# ANCIENT NAMES ORIGINS. WATER ROOTS AND PLACE-NAMES IN THE PREHISTORIC LIGURIAN CONTEXT

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**Abstract:** Ancient Names Origins. Water Roots and Place-Names in the Prehistoric Ligurian Context. This paper outlines a new applied epistemological aspect of the so-called Convergence Theory, that is aimed at develop a potentially "homogeneous" vision between the different approaches in the field of the Indo-European Linguistics. This work tries to "reconstruct" a sort of Italian and European "macro-area" (or "micro-area") characterized by places names linked to the word-root \*alb, with a delineation of the "semantic steps" produced, over the centuries, by the same word-root, following a potential all-embracing approach. It seems that Paleo-Ligurian place names of the type Alba, Old European river names Albis and the like, as well as their ablauting forms Olb- (> Orb- in Romance Ligurian), do not reflect directly the proto-Indo-European adjective \*albho-, 'white'; rather, they all seem to continue a pre-proto-Indo-European extended root \*Hal-bh-, 'water', cognate with the Sumerian  $\Box albia$  (> Akkadian  $\Box alpium$ , 'spring', 'well', 'water mass', 'water hole'). A further analysis of the same \*Hal-bh-, moreover, leads to a comparison with the proto-Indo-European root \*Hal-, 'nourish'. The proto-Indo-European suffixed form \*HwaH-r-, 'water', then, exhibits a similar diffusion.



Rezumat: Nume cu origini antice. Rădăcini toponimice legate de apă □ i nume de locuri în context preistoric ligurian. Acest articol scoate în eviden □ ă un aspect de epistemiologie aplicată, □ i anume Teoria Convergen □ ei, cu scopul de a dezvolta o viziune 'omogenă' între diverse metode ale lingvisticii indo-europene. Acest studiu încearcă să 'reconstruiască' o macro zonă italiană, caracterizată prin nume de locuri avand rădăcina \*alb-, pe baza delimitării unor pa□i semantici produ □ i de-a lungul secolelor. Se reliefează faptul că numele de locuri paleo-liguriene ca Alba, nume europene vechi de râuri precum Albis □ i formele lor schimbate în olb- (> orb- în liguriana romanică), nu reflectă direct adjectivul proto-indo-european e \*albho- 'alb'; de fapt, acestea continuă o radăcină pre-proto-indo-europeană \*hal-bh-, 'apa', similar cu sumerianul albia (> akadianul alpium, 'izvor, pârâu', 'apă', 'pu□'). O analiză similară pentru \*Hal-bh- conduce spre o compara □ie cu rădăcina proto-indo-europeană 'a hrăni, a nutri'. Sufixul proto-indo-european \*HwaH-r- 'apa' prezintă o difuziune similară.

**Key words:** Convergence Theory; \*alb-; \*Hal-bh-; Liguria; Olbicella; European Prehistoric Toponymy.

Cuvinte cheie: Teoria Convergentei; \*alb-; \*Hal-bh-; Liguria; Olbicella; toponimie preistorică europeană.

To my mother

#### 1. INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

My paper Ancient Names Origins. Water Roots and Place-Names in the Prehistoric Ligurian Context outlines a new applied epistemological aspect of the so-called Convergence Theory (in Italian Teoria della Conciliazione). This work is aimed at the "reconstruction" of a toponymic "macro-area" (or "micro-area", depending on the points of view) related to the word-root \*alb- and to the "semantic steps" linked to the same wordroot, with regard, especially, to the Northern Italy (and, secondarily, to the Europe), developing - remaining in the specific case of pre-Latin (pre-Indo-European, proto-Indo-European, and Indo-European) Toponymy - this onomastic aspect of the Convergence Theory in relation to the different approaches of the Indo-European Linguistics (the Indo-European / Glottological, the pre-Indo-European, the pan-Indo-European, the pan-Semitic, the Paleolithic Continuity Paradigm / Paleolithic Continuity Theory / Teoria della Continuità, for example). The Convergence Theory, in fact, is mainly aimed at develop a potentially "homogeneous" vision between the different above mentioned approaches in the field of the Indo-European Linguistics, without emphasizing any one in particular, but trying to outline an all-embracing reconstruction that takes into account each of the scientific achievements of the other considered Theories. This paper, therefore, is a theoretical work with applied implications both in the ambit of Toponymy / Toponomastics, and in the field of Semantics, with a specific focus on the delineation of an "ideal map" related to the notion of "water" and on the identification of "water places" in the analyzed area.

### 2. THE ROOT \*ALB-, OLBICELLA, AND THE "WATER TOWNS"

There are extremely ancient toponymic designations that not always can be reconstructed from roots directly attested in historical languages belonging to the Indo-European linguistic family. It should be considered, in the context of the same Indo-European, the possibility of the existence of "double roots", explained the each from Indo-European traditions properly called and the other integrated, instead, from the documentation of different families of languages.

The factual means may have been made up both by contacts and "osmotic movements" (in both directions, to the Indo-European from the non-Indo-European and vice versa), and by common genealogical heritage (with all the reserves required by the discussion of the relations of "kinship" of the Indo-European family, of course). Such cases are found especially within groups of words in the field of Onomastics and, perhaps in a greater percentage, in the ambit of Toponymy (Toponomastics), as a privileged sector of the "substratistic" recognitions.

The issue we would like to address here concerns the nomen loci Olbicella. Olbicella is a suburb of Molare (municipality located in the North-Western Italy – Piemonte -, now in the Province of Alessandria, near the city of Ovada, on the road that leads from the Southern Piemonte to Genova, the chief town – administrative centre – of Liguria) <sup>1</sup>, situated along the Orba river, next to the Ortiglieto's lake.

DANTE OLIVIERI, in his Dizionario di Toponomastica piemontese<sup>2</sup>, wrote, about Olbicella: «Olbicella, fr. Molare, Aless. Forse forma in parte dialett. equival. ad un \*Albicella, dal n. pers. germ. ALBIZO?». The derivation proposed by the Italian scholar, Olbicella < / = \*Albicella < Albizo, is part of the traditional practice that enhances, for etymological purposes, the observation - widely seen in the micro-Toponomastics - of the use of anthroponyms in order to coin local denominations, but in this case it is - because not accompanied by equally or even more sustainable alternatives - too much apodictic, as well as almost all the toponymic reconstructions that trace back the origin of a nomen loci (of higher "size" than one individual or gentilitial property) to a proper name of a person of any origin, according to the possibilities offered by the historical and linguistic local stratigraphy, without even an attempt of comparison with names that, being verifiable – or falsifiable – on both "levels" of the "sign" (thus – even within the limits of explicability of a geographical name - also on the semantic ambit, by definition excluded in the deonomastic formations, where the etymology is not relevant), would set the hypothesis at a higher epistemological level. It provides, however, an interesting indication about the ancient reconstructed form of the place name, Olbicella: \*Albicella (fig. 1).

The root of the etymon of the *nomen loci*, in fact, is precisely \*alb-. Now we're going to explain why, trying to provide a linguistic contribution to the correct return of the original meaning of some place names and hydronyms of the Ligurian area (exactly the cultural and linguistics area of the formation of nomina locorum such as Olbicella, in the North-West of Italy) and outlining the existence of a "family" of place names that we like

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Perono Cacciafoco 2003a: 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. OLIVIERI 1965: 241, s. v. Olbicella.

to call (on the basis of the not only Indo-European root that is at the origin of their development) "Water Towns".

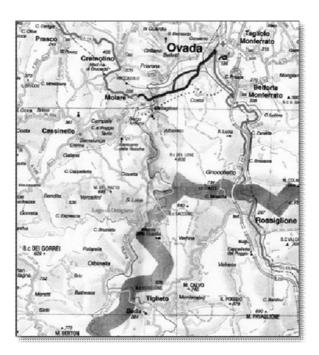


Figure 1: Olbicella and the surrounding area

We have evidence of common elements - albeit remote (already in the Indo-European age) -, in the cultural and linguistic ambit, between the ancient Ligurians (Ligures) and the (contemporaneous) historically known inhabitants of the Western Europe, at least in part, as the Celts <sup>3</sup>. A macroscopic toponymic isogloss concerns the Britannia (perhaps only in the Southern area, in origin) 4: it is believed (and the hypothesis is very convincing) that Albiōn, the nomen of ancestral origin of Britannia, is connected with the Ligurian toponymic forms Albium and Albium 5. The toponymic root of the name is common, being, in fact, \*alb- < Indo-European \*albh-. From Albium and Album derive – in the ancient and also "contemporary" Ligurian Toponymy –, among others, the homologous (homophone and homograph compared to the second lemma) forms Album, Album Inganum, Album Ingaunum, Albingaunum, 'Albenga', Albium (homologous, homophone, and homograph compared to the first lemma), Albintimilium, Album Intimilium,

 $<sup>^3</sup>$  Cf. De Bernardo Stempel 2008: passim.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Cf. RIVET / SMITH 1979: 247-48. In a non-Indo-European perspective see also GIOVANNI SEMERANO, Gli influssi delle antiche civiltà del Medio Oriente sulla prima formazione culturale dell'Europa, in AA.VV. 2001: 307-17 and, especially, 310.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Petracco Sicardi / Caprini 1981: 33.

'Ventimiglia'  $^6$  (with this kind of toponymic reconstruction), *Albuca* (in Gaul and in Aquitaine)  $^7$ , *Alba*, in Italy, Piemonte, now in the Province of Cuneo, *Alba Heluorum*, in Provence, *Alba*, now *Arjona*, in Spain  $^8$ .

GIACOMO DEVOTO also reports <sup>9</sup>, as of possible Ligurian matrix (or influence in the onomastic formation), the place name *Albona*, Istrian town located a few kilometers away from the sea. All of these names are attributable directly to the root \*alb- and to a simplex form that is *Album*. But *Album* is not primarily linked (we will verify later as it is a "shift" of meaning compared to the original) to the Latin *albus*, 'white'. It derives, instead, from the root \*albh-, that is the basis, for example, of the Germanic hydronym *Albis*, the nomen of the *Elbe* river. All these nomina indicate settlements on waterways, on rivers, lakes, and seas, in practice *loci* situated near water (and even hydronyms, names – in fact – of referrals that coincide with the iconym: waterways, watercourses).

What interests us here is that as the root \*albh- is the basis of the hydronym Albis, nomen of ancestral origin (as a paleo-European hydronym) of the Elbe river, so it is the generative component of some of the many names (ancient and "contemporary") Olbia that denote, like all the other nomina developed by the root \*albh-, places located on canals, rivers, or seas (fig. 2). Olbia, the oldest colony of Miletus, on the Black Sea, for example, had, as epichoric nomen, Olbia (without variants), derived from the root \*albhwith vocalic ablaut (apophony) of the initial [a-] in the grade of the [o-] timbre (the root \*olbh- is equivalent, on the lexical level, and it is derived, in the morpho-phonological ambit, from the base \*albh-) 10. Olbia is witnessed, as a place name, in Britain, on the right side of the Bug River (in Ukraine), in Provence 11, in Italy (in Sardegna), and elsewhere – in very different latitudes, therefore -, in Lycia and in Hellespont; especially in the case of the Hellenic colonies, of course, it was inevitable a motivational overlap with the auspicious Greek adjective *ólbios* ( $\Box \lambda \beta io\varsigma$ , female *olbía*,  $\Box \lambda \beta i\alpha$ ) <sup>12</sup>. If we remain within the ambit of nomina linked to the root \*albh- and to the meaning of "water", it may be interesting to remember that Albula was the ancient name of the Italian river Tevere (Tiber, Latin Tiberis). Albiōn, the nomen of ancestral origin of Britain – from which we started in this reasoning –, denotes, therefore, the largest island on the English Channel, a locus, then, situated on the water and surrounded by water <sup>13</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> The Greek "reception" *Olbía* in relation to the antecedent Indo-European \**Olbhiyā* presents the same characteristics (in the rendering of the vocalism /o/ and of the occlusive /b/) of the "near" *Borysthénēs* < Indo-European \**Bhoru-stenēs*, 'murmuring among the spruces' (personal comment by Prof. Dr. GUIDO BORGHI).

 $<sup>^6</sup>$  Cf. Strabo, Γεωγραφικά IV, 6, 1-2 and, on Albingaunum and Albintimilium, see GIANATTASIO 2007: 136.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> On Albuca, in Gaul and in Aquitaine, see FRANCISCO VILLAR, La complessità dei livelli di stratificazione indoeuropea nell'Europa occidentale, in AA.VV. 2001: 217.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Cf. ALDA ROSSEBASTIANO, in *DTI* 1990: 14, s. v. Alba.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Cf. DEVOTO 1974: 36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> See, on *Olbia* in Provence, GIANATTASIO 2007: 159.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Cf. DTI 1990: 451 and PELLEGRINI 2008: 85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> It is necessary to remember that the name *Albiōn* is generally taken also to refer to the coastal white chalk cliffs (with, however, a close link to the notion of "water" and to the "white" color, see PERONO CACCIAFOCO 2008: *passim*), although alternative interpretations include 'hill' (POKORNY), 'world', 'light' (MEID) and 'white metal land', 'tin land' (BRODERICK). See, about these interpretations, PERONO CACCIAFOCO 2008, 2009: *passim*.

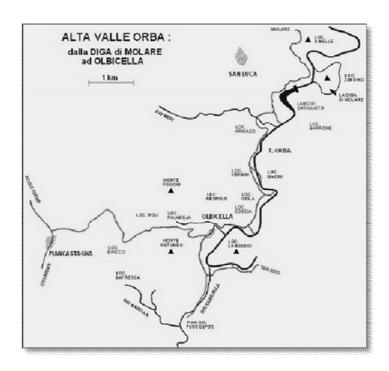


Figure 2: The Upper Orba Valley, from the Molare dam to Olbicella

The reconstruction \*albh- (with \*/bh/ required by the Germanic \*/b/ in \*Albiz, 'Elbe', 'Elba') is, however, not the only considered in the doxography. GIOVANNI SEMERANO, among the other supporters of the origin of the root \*alb- by a non-Indo-European linguistic "family" (in the theory of this Author this "fact" is postulated by definition, since he denies the same existence of the Indo-European), proposes a derivation from the ancient Akkadian  $\Box$  alpium (from the Sumerian  $\Box$  albia), 'well', 'spring', 'mass of water', 'water hole' <sup>14</sup>. This form, then, would have been transferred to the toponymic system of the Indo-European languages, on the one hand remaining unchanged in the root \*alb- (in the SEMERANO's perspective with the two variants, without [-l-], \*ab- and \*ap-) <sup>15</sup> and, on the other hand, with the additional homologous basis derived from the vocalic replacement of [a-] with [o-], \*olb-, and with the resulting modified lemma, originated from \*olb-, \*orb-, with [-r-] from [-l-] by rhotacism (linguistic phenomenon peculiar, inter alia, in the Ligurian area).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Cf. GIOVANNI SEMERANO, Gli influssi delle antiche civiltà del Medio Oriente sulla prima formazione culturale dell'Europa, cit., in AA.VV. 2001: 310.

<sup>15</sup> \*Ab. / \* ap. (of POKORNY 1959-69: I. 51) is a proto-Indo-European root more ancient than the redical forms

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> \**Ab-* / \* *ap-* (cf. POKORNY 1959-69: I, 51) is a proto-Indo-European root more ancient than the radical forms leading to *alba* in the meaning of "city", "town", and equivalent to the root \**alb-*, that expresses the notion of "water" (cf. ALINEI 2000: 539). In Gallic, for example, the root \**ab-*, \**ap-* (this latter from \**ak* □-) means "river". It is witnessed, *inter alia*, in the Gallic form *Abona* (cf. LEWIS / PEDERSEN 1961: 38). It is also known a Bastetanic town called *Abula* (Southern Spain).

# 3. \*ALB- AND THE APPELATIVES OF "WATER", "TOWN", AND "WHITE"

Leaving aside the negation a priori of the Indo-European and the consequent lack of justification for the connection between \*alb- and \*ab- / \*ap-, the comparison established by SEMERANO – especially with the Sumerian  $\Box albia$  – imposes a broadening of perspective. A root then partly specialized in chromatic meaning and, in any case, become an integral part of the toponymic and hydronymic Indo-European system, shows to have even more remote origins. This consideration could explain, thus, the formation of nomina – like those listed above – of places located in the closeness of watercourses, water canals, rivers, lakes, or near the sea (fig. 3). Thanks to this linguistic "fact" it is possible to overcome effectively the simplification (sometimes misused by the scholars in the ambit of Toponymy and Toponomastics) that combines almost all the nomina locorum formed by the \*alb- root to the Ligurian-Roman radical (the same definition is ambiguous) alba 16 'city', 'town', surely applicable in some cases (and we will explain why), but not connectable, in the context now outlined, with the place names we have mentioned. The Ligurian bases from which the form alba would be derived, in fact, would be \*albo-, \*albio-, and \*alba-, in the meaning, exactly, of "city", "town". Our discussion, however, leads to take a step back. The \* $h \square albh$ - root, originally "water", is used to indicate – applied to a place name – a locus, a "locality" situated in the closeness of water. In the Indo-European, then, we are also witnessing a semantic transition.  $*H \square albh$ -, from "water" and, therefore, in Toponomastics, from "place located in the closeness of water", takes, in fact, the extensive and generic meaning of "place", "city", "town". In the transition from an onomastic system connected to the first anthropization to the later ones, until the protourban phase, over the centuries, the semantic characterization related to the concept of "water" has been lost. Characterization coming back, however, in the places located in the adjacency of the watercourses (loci that constitute the numerical preponderance, considered the fact that the proximity of the same *loci* to the waterways is fundamental to the birth and development of a village or a town), places like Olbicella. Their names are composed by the old and not exclusively Indo-European (*stricto sensu*) root  $*h \square albh$ -, that has preserved the original meaning.<sup>17</sup>

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See, for example, on the name Albera Ligure, Italian place located in Piemonte, now in the Province of Alessandria, LAMBOGLIA 1946: 79-81 and GIULIA PETRACCO SICARDI, Liguri e Celti nell'Italia settentrionale, in AA.VV. 1981: 71-96 and PETRACCO SICARDI / CAPRINI 1981: 12 and 33.
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of the other hand, it is recognized, for example, the almost sure paleo-Ligurian origin of the place name *Alba* of the town of Alba, located in Italy (Piemonte), now in the Province of Cuneo, Roman *municipium* in the Augustan age, colony in the II century, parish in the V century (cf. GIULIA PETRACCO SICARDI, in PETRACCO SICARDI / CAPRINI 1981: 33), *Alba Pompeia* after 89 BC, probably in honor of the consul Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo. NINO LAMBOGLIA (in LAMBOGLIA 1946: 79-81) and GIULIA PETRACCO SICARDI (in PETRACCO SICARDI / CAPRINI 1981: 12 and 33) attribute to the place name the meaning of "capital city" / "administrative centre" (*città capoluogo*). This *sema* is plausible, however, only as a further development of a different onomastic origin linked directly to the pre-proto-Indo-European root \*h□albh-, connected to the meaning of "water" and, specifically, of "place situated in close proximity of water". Alba, in fact, is located for the most part of its extension on the right bank of the Tanaro river and there is no doubt about the atavistic link between the town and the same Tanaro river. Alba was inhabited in remote age, already in the Neolithic, at least from the VI millennium BC (and grew further during the Copper Age – Eneolithic – and the Bronze and Iron Ages, cf. PESSINA / TINÉ 2008: 47, 56, 99, 119, 130, 132, 143, 148, 231-232, and 250-251 and BIETTI SESTIERI 2010: 39 and 42-43), and it was precisely in this chronological ambit that the place name "took shape", *nomen* derived from the root \*albh- and showing a "town

It should point out, also, that the nomina locorum derived from the root \*albhare part of a series of place names known on the basis of common names of various historical Indo-European languages, both in relation to water, such as \*war-, 'water', 'river', 'rain', \*pal-, 'stagnant water', 'puddle', 'backwater', \*mar-, 'lagoon', 'sea', and indicating characteristics or qualities of water or of water currents, such as, for example, \*tar-, 'strong', 'penetrating', \*ais-, 'fast', and, indeed, \*albho-, 'light', 'white' 18. In the common Indo-European, then, in addition to these roots, the radicals \*ab- and \*ap- always express, originally, the concept of "water" <sup>19</sup>. So, the Latin *albus* derives from \*albho-, but the origin of this color name descends from a characteristic related to water, to the water "color", precisely. The late Indo-European basis \*albho- derives in turn, thus, from the root not only strictly Indo-European  $*h\Box albh$ -, that means "water". It is, therefore, outlined the semantic transition that leads to the stratification of different meanings for the same root in the passage from the ancient and remote phases of the Indo-European to the late-Indo-European, *id est* the pre-proto-Indo-European  $*h\Box albh-=$  'water' and, extensively, 'place situated near the water'  $\rightarrow$  Indo-European  $*[h\Box]albho-$ , 'white' <sup>20</sup>, originally indicating the light / clear color of water and, then, 'white', considered as a generic color, Latin albus ~ \*albhā (late-Indo-European form), understood as 'city', 'town', simplified meaning derived from the pre-proto-Indo-European  $*h \square albh$ - in the and along with the sema 'place situated near water'. It should be noted, in this regard, as mentioned above, that the original nomen of the Italian Tevere (Tiber, Latin Tiberis) river was Albula and, as a variant of the manuscripts in Dionysius Periegetes (and in the related commentary by Eustathius) and in Stephanus Byzantinus, Alba.

The Indo-European, on the other hand, has not drastically and totally lost the meaning of the root  $*h\Box albh$ - and, on the contrary, it has preserved this in different variants. The Hittite lexeme *alpa-s*, 'cloud' <sup>21</sup>, whose connection with the Indo-European \**albhos*, 'white' (formally possible in the hypothesis of an antecedent \* $h\Box albho-s$ ), was rejected for semantic reasons (since \*alpa- is predominantly associated with rain and thunder» <sup>22</sup>), finds in the iconym 'water' an unexceptionable etymology <sup>23</sup>. If, then, we

built near water", on the Tanaro river, in this case. Strabo (cf. Γεωγραφικά IV, 6, 2) associated the place name Alba to the oronym Alpes, pointing out – very loosely and too roughly – that the Ligurian cities were founded often on the heights. In this case (and in many others), however, the assertion of Strabo does not seem to make sense, because Alba is located 172 meters above sea level, in a broad flat valley now surrounded by the splendid hills covered by vineyards of the Langhe and Roero. Nothing to do, thus, with the heights, while the fact of being located along the Tanaro river reports, however, the undying bond of the city with water. About the origin of the oronym Alpi (that is not the subject of this work. It will be analyzed here, therefore, marginally), Latin  $Alp\bar{e}s$ , singular (especially poetic) Alpis, Greek  $\Box \lambda \beta \mu a$ , a derivation from a root \*alp-, perhaps a variant of a radical \*alb-meaning "mountain", "hill", "stone", is controversial. \*Alb- indicates "water" and it is difficult to connect this form to the meaning of "mountain". It is, however, plausible to derive the oronym Alpi from another lemma (in all probability wrongly discarded by the most of the scholars), the Gallic form \*alpis, \* $alp\bar{a}$ , mountain pasture', nominal lemma with the Central Celtic suffix \*-pi, \* $-p\bar{a}$ , derived from the pre-proto-Indo-European root \* $h\Box al$ -, 'nourish' (cf. LEI, 1979 ff.: II, 210 ff. The root \* $h\Box al$ -, peculiarly, is connected, in turn, with water and with the fish that is nourishment for men obtained from the same water).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Cf. VILLAR 1991 / 1996: 117.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Cf. POKORNY 1959-69: I, 23, 51, 79, 80, DEVOTO 1962: 329, 331, 528, 529, 708, and ALINEI 1996: 505.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> An excellent recent book on the historical color semantics is BIGGAM 2012 (particularly relevant is Chapter 11, *Prehistoric Colour Studies*: 169-83).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> This is not the only meaning that has been proposed. MELCHERT (cf. Harold Craig MELCHERT, *Hittite* antaka"loins" and an Overlooked Myth about Fire, in AA.VV. 2003: 281-88 and, especially, 285) suggests also
"faintness" "weakness"

<sup>&</sup>quot;faintness", "weakness".

22 Cf. KLOEKHORST 2008: 169, with bibliography.

analyze  $*h \square albh$ - as an "extending root"  $*h \square al$ -bh-, we can also recognize an "equable" of this in  $*h \square al$ -eu-, 'disorderly wander' <sup>24</sup>, root of hydronymic use and, in the appellativic meaning, passed to indicate the hydromel (mead) and the beer <sup>25</sup>.

In addition, according to MARIO ALINEI (as part of the Paleolithic Continuity Paradigm / Paleolithic Continuity Theory / Teoria della Continuità) 26, the root \*alb- can be connected to the proto-Indo-European radical \*al-, that is evidenced with the meaning of "feed", "nourish" in the Italic area (Latin alo, 'feed', 'nourish'), in the Celtic ambit (Old Irish alim, 'I nourish'), and in the Germanic areal (Old Icelandic ala, 'feed'). This semantic feature inherent in the notion of "feed", "nourish", however, is closely linked to the concept of water, because (always according to ALINEI and in the context of the Paleolithic Continuity Paradigm) this root would be easily connectable with the Germanic name of the eel, German Aal, English eel, Old High German and Old Saxon āl, Old Frisian ēl, Netherlandish aal, Old Icelandic āll, Danish and Swedish ål. Apparently devoid of etymology in the traditional reconstruction, in the Paleolithic Continuity Paradigm it is, instead, directly connected to the introduction of fish in the nutrition of the Upper Paleolithic and, therefore, to the aforementioned root \*al- in the meaning of "feeding", "nourish", in this case related to the concept of "feeding / nourish through the fish", a nourishment evidently derived from the water and plausible, in a so remote age, as a new element of the diet only in places located in close proximity to watercourses or to the sea. Thus, there is a close relationship - that is a sort of formal priority of the one and of semantic necessity of the other – between the radicals \*al- and \*-albh, up to the point to be, these two forms, variants of a single root referable to the notion of water and, for what concerns the Toponomastics, to the toponymic indication of a place situated close to a watercourse or to the sea. The root \*alb- regains, in this reconstruction, two fundamental aspects, the pre-proto-Indo-European origin (that corroborates the recovery of the SEMERANO's comparative hypothesis, with the inclusion of the Sumerian) and the ancient and direct link with the ancestral notion of "water". The origins of the root seem, so, with valid plausibility, pre-proto-Indo-European and can be placed in a macro-genealogical linguistic "axis" of a probably Nostratic <sup>27</sup> radical, as regards the antiquity, and coming, therefore, in the final analysis (with an adequate areal coincidence between the theories on the Indo-European Prehistory and the *iter* of the Akkadian according to SEMERANO), from the Near and the Middle East. The Indo-European, then, has retained in its own onomastic system the root, producing the same radical in the above listed variants and giving rise, over the centuries, to the transformation of the original meaning of the root that still is reflected, by the way, in many place names, especially – in Italy – in the Ligurian area, as Olbicella  $(<*Olbikell\bar{a}).$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Personal comment by Prof. Dr. GUIDO BORGHI.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Cf. Borghi <sup>3</sup>2009: 836-37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Cf. Pokorny 1959: 33-34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Cf. Alinei 1996: 581.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>Aharon DOLGOPOLSKY reconstructed an ancestor for the pre-Indo-European \*albho- as \*ħalbs or \*xalbs (the "triangle" indicates an unknown vowel), meaning "white". The scholar gives more cognates, including Hamitic and Semitic words for "milk", and a Dravidian root meaning "clear (of liquids)". Cf. DOLGOPOLSKY 1998: passim.

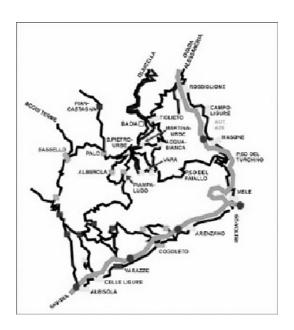


Figure 3: The location of the territory between Southern Piemonte and Liguria

## 4. \*ALB-, ORBA, AND URBE

The \*alb- root, moreover, is yet expressed – as outlined above – in the \*olb-variant (from which many of the place names *Olbia* in the ancient and also in the "contemporary" world derive and from which the *nomen loci Olbicella* descends). It is – as mentioned above – a linguistic phenomenon typical of the Ligurian area the transformation of [-l-] into [-r-] (rhotacism), here – precisely – in post-vocalic context and before bilabial consonant, and, therefore, the root \*olb- is equivalent, in this case, to the Romance (Ligurian) radical \*orb-. This consideration leads us to an interesting observation inherent in the *nomen* of the *Orba* river <sup>28</sup>, that flows (among many other places, before debouching, at the end of its course, in the Bormida river) precisely in the territory of Olbicella and close to the lake of Ortiglieto. The first known attestation of the hydronym dates back to 1137 and the handed down form is *Urba* <sup>29</sup>, then replicated in 1176 by the wording «[...] super fluvium Urbae [...]» <sup>30</sup>. Concerning the etymological explanation of the hydronym, the proposed derivation from the Latin *urbs* appears simplistic and meaningless. Already SERRA <sup>31</sup> considered the pre-Latin origin of this *nomen* and held it close to other equivalent hydronyms of the Ligurian and Gallic territories (exempli gratia Orba, Orge, Orbs). And the same SERRA had the right intuition (although he did not arrive to the proper deduction,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> This is the «[...] *Orba selvosa* [...]» in the celebrated ode *Marzo 1821* by the famous Italian poet ALESSANDRO MANZONI. Cf. ALESSANDRO MANZONI, *Marzo 1821*, v. 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Cf. AA. VV. 1899-: CXIII, 38, 53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Cf. AA. VV. 1899-: XXIX, 74, 94.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. SERRA 1931: 126.

leaving the explanation of the hydronym in the vagueness of the pre-Latin substrate), because the *nomen fluminis Orba* precisely derives from the root \*olb-, apophonic / ablauting variant of the root \*alb-, 'water', with the transformation – typical, as mentioned, of the Ligurian-Romance linguistic area where the torrent flows – of the [-l-] into [-r-] in \*orb-.

So, the root \*alb- is the basis not only of the place name Olbicella, but also of the hydronym Orba. Moreover, there is a sort of "point of union" between the place name and the hydronym, represented by another hydronym, Orbicella, an affluent of the Orba river in which debouches precisely near Olbicella. The form Orbicella, variant of Olbicella and the nomen of the affluent of the Orba river, is the linguistic trace of the equivalence of the root \*olb- > Romance \*orb- in the place name Olbicella and in the hydronym Orba and is evidence of the rhotacistic phenomenon of transformation of the [-l-] into [-r-] typical of the Ligurian area. Thus, there is a very close relationship, in the ambit of the onomastic affinity (when not of direct equivalence), between the names Olbicella (with preservation of II from the chancery tradition), Orbicella (with receipt of the rhotacism, having been made official later, because of the lesser importance of the referent), and Orba, as well as a close morpho-phonological relationship exists between the pre-proto-Indo-European radical apophonic variants (dating back to a possible Nostratic origin and ancestrally sourced from Near / Middle East), then become Indo-European toponymic formations, \* $h \Box albh \rightarrow *h \Box olbh - (>*olb -)$ .

The Medieval form Urba in the Orba hydronym attests a "change" from the initial [o-] to [u-] that indicates,  $inter\ alia$ , the loss (occurred in much older ages), in the speaking – and writing – subjects, of the ancestral meaning of the nomen, dating back, plausibly, to a pre-proto-Indo-European appellativic source, then transferred in the toponymic use by the local Indo-European. Due to a casualness, however, the form Urba, that recalls the Latin urbs, 'city', 'town', has the same meaning of the above mentioned Indo-European basis \* $albh\bar{a}$ , derived from the root \*alb-, when the sema, by that time, passed to indicate (from "place on the water", "water town" = \*albh-) the simplified and generic notion of "city", "town" (> \* $alb\bar{a}$ ).

The same reasoning has to be developed inherently in the place name of the village of *Urbe*, that is located (in Italy – Liguria –, now in the Province of Savona) in the valley of the Orba river (in the upper basin of the watercourse). The place name coincides (with the variant of the initial [o-] / [u-]) with the hydronym *Orba* and derives from the same root, being equivalent the same place name and the hydronym <sup>32</sup>. The oscillation of the radical form \*olb- > \*orb-, with the rhotacistic transformation of [-l-] into [-r-], is recognizable even in the *nomina* of two of the small hamlets that make up the municipality of Urbe (that is a "scattered" and "composite" village), *Martina d'Olba* and *San Pietro d'Olba* (here the graphic [-l-], perhaps conservatively, for official use, perhaps accidentally, in the chancery stratifications, takes precedence over the [-r-], in an alternation already found about the place name *Olbicella* and the hydronym *Orbicella*).

We have to note, moreover, that Urbe, as a municipality, is formed, as well as by these two hamlets, also by the small localities of Acquabianca (\*albh-, 'water', \*albho-, 'white'  $\rightarrow$  \*albh[o]-albhā, 'light / clear water', 'limpid water', 'white water', almost a "translation" of the radicals involved in a decisive way in the toponymic and hydronymic development of the *nomina* of the area under our consideration) and of Vara Inferiore and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Cf. *DTI* 1990: 676.

Vara Superiore. The onomastic basis of the two hamlets called Vara is \*war- (\*wer- / \*uer-, \*wor- / \*uor-), root of the common Indo-European meaning "water", "river", "rain" 33 and that is, moreover, the radical of the nomen of the Vara river, the longest watercourse in Liguria, flowing entirely in the territory of the Province of La Spezia and that gives the name to the homonymous valley (Val di Vara). The place name Vara (of Vara Inferiore and Vara Superiore) and the hydronym Vara have remote origin and are part of a "Mediterranean" onomastic system characterized prima facie by the phonetic sequence [-a-[...] [-a-] <sup>34</sup>. Since the diffusion of this specific kind of names in [-a-] [...] [-a-] is much more extensive than the Indo-European traditional and conventional areas, it seems plausible the fact that these place names and hydronyms date back to an ancient period, and, thus, pre-late-Indo-European (in the case of the root \*war- in the form Vara and, in general, of the "Mediterranean" phonetic sequences [-a-] [...] [-a-], we are witnessing a regular transformation starting from Indo-European laryngeals in position of syllabic core or adjacent to short vowel:  $*w\bar{a}r\bar{a} < *h \square wah \square - rah \square$  or even, in Celtic, from  $*[H]woh \square$  $rah \square^{36}$ ). Among the numerous examples of place names and hydronyms derived from the root \*war-, proving the system of double [-a-], we can mention again, in order to be brief, the *nomen* of the town of *Varallo* <sup>37</sup> (Italy – Piemonte –, now in the Province of Vercelli), in the Valsesia, situated at the confluence of the Mastellone torrent with the Sesia river, and the name of the Varàita torrent, that debouches into the Po river. The notion of "water", in these cases, is always present and, in particular, it is the concept of the "river water" and of the "rainwater" that feeds rivers and torrents and that allows the life of the villages and of the towns that arise near the watercourses. So, the meaning of "water" is repeated throughout all the toponymic series of the *loci* that contribute to form the municipality of Urbe, as well as in the hydronym *Orba* and in the place name *Olbicella*.

#### 5. \*ALB- AND ALBISOLA / ALBISSOLA

With reference to the root \*alb- meaning "water" and, within the ambit of Toponomastics, at the basis of place names indicating "towns / cities / hamlets / sites / villages located near water", we could mention numerous nomina locorum derived by the same radical and it might be interesting (but it is not the subject of this study, also due to reasons of "extension") to draw the distinction between the place names designating a "site located in close proximity to water" (in the original meaning of the root, therefore) and the nomina indicating a "city" / "town" (in the "new" generic and later sema of the same radical). It will be sufficient, here, only an example, concerning Albisola 38, town located in Italy - Liguria -, now in the Province of Savona. It is necessary to distinguish between Albisola Superiore, place of prehistoric origin founded by the Ligures Docilii, and

<sup>33</sup> The root of the common Indo-European \*war- expresses the concept of "water", as well as other equivalent bases, such as \*ur-, \*wond-, \*und-, \*ak □-, \*ap- (not only Indo-European), \*ab- (not only Indo-European), \*up-Cf. DEVOTO 1962: 329, 331, 528, 529, 708, POKORNY 1959-69: I, 23, 51, 79, 80, VILLAR 1991 / 1996: 117, and ALINEI, 1996: 505.

Сf. DEVOTO 1974: 28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Cf. WODTKO / IRSLINGER / SCHNEIDER 2008: 356-57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Cf. FALILEYEV 2007: 30, with bibliography.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Formed by a second Celtic element \*allo-, 'precipice' (< Indo-European \* $pl\square so$ -, cf. MATASOVIĆ 2009: 120-21), in reference to the rocky outcrop of the Sacro Monte (personal comment by Prof. Dr. GUIDO BORGHI). <sup>38</sup>For a review of the toponymic issues relating to the place name *Albisola*, see PERONO CACCIAFOCO 2003b: 22.

Albissola Marina, also founded in prehistoric times, but by the Ligures Ingauni 39 and independent – already in ancient ages – from the centre of Albisola Superiore. Writing about the same Albisola Superiore GIULIA PETRACCO SICARDI 40 declares as Roman the origin of the nomen loci, from Alba Docilia, and alba would be, in this place name, evidence of the aforementioned Ligurian-Roman form alba in the meaning of "city", "town". This approach, however, leaves aside the fact that Albisola was founded, as mentioned, by the Ligures Docilii in prehistoric times and that the Romanization of the locus, therefore, could be much later than the creation of the place name. Albisola had in ancient times, by the *Ligures Docilii* <sup>41</sup>, the *nomen Alba*, but not in the meaning of "city". The *sema* of that prehistoric *Alba* was, instead, derived from the pre-proto-Indo-European root \*albh-, connected to the notion of "water", and, therefore, the Alba of the Docilii wanted to indicate, originally, a "place situated near the water", in this case near the sea (Ligurian Sea). On the other hand, the same PETRACCO SICARDI rightly points out how the Roman name Alba Docilia is mentioned, as the first attestation, only in the Tabula Peutingeriana 42, a relatively late documentary source that nothing can suggest, therefore, about the antiquity of the name and, even less, about the original meaning of the same. So, we found, here, a very significant example of the semantic transition "water" > "town situated on the water" > "town" sustained over the centuries by the pre-proto-Indo-European root  $*h \square albh$ -, merged in the onomastic system of the Indo-European languages (the paleo-Ligurian substrate of Latin, in this case). We note parenthetically that PETRACCO SICARDI derives the Docilia of Alba Docilia from a Roman gentilitial (family name) Dolcilius (that she says to be probably of Celtic origin), while it seems clear the derivation of the Docilia of Alba Docilia from the nomen of the Docilii, the Ligurian inhabitants – already in prehistoric times – of the original settlement of Albisola. The Medieval place name Albuzola (or Albizola) shows how the root \*alb- has maintained, over the centuries, its strength, leaving out of consideration the *nomen* in the "free form" alba and that, despite the loss, in speaking – and writing – subjects, of the notion of the original meaning of the radical \*alb- (and, probably, also of the basis alba), it is, de facto, the constituent element of remote origin of the place name. PETRACCO SICARDI 43 adds that the Medieval name of the locus, Albizola or Albuzola, is documented in the XII century. It seems to be, instead, older. The nomen is attested, in fact, for example, in the Charta of foundation and donation of the St. Quentin's Abbey (Abbazia di San Quintino) in Spigno Monferrato (place located in Italy - Piemonte -, now in the Province of Alessandria), document dating back to the May 4th of the year 991, in the form Albuzola (and it seems well established, by now, that this nomen designates precisely Albisola) 44. In this toponymic variant the root \*alb- shows, thus – even if lost and often misunderstood, in its original meaning, in the perception of the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> The territory of the *Ligures Ingauni* had, as main centre, the town of Albenga, *Album Ingaunum*, *Alba Ingaunum*, *Albingaunum*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Cf. GIULIA PETRACCO SICARDI, in *DTI* 1990: 17, s. v. Albissola Marina - Albisola Superiore.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> The *Docilii* were a Ligurian tribe allocated, prior to the Roman conquest, in a territory between Albisola (Italy – Liguria –, now in the Province of Savona) and Sassello (Italy – Liguria –, now in the Province of Savona). Their lands bordered those of the *Sabazi* and of the *Statielli*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> The *Tabula Peutingeriana* is a copy dating from the XII-XIII century of an ancient Roman map that showed the military roads of the Empire. This document derives the name from the humanist and classicist KONRAD PEUTINGER, who inherited the *Tabula* from his friend KONRAD BICKEL.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Cf. again GIULIA PETRACCO SICARDI, in DTI 1990: 17, s. v. Albissola Marina - Albisola Superiore.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Cf. BOSIO 1972: 19, 33 and 126-28 and, inherently in the issue of the effective presence of the place name in the *Charta*, see PERONO CACCIAFOCO 2003b: 22.

linguistic subjects –, its onomastic strength and the persistence in the structure of the *nomina* being part of this toponymic and hydronymic "family". So, another place located on the water and, precisely, on the sea, takes the origin of its name from the Prehistory and from the ancient pre-proto-Indo-European root  $*h\Box albh$ -, 'water' (fig. 4).

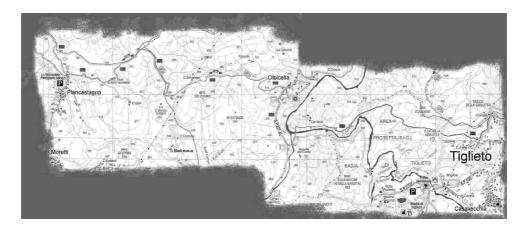


Figure 4: Place-names in the area of Olbicella

In the Roman age the Liguria 45 presents some well identified linguistic strata, Latin, Gallic (or, at least, an ancient Central Celtic with the complete – and completed – dephonologization of \*/ $\square$ / < \*/p/ and labialization of \*/k $\square$ / > \*/p/), the so-called Lepontic-Ligurian (Southern Celtic characterized by the residual traces of the phoneme  $*/\Box/<*/p/$ in intervocalic position and by the sporadic persistence of  $*/k\square/$ , the paleo-European Hydronymic ("alteuropäisch"), and the Ligustic or paleo-Ligurian. The nomina more easily "explainable" are, of course, the Latin names (and the names of Latin origin). But the fact to want to bring back the Onomastics and the Toponomastics of the Ligurian area almost exclusively to the Roman age is a methodologically incorrect operation and it is also the cause of even obvious mistakes. Many nomina are, inherently in the origin, Celtic (Gallic or Lepontic), as - exempli gratia - Dunomarus. Others, instead, do not provide reliable evidences, if we remain within the ambit of the lexicon attested by the historical Indo-European languages. For example, in Albialus the \*albh- basis (that is \*halbh-) presents lexical and derivatives peculiarities that do not allow, concretely, a specific attribution to none of the above mentioned first three known strata. In addition, we have to note also the likely pre-proto-Indo-European origin of the root \*albh-, that is the radical \*hal-bh- in the ancestral meaning of "water" (and, extensively, of "place located near water") and then - in

and 469 and PALLOTTINO 1981: passim.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> In Antiquity the Ligurians resided in a territory that included the Côte d'Azur and the Riviera. The land of these populations stretched from the city of Pisa and from the Arno river (Italy, Toscana), to the East, to the Rhone river, to the West. We have also to consider the Ligurian populations of some islands, as Corsica and Elba, mentioned by several Authors. In a general way, we talk about Ligurians inherently in the whole coast, also to the West of the Rhone river and until the mouth of the Ebro river. Due to this Western "extension" of these populations, sometimes it is used the name of "Ibero-Ligurians". The Greek colony of Massilia, now Marseilles, moreover, was located in the middle of the territory of the *Ligures Saluvi*, one of the Ligurian tribes. Cf. VILLAR 1991 / 1996: 465

the common Indo-European – of "white" (understood as the light / clear color of the water) and in the generic meaning, in \*albhā, of "city", "town" (in the simplified notion derived from the extensive sema of the pre-proto-Indo-European basis \*halbh-). FRANCISCO VILLAR says, about the Indo-European setting and on the extra-Indo-European comparability of the Ligurian nomina locorum <sup>46</sup>: «[...] The Indo-European elements are quite abundant, both in the anthroponymy, and in the toponymy. But we have no right to consider specifically Ligurian all the Indo-European names that do not belong to the other three historical Indo-European strata (Lepontic, Gallic, and Latin). Because nothing assures us that, in addition to those known, there has not been another or, even, others [...]». It is precisely in this ambit that the hypothesis about the pre-proto-Indo-European origin of the root \*halbh- in the meanings, in the parallel forms, and in the derivations that we enucleated up to here takes heuristic significance.

#### 6. \*ALBH-/\*OLBH-AND\*ORBHO-

On closing, an onomastic note. *Orba* is also attested as the personal name of a sovereign in the Medieval Ireland. In this case, however, the *nomen* is not derived (although apparently homologous to that of the Orba river) from the root \*albh- (\*olbh-), but it descends from the proto-Indo-European basis \*orbho-, that means "orphan", "forsaken", "abandoned" <sup>47</sup>, and that in the Celtic and Germanic areas (and only in these areas) takes the *sema* of "heir", "legacy", "heritage" <sup>48</sup> (Old Irish *orbe*, 'legacy ', *orbam*, 'heir', *comarbe*, 'co-heir', Gothic *arbja*, Old Icelandic *arfi* and *arfr*, Old High German *arpeo*, *erbo*, Middle High German *Erbe*, 'heir', Anglo-Saxon *ierfe*, Gothic and Old High German *arbi*) <sup>49</sup>. In this case, therefore, the regal Irish name *Orba* means "heir", "heir of the kingship" and, then, "prince" and, in consequence, "king", and the proto-Indo-European and, then, late-Indo-European root at the origin of this name is not \*albh-, but \*orbho-.

#### 7. CONCLUSIONS

It seems, therefore, demonstrated that the name of the hamlet of the municipality of Molare (Italy – Piemonte –, now in the Province of Alessandria) *Olbicella*, the *nomen* of the village of *Urbe* (and of two of the localities that contribute to constitute it, *Martina d'Olba* and *San Pietro d'Olba*), and the hydronyms of the *Orba* river and of its affluent *Orbicella* derive from a common pre-proto-Indo-European root of remote origin and persistent over the time,  $*h \square albh$ -, indicating the notion of "water" and applied, therefore, to the formation of *nomina* of waterways / watercourses, or of areas located near the water (streams, torrents, rivers, lakes, and sea), root that discloses its morphology, in this case, through the equivalent apophonic / ablauting variant  $*h \square olbh$ -, then developed through the passage – typical of the ancient Romance Ligurian area that "contains" the places designated by the analyzed *nomina* – of [-l-] into [-r-] in the form /orb-/. So, we have also found the equal persistence over the time of the proto-Indo-European (of the common Indo-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Cf. VILLAR 1991 / 1996: 469.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Cf. POKORNY 1959-69: I, 781 and ALINEI 1996: 668.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Cf. ALINEI 2000: 566.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Cf. HUBERT 1934: I, 66 and BUCK 1949: n° 11.48.

European) root  $*h \Box wah \Box -r$ , indicating the notions of "water", "river", and "rain", in the names of the *loci* of *Vara Superiore* and *Vara Inferiore*, hamlets of the "composite" village of Urbe, and in numerous other places situated in close proximity to watercourses and in hydronyms always part of the ancient Ligurian onomastic area. So, it is revealed, in this analysis, a panorama of "Water Towns" all joined by the same toponymic origin derived from the pre-proto-Indo-European root  $*h \Box albh$ - or from the basis  $*h \Box wah \Box -r$ -, originally indicating the notion of "water". It is, therefore, possible to recognize the existence of a toponymic and hydronymic "family" for that descends from the common pre-proto-Indo-European root  $*h \Box albh$ - (then subjected to the dephonologization of the laryngeal and morpho-phonologically transformed in the variants \*albh-, \*olbh- [> \*olb- > /orb-/],  $*albh\bar{a}$ , \*albho-, and, in terms of meaning [sema], in the sequences 'water'  $\rightarrow$  'place situated near water'  $\rightarrow$  'place located on the water'  $\rightarrow$  'town' and 'water'  $\rightarrow$  'clear / light water'  $\rightarrow$  'white water'  $\rightarrow$  'white') and that incorporates in itself the names of the villages of *Olbicella* and Urbe and the hydronyms of the river Orba and of the torrent Orbicella.

#### 8. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to thank my dear friend and brilliant linguist professor dr. Guido Borghi for the great support that he has given me in the planning of this paper and for the really fruitful discussions with him on the issues of this work and on the *Convergence Theory*. At the same time, I would like to express all my gratitude to professor dr. Remus Creţan for his benevolent trust he has placed in my work, as well as to the anonymous reviewers who helped me improving the old forms of the manuscript.

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\*albho-/- $\bar{a}$ ), and BICHLMEIER 2012: passim.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> On the toponymic and hydronymic European "families" linked to the "water roots" and to the "water notion" (especially in the North-Western Italy) and on the paleo-anthropology of those territories see PERONO CACCIAFOCO 2008: passim, PERONO CACCIAFOCO 2011a: passim, PERONO CACCIAFOCO 2011b: passim, PERONO CACCIAFOCO 2011c: passim, PERONO CACCIAFOCO 2012a: passim, PERONO CACCIAFOCO 2012b: passim. Very interesting, in different contexts, are KITSON 1996: passim (especially pp. 83-86 on the different strata of river names in Alb- and Arg-), UNTERMANN 2009: passim (especially p. 20 on

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