

Zyhlarz, E.: Ursprung und Sprachcharakter des Altägyptischen.= Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen - Sprachen 23 (1932-1933), 25-45, 81-110, 161-194, 241-254.

Zyhlarz, E.: Konkordanz ägyptischer und libyscher Verbalstammtypen.= Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache 70 (1934), 107-122.

Zyhlarz, E.: Die Sprachreste der unteräthiopischen Nachbarn Altägyptens.= Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen Sprachen 25 (1934-1935), 161-188 and 241-261.

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NOTES ON THE MEMORIAL VOLUME FOR JAN SAFAREWICZ*

A collection of articles having originated mainly in papers offered by scholars of Polish, Lithuanian and West European Universities, and some having come from overseas for the occasion of a symposium held in Cracow one year after the decease of **Jan Safarewicz** (1904-1992) to pay tribute to this eminent man of learning was edited by Wojciech Smoczyński (as assisted by Wanda Lohman and Anna Wyrstek) in October 1994, and published in 1995 by the Jagiellonian University.* [Hence it will be called *Safarewicz Memorial Volume* and abbreviated *SMV*].

Having been funded by a grant of the latter (through its Philological Faculty) and the Ministry of National Education this book is, indeed, an impressive work of homage to a man who has given to colleagues and students of his university and in the world of learning much more than might be expected from any scholar and who has helped to preserve learning in Poland's years of darkness and to rebuild it during the post-war period. Surely, by honouring one of her great educators in various fields of Indo-European studies with emphasis on the Classical, Baltic and Polish languages, the learned community of the Universitas Iagellonica has lived up, once more, to its traditional stature and renown.

1. The *Safarewicz Memorial Volume* is arranged in four parts: (1) the editor's preface [pp. 9 f.], (2) a set of papers on Safarewicz, his fields of interest, and his work [pp. 11-45],¹ (3) 50 papers and articles by 51 contributors, offered in alphabetical order [with one exception],² and

* **Wojciech Smoczyński** (ed.), *Analecta Indoeuropaea Cracoviensia Ioannis Safarewicz memoriae dicata*, Universitas Iagellonica - Facultas Philologica, Pb. of 583 pp., 1 photograph; Cracow 1995 [ISBN 83-7052-231-9]

¹ I.e., **M. Plezia**: De Ioannis Safarewicz studiis Graecis atque Latinis [pp. 11-14], **F. Sławski**: On two unwritten books of Jan Safarewicz [pp. 15-18], **S. Urbańczyk**: Professor Jan Safarewicz - Polish Scholar [pp. 19-25], **A. Sabaliauskas**: Jan Safarewicz's contribution to Lithuanian studies [pp. 27-34], **H. Popowska-Taborska**: Problems of ethnic history in the works of Jan Safarewicz [pp. 35-40], and **M. Karpluk**: Professor Safarewicz's research on onomastics [pp. 41-45].

² (1) **S. Ambrazas**: On the origin of nomina feminina with the ending *-(i)e in the Baltic languages [pp. 47-50], (2) **V. Ambrazas**: Der baltische Infinitiv aus der Sicht der

syntaktischen Rekonstruktion [pp. 51-60], (3) X. Ballester: The *Lucubrationes* of *Furius Bibaculus* (Plin. *praef.* 24) [pp. 61-64], (4) A. Bammesberger: Griechisch εἶ gegenüber litauisch *esi* 'du bist' und altlitauisch *eisi* 'du gehst' [pp. 65-73], (5) L. Bednarczuk: Substrat et théorie des contacts linguistiques [pp. 75-88], (6) M. Bednarski: Gerund or gerundive: Which was first? [pp. 89-98], (7) A. Bochnakowa: Sur la prononciation de *-um* latin dans les mots français [pp. 99-102], (8) W. Boryś: Problems in reconstructing proto-languages [pp. 103-107], (9) T. Czarnecki: Zum Problem der ältesten Lehnwörter des Polnischen aus dem Deutschen [pp. 109-121], (10) I. R. Danko and K. T. Witzak: Some remarks on the Albanian vocabulary in the Palaeo-Balkan and Indo-European view [pp. 123-135], (11) U. Damska-Prokop: Remarques sur la «textualité» [pp. 137-146], (12) P. U. Dini: A propos du vieux sl. *съборъ* [pp. 147-151], (13) R. Eckert: Alte lettisch-slawische Übereinstimmungen [pp. 153-171], (14) A. Holvoet: On the evolution of the passive in Lithuanian and Latvian [pp. 173-182], (15) M. Honowska: Quelques détails sur le développement des idées linguistiques du XX^{ème} siècle [pp. 183-188], (16) S. Karaliūnas: PIE **h₁tk'o-* 'bear' in Baltic [pp. 189-196], (17) S. Karolak: Remarques sur la sémantique de l'aspect [pp. 197-211], (18) M. Kucała: Bi-aspectual verbs in Old Polish [pp. 213-222], (19) R. Laskowski: Text as a structural and a communicative unit [pp. 223-236], (20) W. Mańczak: Critique de la théorie des laryngales [pp. 237-247], (21) G. Michelini: Über die Stellung des Objektes in der Postille von Bretkunas [pp. 249-256], (22) J. Mindak: Le verbe albanais [pp. 257-261], (23) Ł. Moszyński: Thietmars slavische Etymologien [pp. 263-277], (24) G. Paulis: Problèmes de phytonymie latine [pp. 279-286], (25) W. Pisarek: Language in social space [pp. 287-294], (26) K. Pisarkowa: Zum Archetypus und dem semantischen Muster [pp. 295-304], (27) A. Pisowicz: How did New Persian and Arabic Words penetrate the Middle Armenian vocabulary? Remarks on the material of *Kostandin Erznkac'i*'s poetry [pp. 305-319], (28) K. Polański: The current state of Polabian research [pp. 321-329], (29) G. T. Rikov: Hittite *šanna-* and Greek *ἀνών* [pp. 331-335], (30) J. Rokoszowa: The problem of synchronic description in language [pp. 337-348], (31) H. B. Rosén: Wiederum *ignominia* [pp. 349-353], (32) J. Rusek: Bezeichnungen des Zöllners in den slawischen Sprachen [pp. 355-364], (33) W. Sędzik: On Baltic and Slavic agricultural terminology [pp. 365-370], (34) J. Sławomirski: Ancien français *lais*. Quelques doutes sur une étymologie indubitable [pp. 371-376], (35) S. Stachowski: Die Rolle des Griechischen in der Geschichte des Osmanisch-Türkischen [pp. 377-385], (36) P. Stalmaszczyk: A note on Celtic influence upon English vocabulary [pp. 387-392], (37) W. Stefański: Quelques remarques concernant la flexion pronominale en indo-européen [pp. 393-400], (38) B. Stundžia: Regularities of the accentuation of mixed-type verbs of Standard Lithuanian [pp. 401-408], (39) A. Szulc: Graphogene Phoneme in der deutschen Hochlautung [pp. 409-427], (40) E. Tabakowska: Language in time and space: The concept of radial category and polysemy (A study of the Polish lexical item *to*) [pp. 429-441], (41) S. Temčinas: Typological parallelism of **u*-stem adjective transformation in Lithuanian and Slavic [pp. 443-447], (42) J. Waniakowa: Les modes d'acceptations de *šabbāt* hébreu en tant que dénomination d'un jour de la semaine dans les langues indo-européennes [pp. 449-459], (43) J. J. S. Weitenberg: La grammaire arménienne «latina-tip» du XVII^e siècle [pp. 461-472], (44) S. Widlak: Le consequence dell'omonimizzazione sul piano lessicale [pp. 473-485], (45) J. Wiktorowicz: Zum lexikalisch-semantischen Wandel im Deutschen [pp. 487-493], (46) K. T. Witzak: 'Prothetic vowels' in Hittite and other Anatolian languages [pp. 495-502], (47) M. Wojtyła-Swierzowska: Slavic vocabulary of time (Proto-Slavic **dodъ*, **doba*, **pora*, *verme*, **celo*, **casъ*) [pp. 503-511],

(4) a bibliography of Jan Safarewicz studies with various adjuncts as composed by W. Smoczyński.³

2. Obviously the great variation of topics in the papers and articles listed in note 2 has to be understood as a response of many who profited from Safarewicz's work, in particular from the wide scope of his interests and activities. This impression is matched and even strengthened when one arranges said contributions in *SMV* (in accordance with the assigned numbers) by groups of subjects in major fields, even though such grouping may not do full justice in all respects:

- (a) Albanian: 10, 22
- (b) Anatolian languages other than Hittite: 46
- (c) Arabic: 27
- (d) Armenian: 27, 43
- (e) Balkanic languages: 10
- (f) Baltic languages: 1, 2, 16, 33
- (g) Celtic: 34, 36
- (h) English: 36
- (i) Ethiopic (Ge'ez) and other Ethio-Semitic languages: 49
- (j) French: 34
- (k) Ge'ez see Ethiopic
- (l) German and Germanic: 9, 23, 34, 39, 45
- (m) Greek: 4, 29, 35, 48, 49
- (n) Hebrew: 42
- (o) Hittite: 29, 46
- (p) Indo-European in general: 8, 10, 17, 37, 42
- (q) Latin: 3, 6, 7, 24, 31, 49
- (r) Latvian: 13
- (s) Linguistics: 5, 8, 11, 15, 17, 19, 20, 26, 30, 40, 44
- (t) Lithuanian: 4, 21, 38, 41, 50
- (u) New Persian: 27
- (v) Polish: 9, 17, 18, 40, 41, 49
- (w) Slav[on]ic languages: 8, 12, 13, 17, 23, 32, 33, 47
- (x) Social implications: 25
- (y) Turkish: 35
- (z) West Slavic (Sorbic, Polabian etc.): 23, 28

(48) H. Wolanin: Plato and the position of etymology in Greek intellectual culture [pp. 513-535], (49) A. Zaborski: Some Greek, Latin and Coptic loanwords in Ethiopic [pp. 537-543], (50) Z. Zinkevičius: Über die Polonismen in Mažvydas Schriften [pp. 545-550].

³ See, further, below.

3. While all contributions are seemingly of great value for the promotion of knowledge of scholars in their respective fields and likewise of interest to others in all provinces of learning concerned with languages and their cultural settings, it appears to be natural that in this review for a year book of Oriental studies the items on Near and Middle Eastern matters should be paid special attention.

Due to the limits any review or review-article imposes, I select for pertinent discussion, more or less at random, as samples for *themata* of various significance numbers 10 and 46, 49, 42, and 35.

4. 10 and 46: In their remarks on the Albanian vocabulary in the Palaeo-Balkan languages *vis à vis* and within the Indo-European environment I. R. Danka and K. T. Witczak have placed the Palaeo-Balkan languages as a *central* group [= (e)] by the side of four other "groups", (a) northern, i.e. Germanic-Balto-Slavic, (b) western, i.e. Italo-Celtic, (c) southern, i.e. Anatolian, and (d) eastern, i.e. Indo-Iranian. They continue that the "last group < (e) > included languages existing on the Balkan Peninsula (e.g. Thracian, Dacian, Illyrian, or Macedonian) or in areas not far away from there (e.g. Messapic in southern Italy; Phrygian in Anatolia; Armenian in trans-Caucasian regions) in ancient times. From among the Palaeo-Balkan languages only three are still used: Albanian, Armenian and Greek. The others have become irrevocably extinct, leaving, apart from glosses and onomastics, some inscriptional texts (esp. Phrygian and Messapic, to a smaller extent Thracian and Mysian) or no written traces at all (e.g. Macedonian, Illyrian, Epirotic, or Paeonian)."⁴

However, notwithstanding alien elements which have been incorporated into its dialects since the earliest times, the Grecian language has preserved an astonishing coherence at least in its form of *Kathareuoussa*. Consequently, its placement together with Albanian and Armenian is as mistaken for antiquity from prehistoric times throughout its following periods right into the Middle Ages as it is for our present age.⁵

Likewise, there is no convincing cause to put Albanian and Armenian in one group. To consider, perhaps, the postponed article as a link is

⁴ SMV pp. 123 f.

⁵ Still more emphatically, perhaps somewhat exaggerating: E. Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik auf der Grundlage von Karl Brugmanns griechischer Grammatik = Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* (established by I. von Müller) vol. I (Munich 1959³/1970⁵) [hence *SchwGrGr*] p. 55: "Die Beziehungen des Griechischen zu den übrigen indogermanischen Sprachen... reichen nicht aus, das Griechische mit einer oder mehreren andern indogermanischen Sprachen zu einer Gruppe zusammenzuschließen, da die gemeinsamen Neuentwicklungen zufällig parallel sein können. Neben den lautlichen und flexivischen Parallelen verlangen auch Gleichheiten in Stammbildung und Wortschatz Beachtung; Neufunde können allerdings das Bild in ungeahnter Weise verändern."

insufficient not only on the grounds that such occurs in many languages of Indo-European, Semitic, Finno-Ugric, and also African provenance in some cases on explicable grounds, in others not – very much so as the origin of similar uses of the article in Albanian and Romanian is still enigmatic. Nor did the employment and essence of the Old-Armenian 'article' agree, as should be emphasized in this context, with those of the articles in other languages,⁶ including such belonging to the basket of the so-called Balkanic languages.⁷

I suggest one should avoid definitions of interrelationships, in particular, such attempting genealogical derivations for these languages, certainly, on various grounds, e.g., (a) that such are still uncertain in many respects, (b) that it has to be clarified still which languages were really interrelated, (c) that it has to be found out still which of their similar or common elements were original and which were primary and which came second. Consequently, as one must not speak of a group of Anatolian languages as a "southern group" of the Indo-European "dialects"⁸ because of the enormous diversity of the languages attested for Anatolia, Indo-European and several others,⁹ which influenced not only each other, but also their successors at least since the beginning of literacy in that area, one should not construe, at this time, a "central" or "*Palaeo-Balkan*"¹⁰ group of the Indo-European languages. As much as advocates of more stringent arrangements may deplore this, Eduard Schwyzler's assertion holds still true "Für solche < interdependences > ist... nicht so sehr gemeinsame Bewahrung von Altertümlichkeiten entscheidend, die oft nur eine Gunst der Überlieferung ist, als gemeinsame Neubildung besonders in Lauten und Flexion, wobei freilich auch mit zufällig paralleler Entwicklung zu rechnen ist. In Einzelheiten weist jede indogermanische Sprache zu jeder andern mehr oder weniger zahlreiche oder auch spärliche Beziehungen auf, die in eine Zeit zurückführen, zu der die indogermanischen Sprachen eine allerdings dialektisch gegliederte Einheit bildeten; es gibt auch Erscheinungen, die einzelne Satem- und Kentumsprachen näher verbinden..."¹¹

It is unnecessary to go in this context to any significant extent into the matter whether languages are interrelated on grounds of descent or areal convergence or merely temporal contact. It may suffice to note that – taking

⁶ Cf. H. Jensen *Altarmenische Grammatik* (Heidelberg 1959) pp. 82, 164 ff.

⁷ Cf., e.g., N. S. Trubetzkoy "Proposition 16" in *Actes du premier congrès international des linguistes* 1928 (Leiden 1930) pp. 17 f.

⁸ Also this term has been used inadequately.

⁹ Such as the still enigmatic Hattic and the agglutinating Hurritic and the more recent Urartean which – together with still others have often been lumped under the equally unfortunate designation of "Asiatic languages".

¹⁰ The emphasis is mine.

¹¹ *SchwGrGr* pp. 54 f.

the application of reasonably scientific explanation of linguistic changes and developments for granted – genealogically interrelated languages agree, if ever possible, at all levels of language. *Versus* J. Ellis,¹² proof of their relationship need not be “phonological exponential correspondences”, however.

On the premise of these precautions the lists of words **Danka** and **Witzak** have assembled in their contributions (here counted as numbers 10 and 46) may be useful as one plank of quite a number to find out possible interrelationships of the languages they put into the “groups” – I prefer to speak of baskets – of Balkanic and Anatolian languages. The first step in using their contributions ought to be, however, an investigation which of the individual items of their vocabularies have been correctly assigned.

5. 49: **A. Zaborski** has also provided us with a list of words, i.e., such having made their way from Greek, Latin and Coptic into Ge'ez and other languages of Ethiopia. He tries to explain 16 items and their backgrounds. He has shown merely the tip of an iceberg, however, and this effort should be expanded with recognition of the achievements of others,¹³ towards further research in the matter of loanwords in Ge'ez and other Ethiopian languages, Ethio-Semitic and Cushitic, especially, the reasons and conditions of their introduction both as a facet of cultural impact (e.g. to express theological and philosophical thought or for economic and similar purposes) and in view or on account of chance or necessity as a matter of linguistic convenience. Part of such effort(s) should be the investigation of both Ethiopic loan-translations and the Ethiopisation of many alien names of various origins.¹⁴ It is already apparent that certain phonetic and morpho-

¹² J. Ellis “Some remarks on the place of Balkan linguistics in general linguistic theory”, *Linguistique Balkanique* 12 (1967) pp. 37-44, here 43.

¹³ On the contributions of others see through W. Leslau *An annotated Bibliography of the Semitic Languages of Ethiopia* (The Hague 1965), Leslau's dictionaries for Ge'ez, Amharic and others, as well as articles relating thereto. Regarding the impact of elements of the Greek and Latin languages, I have not found anything, unfortunately, in H. W. Lockot's *Bibliographia Ethiopica: Die äthiopienkundliche Literatur des deutschsprachigen Raums = Äthiopistische Forschungen* 9 (Wiesbaden 1982). See further note * at the end of this article.

¹⁴ See Eth Giyorgis < Greek Γεώργιος, Eth Anestāsios < Gk Ἀναστάσιος, Eth Ēwostātēwos < Gk Εὐστάθιος, Eth Galāwdēwos < Lat Claudius, Eth Pāwlos < Lat Paulus / Gk Παῦλος, Eth Qwastāntīnos < Lat Konstantinus / Gk Κωνσταντῖνος, Koostantī/ñnos and similarly, Eth (Abbā) Atnātyos and Aṭanāsyoṣ ≡ Gk (Ἀββᾶς) Ἀθανάσιος, Eth Abbā Salāmā ≡ Lat Frumentius / Gr. Φρουμέντιος >→ Eth Frēmēnātoṣ [cf. B. W.W. Dombrowski and F. A. Dombrowski “Frumentius / Abbā Salāmā: Zu den Nachrichten über die Anfänge des Christentums in Äthiopien”, *Oriens Christianus* 68, 1984, pp. 114-169], Eth Lā'ekā Maryam ≡ Gr Διάκονος τῆς Μαρίας [! see Luke 1:27b *et al.*], and others.

logical rules have been involved in such changes from one language to another. Here the Ethiopic studies are still in their infancy.

6. 42: **J. Waniakowa** has taken us on an interesting tour d'horizon through the application of the Hebrew word *šabbāt* and its derivatives. Added should, perhaps, be that the pronunciation as **šambaṭ* / **sambat* may be much older than may be concluded from the samples she adduces on pp. 452 ff. While she recognised the different employments of Akkadian *sapatum*,¹⁵ *šapattum*,¹⁶ [also spelled *šā-ba-tū*, perhaps *šā-bà-tum* and otherwise¹⁷], standing for the “fifteenth day of the month” by the side of Old Babylonian *sebūtu* meaning “the seventh day of the month”¹⁸ and Hebrew *šabbāt* as name of the day of rest,¹⁹ Waniakowa has apparently been unaware of the insertion of *n resp. m* in the Hebrew *šabbāt*, in other words of nasalisation in Ethiopic *sanbat*, plur. *sanābet*, and *sanbatāt*²⁰ and in Tigre *sambat*.²¹ Further, she has seemingly missed the Aramaic and Syriac equivalents of *šabbāt*, i.e. *šbh* [= *šabbā*] and *šabbā'*, *šūbā'*,²² whose plurals were offered in Aram. *šabbayyā'* resp. *šūbā' n*,²² in Syr. *šabbē* / *šabbīn*, in Christian-Palestinian *šwbyn*, i.e., *šūbbīn* // *šwb't*, i.e., *šūbātā* ^(?)²³ While all

¹⁵ So Old Akkadian and Old Assyrian.

¹⁶ Old, Young, and Late Babylonian.

¹⁷ For this intricate matter see E. Reiner *et al.*, *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* [= *CAD*] vol. 17,1 (Chicago, Ill. - Glückstadt 1989) pp. 449b f. *versus* W. von Soden *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* [= *AHW*] vol. 3 (Wiesbaden 1981), p. 1172a.

¹⁸ Also as *sibūtu*, *šebūtu* with further scribal variations for “the seventh month” and a festival. For particulars see *CAD* vol. 15 (1984) pp. 232 f., *AHW* vol. 2 pp. 1034a, 1039b.

¹⁹ When referring to a day [see, however, below through n. 44] שַׁבָּת designates in the Old Testament “stets den von den Mondphasen unabhängigen, wöchentlichen Ruhetag und nicht den Vollmondstag” (L. Koehler - W. Baumgartner - J. J. Stamm *et al.* *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon* [= *Kö.-Ba.*]³ part 4 (Leiden etc. 1990³) p. 1310b).

²⁰ C. F. A. Dillmann *Lexicon linguae Aethiopicae* (Leipzig 1865, repr. New York 1955) col. 369 f. Also in the verb '*asanbata* [= denominative Causative] “to observe the Sabbath (or) Sunday [*sanbata kerestiyān*]”. Regarding the use of the word *sanbat* not only by Jews or Judaized tribes but also by Ethiopian Christians see E. Hammerschmidt *Stellung und Bedeutung des Sabbats in Äthiopien = Studia Delitzschiana* 7 < Münster > (Stuttgart 1963) pp. 16 ff. and *eiusdem* survey in “Jewish Elements in the Cult of the Ethiopian Church” [= *Hammerschmidt JE*], *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 9 (1971) pp. 1-12, here 5 ff.

²¹ E. Littmann - M. Höfner, *Wörterbuch der Tigre-Sprache* (Wiesbaden 1962) p. 173a.

²² See J. Levy *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim und einen grossen Teil des rabbinischen Schrifttums* [= *Levy ChWb*] vol. 2 (Leipzig 1868, repr. Cologne 1959), pp. 444b f. and T. Nöldeke *Kurzfassete Syrische Grammatik* [= *SyrGr*] (Leipzig 1898, repr. Darmstadt 1966) p. 54 (§ 81) [the Syrian status absolutus is missing in C. Brockelmann *Lexicon Syriacum* [= *LexSyr*] (Halle/Saale 1928²) p. 750].

²³ F. Schulthess *Lexicon Syropalaestinum* (Berlin 1903) p. 201.

these point to a bi-consonantal root, one could be tempted to consider them results of linguistic variation – **Jacob Levy** thought of a “Verkürzung”, others of imitation or differentiation²⁴ –, it should be noted that the Hebrew word *šabbāt* was semantically connected by the author(s) of the Priestly Code (P) in Gen 2:2, Exod 31:12-17 with the verb *šābat* used in Biblical Hebrew to denote the idea of “to cease, pause, rest” which then came to mean “to rest on the Sabbath, to celebrate the Sabbath” etc.²⁵

However, while Waniakowa felt “*šabbāt* hébreu est lié à la racine *šbb*- ‘grandir; croître; être grand’ attestée dans la langue arabe laquelle serait conforme avec *šabbāt* dans sa signification originaire ‘fête de la pleine lune’²⁶”, the noun *šabbāt* and the verb *šābat* have as their bi-radical base *Š-B* which appears also in the Hebraic verbs *šūb*,²⁷ *yšb*,²⁸ and *šbh*²⁹ and their cognates in other languages and in derivations. Of these *yāšaḥ* seemingly suits best to *šabbāt*, unless one would explain the verb *šābat* to have been primary and the noun *šabbāt* as a merely related or deverbal formation.

²⁴ See **J. Levy** *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim* [= *Levy WbTM*] vol. 4 (Berlin-Vienna 1924², repr. with additions and corrections: Darmstadt 1963), p. 493b. Somewhat differently, **Nöldeke** [o.c., p. 53 f.] assigned it to the sizable group of feminine nouns, especially, though by no means exclusively, names for plants, which offer the feminine ending in the singular, yet not in the plural. This he claimed even though he adduced the status absolutus *šabba*’, suggesting “So wird das Fremdwort *šabb*‘tā’ (שַׁבָּת) ‘Sabbat’ behandelt (dessen t eigentlich radical ist)...”. According to **G. H. Dalman** [*Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch* (Leipzig 1905², repr. Darmstadt 1960) p. 160 n. 2] *šabbā*’ and *šūbā*’ were “späte Maskulinbildung < yet acc. to **Dalman** *ibid.* and *eiusdem* *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch* (Göttingen 1938³) p. 414: *femininum!* von שָׁבַח nach Abstossung des nicht mehr für radikal gehaltenen Taw”. Such elision of the assumed third radical of *šabbāt* [see below, however] would be similar to the one attested for Aramaic בִּית from בית which appears to have originated in the use of בית in status constructus positions. This does not apply to the employment of Aramaic and Syriac *šabbā* / *šabbā*’ or Aram. and Chr.-Pal. *šūbā*’ for Hebrew שָׁבַח, however.

²⁵ See **F. Stolz** “*šbt* aufhören, ruhen” in **E. Jenni - C. Westermann** *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament* vol. 2 (Munich - Zurich 1976) coll. 863-869, here esp. 864. For the meaning of the verb *šābat* in Hebrew outside the Old Testament as attested in Ostrakon 1 of Mesad Ḥašavyāhū [app. 2 kilometers south of Yavneh-Yam] dated to the latter part of the 7th century B.C. see below through notes 40 and 41.

²⁶ Here Waniakowa refers to **A. Lemaire** “Le sabbat à l’époque royale israéliite” *Revue Biblique* 80 (1973) pp. 161-185. She has apparently been unaware of the study adduced below in n. 32.

²⁷ With a number of meanings, inter alia “to rest”. Cf. *Kö.-Ba.*³ part 4, pp. 1326-1331, esp. 1326b.

²⁸ = “to sit down, come to rest, remain seated, to dwell” (*Kö.-Ba.*³ part 2, p. 423b f.).

²⁹ Aram *šb*’. Hebr. *šbh* = “lead away as captives” ← “disarm, finish, quiet down”; see *šḇuyôt* (*hereb*) → “possessions” (*Kö.-Ba.*³ part 4, pp. 1286 f.).

However, a derivation of *šabbāt* from the verb *šābat* is contradicted by the absence of any attestation of an Akkadian verb *š/sapātum* and the similarity of the two words Hebrew *šabbāt* and Akkadian *š/sapa(t)um* in their appearance³⁰ and occasional meaning,³¹ further by the pattern of nouns in which *šabbāt* falls³² as well as the fact that, prior to the return of the remnants of Israel-Judah from the exile, the Sabbath had not been a weekly holiday.³³ These points indicate a close connection of *šapa(t)um* and *šabbāt* so that the employment of *šabbāt* to designate a fixed date in the calendar has to be considered a virtual loan from Babylonia, yet only with said semantic significance expressed in the Priestly Code tying to and simultaneously changing the original meaning, whereas the words *šabbāt* and *šābat* have been indigenous to North-West Semitic languages.³⁴

Thus, Akkadian *šapattum* has seemingly lent itself to be erroneously considered identical with the *feminine* noun *šabbāt* having really been formed according to an old pattern on the basis of the pristine North-West Semitic element *Š-B*^{35,36}, i.e., a major root employing within its sub-formations also the secondary root *šbt* whereto the element *T* had been attached to indicate the radical change from the meaning of the basic element, i.e., said bi-radical root *Š-B*, to show regarding the noun its gender as being different from a masculinum and in the verb the redirection of the action or condition³⁷ – and this *T* was subsequently mistaken as radical.³⁸

³⁰ The semantic difference between Akkadian *š.* = “15th day of the month” and Hebrew *š.* = “day of rest”, also = “7th day of the week” and others [see, further, below] was possible on account of the latter’s original meaning alluded to in the verb *šbt* meaning “to cease”.

³¹ See, e.g., the explanation of *šapattum* by *ūm*^(um) *nūḥ libbi* “day to set the heart at rest” or “to quiet the heart” CT 18, 23 e 17. Cf. Targ. Jerus.: שָׁבַח וְיִירָח “Sabbath and rest” Deut 5:14, שָׁבַח וְיִירָח dito in Lev 23:32.

³² For the old Northwest Semitic and a few other nouns based on bi-radical elements and having been provided with a *feminine ending on -āt* [including also *šabbāt* and the duplication of this word’s *b*] see **B. W. W. Dombrowski** “The Background of the Formula אֲדֹנָיִם כָּל הָאֱלֹהִים: Near Eastern Deities and their Epithets” *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 31 (1985-88) pp. 179-250, here 240-246.

³³ See, after others, **Lemaire** *via* n. 26. For the alien impact on the formation of Jewry see also **B. W. W. Dombrowski** “Socio-Religious Implications of Foreign Impact on Palestinian Jewry under Achaemenid Rule”, *Transeuphratène* 13 (1997), pp. 65-89.

³⁴ See below notes 39 and 40.

³⁵ See through note 32 above.

³⁶ Cf. the possible relationship of Akkadian *šiābum* / *šābu* “to become old, be old” [cf. next note], *šapūm* “to be quiet” [← “to abate”, “to cease”?] and perhaps also *šebū* “to become sated” etc. [however, in other Semitic languages *šb*] with *šapattu(m)* / *š/sapatum* / *šā-ba-tū*.

³⁷ This is another example of the inversative function of *T* – here with intensifying force (cf. Official Aramaic *šb*- “old” [attestations listed in **C. F. Jean - J. Hoftijzer** *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l’ouest* (Leiden 1965) p. 288] by the side

While the verbal use of the secondary root *šbt* is casually attested for Phoenician and Punic^{39,40} as well as in the aforementioned inscriptional instance of Old Hebrew,⁴¹ where its meaning has been “to cease”,⁴² this obviously corroborates foregoing explanation of noun and verb *šbt* as parallel formations alluding to the idea of “rest” and in their biblical and post-biblical employments – what is of particular interest at this moment – it could facilitate the introduction and use of *šabbāt* as relating to a regular weekly religious holiday.⁴³

To put the matter into the proverbial nutshell: an originally North-West Semitic noun *šabbāt* and the verb *šabat*, its relative, were – so to say – “baptised” by Jewish theologians during or after the exile under the impact of the Akkadian, then Babylonian word for the fifteenth of the month, the date of the full moon, *šapa(t)-tum* / *šá-ba-tú*, so as to change the Hebrew noun and subsequently its Jewish-Aramaic equivalent by loan to become a fixed date to designate the seventh day of the week and to receive a new meaning [“end” >→ “day of rest, holiday” as well as “rest” and “week”⁴⁴] and to extend the employment of the verb in the same environments from its original significance denoting “to finish, cease” to include the thoughts of “to come to an end, die, rest, to celebrate the Sabbath, to deliver the Sabbath lecture, to preach”.⁴⁵

of the North-East Akkadian *šiābum/šābu* [see the preceding note] and Syriac *šāb* “devenit” [intransitive] and “demisit” [trans.] <LexSyr p. 749b> – pointed out by **B. W. W. Dombrowski** “Some Remarks on the Hebrew Hithpa’el and Inversative -T- in the Semitic Languages” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 21 (1962) pp. 220-223. Like others, such as *N* and *Š* this element *T* can serve as marker in preformative (“prefixed”), affirmative (“affixed”), and “infix” positions. For samples and comments see **B. W. W. Dombrowski** and **F. A. Dombrowski** *Der sogenannte Reflexivstamm des Bilin auf dem Hintergrund hamito-semitischer und verwandter Verbalstamm- und Aspektbildungen* (in preparation).

³⁸ See Nöldeke via n. 22 p. 54, and others.

³⁹ See **R. S. Tomback** *A Comparative Semitic Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages* = *Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series* 32 (Missoula, MT 1978) p. 313.

⁴⁰ In the ground stem (G) and the causative Yip’il; for the Phoenician and Punic see **Tomback** *ibid.*, **S. Segert** *A Grammar of Phoenician and Punic* (Munich 1976) p. 142 (§ 54.372.1.).

⁴¹ **H. Donner - W. Röllig** *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften* [= *KAI*] 3 vols. (Wiesbaden 1962-64) no. 200 lines 6/7, and with more extensive comments **J. Renz** *Die althebräischen Inschriften* part 1 = **J. Renz - W. Röllig** *Handbuch der althebräischen Epigraphik* vol 1 (Darmstadt 1995), pp. 315-329, esp. 318 and 325.

⁴² See through foregoing notes 39, 40 and 41.

⁴³ So taken over into post-Biblical Hebrew, Targumic Aramaic and other languages.

⁴⁴ See through *Kö.-Ba.*³ part 4, pp. 1310-1312, *Levy WbTM* vol. 4, p. 506, *Levy ChWb* vol. 2 p. 453.

⁴⁵ *Kö.-Ba.*³ part 4, pp. 1308b f., *Levy WbTM* vol 4 p. 505, *Levy ChWb* vol. 2 p. 453.

A different matter is the penetration of *m* and/or *n* into this word with elision of the first *b* or both medial letters *b* and other changes thereof. Waniakowa has gathered a considerable amount of materials, yet no systematic arrangement regarding any possible cause(s) or even development appears to be feasible. Added may be, however, that not only for Ethio-Semitic words nasalation is well attested,⁴⁶ but this phenomenon has been fairly common in almost all Semitic languages. Thus, it was noted by **Carl Brockelmann** with respect to words like *šabbāt* that “Fast in allen semitischen Sprachen werden öfter *Geminaten*”^[47] namentlich *Labiale*,^[47] Dentale und Palatale dissimiliert, indem an die Stelle des ersten, die Silbe schliessenden Teils ein Sonorlaut tritt... Sehr weit verbreitet ist diese Erscheinung in allen *aramäischen*”^[48] Dialekten.”⁴⁹ Consequently, since many facets of theological, ecclesiastical, and philosophical matters in the Ethiopic language have not been adopted merely from non-Semitic Hellenistic environments but – not withstanding apparent connections with Egyptian Jewry since pre-talmudic times⁵⁰ – a good deal of its words of North West Semitic origin was borrowed from Syria and Palestine directly by Christians, Jews and Judaised tribes (Falasha)⁵¹ [very much like – *inter alia* – in the Middle Iranian dialects⁵² to which Waniakowa refers⁵³], considerably more research will have to be undertaken to clarify the intricate matters Waniakowa brought to the attention of the readers of *SMV*.⁵⁴

⁴⁶ See above through note 20.

⁴⁷ My emphasis.

⁴⁸ Brockelmann's emphasis.

⁴⁹ **C. Brockelmann** *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* vol. 1 (Berlin 1908, repr. Hildesheim 1961) pp. 243-246 (§ 90). However, as not only *Eth. sanbat* is missing in Brockelmann's samples so is a considerable number of others.

⁵⁰ **E. Littmann**: “Das abessinische Judentum stammt wahrscheinlich nicht aus Südarabien, sondern aus Elephantine in Oberägypten, wo in vorchristlicher Zeit eine Judenkolonie war.” (“Die äthiopische Literatur” in *Semitistik* = **B. Spuler et al.** (eds.) *Handbuch der Orientalistik* I,3 (Leiden 1964) pp. 375-385, here 384; cf. also 381).

⁵¹ See **S. Feist** *Stammeskunde der Juden* (Leipzig 1925) pp. 83-93, **E. Ullendorff** “Hebraic-Jewish Elements in Abyssinian (Monophysite) Christianity”, *Journal of Semitic Studies* 1 (1956) pp. 216-256, *Hammerschmidt JE*.

⁵² Unfortunately, **G. Widengren's** monograph *Iranisch-semitische Kulturbegegnung in parthischer Zeit* [= *Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen: Geisteswissenschaften* 70] (Cologne and Opladen 1960) merely treats the Parthian impact. Some information on the Sabbath in the Iranian dominated realm one may gather from **J. Neusner's** *A History of the Jews in Babylonia* 5 vols. (Leiden 1966-1970).

⁵³ *Ibid.* p. 451.

⁵⁴ How complicated the matter of nasalation is and how unsafe it is to reconstrue strains of developments of the forms of the *šabbāt* / *sanbat* [etc.] – ‘family’ may be demonstrated by reference to the ‘family’ of Amorite *šapšum* / *šamšum*, Akkad. *šamšu(m)* / *šanšu* / DN *Šamaš*, in Eblaitic Akkad. in the n. pr. *Sa-ap-sà-ir-ma-lik*, Ugaritic *špš* / DN *Špš*, Hebrew *šemeš*, Arabic *šams*, etc. From this series one might conclude that the

7. 35: The reviewer wishes to thank, especially, **Stanisław Stachowski** for his contribution on the impact of the Greek language on Turkey and her people. On p. 378 thereof Stachowski lists a sizable number of names of scholars who have concerned themselves since 1892 with research regarding the great number of Greek words bequeathed to the Turkish overlords, who subsequent to their conquests, gradually absorbed the indigenous populations of what is now modern Turkey and very many people of the various parts of the former Ottoman realm and spheres of influence into what has become the Turkish nation, a process that – alas! – has not changed, as yet, in our present times.

Surely, members of other nations have no reason to forget similar or like processes in the growth of their peoples to nationhood, yet Stachowski has touched a matter of immense socio-political significance, since many traits in the national character of most of those who appear nowadays on the international scene as “Turks” may be explained and probably understood from the experiences of their forefathers who were induced or forced to change their religious faith, their ways of thought, and – last not least – their language and their self-estimation. While it may be a major task for psychologists trained and prepared in this respect to investigate modern Turks as to a very large extent the products of Turkisation,⁵⁵ it is up to Turcologists, Grecists, linguists, historians and students of religion and law concerned with other peoples of Asia Minor and the adjacent areas in past and present to gather the materials enabling the psychologists to do their job properly.

Thus, Stachowski's and his colleagues' studies, a few of which he cites in his article, deserve not only a warm welcome, but they should be gathered, supplemented⁵⁶ with the support of a major institution of learning, and

development did not go the way Brockelmann observed [see above n. 49], especially, as the Amorite, Ugaritic and Eblaite attestations were unknown to him and his contemporaries, yet Brockelmann's interpretation of the situation is corroborated and, thus, shown to be correct through the recurrence of the phenomenon *m before labial consonant* in the designations Σαμψαῖοι, Σαμψῖται, Σαμψηνοί for the sun-worshipping Elchezaites (since the 2nd century A.D.). [For attestations of these names, partly missing in Liddle-Scott-Jones, see **G. W. H. Lampe** *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford 1961, eighth impression 1987) p. 1222b].

⁵⁵ Along the lines drawn by Wilhelm Wundt, the founder of the “Völkerpsychologie” [**W. Wundt** *Völkerpsychologie. Eine Untersuchung der Entwicklungsgesetze von Sprache, Mythos und Sitte* 10 vols. (Leipzig 1900-1920, partly in several editions)] and others.

⁵⁶ An important aspect of this work will be the research into personal- and place-names and the changes as well as the mutations and mutilations during the last few centuries. Cf., e.g., **D. J. Georgacas** *The Names for the Asia Minor Peninsula and a Register of Surviving Anatolian Pre-Turkish Placenames = Beiträge zur Namenforschung* New Series, suppl. vol. 8 (Heidelberg 1971).

finally as a collective work be submitted to a wider public to facilitate intercommunication and the acceptance of aliens in non-Turkish societies.

8. After all, there remains the pleasant duty to express the gratitude of mine and presumably other readers to the editor of the *Safarewicz Memorial Volume* and all those who supported him for a job remarkably well done. Especially noted are, in this context, the bibliographies of the late scholar and educator and of articles, notes and obituaries on Jan Safarewicz provided with a subject index particularly useful to familiarise all those with Safarewicz's work who did not have the chance of access to his works and journals published in post-war Poland.

* An additional note on **Locket's** *Bibliographia Ethiopica* (see n. 13): When in Locket's work literature in languages other than German was adduced, he appears to have been interested chiefly, if not exclusively, in reviews in the German language. In view of the thirteen years having passed since its publication and the necessity to fill gaps of both earlier and subsequent studies as well as of a sizable supplementation to include considerably more of non-German contributions, i. e., the first half of the bulk of publications, Locket who passed away, meanwhile, was to publish in *Äthiopistische Forschungen* 41 an additional *Bibliographia Aethiopica. Literature in English on the Horn of Africa* covering app. 1206 pages. His work will be published, however, within the next few years. This could possibly improve the hitherto scanty information regarding the existence of special treatises concerning Greek and Latin loan-words in the Ethiopic languages.