchus”, and that positing a bilabial place of articulation of the fricative would make it closer in nature to the bilabial stop. (Bonfante & Bonfante 2002, 79) Although there were no voiced fricatives in Etruscan, one often finds <z> used in transliterations of Etruscan words by Etruscologists such as Giuliano and Larissa Bonfante, Facchetti, and De Simone. This is merely a convention used to represent a dental affricate /t͡s/ instead of the voiced fricative /z/. The Etruscan <z> is thought to be an affricate instead of a voiced fricative for several reasons. One reason is that the Etruscan <z> comes from the Greek <z> which represented an affricate /d͡z/. Another reason is that Oscan based their letter for the affricate /t͡s/ off of the Etruscan <z>. Yet another reason given for an affricate value of the Etruscan letter is the spelling alternations of <tz> with <z> in Etruscan. (Wallace 2008, 32) There are those, however, who propose that the voiceless affricate in Etruscan was actually palatal /t͡ʃ/ instead of dental /t͡s/. Proponents of this view point to the fact that it is typologically more common for /t͡ʃ/ to be the affricate in phonological systems with only one affricate. Other Etruscologists point out that when the Umbrians based their writing system off of the Etruscan alphabet, the Umbrians did not use the Etruscan <z> for the palatal affricate, opting instead to use a different symbol. (Wallace 2008, 31-32) This would indicate that the Etruscan <z> was not a palatal affricate.

For stop consonants, Etruscan had pairs distinguished by aspiration rather than by voicing. The consonants were: /p/, /p^h/, /t/, /t^h/, /k/, and /k^h/. The Etruscans used the letters for voiceless unaspirated stops and voiceless aspirated stops when they adopted the alphabet used by the Greeks, but they did not use the letters for the voiced stops with the exception of gamma which appeared to have been used as variant spelling for /k/. This supports the theory that Etruscan lacked voiced stops. The voiceless unaspirated velar stop was written with three different letters in Archaic Etruscan: <k>, <c>, and <q>. These three letters are believed to have represented phonetic rather than phonemic distinctions, as their distribution was dependent upon the following vowel. The letter <k> was written before <a>, <c> was written before front vowels, and <q> was written before <u>; which is the same distribution of these letters in Early

Latin. By the Neo-Etruscan period, only <c> was used for the unaspirated velar fricative in the southern portions of Etruria, while some of the Northern cities used <k>. (Bonfante & Bonfante 2002, 76-77) Some scholars, such as Rix (1984) and Steinbauer (1999), suggest that the aspirated stops were actually palatalized instead of aspirated, with the exception of the velar stop which they argue was a voiceless velar fricative. The argument for the palatalization stems from certain Etruscan words having spelling variations where the consonant is sometimes followed by an <i> and sometimes not. The presence of <i> in some of the spellings is thought to mean the consonant is a palatal. However, such spelling variations only occur for a couple of Etruscan words, and there are far more words involving the aspirate consonants where spelling variations with <i> are never attested. As for the belief that the velar aspirate was in fact a velar fricative, the evidence comes from some Latin transcriptions of Etruscan names in which the <χ> of Etruscan is written as <h>. There are even some Etruscan inscriptions in which the spelling varies between <χ> and <h>. However, these inscriptions were only found in Perugia, written near the end of the Neo-Etruscan era, suggesting that this was possibly a late, regional variation. (Wallace 2008, 30-31)

Etruscan sonorants are much more straightforward. There were two nasals /n/ and /m/ and four approximants /l/, /r/, /w/, and /j/. The Etruscan letter representing /w/ is often transliterated as <v>, so <v> in Etruscan scholarship does not represent a voiced fricative.

The Etruscan consonant inventory can be summarized in the following modified from Wallace (2008, 30):

Table 3: Etruscan Consonant Chart

		Labial	Dental	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	Unaspirated	p	t		k	
	Aspirated	p ^h	t ^h		k ^h	
Affricate			ts			
Fricative		f (ϕ)	s	ʃ		H
Nasal		m	n			
Lateral			l			
Rhotic			r			
Glide				j	w	

3.2.2 Vowels

Etruscan had a system of four vowels /i/, /e/, /a/, and /u/. Some etruscologists believe that the /a/ was rounded in Archaic Etruscan (/ɔ/) that later unrounded in Neo Etruscan. This is supported by the way the diphthong /ow/ from Italic languages was spelled in Etruscan. Prior to the 6th century B.C., the diphthong was transcribed as <au> in Etruscan, but was later transcribed as <uw>, suggesting that sometime during the 6th century, the vowel represented by <a> became unrounded and the remaining round back vowel /u/ was used instead to most closely match the Italic vowel /o/. There was no distinction between long and short vowels in Archaic Etruscan, although it is possible that a distinction may have developed during Neo Etruscan. (Wallace 2008, 34-35)

Diphthongs in Etruscan were formed by a combination of the monophthongs with semivowels. Diphthongs were uncommon in Archaic Etruscan, primarily being found only in names. However, by Neo Etruscan, diphthongs had become much more common, likely due to the influence of loanwords and sound changes. Etruscan diphthongs include / \widehat{aw} /, / \widehat{ew} /, / \widehat{aj} /, and / \widehat{ej} / . These are represented in Etruscan names such as / \widehat{awle} /, / \widehat{kajkna} /, and / \widehat{apunej} / and words such as / \widehat{tewrat} / “judge”. (Wallace 2008, 35) There was also a diphthong written as <ui>, but because it is written using the two letters that can represent glides, it is unclear as to whether it should be transcribed as / \widehat{wi} / or / \widehat{uj} / . There is no evidence to support the choice of one over the other, so for the sake of consistency, I shall transcribe <ui> as / \widehat{wi} / for the rest of this paper.

3.2.3 Sound Changes

The Etruscan consonant system stayed very stable during the recorded period of Etruscan. However, the vowel system underwent several changes between Archaic and Neo Etruscan. One of the earliest recorded changes occurred at the end of the 7th century BC. The spelling of the vowels in the middle syllables of words began to change, so for example, what had been previously written with a medial <a> started being written with <u> and <e> instead. This development of variation for vowel spellings is indicative of a weakening of medial vowels to a schwa [ə]. Eventually, by the early 5th century BC, the weakening had turned into syncope, the deletion of the medial vowels entirely. This syncope affected all medial vowels in words with at least three syllables. For example, the Etruscan name /westirikina/ from the archaic period became /westɾkna/ in Neo-Etruscan. The syncope seems to have affected both open and

closed medial syllables. For example, the medial vowels in the Archaic Etruscan female names /^hanak^hwil/ and /menerwa/ were deleted in Neo Etruscan to form /^hank^hwil/ and /menɾwa/. This loss of medial vowels led to the development of new consonant clusters and the presence of syllabic /n/, /m/, /l/, and /r/. (Wallace 2008, 37-38)

Syncope also affected word final closed syllables as well, but in a much more limited way. It primarily occurred between /n/ and either /^h/ or /s/, and also between /s/ and /l/ in the final syllable. Because syncope occurred in medial and some final syllables but never in initial syllables, it is thought that Etruscan may have had first syllable stress. (Wallace 2008, 38-39)

There was one exception to the medial vowel syncope, and that was medial <ie> in names like /aniena/. Instead of deleting entirely, it would become /i/. One explanation for this is that <ie> represented a semivowel followed by a vowel, /je/, and that after the vowel /e/ deleted, the semivowel /j/ became /i/. A second explanation for this is that <ie> represented two separate vowels that combined into a long /i:/ in an earlier sound change, and this longer /i:/ was resistant to the medial vowel weakening and syncope. (Wallace 2008, 38)

The combination of two consecutive vowels into a single (possibly long) vowel is another major phonological change that occurred between Archaic and Neo Etruscan. In addition, the diphthongs in Archaic Etruscan underwent monophthongization, which is another process that some believe led to the presence of long vowels in Neo Etruscan. This long vowel hypothesis is supported by finds in Cortona during the Neo-Etruscan period in which the symbol epsilon was sometimes written backwards. The “retrograde epsilon” only appeared in cases where the vowel was a result of either monophthongization or the combination of two vowels into one. This consistency in its use at Cortona suggests that regular epsilon and retrograde epsilon may have been used to represent vowels of different lengths. (Wallace 2008, 33-34)

In the 4th century, there was also a sound change where the diphthong /aj/ would change to /ej/. This was an unconditioned sound change, with the possible exception of feminine names which may have been immune to the change. The monophthongization mentioned above took place after the change from /aj/ to /ej/, which is evidenced by the Etruscan spelling of the name Ajax over time: /ajwas/ > /ejwas/ > /ewas/ (possibly /e:was/). (Wallace 2008, 35)

There was one more significant change in the Etruscan vowel system from Archaic to Neo, a very limited vowel harmony. This change affected /i/ in the initial syllables of words. In words where the following syllable contained a non-high vowel (either /e/ or /a/), /i/ in the initial syllable

would lower to /e/. (Wallace 2008, 34-35) This change is most notable in the pronouns of Etruscan. For example, the nominative demonstrative pronoun /ika/ in Archaic Etruscan became /eka/ in Neo Etruscan. (Wallace 2008, 60-61)

3.3 Noun Morphology

Etruscan nouns inflected for both number and case. Because Etruscan was primarily agglutinative, there were separate suffixes for number and case, instead of having one suffix indicate both categories such as in Etruscan's neighbor, Latin. The number suffix would attach to the root or stem of the noun first and then was followed by the case affix. (Wallace 2008, 43) There was no inflection for gender in terms of masculine and feminine except in personal names, but this is believed to be a later development influenced by neighboring Italic languages. There were, however, indications of an animate/inanimate distinction for nouns. (Wallace 2008, 50-51) This distinction between animate and inanimate was marked only in the plural, where animate nouns had a plural morpheme using /r/ and inanimate nouns had a plural morpheme /-k^hwa/ and its allomorphs . (Facchetti 2002, 10). This distinction will be discussed in more detail below.

3.3.1 Noun Stems

Etruscan noun stems can be divided into three categories based upon the final sound of the stem. The first type is vocalic stems which are stems that end with a vowel; however, only vocalic stems with /a/, /u/, and /e/ are attested. The second type is consonant stems, which as the name implies, ended with a consonant. The third type is a combination of the previous two, known as the vocalic-consonant stems. Vocalic-consonant stems are stems which end in a consonant when uninflected, but end in a vowel when used with a suffix. An example would be the root / $\widehat{a}j$ s/ “god” and / $\widehat{a}j$ se-r/ “gods”. (Wallace 2008, 44) It has been proposed that the vowel in the inflected stem was a euphonic vowel (Bonfante & Bonfante 2002, 84), but different vowels are used depending upon the word and there is no identifiable pattern for which word uses which vowel. Instead, this is more likely a case of a prehistoric sound change in which the final vowel was deleted. This would allow a prehistoric reconstruction of the word for “god” as /* $\widehat{a}j$ se/, where the final vowel was deleted in uninflected forms and preserved in the inflected forms. (Wallace 2008, 44-45)

3.3.2 Number Inflection

There was no dual number in Etruscan, so nouns would only indicate either singular or plural. Singular nouns were unmarked (or had a null suffix) while plural nouns had a distinct suffix depending upon whether the noun was animate or inanimate. If the noun was animate, then its plural suffix was /-r(a)/. If the noun was inanimate, then its plural suffix was /-k^hwa/. The inanimate plural suffix had three allomorphs [-k^hwa], [-kwa], and [-wa]. The allomorph [-wa] was used after stems ending in front vowels or /j/. The allomorph [-kwa] was used after stems ending in dental consonants. The allomorph [-k^hwa] was the least restricted in its environment and appeared in all other environments. (Wallace 2008, 49-51)

The following are paradigms demonstrating the inflection for plurals in Etruscan. The data for the table have been taken from Wallace 2008 (pages 50-51) and Facchetti 2002 (pages 9-10).

Table 4: Plural Inflection Paradigms

Singular	Plural	Translation
/kilt ^h /	/kilt ^h -kwa/	Citadel
/awil/	/awil-k ^h wa/	Year
/kuls/	/kuls-kwa/	Gate/door
/tsusle/	/tsusle-wa/	Offering/Sacrifice
/pulum/	/pulum-k ^h wa/	Star
/huf/	/hufu-r/	Child
/ajs/	/ajse-r/	Deity

3.3.3 Case Inflection

Etruscan nouns inflected for nominative/accusative, genitive, pertinentive, ablative, and locative. Nominative and accusative cases were only differentiated in pronouns, not in common nouns. The term “pertinentive” was coined by Helmut Rix to refer to a case that had both dative (indirect object) and agentive functions. (Facchetti 2002, 14) The genitive, pertinentive, and ablative cases had two declensional patterns commonly referred to as first and second. The suffixes in the first declension contained the consonant /s/, while the suffixes in the second declension used the consonant /l/. The following chart summarizes the case endings in both Archaic and Neo-Etruscan. (Wallace 2008, 46-49)

Table 5: Case Endings for Nouns

	Archaic Etruscan		Neo-Etruscan	
	1 st Declension	2 nd Declension	1 st Declension	2 nd Declension
Genitive	-s	-a	-s	-(a)l
Pertinentive	-si	-ale	-si	-ale
Ablative	-s	-(a)las	-s	-als
Nom/Acc	∅		∅	
Locative	-i		-i / -t ^h i	

It should be noted that although the first declension genitive and ablative suffixes were the same, the two cases were still distinguishable from each other by means of a vowel change in the noun stem for the ablative. The stem vowel changes were as follows: /a/ → /e/, /e/ → / $\widehat{e}j$ /, and /u/ → / \widehat{wi} /. For example, the genitive of /wel/ (a personal name) was /welus/ while the ablative was /wel \widehat{wis} /. (Wallace 2008, 47)

The Neo-Etruscan locative /-t^{hi}/ was due to a reanalysis of a common postposition that would follow nouns in the locative case. This use of /-t^{hi}/ as the locative only appeared in late inscriptions, while earlier inscriptions attested the use of /-i/ instead. Additionally, vocalic stems caused a combining of the final stem vowel with the /-i/ locative suffix, often resulting in the locative appearing as /-e/. For example, the word /spura/ “community” was /spure/ in the locative, resulting from a combination of the /a/ and /-i/. (Wallace 2008, 47)

The 2nd declension genitive in archaic Etruscan was simply the vowel /-a/ with no /l/ like the rest of the 2nd declension forms. It’s possible that the /-l/ of the 2nd declension genitive in Neo-Etruscan arose from analogy with the 2nd pertinentive and ablative forms.

There also seems to have been a mixed declension for some nouns, in which some cases use the first declension endings while other cases in the word’s paradigm use the second declension endings. It is currently unclear as to why some words are first declension, some second declension, and others mixed declension, but some scholars have posited theories about general trends. Some scholars note that there is a trend for names with vocalic stems to be in the first declension while names with consonant stems are in the second declension. (Wallace 2008, 47-48) It is also suggested by some that nouns with stems ending in a velar or liquid consonant tend to be 2nd declension nouns, although there are exceptions to this, such as the word /awil/ “year” which takes the first declension genitive /awil-s/. (Bonfante & Bonfante 2002, 84-85)

The following paradigms for Etruscan case inflection. Completely attested paradigms are very rare, so the following words have reconstructed elements. Personal names used to demonstrate the cases will only be given in the singular, although they should follow the pattern for animate plural inflection. Because Etruscan is agglutinating, the plural is regularly formed using the singular case endings and the plural stem. Data for these paradigms is from Wallace 2008 (pages 48-51).

Table 6: Noun Paradigm 1

“Citadel”	Singular	Plural
Nominative/Accusative	/kilt ^h /	/kilt ^h -kwa/
2 nd Genitive	/kilt ^h /	/*kilt ^h -kwa-l/
1 st Ablative	/kilt ^h -s/	/*kilt ^h -kwa-s/
Locative	/*kilt ^h -i/	/kilt ^h -kwe/

Table 7: Noun Paradigm 2

“Sarcophagus”	Singular	Plural
Nominative/Accusative	/mutna/	/*mutna-k ^h wa/
2 nd Genitive	/mutna-l/	/*mutna- k ^h wa-l/
1 st Ablative	/mutn-es/	/*mutna- k ^h w-es/
Locative	/mutn-e/	/*mutna k ^h w-e/

Table 8: Noun Paradigm 3

Personal Name: <vel>	Singular
Nominative/Accusative	/wel/
1 st Genitive	/welu-s/
1 st Pertinentive	/welu-si/
1 st Ablative	/welu-is/

Table 9: Noun Paradigm 4

Personal Name: <larθ>	Singular
Nominative/Accusative	/lart ^h /
2 nd Genitive	/lart ^h - al/
2 nd Pertinentive	/lart ^h -ale/
2 nd Ablative	/lart ^h -als/

The noun /klan/ “son” has the most irregular inflectional pattern among Etruscan nouns. Its paradigm is as follows (Wallace 2008, 49):

Table 10: Irregular Declension

	Singular	Plural
Nominative/Accusative	/klan/	/klenar/
Genitive	/kles/ or /klens/	/kliniiaras/
Pertinentive	/klinsi/ or /klensi/	/klenarasi/-
Ablative	/klen/	--

The noun /klan/ is considered highly irregular due to the unexplained stem changes and the missing ablative ending. While other words such as /mutna/ “sarcophagus” may have stem changes in some of the forms, the change is predictable based upon the case. However, with /klan/, there is no explanation as to why the stem vowel becomes /e/ in the genitive and ablative singular and the pertinentive plural, but becomes /i/ in the genitive plural and some instances of the pertinentive singular. There is also the unexplained disappearance of the consonant /n/ in the genitive singular and the appearance of /s/ in the stem of the genitive and pertinentive singular. The double /ii/ in the genitive plural is also not easily explained and its origin remains unknown.

3.4 Pronouns

3.4.1 Personal Pronouns

In Etruscan, the first person singular pronoun is /mi/ in the nominative case. In the accusative case, the stem takes the suffix /-ni/ to form /mini/. The accusative /mini/ has also been attested as /mine/ and /mene/. It is not well understood what the difference is between these variant forms. The forms /mine/ and /mene/ are both attested in the city of Veii around 600 BC, so it does not appear to be representative of a geographical or diachronic difference. However, /mini/ is the most common form of the accusative and the oldest attested. The first person pronoun is unattested in the other cases. (Wallace 2008, 58)

The second person singular pronoun is believed to be /un/ in the nominative, although some believe that /un/ is actually the third person pronoun. This difference of opinion is due to the semantic ambiguity of some lines in the Liber Linteus. The Liber Linteus contains Etruscan prayers and prayer instructions. In cases where the pronoun /un/ is used, it is unclear whether it is being used in the second person to refer directly to the deity in a prayer or if it is being used in

the third person to denote who the prayer is to be said to. For example, here is a line from the *Liber Linteus* that can be interpreted both ways according to Wallace (2008, 58-59):

Trin	flere	net ^h uns-l	un-e	mlak ^h	put ^h s	t ^h ak-l-t ^h
Say	spirit	Neptune-Gen	Pronoun-Pert	good	place(?)	???-Gen-in
t ^h arte-i		tsiwas	fler			
???-Loc		living	victim			

Interpretation 1 (Second Person):

Say: O spirit of Neptune, to/for you(?), O good (god), the living victim, an unblemished one (?), is placed (?) on the *t^hartei* of the *t^hak*.

Interpretation 2 (Third person):

Invoke the spirit of Neptune. For him (?) the living victim, an unblemished one (?), is placed (?) on the *t^hartei* of the *t^hak*.

Wallace argues for the second person interpretation of /un/ on the basis of a much shorter inscription found in Volsinii which appears to be used in the second person, although Wallace does caution that this interpretation is not definitive. The inscription is as follows (Wallace 2008, 59):

Turis :	mi :	un-e :	ame
Doris	I	you-pert	am

Doris, I am for you.

Like the first person pronoun, only two cases of the second person pronoun /un/ are attested. However, for /un/, only the nominative and pertinentive are known, and not the accusative case. The pertinentive is /une/. Wallace suggests that the ending /-e/ could come from the second pertinentive ending /-ale/ found in the declension of Etruscan nouns, and that an original /*un-ale/ underwent syncope to form /*un-le/ and then underwent assimilation and simplification /*un-ne/ > /un-e/. (Wallace 2008, 58-59) An alternative explanation for the suffix /-e/ would be analogical extension.

Wallace does not list any third person singular personal pronouns for Etruscan other than possible /un/, but Bonfante & Bonfante list two separate third person pronouns, /an/ for animates

and /in/ for inanimates. The Bonfantes only give an inscriptional example of /an/ and not /in/.

The example is as follows (Bonfante & Bonfante 2002, 91-92):

wel	matunas	laris-al-isa	an	kn	fut ^{hi}	kerik ^h un-ke
Wel	Matunas	Laris-Gen-son	he	this	tomb	build-past

Wel Matunas, (the son) of Laris, he built this tomb.

Wallace instead interprets /an/ and /in/ as relative pronouns, so the above inscription would instead be interpreted as “Wel Matunas, (the son) of Laris, who built this tomb”. Like the Bonfantes, Wallace states that /an/ was used for animates and /in/ was used for inanimates. (Wallace 2008, 109-110)

There is no known first person or third personal plural for the personal pronouns. The Bonfantes posit /unu/ as the second person plural pronoun, but they do not give any examples of its use, nor do they give any explanation as to why they believe it to be the plural. (Bonfante & Bonfante 2002, 91)

3.4.2 Demonstrative Pronouns

Archaic Etruscan had two demonstrative pronouns /ika/ and /ita/. There is no clear distinction in use or meaning of the two pronouns. The accusative form of /ika/ was /ikan/ and the accusative of /ita/ was /itan/. The demonstrative /itan/ had the variations /itun/ and /itane/ in the accusative. Wallace proposes a parallel between /itane/ and the first person accusative variation /mine/, to posit an original accusative formation /*ita-ni/, where the vowel of the accusative suffix lowered to /e/ to form /ita-ne/ which may have eventually been deleted to form the variant /ita-n/. (Wallace 2008, 61-62)

The demonstrative pronouns also had an enclitic form. The forms /-ikas/ and /-itas/ are possibly the first genitive forms of the demonstratives. The second genitive of enclitic /-ita/ was /-itala/. The enclitic /-itale/ and its variant /-itule/ has the form of the second pertinentive case, but according to Wallace, they may have had a locative function as they were attached to words modifying nouns in the locative case. (Wallace 2008, 61-62)

In Neo Etruscan, the initial /i/ of the demonstratives lowered to /e/, causing them to change from /ika/ and /ita/ to /eka/ and /eta/. Sometimes the initial vowel was dropped entirely, yielding /ka/ and /ta/. The Archaic accusative /ikan/ became /ekn/ or /kn/ in Neo-Etruscan, and

/itan/ became /etan/ or /tn/. The forms /eks/, /kes/, and /ks/ in Neo-Etruscan are unclear, but are likely either first ablative or first genitive forms of /eka/. The pronoun /teis/ is believed to be the first ablative of /eta/. For the locative, Wallace lists /kei/ and /tei/. These would arise from combining the locative suffix /-i/ with the stems /ka/ and /ta/, which resulted in a vowel change in the stem. Wallace states that /kei/ and /tei/ while appearing to be locative in form may have had an instrumental function. Wallace gives a second possibility for the formation of the Neo-Etruscan locative (enclitic) as a combination of the second genitive stem /kla/ with the locative suffix /-i/, resulting in a vowel merger for /-kle/. (Wallace 2008, 59-61)

Bonfante and Bonfante have a different interpretation for the forms /kei/ and /tei/. Instead of listing them as locative singular, the Bonfantes claim that /kei/ and /tei/ are the nominative plural forms of /ka/ and /ta/. Bonfante then lists the genitive plural as /klal/, the accusative plural as /knl/, and locative plural as either /kaiti/ or /keit^{hi}/. (Bonfante & Bonfante 2002, 92-93) Wallace offers a different possible interpretation of /klal/ and /knl/ as demonstratives with a deictic particle /-l/ attached, although he states that the interpretation of them as plural “cannot be proved or disproved based on the evidence at hand”. (Wallace 2008, 62)

3.4.3 Other Pronouns

The word /enan/ is thought to be the indefinite pronoun, likely in the accusative case, meaning ‘anything’. The pronoun /enan/ may be related to the genitive /enas/ found in the Liber Linteus, but the meaning of /enas/ is still unclear. (Wallace 2008, 65)

The pronoun /ipa/ seems to be a relative pronoun, and possibly an interrogative pronoun meaning ‘who’ or ‘which’. Bonfante claims that /ipa/ is indeclinable (Bonfante & Bonfante 2002, 94), but Wallace lists forms that may be different case forms of /ipa/, although their function is still unclear from context. The forms he lists are /ipas/ as first genitive, /ipal/ as second genitive, and /ipei/ as locative. (Wallace 2008, 65) Bonfante also lists /ipe ipa/ as a possible indefinite pronoun meaning ‘whoever’. (Bonfante & Bonfante 2002, 94)

3.5 Verb Morphology

3.5.1 Main Verbs

Etruscan verbs had at least four moods: indicative, imperative, jussive, and necessitative. The indicative mood was marked by the suffix /-e/, jussive by /-a/, and necessitative by /-ri/. (Wallace 2008, 60 & 72) Imperatives were formed in one of two ways. The first way was to leave the verb uninflected. The second way was to add the suffix /-t^h/. It is unclear if there was any difference in meaning or usage for the two imperative formations. (Bonfante & Bonfante 2002, 103)

Etruscan had two tenses, past and non-past, although some scholars believe that it may have been a distinction involving the perfect aspect instead. The non-past was uninflected, while the past tense was marked by the suffix /-k/. The tense suffix would attach to the verb and was followed by the mood suffix. (Wallace 2008, 68) However, some scholars have interpreted /-ke/ as the past tense suffix instead of as past /-k/ followed by the indicative suffix /-e/. (Bonfante & Bonfante 2002, 100) The following are paradigms for past tense formation (Wallace 2008, 68):

Table 11: Etruscan Moods

Translation	Non-Past Indicative	Past Indicative	Jussive
“give”	/*tur-e/	/turu-k-e/	/tur-a/
“to be”	/am-e/	/am-k-e/	/*am-a/

There was no inflection for person or number. Wallace gives the following examples of inscriptions to demonstrate that the verb does not change for person when the subject does. (Wallace 2008, 71):

1. mi arath^hiale $\widehat{\text{tsik}}^{\text{h}}\text{uk}^{\text{h}}\text{e}$
 I by/for Arath was designed
 I was designed by/for Arath

2. ik^h ka kek^ha $\widehat{\text{tsik}}^{\text{h}}\text{uk}^{\text{h}}\text{e}$
 As this above was written
 As this (contract) was written above

There appears to have been two voices, active and passive. However, the passive voice is not well attested and is only known in the past tense. The suffix /-n/ seems to indicate the past passive, but this interpretation is still debated. (Wallace 2008, 68-70) There is also the claim that that /-k^he/ is the past passive in contrast to /-ke/ as past active. (Bonfante & Bonfante 2002, 100) This debate seems to stem from the lack of attestation of these forms as well as the difficulty in determining the meaning of many inscriptions and vocabulary terms. Short inscriptions with little context leads people to make their best guess as to the meaning, and it is not easily verified.

3.5.2 Participles

Etruscan participles were not inflected for tense or mood like main verbs. Instead, participles were marked with a suffix added to the verb root/stem. There were different types of participles according to the suffix used. (Wallace 2008, 72)

The first type is “u participles”, named for the suffix /-u/ added onto the verb stem. There is a variant of u participle in which the suffix is added onto the past tense form of the verb, but there does not seem to be a clear difference between the meaning or use of the two variants. It is never used with mood or voice suffixes, although u participles are often times translated as passive (Wallace 2008, 72-73). Wallace gives the following example:

3. mi aliku auwilesi
 I presented to/for auwilesi
 I (am/was/have been) presented to/for Awile

The second type of participle uses the suffix /-as(a)/. This participle is interpreted as indicating an action that takes place at the same time as the action described by the main verb. This would be translated as “while...” (Wallace 2008, 74) For example:

4. aw[le al]et^hnas ... tsilak^hn[ke] spure-t^hi
 Aule Alethna-Gen ...served as governor city (locative) - in
 apa-si swal-as...
 father-Pert (while) living - participle
 “Aule Alethnas ... served as governor (while) living in the community of his
 father.” (Wallace 2008, 74)

The third type of participle is formed with the suffix /-t^has/ or /-nas/. This participle is used to indicate that the activity happened before the activity described by the main verb. (Wallace, 74-75) Some also claim that /-t^has/ indicates an active participle, in contrast to the passive u participles. (Bonfante & Bonfante 2002, 102-103)

5. rak^ht^h tura nunt^hent^h klitram srenk^hwe tei
 ?-locative put by anointing (?) litter ? this
 fasei
 libation

(One) shall place (it) on the rakh (after/while) anointing (?) the litter with Srenxvas (and) with this libation (or: (One) shall place (it) on the rakh. (Then) anoint (?) the litter with srenxvas (and) with this libation).

3.6 Additional Grammatical Information

3.6.1 Definite Article

The definite article in Etruscan was enclitic, and would attach to the end of the noun that it modifies. The definite article agrees in number and case with the modified noun, and we have a nearly complete paradigm for the article. The paradigm is as follows (Wallace 2008, 63-64):

Table 12: Definite Article

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	-fa	-fwa
Accusative	-fn	
Genitive	-fla	-fula
Pertinentive	-fle	-fwle
Locative	-fe	-fwe

Others have suggested that the enclitic form of the demonstrative pronouns /ika/ and /ita/ served as definite articles. (Bonfante & Bonfante 2002,93) However, there does not seem to be clear reason to assign them the value of “the” over “this”.

3.6.2 Syntax

Etruscan was a primarily agglutinating language. It had a standard word order of subject-object-verb (Wallace 2008, 95), but OVS and OSV word orders are more common in commemorative inscriptions from the archaic period. However, the OVS and OSV are thought to have been due to movement of constituents for that specific type of inscription, rather than being the standard word order of the time period (Wallace 2008, 119-120). It was not uncommon for Etruscan inscriptions to omit the verb of the sentence, typically the verb for “to be” (Wallace 2008, 111-112).

Etruscan also used postpositions instead of prepositions. Some of the postpositions were enclitic. An example of this would be the postposition /-t^{hi}/ “in” which would attach to the locative form of the noun. (Wallace 2008, 102) This enclitic postposition began to be reanalyzed as the locative suffix near the end of the Etruscan period. (Wallace 2008, 42) Other postpositions include /-te/, /-ri/, /-tra/, and /-pi/ which mean “in”², “in favor of”², “on behalf of”/”beyond”³, and “toward”⁴ respectively. (Facchetti 2002, 75)

3.6.3 Coordinating Conjunctions

There were three ways of coordinating constituents in Etruscan. The first way was with the enclitic /-k/, which had a variant /-k^h/ in Neo-Etruscan. This enclitic would attach to the first word of the last constituent in the coordination. For example: (Wallace 2008, 114-115)

- | | | |
|----|-------------------|------------------------|
| 1. | winum | t ^{hi} -k ... |
| | Wine | water-and ... |
| | Wine and water... | |

¹ Original Italian: ‘in’ (si annette al locativo) [It is added to the locative]

² Original Italian: ‘a favore di’ (si annette al locativo)

³ Original Italian: ‘da parte di’, ‘fuori’ (si annette a vari casi) [It is added to various cases]

⁴ Original Italian: ‘verso’, ‘nei confronti di’ (si annette all’ accusativo) [It is added to the accusative (case)]

2. keisu[i] : ʃet^hra ʃet^hre-s sek kalisn-ia[l]-k
 Ceisui Shethra, Shetre-GEN. daughter Calisni-GEN-and

ramt^h[as] awil-s XV
 Ramtha year-GEN 15

Shethra Ceisui, daughter of Shethre and Ramtha Calisni, (was dead) at 15 years.

The second way was with the enclitic /-(u)m/ which would attach to the first word in the second and third constituents in the list. For example: (Wallace 2008, 115-116)

3. vel leinies lart^h-ial ruva arnt^h-ial-um klan
 Vel Leinies Larth-GEN brother arnth-GEN-and son
 Welu-s-um prumat^hs awil-s semp^h-s
 Wel-GEN-and grandson (?) year-GEN seven-GEN

lupu-k-e

die-past active-indicative

Wel Leinies, brother of Larth and son of Arnth and grandson of Wel, died at Seven years of age.

Finally, the third way was to omit any conjunction and simply list the constituents in series. For example: (Wallace 2008, 114-116)

4. saturinies arnt^h lart^h-al fulni-al awil-s XXXVIII
 Saturnies Arnth Larth-GEN Fulni-GEN year-GEN 38

Arnth Saturnies, (son) of Larth (and) Fulni, (dead) at thirty-eight years

3.6.4 Adjectives

Etruscan adjectives declined for case just like nouns, but there is no indication that they declined for number as well. Etruscan adjectives are often considered to be difficult to distinguish from nouns because their forms are so similar, but context and word order is often used to help distinguish them. Typically, the adjective comes after the noun that it modifies. For example: (Wallace 2008, 52-53)

5. ati t^huta
 Mother sacred
 Sacred/revered (?) Mother
6. spuria-s mlaka-s
 Spuria-GEN good/beautiful-GEN
 Of the good Spuria.

CHAPTER 4. LEMNIAN

There are two languages that are generally agreed upon as relatives Etruscan, the first of which is Lemnian, and the second of which is Raetic. Lemnian is primarily known from two inscriptions on a stele found in Kaminia at the end of the 19th century. Kaminia is located in the eastern part of the isle of Lemnos. Additionally, there were four inscription fragments found near Efestia, also in the eastern part of the island, in 1928. However, the Stele of Lemnos found in Kaminia is the only complete and the longest Lemnian inscription found to date, so it is the basis of most of our knowledge of the language. (de Simone 1996, 723)

The Stele of Lemnos has a picture of a soldier engraved on the front. Surrounding the picture is an inscription in Lemnian known as text A. Because text A is written around the picture, it is difficult to tell the exact order in which the words are to be read. On the side of the stele is Text B, which is much shorter in length but is written in three straight lines, making the word order much clearer. (de Simone 1996, 723) It is thought that the two texts were written by different authors due to slight differences in how the letters were written. Primarily, letters written with circles in text A, such as <o>, <Θ>, and <φ>, were written with a much more squarish design in text B. (Cooper 2000, 423)

4.1 The Inscriptions

The following is a transcription of the two texts of the Stele of Lemnos. The word order of text A, although not completely certain, is the generally accepted word order. It should be noted that the symbol <:> in the following transcription denotes a form of punctuation found in the texts; it does not represent a sound of longer duration as in the IPA. (Wallace 2008, 220)

Text A:

holaies : nap^hot^h
 siasi :
 maras : maw
 ſialk^hwei:s : awi:s
 ewiſt^ho : seronait^h
 siwai
 aker : tawarsio
 wanalaſial : seronai : morinail

Text B:

holaiesi : p^hokiaſiale : seronait^h : ewiſt^ho : towerona[
]rom : haralio : siwai : eptesio : aria : tis: p^hoke
 siwai : awis : ſialxwis : marasm : awis : aomai :

Only parts of the stele have been able to be translated. The translation was possible due to strong correspondences with known Etruscan words, which will be discussed more in the next section. However, Cooper (2000) attempted a full translation of the Lemnian text by comparing the words to Indo-European roots. His translation will not be provided in detail here, as the selection of IE roots seems highly speculative, showing no attempt at finding systematic sound correspondences. It is also not clear why Cooper chose to find more similarity in an IE root for some of the words than in much closer Etruscan words. For example, Cooper gives the meaning of /awis/ as “named” from /*aue/ instead of the more common practice of comparing Lemnian /awis/ to Etruscan /awils/ “year”. (Cooper 2000, 423-424)

4.2 Similarities to Etruscan

Despite having such a small corpus, Lemnian shows several similarities to Etruscan. The alphabet of Lemnian appears to be the same used for Etruscan, although there are a few consonants missing and Lemnian uses a letter for <o> instead of <u>. Both of these differences are discussed below. However, the resemblances between Etruscan and Lemnian are more than just the use of very similar alphabets, Lemnian appears to have similar phonological traits to

Etruscan. The known consonants for Lemnian are /p, t, k, p^h, t^h, k^h, m, n, l, r, w, h, s, f/. The symbols for the vowels in Lemnian are <a, e, i, o>.

The consonant inventory is almost identical to that of Etruscan, particularly when considering the system of stops. Like Etruscan, Lemnian lacks the voiced stops, but has a distinction between aspirated and unaspirated. The main difference between the known Lemnian consonant inventory and the Etruscan consonants is the absence of the consonants /ts/ and /f/ (or /ϕ/). (de Simone 1996, 724-725) Some argue that because the Lemnian corpus is so small, the absence of these two phonemes in inscriptions is quite possibly due to chance and not indicative of an actual absence of the phonemes in the inventory. Agostiniani (1986, 19) has proposed that the letter <ϕ> may represent /p^hf/ instead of /p^h/ in Etruscan and represent both /p^h/ and /f/ in Lemnian.

As for the vowel inventory, both Lemnian and Etruscan share a four vowel system. Of the vowels, the only difference is that Lemnian has the vowel /o/ while Etruscan has the vowel /u/. It is thought that the use of <o> in Lemnian and <u> in Etruscan may simply be a difference in orthographic choice to represent a back, non-low vowel instead of an actual phonemic difference between the two. (de Simone 1996, 724-725)

There are several Lemnian words that bear a striking resemblance to Etruscan words. So much so in fact, that the Etruscan meanings of the words are often used to give a partial translation of the two texts of the stele of Lemnos. The words are listed in the following table. (Wallace 2008, 220)

Table 13: Lemnian and Etruscan Vocabulary Comparison

Lemnian	Etruscan	Translation
ʃialk ^h wei:s, ʃialk ^h wis	ʃealk ^h ls	“forty”
awi:s, awis	awils	“year”
siwai	tsiwas	“lived”
maw	mak ^h	“five”
-m	-(u)m	“and”

Interestingly, the punctuation mark <:> appears in Text A in the words *ʃialk^hwei:s* and *awi:s* where there is an /l/ in the equivalent Etruscan word. (Wallace 2008, 221)

Morphologically, Lemnian appears to have a similar noun declension system to that of Etruscan. The proposed case endings for Lemnian are (Wallace 2008, 221):

Table 14: Lemnian Case Endings

	1 st	2 nd
Genitive	-s	-al
Pertinentive	-si	-ale
Locative	-i (+ postposition t ^h)	

These case endings correspond exactly with those in Etruscan, including the presence of oblique cases that can be divided into 1st and 2nd declensions.

4.3 Etruscan Relationship

The above similarities have convinced many scholars that Etruscan and Lemnian are genetically related. However, there is disagreement as to how they are related. Some believe that Etruscan and Lemnian are sister languages descended from Proto-Tyrrhenian. Others believe that Lemnian broke off from Etruscan during an earlier westward migration toward Etruria. And yet others believe that Lemnian is a dialect belonging to an Etruscan trading colony on Lemnos. (Wallace 2008, 222)

I believe these three theories of relationship type can be whittled down by viewing the matter chronologically. If the first theory is true, then both Etruscan and Lemnian are of similar age. If the second theory is true, then Lemnian can be considered as existing earlier than the Etruscan spoken in Etruria. If the third theory is true, then Lemnian came into existence only after Etruscan was being spoken in Etruria. This chronological view is important because of the presence of the second genitive /-al/ in Lemnian. Etruscan was known to have two different versions of the second genitive, /-a/ in archaic Etruscan and /-(a)l/ in Neo-Etruscan (Wallace, 46). The presence of the /l/ in Neo-Etruscan is possibly due to analogy with the second pertinentive and ablative forms which are both formed with an /l/. Because the Etruscan 2nd genitive in /-(a)l/ was a later development, it seems reasonable to assume that the Lemnian broke off from Etruscan after the change had occurred. This would lend some support to the theory that Lemnian was a colonial dialect of Etruscan. However, this is not conclusive because there

remain other explanations. For example, if they are sister languages descended from a common ancestor, then it is possible that whatever factors lead to the development of /l/ in the Etruscan 2nd genitive also lead to the /l/ in the Lemnian 2nd genitive. One possible factor that could cause the development is analogy with the other forms bearing /l/ in the 2nd pertinentive and 2nd ablative. Although the specifics of the relationship between Lemnian and Etruscan is debated, there is general agreement that Etruscan and Lemnian share a genetic relationship.

CHAPTER 5. RAETIC

5.1 Raetic and Etruscan

Besides Lemnian, Etruscan is often considered to be related to Raetic. Raetic was a language located in Northern Italy, not far from Venice, in an area referred to by the Romans as Raetia (Wallace 2008, 222). There was also one Raetic inscription on a helm found in Slovenia, but the helm is believed to have been brought to Slovenia by a Raetian soldier and not original to Slovenia (Rix 1998, 5-6). The Raetians used two alphabets, both derived from the alphabet employed by Venetic. The Venetic alphabet itself was derived from a Northern Etruscan alphabet. The two Raetic alphabets are referred to as the Magre and Bozen alphabets. There are approximately 30 inscriptions discovered in the Magre alphabet and 70 in the Bozen alphabet. This gives a total of roughly 100 Raetic inscriptions. (Rix 1998, 6-7) Although this greatly outnumbers the Lemnian inscriptions, it still pales in comparison to the 10,000 inscriptions found in Etruscan. Many of the Raetic inscriptions are votive in nature, so most of the known words are personal names, so very little is known about Raetic morphology.

Of what is known, however, there appear to be morphological and syntactic similarities between Raetic and Etruscan. Votive inscriptions are common in both Raetic and Etruscan, so comparisons are readily available. Both languages appear to use a u-participle as a passive construction, with a noun in the pertinentive case acting as the benefactor of the passive. In Etruscan, the u-participle is formed by taking the past active form of a verb, such as /ali-k-/ ‘presented/donated’, and adding a suffix /-u/, yielding forms such as /ali-k-u/ ‘was presented/donated’. Raetic appears to have similar verb constructions that also have a passive function. Wallace gives the following examples: (Wallace 2008, 224)

Etruscan:	mi	spuriei-si	teit ^h urna-si	ali-k-u
	I	Spurie-1 st Pert.	Teithurnas-1 st Pert.	donate-Past-Participle
	I (was) donated for/by Spuriei Tethurnas (Wallace 2008, 224)			
Raetic:	laspa-si	elu-k-u	ii[ir]...	
	Laspa-1 st Pert	offer-Past-Participle	???	
	(This statue) (was) offered (???) by/for Laspa (Wallace 2008, 224)			

Raetic	uti-k-u	p ^h elurie-si	p ^h elwinu-ale
	Give-Past-Participle	Phelurie-1 st Pert.	Phelweinu-2 nd Pert.
	(This statue) (was) given by/for Phelurie Phelvinu. (Wallace 2008, 224)		

In addition to the use of the pertinentive case in passive constructions, Raetic appears to have a first and second pertinentive which corresponds to the 1st and 2nd pertinentive in Etruscan. Both pertinentive types can be seen in the second Raetic example given above.

Further morphological similarities between the two languages are the use of a past active form /-ke/ and a case ending /-s/ to mark the “genitivus donandi”. Both of these features can be seen in the following inscriptions given by Wallace:

Etruscan:	turn-s	tur-k-e	ramt ^h a	venatre-s
	Turan-1 st Gen.	dedicate-past-active	Ramtha	Venatres-Gen.
	Ramtha of the (family) Venatres dedicated (this) to Turan (Venus)			
	(Wallace 2008, 223)			
Raetic:	pit ^h ale	lemai-s	tsina-ke	
	Pithale	Lemai-1 st Gen (theonym?)	dedicate-Past Active	
	Pithale dedicated (this) to Lemai. (Wallace 2008, 223)			

Despite morphological similarities between Raetic and Etruscan, it has been pointed out that there are differences in the vocabularies of the two languages. The word for ‘dedicated’ appears in Raetic /tsina-ke/ and in Etruscan as /tur(u)-k-e/ (Rix 1998, 58). However, others such as Wallace, suggest that Raetic /tsina-ke/ corresponds to Etruscan /tsina-k-e/ ‘fashioned’ and that a semantic shift happened during the prehistory of the two languages (Wallace 2008, 222). There have been 70 personal names identified in Raetic, but only one of them /remi/ has a correspondence in Etruscan /reme/ (Rix 1998, 59). To reconcile this difference in personal names, Rix suggests that Etruscan and Raetic must have been separated from each other by the Celts hundreds of years before the earliest Raetic attestations around 600 B.C (Rix 1998, 59).

5.2 Nordic Theory

The Roman scholar Livy was the first known scholar to point to the similarities between Etruscan and Raetic. Livy claimed that the “Alpine tribes have pretty certainly the same origin,

especially the Raetians...” (Livy, Book 5.34, p. 379) He states that the Raetians spoke the same language as the Etruscans, although Raetic had changed somewhat from Etruscan. This account of a relation between Etruscan and Raetic led to what is now known as the “Nordic Theory” of Etruscan origins. The use of the term “Nordic” here is used to refer to the Etruscan coming from the North, across the Alps, not as a means of connecting Etruscan to Old Norse, although there was one claim that Etruscan was a Germanic language (Nesbitt Jones, 1920), but that was not a well-spread belief. The Nordic Theory of Etruscan origins is that the Raetians and Etruscans were once one group who crossed the Alps into what is now Italy and that those speakers in Raetia and Etruria were separated from each other by invading Celts. The main proponents of this theory were Freret (1850), Niebuhr (1873), and Muller (1877). Although Raetic and Etruscan may be related genetically, the proponents of the Nordic theory did not give reason to assume that the spread was from North to South instead of from South to North, nor reason to believe that both the Raetians and Etruscans were autochthonous to Italy. The Nordic theory has not continued to the present day, unlike the other two ancient theories of Etruscan origin: the Anatolian Theory and the Autochthonous Theory.

CHAPTER 6. ANATOLIAN THEORIES

The question of Etruscan origins has been debated for thousands of years. The two main ancient theories of Etruscan origin were one of migration from Anatolia and one of an autochthonous society. These two sides of the debate have persisted into modern times, with some scholars arguing that the Etruscans were native to Italy, with others arguing that the Etruscans arrived in Italy from a migration, either from the east or from the north.

Herodotus gives the first known Anatolian hypothesis of Etruscan origin. According to Herodotus in “The Histories”, there was once an Anatolian king named Atys. During his reign, a horrible famine afflicted the land. In an attempt to combat the famine, the Lydians rationed out their food so that they would eat only every other day. To take their mind off their hunger, Herodotus claims that the Lydians invented nearly every game known to man, with the possible exception of checkers. After 18 years of continuous famine, Atys realized that they needed a new plan. Atys divided the population of Lydia in half by the drawing of lots. Half of the population would continue to live in Lydia under the rule of Atys, while the other half would leave the country, led by Prince Tyrrhenus, son of Atys. Tyrrhenus brought his group westward across the sea, eventually settling in the land of the Umbrians. (Herodotus, Book I, Chapter 94)

If Herodotus’s account is to be believed or has any merit, then the migration from Lydia would have to have taken place around the 13th – 12th century B.C. (Pallottino 1975, 74) Around that time period, 1230-1170 B.C., records from the Egyptian Pharaohs Ramses III and Merneptah indicate that there were attacks made against the Egyptians by “Sea Peoples”. Among the groups of people listed as “Sea Peoples”, was a group referred to in Hieroglyphs as “Trš.w”. It has been proposed by some scholars that this is a reference to the “Tyrsenoi”/”Thyrrhenians”, which were alternative names for the Etruscans. (Torelli 1986, 49) The Etruscans were famed as pirates by the Greeks, and the timeline of the attacks coincides with the time period for Herodotus’s account of a westward migration from Lydia by sea, so this identification of the “Trš.w” with the Etruscans has seemed plausible to some scholars such as G.A. Wainwright (1959).

Wainwright believes the “Trš.w”, or “Teresh” as he refers to them, were Etruscans and that their attacks on Egypt fell in line with Herodotus’s account of the migration from Lydia. To

support the famine-migration theory, Wainwright gives additional testimonies from ancient sources about famine in western Anatolia during the time period of the Teresh attacks on Egypt. First, he mentions that records from the Pharaoh Merneptah state that there was a famine in Anatolia, “land of Kheta (the Hittites)” (Wainwright 1959, 201). According to Merneptah, the famine, which occurred around 1219 B.C., caused various tribes such as the Teresh to travel to other lands. (Wainwright 1959, 201)

Wainwright also cites a letter from a Hittite king to the king of Ugarit (on the northern coast of Syria) requesting aid due to a famine. The letter is dated to the end of Ramses II’s reign, just before the beginning of Merneptah’s reign, in Egypt. (Wainwright 1959, 202) He also cites reports of continuous attacks on the people in the southern parts of Lydia, which caused long-term and widespread starvation. The destruction from these attacks are said to have caused mass migrations in the area of Lydia. (Wainwright 1959, 202)

Wainwright, like Herodotus before him, focuses on historical events to claim that the Etruscans came from Anatolia. However, there have been more recent attempts to support the Anatolian hypothesis using linguistic evidence. Adrados is one of the most cited supporters of a connection between Etruscan and the languages of Anatolia.

6.1 Adrados’ Anatolian Theory

6.1.1 Summary

Adrados is one of the main proponents of the Etruscan as Anatolian theory. He has compared aspects of Etruscan morphology to those of various Anatolian languages. His theory of Etruscan origin is tied in to a theory of his about the evolution of the Indo-European languages. In this theory, Adrados gives three stages of Proto-Indo-European. The first stage is the pre-inflectional stage, in which Indo-European had yet to develop its extensive inflectional morphology. The second stage is a transitional period where the inflectional system begins to develop. The third stage is the flexional stage, where the inflectional system typically seen in Indo-European languages was fully developed. Adrados believes that the Anatolian languages and Etruscan preserve features of the second, transitional stage. (Adrados 1989, 366-367)

Adrados details the features of Etruscan that he believes are archaisms of the second stage and features of Etruscan that are in common with features of Anatolian languages. The first feature he mentions is the traces of non-differentiation of singular and plural forms for

nouns. He argues that the development of a singular and plural distinction in the nouns was a later development. As evidence, Adrados mentions the fact that Etruscan nouns do not inflect for plural when they are modified by a number. He gives the example of /ki awil/ which literally translates as ‘three year’. He also notes that the verb does not inflect for number and that there is no sign whatsoever of Etruscan ever having a dual case. He notes that Anatolian languages also show signs of a non-distinction between singular and plural. Adrados gives the example of the Hittite words *ḫalkiš* “grain”, *lingaiš*, *utne* “land/country”, and *kuruš* which appeared in the same form for both plural and singular. (Adrados 1989, 368-371)

He does not neglect to mention that Etruscan did have multiple ways of forming plurals. Etruscan nouns formed the plural with a suffix based on either /-r/ or /-a/, the latter of which was often seen as /-k^hwa/ which Adrados believes was originally from an earlier, IE /*t_{yo}/, but he does not give the origin of /*t_{yo}/, whether it was an extension of another paradigm or not. He also mentions that pronouns in Etruscan were marked for plural by use of /-i/, for example the demonstrative /ka/ became /kai/ in the plural. He argues that these varied ways of forming a plural are indicative of the plural distinction being in the process of developing. (Adrados 1989, 368-371)

Adrados also points to the distinction (or lack thereof) of accusative and nominative forms as both a sign of the second stage archaisms of Etruscan and a similarity to Anatolian languages. In Etruscan, the nominative and accusative of nouns are unmarked, in other words, they are both formed using just the stem of the noun. However, Adrados points out that there are a few instances of marked nominatives and accusatives. First, the names of deities are known to have two forms in the nominative, one that is a pure stem and one that has an ending /-s/. Examples include /tin/ and /tins/ as the nominative form of ‘Jupiter’ and /fuflun/ and /fufluns/ as the nominative form of ‘Bacchus’. There are also instances of an “emphatic accusative” which has an ending in /-n/ or /-ni/. For most nouns in Etruscan, the nominative and accusative forms of nouns were identical, but there was a special form that was used occasionally to differentiate the accusative from the nominative. This form used to emphasize that a given noun was accusative, not nominative, is fittingly called the emphatic accusative. In addition, there is use of a suffix /-n/ to form the accusative of demonstrative pronouns in Etruscan. Adrados notes that a nominative in /-s/ and accusative in /-n/ are similar to the case endings in various Indo-European instances, and that the mix of bare stem and variants with /-s/ and /-n/ suffixes bears similarities

to Hittite. He gives the Hittite example of the word *kurur* ‘friendship’ (nominative and accusative) which has the variants *kururas* (nominative) and *kururan* (accusative). (Adrados 1989, 371-372)

Adrados also mentions that both Etruscan and the Anatolian language, Lydian, have oblique case endings in both /-s/ and /-l/. This use of /-l/ in the oblique cases is unique to Lydian out of all the Anatolian languages. Adrados then shows the similarities between Etruscan /tla/ and Lydian *tla*, both meaning “this” in the genitive form and both stemming from a nominative /ta/. (Adrados 1989, 373-375) The /tla/ in Etruscan is thought to come from the nominative /ta/ plus the second genitive /-(a)l/, possibly with some form of metathesis or syncope occurring.

Adrados then notes a similarity between the Etruscan locative and the Anatolian languages. He compares the Etruscan locative ending /-i/ with the dative-locative ending /-i/ in Hittite. He also compares the other locative ending /-t^{hi}/ in Etruscan with the ablative endings -*ati* in Luwian, -*adi* in Lycian, and -*ad* in Lydian. (Adrados 1989, 375-376)

Additionally, Adrados notes that both Etruscan and Anatolian languages have similar gender systems which differ from the rest of the Indo-European languages. Instead of making a masculine/feminine gender distinction, both Etruscan and Anatolian have an animate/inanimate distinction, which Adrados believes is another archaism. He does mention that Etruscan appeared to have a masculine/feminine distinction in personal names, but that this appears to be a later development under influence from the Italic languages. The Etruscan common nouns showed an animate/inanimate distinction, not a masculine/feminine distinction, and there is no morphological means of telling whether Etruscan deities were gods or goddesses. For example, there is nothing about the formation of the name /tin/ to show that he was a god while /turan/ and /kel/ were goddesses. The use of the suffixes /-a/ and /-i/ for feminine personal names, often deriving them from masculine personal names, such as /arnt^h/ (masculine name) and /arnt^h-a/ (feminine name), seem to parallel Latin personal names such as *Aulus* and *Aula*. Therefore, this process is generally thought to be a new development. (Adrados 1989, 376-377)

Finally, Adrados mentions the Etruscan use of /-k/ as a conjunction and enclitic pronouns as similarities to the Anatolian languages. He does not go into much detail about the Etruscan verbal system as Etruscan verbal morphology is still not well attested and is highly debated. (Adrados 1989, 377-379)

6.1.2 Discussion

Adrados mentions an interesting correspondence between Etruscan and Lydian, which is the use of both suffixes in /-s/ and /-l/ for the oblique cases. This is especially interesting because according to ancient sources/legends, the Etruscans were believed to have originated in Lydia. However, Adrados only mentions the similarity in passing and do not go into much detail about the correspondence. As this is a shared aberration, it would be of benefit for Adrados to have focused on this correspondence a bit more.

There are a few places in his article where Adrados makes problematic comparisons, the first being his comparison of the Etruscan locative /-t^hi/ to the ablative cases of various Anatolian languages. This is problematic for several reasons. First, there is no reason given as to why the locative and ablative cases are being compared as opposed to a locative to locative comparison. Second, and most importantly, the use of /-t^hi/ in Etruscan as a locative was reserved to Neo-Etruscan as a later reanalysis of the postposition /-t^hi/ which was often used with the locative form of a noun. (Wallace 2008, 47)

Another problem was when Adrados mentioned that Etruscan formed the plural of the pronouns by use of /-i/ such as /ka/ > /kai/. It seems more likely that the /-i/ ending corresponds to the locative case because nowhere else in the Etruscan case system is a plural formed by /-i/, while the regular locative ending is /-i/. Adrados gives the locative plural of the pronoun /ka/ as /kai^hi/ (Adrados 1989, 369). However, as stated before, the /-t^hi/ is an Etruscan postposition which attaches to the locative case, which would suggest that the form /kai/ would be the locative of /ka/, with no reference to number. That being said, the fact that there does not seem to have been a singular/plural distinction in the pronouns would give an additional example of a singular/plural lack of distinction which Adrados had been arguing for. Although, it is not readily apparent why Adrados believes the singular/plural lack of distinction is considered as being original or more archaic instead of as a later development.

Adrados focuses primarily on morphological evidence and ignores phonological evidence for the most part. He does not give a comparison of the phonemic inventory of Etruscan to that of the Anatolian languages, outside of a brief mention of a four-vowel system. He also does not give an systematic sound correspondences. He does propose that Etruscan /-k^hwa/ comes from an Indo-European /*tuo/, but he gives neither reason for this belief nor an explanation of the

change in the initial consonant. He also does not give any other examples of such a development within Etruscan.

6.1.3 Conclusion

Although Adrados gives one of the most extensive morphological comparisons between Etruscan and Anatolian languages, he almost completely neglects to perform phonological comparisons. In addition, he does not address issues of possible borrowing. He does point out some very interesting similarities between Etruscan and Anatolian, but these similarities could benefit from a more in-depth analysis.

6.1.4 Adrados Follow-Up

Responding to critiques he received for his 1989 article, Adrados wrote a follow up piece published in 1994. In it, Adrados attempts to clarify some of his earlier positions and add additional evidence as part of response. He also focuses on a critique by Neu (1991).

6.1.5 Follow-Up Summary

Adrados began his follow up article by summarizing the general opposition to Etruscan as an IE Anatolian language. The main sentiment is that there is “no known language to compare it [Etruscan] to” (Adrados 1994, 54), aside from Lemnian. Adrados then clarifies that he focuses on comparing Etruscan to an earlier stage of Indo-European that he had reconstructed before he started any work on Etruscan itself, and that he is not doing an in-depth comparison to any particular Anatolian language.

He then mentions the general critiques that any similarities between Etruscan and Indo-European are a matter of chance, typology, or loans. Adrados argues that morphological similarities are far less likely to be due to borrowing than are lexical items. He lists various morphological similarities between Etruscan and Indo-European as a nominative in /-s/, a genitive in /-s/ and /-sa/, dative in /-i/, locative in /-ti/, nominative plural of pronouns in /-i/, the formation of adjectives from nouns using the suffix /-na/, personal pronoun /mi/, and corresponding demonstrative pronouns. (Adrados 1994, 55) He argues that all of these morphological similarities are not likely to be due to chance alone. He also notes that similar

vocabulary items to those of Anatolia would not be likely due to borrowing. (Adrados 1994, 54-58)

Another critique he received was that there are non-Indo-European elements in Etruscan, or at least, vocabulary and forms that have no correspondence with any other Indo-European language. Adrados responds to this by proposing an explanation that Etruscan adopted some non-Indo-European features from other languages in Italy after the Etruscans arrived there, possibly during the 12th or 13th century BC. He also argues that Etruscan may have developed some of its own innovations as well. In addition, some of the unusual features are due to IE archaisms according to Adrados, and he refers the reader to some of his earlier works on the reconstruction of earlier Indo-European stages.

He then reiterates some of the similarities between Etruscan and the Anatolian languages, particularly their retaining of archaisms. He mentions phonological similarities between Etruscan and Anatolian languages such as a lack of /o/ and a correspondence between voiced and voiceless consonants. He also mentions that nominal stems in Etruscan end in /-a/, /-e/, /-u/ or in a consonant, just like Anatolian languages, although Hittite, the best documented of the Anatolian languages, does not have nominal stems ending in /-e/. He argues that the presence of a pure stem in both nominative and accusative cases, with some enlargements with /-s/ in the nominative are indicative of an older stage in IE. The enlargements of stems with /-s/ would be the beginnings of a nominative ending in /-s/. (Adrados 1994, 60-64)

In addition, he suggests that enlarged stems with /-s/ were carried over into the dative case with the dative ending possibly having the interpretation of an enlarged stem + /-i/ instead of the ending /-si/. He then argues that this would be comparable to the dative endings /-ahi/ and /ai/ (singular and plural respectively) in Hittite and Luwian. (Adrados 1994, 66-67)

Adrados then goes on to mention some of Erich Neu's (1991) critiques, as well as some points of agreement. A point of agreement includes the similarities between the development of /l/ in the suffixes of the oblique cases in Lydian and in Etruscan. Neu also notes that there is a heteroclisis of /-r/ and /-n/ in Luwian, which would be similar to the use of heteroclisis in Etruscan. However, Neu does criticize Adrados's lack of philological details when using Anatolian language data. Adrados counters this criticism by stating that he had used recent articles on Anatolian grammar when he wrote in 1989 article and that he only meant to provide a general outline of the grammar for comparison. (Adrados 1994, 67-70)

Neu had also given examples of a distinction between plural and singular in Hittite nouns to counter Adrados's argument of an archaic non-distinction in number. However, Adrados's examples of instances of non-distinction are still present in the data. Neu also admits that Hittite nouns do in fact in have a number non-distinction when they are heteroclites or collective nouns. (Adrados 1994, 67-70)

6.1.6 Follow-Up Discussion

Some of the previously mentioned issues with Adrados's comparisons still stand, such as his use of /-t^hi/ as the Etruscan locative, even though that was a development in Neo-Etruscan and his use of /-i/ as a plural forming suffix for the pronouns. He also only gives any lexical or phonological similarities in passing, when a much more detailed approach would have been appreciated. For example, he mentions a correspondence between Etruscan and Anatolian languages in regards to voiced and voiceless consonants, but he never states what that correspondence is.

One of his biggest issues in his article though seems to be that he is trying to both establish his 3-stage Indo-European hypothesis at the same time that he is attempting to show Etruscan as an archaic Indo-European language. This seems to leave him with little time to fully explain and explore either argument within the article.

6.2 Greek Creole

6.2.1 Summary

Cooper argues that Etruscan is a Greek-based creole with influences from Asia Minor, particularly from Anatolian languages. According to Cooper, Etruscan has the following traits in common with creoles: short sentences/simplistic syntax, often leaving out the verb for 'to be', lack of inflection of verbs, no clear distinction between nouns, verbs, and adjectives, lack of plural and case marking on nouns, simplified set of pronouns and prepositions, limited vocabulary, formation of calques, and "conversion of the pidgin words into the phonology of the mother tongue (e.g. δωρε > ture)" (Cooper 1999, 81)

Cooper seems to have selected Greek as the primary basis for the creole due to Greek's standing as a major language in the area near Etruria and the presence of Greek words, or at least

words similar to Greek words, in Etruscan. The similarity of the alphabets also seems to have influenced Cooper's determination.

6.2.2 Discussion

Cooper merely mentions the similarities of the Etruscan to creoles at the beginning of the article, and never addresses the matter again. Instead he spends the rest of the article apparently translating passages from Etruscan texts by find similar sounding words in Greek. He does not give examples or further support his claims of similarity to a creole, which is unfortunate because several of his points could use further elaboration.

First of all, the fact that Etruscan has many short sentences is likely due to the nature of the uncovered Etruscan corpus. The bulk of Etruscan writings have been short funerary or votive inscriptions, which would not have as long or complicated syntactic structures as one would expect from longer texts. The fact that most inscriptions were not very long, cannot be used as evidence that the general syntactic structure of the still largely unknown language was simplistic.

Second, it is not clear what is meant by a "simplified set of pronouns". The Etruscan pronouns seem to have inflected for case as well as having both stand alone and enclitic forms. Demonstrative pronouns also came in two sets (such as /ika/ vs /ita/) which had similar inflectional patterns and meanings, making the differences between the sets unclear. Without further elaboration, it is difficult to determine whether or not the Etruscan pronouns were indeed "simplified". Furthermore, Cooper includes the simplification of the set of prepositions as evidence of Etruscan as a creole. However, Etruscan did not use prepositions; it used postpositions. Once again, Cooper does not clarify what he means by "simplified set". Additionally, Etruscan is not as well attested as we would like, so it is quite likely that the list of Etruscan prepositions known to us is incomplete, not simplified.

Third, "conversion of the pidgin words into the phonology of the mother tongue" does not seem to apply well at all to the case of Etruscan. The example of "δωρε > ture" that Cooper gives shows a Greek word changing to fit the phonology of Etruscan, not the other way around. The alteration of a Greek word to fit the phonology of Etruscan would seem more indicative of a Greek loanword in Etruscan than anything else.

On the subject of Greek loanwords in Etruscan, most of the lexical items that Cooper lists to demonstrate the “conversion of the pidgin words” are in fact Greek names. For example, Cooper cites Greek /aidas/ and Etruscan /aita/ for ‘Hades’. (Cooper 1999, 81). As for the examples that Cooper lists that are not personal names or names of deities, there is little to demonstrate systematic sound correspondences. For example, Cooper lists Etruscan /ture/ as stemming from Greek /dorɛ/ ‘give’, and Etruscan /tsiku/ from Greek /diago/ ‘write’. However, Cooper does not give any explanation as to why Greek /d/ corresponds to Etruscan /t/ in one word but /ts/ in another. (Cooper 1999, 81-82)

Additionally, Cooper makes some stretches in meanings to relate some of his examples of corresponding words. Some of the most glaring examples of this are in his analysis of kinship terms. For example, he claims a connection between Etruscan /pwia/ ‘wife’ and Greek /poieo/ ‘to make’, and between Etruscan /sek^h/ ‘daughter’ and Greek /sekis/ ‘housekeeper’, as well as between Etruscan /klan/ ‘son’ and Greek /klon/ ‘sprout’ (Cooper, 92).

6.2.3 Conclusion

Cooper attempts to demonstrate that Etruscan is a creole based primarily upon Greek. However, instead of focusing on his points in favor of a creole interpretation of Etruscan, Cooper spends most of his paper translating Etruscan passages using an Indo-European dictionary. The evidence he does cite is problematic due either to lack of elaboration or to a misunderstanding of certain aspects of Etruscan grammar such as the use of post positions as opposed to prepositions. Furthermore, there is a general lack of attention paid to systematic sound correspondences when Cooper makes claims about cognates.

6.3 Pelasgian Theory

A year after Cooper’s article on Etruscan as a Greek Creole (1999) was published, Cooper wrote a follow up paper expanding his theory to incorporate Lemnian. His expanded theory asserts that Etruscan is a Greek Creole with an “autochthonous core” that is based on Pelasgian, a proposed language grouping that includes Lemnian. He then goes even further to state that Pelasgian is descended from an Anatolian-Indic grouping of Indo-European. (Cooper 2000, 432)

6.3.1 Summary

Cooper begins his article with a summary of the Pelasgian theory of Etruscan linguistic (and cultural) relations. The theory is based off a legend, mentioned by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Dionysius, Book I, Chapter 29) that a group known as Pelasgians immigrated to Italy where they became known as the Etruscans. According to the legend, the Pelasgians were originally the inhabitants of the islands of Lemnos and Imbros. However, it should be noted that although Dionysius mentioned the legend, he did not consider it to be true (Dionysius, Book I, Chapter 30). Cooper then gives the discovery of the Stele of Lemnos as evidence supporting the Pelasgian theory. (Cooper 2000, 421-423)

He then continues by giving an overview of the Stele of Lemnos, including its alphabet and texts. He gives his own translation of one of the two texts on the Stele as:

“This tomb precinct was built by the offspring of the men and women of the house named Sial as a place in which to put up their dead. The spear of Sial will painfully wound unlawful intruders, whether they go into the upper or lower levels” (Cooper 2000, 424)

He began this translation by assuming that there was a similarity between the structure of the text on the Stele of Lemnos and Lydian funerary inscriptions. (Cooper 2000, 423-425) Due to the depiction of an armed man on the stele, the Stele of Lemnos resembles funerary steles found in Northern Etruria. Additionally, part of the stele refers to Phokia, which was located on the Ionian coast of Anatolia, which is presumably the homeland of the man depicted on the front of the Stele. (Bonfante & Bonfante 2002, 62). Therefore, his comparison of the Stele of Lemnos to other funerary inscriptions, including those in Anatolian languages, is reasonable.

He then used the same translational method that he used in his article on Etruscan as a Greek Creole. Essentially, he used the definitions of Indo-European words that looked similar to the words written in Lemnian. For example, he gives the following translation on page 42:

Text:	Holaie.z:	nap ^h ot ^h	/ziazi:	mara. z:	mav
Root:	uel s	nepot	/sei	merio es	ma
Trans:	Court this offspring/ made the men and women				
Text:	sialk ^h weiz:	awiz/ ewist ^h o:	zero-nait ^h	/ ziwai	
Root:	siero-kue	aue / epi-de	su(p)r-nes	/ seu	
Trans:	Of Siales	named/ wherein	to put up	/ their dead	
Text:	aker:	tavar-	sit ^h	wam.	ala .sial:

Root: ak	dmbh-	sed	uen	el	siero
Trans: Spear	tomb	put	wound	injury	Sial,
Text: zero-	nai	- m-	ori	nail	
Root: su(p)r-	nes	- m-	uers	-nes	
Trans: above	dwelling	or beneath	dwelling		

“A coherent translation of the text would thus read:

‘This tomb precinct was built by the offspring of the men and women of the house named Sial as a place in which to put up their dead. The spear of Sial will painfully wound unlawful intruders, whether they go into the upper or lower levels’” (Cooper 2000, 424)

After detailing his translations and his own etymologies for Lemnian vocabulary, Cooper notes some similarities between Lemnian and Lydian, an Anatolian language. The similarities he lists are a similar alphabet, similar vowel inventory (Lydian had a four vowel system like Etruscan and Lemnian), and syntactic similarities, although he does not clarify what the syntactic similarities are. He then states that the morphology of Lemnian is similar to that of both Anatolian and Indic languages. He does not elaborate on any similarities to Indic languages. The only morphological similarity he lists between Anatolian languages and Lemnian is the use of /-m/ as an enclitic copula. (Cooper 2000, 429-430)

He then gives another Lemnian translation, this time of two more recent inscriptional discoveries near Kaminia, a city near the easternmost coast of Lemnos. However, instead of translating the words through various similar sounding Indo-European roots, he uses Greek words almost exclusively. He then suggests that Lemnian may also be a Greek Creole. (Cooper, 430-431)

6.3.2 Discussion

This article suffers some of the same methodological problems as his previous work. Instead of looking for systematic sound correspondences to support his etymologies/alleged cognates, he simply picks words that he believes seem similar. This becomes particularly problematic when he translates the Lemnian words /awis/ as ‘named’, which he claims comes from “I.E. *awe* ‘speak’”. (Cooper 2000, 425) However, this word bears a much stronger

resemblance to the Etruscan word /awils/ meaning ‘year’ (please see the section on Lemnian for more information regarding the similarities between /awis/ and /awils/). The word preceding /awis/ in the inscription (and the only other word on the line), /ʃialk^hweis/ bears a strong resemblance to the Etruscan number /ʃealk^hls/ ‘40’. The resemblance is even more striking in the fact that both words in this line of the Stele of Lemnos have the punctuation mark <:> where the Etruscan equivalents have the sound /l/. (Bonfante & Bonfante 2002, 220-221) Therefore, a translation of ‘40 years’ would be preferable to Cooper’s translation ‘named’.

Another major issue with Cooper’s work is that he does not go into enough detail on the similarities he sees between Lemnian and other languages. He claims there are morphological similarities with the Indic languages, but never states what morphemes lead him to such a conclusion. He also claims that there are syntactic similarities between Lemnian and Anatolian languages. He then states that these similarities establish a connection between Lemnina and Anatolian languages. (Cooper 2000, 429-430) He does not give an example of any syntactic similarities between Lydian and Anatolian. However, in the early parts of his paper, he states that he translated the Lemnian texts by assuming they had a similar structure to Lydian funerary texts, so it can hardly be surprising that he would see his Lemnian translation as bearing syntactic similarities to the language he was basing the syntax of his translation on.

6.3.3 Conclusion

Cooper expanded his earlier theory of Etruscan as a Greek Creole by incorporating a relationship to Lemnian as part of a Pelasgian origin theory. He then tied this into an Anatolian origin theory. However, this article faced some of the same major critiques as his earlier work. There was no appeal on his part to systematic sound correspondences or shared aberrations, and instead he relied upon superficial semblances in word forms. He also glossed over any points of similarity he noted between languages, so that there are very few if any concrete examples of the similarities that he claims exist.

6.4 Luwian

Woudhuizen agrees with Adrados that Etruscan is related to the Anatolian languages, but disagrees with how Adrados attempts to show the relationship. Woudhuizen gives his own paradigms and translations of Etruscan words based on various inscriptions as data to support his

theory. He then compares his Etruscan data with the features of Hieroglyphic Luwian, Lycian, and Lydian.

6.4.1 Summary

Woudhuizen begins by giving a brief summary of Adrados's theory of Anatolian origin for Etruscan as follows. Adrados supports the theory that Anatolian languages represent an earlier and less-inflected stage of the Indo-European language family than the other branches of Indo-European. According to Adrados, Etruscan is from a very early stage of the Anatolian languages, perhaps during a transitional period from non-inflectional to partially inflectional. (Woudhuizen 1991, 133)

While Woudhuizen also believes in an Anatolian connection for Etruscan, he has two main criticisms of Adrados. The first criticism is that the evidence used to support Adrados's claim that Anatolian is from an earlier stage of Indo-European could be interpreted differently. Instead of the lack of certain inflectional features being a sign of an earlier stage, it could represent a later development. The second criticism is not so much a critique directed solely at Adrados, but at Etruscology as a whole. (Woudhuizen 1991, 133-135) Woudhuizen asserts that Etruscan grammar is still not well understood and therefore not entirely reliable. He does not give a specific example of the unreliability of works on Etruscan grammar. Instead, he states that "present-day Etruscologists do acknowledge that the underlying structure of the language eludes them and therefore existing works on Etruscan grammar cannot be used without additional verifications and check-ups." (Woudhuizen 1991, 133-134)

Woudhuizen then proceeds to give his own summary of Etruscan morphology for nouns, pronouns, and verbs, based upon his own translations of some Etruscan inscriptions. His noun paradigms differ from other authors in that his interpretation has each suffix representing both case and number, while other authors (Wallace, Bonfante) have number and case each represented by a separate suffix. Woudhuizen's interpretation is less convincing than that of Wallace and Bonfante's accounts because Woudhuizen's account would require changes to the stem between singular and plural forms of the noun which he never addresses. Wallace and Bonfante's accounts explain the change in stem by having two suffixes instead of one. For example, Woudhuizen lists /tinas kliinaras/ 'sons of Zeus' as being a dative plural with the dative plural suffix /-as/. (Woudhuizen 1991, 137) However, he had previously listed the nominative

singular of ‘son’ as /klan/. (Woudhuizen 1991, 136) Wallace and Bonfante also note that the stem changes in the word for ‘son’ are irregular in Etruscan, however they are able to offer an explanation for the appearance of /r/ in the plural form of the word, while Woudhuizen does not. According to Wallace and Bonfante, the /-r/ is a plural forming suffix just like in the nouns /ais-er/ (from /ais-/ ‘god’), /papalser/ (from /papals-/ ‘nephew’), and /atrser/ (from /atrs-/ ‘parent’). The remaining ending /-as/ on /kliinas/ would correspond to the singular genitive ending /-s/. The interpretation of authors such as Wallace and Bonfante makes the change from singular to plural for /klan/ a little more regular than that that of Woudhuizen. In addition, Woudhuizen lists certain word forms as plural such as /marni tut^{hi}/ which he translates as “the public priests”, but he gives no reason as to why he translates it as plural instead of singular. (Woudhuizen 1991, 137)

His verb paradigm is very limited, due to the fact that so little is understood about Etruscan verbs, but it does differ from that given by Wallace, in that Woudhuizen lists verbs as inflecting for person and number, while Wallace does not. Additionally, the pronoun system given by Woudhuizen appears to reflect a mixture of the paradigms for both Archaic and Neo-Etruscan pronouns given by other authors. (Woudhuizen 1991, 135) After listing his morphological paradigms, he goes into detail about the meanings of the Etruscan words in the inscriptions that he gives.

He then gives a list of similarities he has found between his Etruscan morphology and the morphology of languages in the Luwian branch of Anatolian. He lists the following correspondences for noun morphology: a nominative/accusative plural suffix in /-a/ for inanimate nouns, the almost complete absence of a nominative singular /-s/ and accusative /-n/ suffix in both Lycian and Etruscan, dative plural in /-e/ in both Etruscan and Lycian, a development in the oblique cases of suffixes in /s/ being replaced with suffixes in /l/ in Lydian which seems to correspond with the first/second distinction in the oblique cases of Etruscan, and the loss of final vowel in in the Lydian ablative suffix /-di/ to form /-d/ having a parallel to the Etruscan locative changing from /-t^{hi}/ to /-t^h/. (Woudhuizen 1991, 144-146)

The following are the similarities for the verb morphology given by Woudhuizen. First, both the Luwian languages and Etruscan lack a subjunctive and optative mood. Second, there seems to be a combination of the future and present tenses into a single, non-past tense. And third, there seems to be an interchangeability or confusion of the singular and plural endings for

the 3rd person. He states that in Lycian and Lydian, the 3rd singular endings tended to replace the 3rd plural endings. This appears to have been a widespread phenomenon within those languages, and not confined to particular constructions or circumstances. In Etruscan, Woudhuizen states that the 3rd person plural ending remained in the non-past tense form of verbs, but the past tense and imperative forms of verbs had the singular ending replace the plural one as in in Lycian and Lydian. Woudhuizen then mentions that the suffix /-k/ used to form the past tense in Etruscan does not match with the past tense suffix /-t/ in Luwian languages. However, he gives two possibilities for the discrepancy. The first possibility he gives is that Etruscan underwent a similar consonant shift to the Milyan dialect of Luwian where /t/ became /k/. The second possibility he gives is that it was simply an independent development in Etruscan. (Woudhuizen 1991, 147-149)

6.4.2 Discussion

It is never made clear in the article how Woudhuizen decided on the morpheme boundaries for his determination of the morphological features of Etruscan. This leads to some rather striking discrepancies with how the Etruscan morphemes are typically parsed. For example, he seems to analyze Etruscan as a fusional language as opposed to a more agglutinative language. Normally, the Etruscan plurals are parsed as having a root followed by a plural suffix followed by the case suffix. However, Woudhuizen lists a single morpheme that carries information about both number and case, such as nominative singular /-s/ and nominative plural /-i/. He does not give a reason as to why he presents Etruscan noun morphology as fusional rather than agglutinative, so it seems that he is parsing the morphology of Etruscan while assuming an Indo-European morphological structure and then using these parsing to argue for similarities between Indo-European languages and Etruscan. His parsings of the nominal system give no mention of the plural suffixes /-r/ or /-k^hwa/ which were used with the addition of the regular case marking suffixes in Etruscan according to scholars such as Bonfante and Wallace. And even if we assume Woudhuizen's parsings of plural nouns are correct, then his analysis does not explain the appearance of /r/ and /w/ (/w/ being an allomorph of /-k^hwa/ in Bonfante and Wallace's analyses) in plural nounstems. As the combination of a plural suffix followed by the case marking suffix was the common way of forming plural in Etruscan, the more Indo-European approach by Woudhuizen does not make for a good fit for the analysis of Etruscan

nominal morphology, unless Woudhuizen were to argue for the agglutinative characteristics being a later development.

Additionally, his morphological analysis does not appear to take into account that there are differences between Archaic and Neo-Etruscan. In fact, some of the distinctions he lists in his paradigms are due to the fact that some of his inscriptions are from an earlier period of the language than others. For example, he lists the pronoun /ika/ as the plural form for the pronoun /eka/. However, /eka/ is the Neo-Etruscan rendering of Archaic Etruscan /ika/ after a widespread and well-documented sound change of Archaic /i/ lowering to /e/ by the time of Neo Etruscan (Wallace 2008, 34-35). This lack of distinction between Archaic and Neo Etruscan word forms in Woudhuizen's account is particularly problematic for his argument that the Etruscan locative /-t^hi/ corresponds to the Lydian ablative /-di/. The ending /-t^hi/ in Etruscan was originally a postposition that was reanalyzed as the locative ending in Neo Etruscan, while the original locative in Etruscan was simply /-i/. (Wallace 2008, 47)

Furthermore, some of the similarities that Woudhuizen lists between the Luwian and Etruscan languages are simply the absence of certain features such as a lack of the subjunctive and optative moods. This lack of features is not sufficient evidence to suggest a genetic relationship between languages, as there are other non-related languages that don't have an inflection for subjunctive and optative. He also asserts that the combination of future and present tenses into a single tense is a correspondence indicative of the relationship between Anatolian and Etruscan. However, this would also suggest that Etruscan would be related to Japanese as Japanese also makes a past/non-past distinction. Languages are capable of a great many constructions and ways of expressing concepts. Because of this, unrelated languages perhaps have more in common with regard to what they lack as opposed to what they share.

6.4.3 Conclusion

Woudhuizen attempts to show a genetic relationship between Etruscan and the Luwian branch of the Anatolian languages by looking at morphological data. However, his morphological analysis is unclear and also often problematic.

CHAPTER 7. AUTOCHTHONOUS THEORIES

7.1 The Ancient Theories

Although the view of Herodotus was also held by various other ancient writers such as Virgil, Ovid, and Horace who all referred to Etruscans as Lydians, Dionysius of Halicarnassus called the Lydian story into question and instead proposed that the Etruscans were indigenous to Italy and not migrants. (Forte 2011, 6) To start off his argument, he cites the works of other ancient scholars. He mentioned the work of Xanthus of Lydia, whom he credited as the foremost expert on Lydian history. According to Xanthus, King Atys had two sons, Lydus and Torebus. Lydus and Torebus each inherited half of their father's kingdom, and both sons remained within Anatolia. Lydus's half became the Lydians, while Torebus's half became the Torebians. Xanthus never mentions anyone by the name of Tyrrhenus or a migration westward. (Dionysius, Book I, Chapter 28)

Dionysius suggests that the name Tyrrhenian may have arisen from the towers that the Etruscans built, instead of from the name of an ancient leader. The Etruscans would build tall forts or towers which both the Etruscans and Greeks called "tyrseis", according to Dionysius. The word "tyrseis" would then be the basis of "Tyrsennoi" or "Tyrrhenian". (Dionysius, I, 26) Dionysius then goes on to state that the Etruscans didn't call themselves "Tyrrhenians", they called themselves "Rasenna", as that was what his nameless Etruscan informants had told him. (Dionysius, I, 30)

In addition, Dionysius contrasts the Etruscans with the Lydians. He stated that the Etruscan language and the Lydian language were not at all the same. He also noted that the Etruscans didn't have the same religion or gods as the Lydians, nor did they have similar laws to the Lydians. He went even further to say that the Etruscan language and culture were unique to the Etruscans and that they had no similarity to any other people. Because of their uniqueness, Dionysius came to the conclusion that the Etruscans were autochthonous. Additionally, Dionysius claimed to have spoken with Etruscans who said that they have always been there and had not immigrated there. (Dionysius, I, 30)

The work of the ancient scholars has certainly not settled the debate of Etruscan origins; if anything, the ancient scholars started a debate lasting for thousands of years. Herodotus gave

an account of a migration from Lydia to Etruria, and some historical records have indicated that there were famines in the area of Lydia during the time described by Herodotus. However, he does not give a source for his account, and furthermore, he includes clearly fictional elements to his story, such as the Lydians inventing all games except checkers. This makes the lines between truth, fiction, and speculation in his account blurry to say the least. On the other hand, Dionysius of Halicarnassus appealed to accounts of other historians of his time such as Xanthus in Lydia to critique Herodotus's account, as well as the differences between the Lydian language and culture with that of the Etruscans. However, it is not clear how reliable Dionysius's Etruscan informants were, particularly concerning their assertion that they had always been in Italy, although their testimony as to what they called themselves ("Rasenna" as opposed to "Tyrrhennian") would be credible. Dionysius also does not take into account the possibility of linguistic and cultural change after several hundred years of separation with supposedly little contact. Neither Herodotus nor Dionysius gave any details on linguistic similarities or differences between Etruscan and Lydian, with no mention at all by Herodotus and a complete lack of examples of linguistic differences by Dionysius. Livy, on the other hand, referred to the similarities between the languages and customs of the Etruscans with those of the Rhaetians in the north. His primary similarity was between the name "Rasenna" for the Etruscans, which coincides with Dionysius's account, and the name for "Rhaetian". Because of the similarities, Livy asserted that the Etruscans migrated to Etruria from the North. However, he doesn't give reason as to why he believed that the Etruscan comes from a Rhaetic expansion to the south instead of Rhaetic coming from an Etruscan expansion into the North. Modern scholars have continued these theories and have attempted to expand the arguments.

7.2 The Modern Debate

The two schools of thought from ancient times have continued on into modern scholarly debate on the topic. In general, Italian Etruscologists tend to favor Dionysius's stance, while international scholars tend to favor Herodotus's account of a migration to Etruria, though not all modern scholars agree that the migration was from Lydia. (Forte 2011, 7)

The question of Etruscan origin is in part a political question, which may complicate the debate, or at least cause a level of heatedness in the debate. The Etruscans were a prosperous and technologically advanced civilization in pre-Roman Italy. The Romans were heavily

influenced by Etruscan culture and technology; for example, the Romans adopted their writing system in part from the Etruscans as well as from the Greeks. (Bonfante 1986, 8) Because of this, there is an element of pride involved for any nation that can claim to have been the origin of Etruscan civilization. This may partly explain why Italian scholars tend to favor autochthonous theories while international scholars are more likely to support a theory of migration to Etruria. For the Italian scholars, having the Etruscans be autochthonous gives Italy the exclusive claim to the origin of the Etruscan civilization. (Forte 2011, 9-10) However, this is not to say that the international scholars are unbiased. Any country that can claim the origins of the Etruscans has some level of national pride involved. For example, after some mitochondrial DNA studies suggested that Etruscan remains have more in common with populations in the Eastern Mediterranean and Asia Minor than with Italian populations, Turkish newspapers began publishing articles declaring with certainty that they were the original homeland of the Etruscans. The mitochondrial DNA results also showed similarities between Etruscan DNA and populations in Germany and Cornwall in addition to the similarities to Turkish DNA samples. So, the Turkish claims to absolute certainty for Anatolian origin on the basis of DNA testing seem to ignore the German and Cornish results. (Forte 2011, 13-14)

There are also questions about the weight of using mitochondrial DNA over nuclear DNA. Mitochondrial DNA is the genetic makeup of the mitochondria within cells and reproduces separately from nuclear DNA which codes for the organism in question (in this case, human beings). Additionally, the premise on which mitochondrial DNA inheritance is based has been called into question. In essence, a single human body can have more variation in mitochondrial DNA than in nuclear DNA, so nuclear DNA gives stronger and more consistent results.

In general, arguments for Etruscan as autochthonous follow along the same lines as Dionysius's original argument. They emphasize the differences between Etruscan and other languages, particularly Indo-European languages, citing differences such as the agglutinative nature of Etruscan.

Additionally, supporters of the autochthonous theory critique the use of the accounts of ancient historians such as Herodotus, on the grounds that such accounts are usually closer to myth than to reality. This falls in line with Dionysius's use of Xanthus's account of Lydian history to critique the account given by Herodotus. Modern scholars also point to the

archaeological record and argue that there are no signs of a sudden cultural shift in the areas of Etruria and Umbria that would mark an invasion during the Bronze and Iron Ages. (Pallattino 1975, 71-72) They also argue that any Eastern cultural or linguistic influences upon Etruscan civilization would have occurred during the Orientalizing Period of Etruscan history which started around the 9th to 8th century BC through contact with the Greeks and Phoenicians. (Pallottino 1975, 73) This argument is used to counter any archaeological evidence used to promote a connection between the Etruscans and the Anatolians, since any Eastern influences would then be explained by the trading going on during the Orientalizing Period as opposed to inherited cultural items. Proponents of the autochthonous theory also note that there is an absence of Anatolian cultural artifacts in Italy, and argue, much like Dionysius, that a population that travelled from Lydia to Italy would have brought cultural goods with them. (Pallottino 1975, 73-74)

There are other scholars, such as Massimo Pallottino, who question the need for an origins debate at all. Pallottino promotes the idea that scholars should focus their efforts on studying the cultural formation rather than the national origin of the Etruscans. According to Pallottino, Etruscan culture was formed gradually over time within Italy, whether from a population that had been there since ancient times or from a mixing of different groups in the area. (Pallottino 1975, 78-81) He draws a parallel to the studies of other cultures and states “no one would dream of asking where ‘the Italians’ or ‘the French’ came from originally; it is the formation of the Italian and French nations that we study.” (Pallottino 1975, 74) However, contrary to Pallottino’s statement, linguists do ask where languages such as French and Italian originate from. And the field of Indo-European linguistics seems to show that asking such questions of language can be a very fruitful endeavor.

Both the modern and ancient scholars have made appeals to cultural artifacts when arguing for and against theories of Etruscan origins. The modern scholars will use DNA and archaeological evidence even when debating the linguistic origins of Etruscan. However, language can spread separately from DNA, as a particular language is not a genetic trait. Likewise, cultural artifacts can spread separately from language; after all, Etruscan pottery has been found in France, but that doesn’t support the claim that French is related to Etruscan. This is not to say that archaeological and DNA evidence can’t play a role in investigating linguistic origins. Archaeological and DNA evidence can give information about which groups of people

were in contact with which other groups of people in ancient times, even if there is no written record. A historical linguist can use this information to decide likely candidates to check a language's origins against. In other words, the presence of archaeological or DNA evidence suggesting Anatolian origins of or contact with Etruscan gives a historical linguist a lead to follow when deciding what languages to compare Etruscan to. The presence of non-linguistic evidence can be used as reason to investigate the possibility of a genetic relationship between two languages, but not as evidence that two languages are in fact related. In other words, it can be used to determine a starting point for a study, but not the basis for a conclusion.

CHAPTER 8. DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

The debate as to the origins of the Etruscan language has continued for over 2000 years. The theory of a northern origin, based on the account of Livy, has mostly fallen out of favor by modern scholars who tend to prefer either the autochthonous or Anatolian theories. Although Etruscan may be related to Raetic as Livy claimed, there is no evidence to support the theory that the Etruscans moved from north to south. Modern scholars have appealed to various types of evidence, both linguistic and non-linguistic, to support their theory of choice.

The use of non-linguistic evidence, while being useful for determining languages to compare Etruscan to, is not sufficient to support linguistic relations. Languages aren't bound to a people, so a group could move from one location to another without their original language continuing to be used in their new home. Therefore, even if the DNA tests which suggest an Anatolian origin for the Etruscan people are accurate, then that does not mean the Etruscan language stems from Anatolian languages. Similarly, the proponents of the autochthonous theory will also make appeals to archaeological evidence. It appears that supporters of the autochthonous theory will often conflate the Anatolian theory with the "Orientalizing Period" of Etruscan history, in which the Etruscans imported many goods from the Eastern Mediterranean. They then claim that there is archaeological evidence of the Etruscans residing in Italy before the Orientalizing Period. However, this is not a fair criticism of the Anatolian theory itself, as proponents of the Anatolian theory often date the supposed migration from Anatolia to Italy as around 1200 BC, over 400 years before our earliest written records of Etruscan, and well before the Orientalizing Period.

There is another possibility that is not brought up in the literature on Etruscan origins. It may be that a combination of the two theories could provide a better explanation than either the autochthonous or Anatolian theory could explain on their own. This combination would be as follows: Etruscan is the result of an autochthonous language that was influenced by an Anatolian substratum. According to ancient sources, famine and war in western Anatolia caused large groups of people to migrate, including groups migrating westward by sea. Some of these groups may have settled in Italy where they mixed with the indigenous population, which could cause the adoption of certain Anatolian linguistic features such as the enclitic conjunctions /-k/ and /-

m/ into the language already residing in Etruria. This alternative theory would have the benefit of fitting with both the DNA evidence and ancient accounts of a westward migration. Additionally, when scholars attempt to compare Etruscan to Anatolian languages, they often draw unique features of various western Anatolian languages such as Lydian and Lycian, instead of finding unique innovations from a single language. If Etruscan were descended from Lydian as Herodotus claims, then one would expect to find only the traits unique to Lydian and not to the other branches. If, on the other hand, Etruscan were descended from its own Western Anatolian branch, then it seems strange that it would have innovations that are otherwise unique to Lydian and other innovations that are otherwise unique to Milyan and still others unique only to Lycian. Instead, if Etruscan received linguistic influence from various groups of western Anatolians fleeing from feminine, then the presence of unique traits from multiple Anatolian languages would be plausible.

This Anatolian-influence theory would also fit with evidence provided by supporters of the autochthonous theory. For example, supporters of the autochthonous theory point to the archaeological record of Etruria and argue that there was no evidence for a hostile invasion in its prehistory. This would be explained by a peaceful settlement of Anatolian migrants. If the migrants were from a starving population, and especially if they had recently had a failed attempt at an invasion of Egypt, then they would perhaps have been keen to have a non-violent settlement in Etruria. This theory would also benefit from the autochthonous theories in explaining non-Indo-European features of Etruscan such as agglutination.

However, attempting to prove a language-contact situation between Etruscan and Anatolian languages would be rather difficult, as the contact would have happened hundreds of years before any written records of Etruscan. Contact situations often involve the adoption of loanwords into one or both of the languages involved in the contact, and it would be difficult to distinguish any words borrowed in the prehistory from mere chance similarity. This becomes even more difficult when the limited inscriptional evidence for Etruscan is taken into account. Much of the inscriptions for Etruscan are short, and many of the known word forms are personal names. Additionally, there are Etruscan words with unknown translations. This dearth of Etruscan vocabulary and translations is a major problem for testing any theory of Etruscan origins.

Even the morphology and syntax of Etruscan are disputed. For example, the morphology of Etruscan verbs is not well understood. Bonfante & Bonfante (2002, 100) claim that the past tense of an Etruscan verb was formed by the suffix /-ke/, while Wallace claims that /-ke/ is actually two morphemes: /-k/ as a past tense suffix and /-e/ as an indicative suffix (Wallace 2008, 68). Additionally, Wallace claims that Etruscan had a jussive mood (Wallace 2008, 68), while the Bonfantes do not mention a jussive at all. The lack of secure morphological knowledge of Etruscan, just like the lack of vocabulary information, adds to the difficulty of comparing Etruscan to other languages.

Both the supporters of the Anatolian theory and the supporters of the autochthonous theory appear to be operating off of different assumptions about the nature of Etruscan's status. Supporters of the Anatolian theory (and other non-autochthonous theories) seem to be of the assumption that Etruscan is related to some known language family and that the contrary must be proven, while supporters of the Autochthonous theory assume that Etruscan is not related to any known language family and that the contrary must be proven. The assumption by the Autochthonous supporters that Etruscan must be related to a known language can lead to overreaches in their investigations. In other words, some supporters seem to believe that Etruscan is related to Anatolian, so all of the features of Etruscan must relate back to an Anatolian (or other Indo-European) language. This can be seen in the work of Cooper who attempts to translate each Etruscan word in his example texts by comparing them to similar-looking words from Indo-European language without reference to any systematic sound correspondences.

In conclusion, the debate of Etruscan origins which started thousands of years ago continues to this day. However, there are still avenues of research that an etruscologist can pursue. The first avenue would be a thorough linguistic comparison of Etruscan to Lydian. Although there have been attempts to compare the language of Etruscan to the languages of Anatolia, those attempts have run into issues with their data and with their methodologies, such as relying on an appeal to a possible, but yet unproven, earlier state of Indo-European. Since the ancient accounts of an Anatolian (Lydian) origin for Etruscan provide a time frame and supposed parent language, a specific and detailed look at the Lydian language during that time period would prove useful when examining the claims of a Lydian origin. A second avenue of research would be to examine the possibility of Anatolian influence, not origin, on Etruscan. Additionally, this study provides a look at the methodological issues used by proponents of the

various theories. The debate itself continues to this day due to various factors including opposing basic assumptions held the proponents of the different theories, a lack in variety and amount of Etruscan texts, and a lack of a firm understanding of Etruscan grammar.

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