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CONCERNING NAMES AND NUMBERS

On Articles in Centenary Volume I
for Jerzy Kuryłowicz 1895-1978*

In this second volume of the series *Analecta Indoeuropaea Cracoviensia* and, further, a second part of the work presented¹ their editor Wojciech Smoczyński and a great number of international contributors have offered articles to commemorate and honour a scholar of great renown, a man who as linguist and educator made considerable, in many respects decisive contributions in various fields to the world of learning² and often showed unusual courage in extremely adverse circumstances.

Parts I and II of the Memorial Volume are subdivided chiefly in accordance with the languages the various contributors are concerned with, and one might wish to consider these sections one after another. However, subject to the presentation of this review in *Folia Orientalia*, mainly such parts relating to the impact of and on the Orient (in the widest sense of this word) and being of specific importance to students of East Mediterranean, Mid-Eastern, and South Asian languages and civilisations – in particular in their relation to the European heritage – are of its concern, and of these only few can be scrutinised more closely which the reviewer considers items deserving particular attention right now. The remainder must be left to others working in the specific fields adduced in *KMV I*. Yet at least mentioned should be all its sections together with the topics therein treated.

* Wojciech Smoczyński (ed.), *Analecta Indoeuropaea Cracoviensia* volumen II, Universitas Jagellonica – Facultas Philologica: *Kuryłowicz Memorial Volume Part One, The Jagellonian University in Cracow* • Faculty of Philology, Pb. of XLVII and 593 pp., 4 photographs; Cracow 1995, Universitas [ISBN 38-7052-386-2], henceforth = *KMV I*.

¹ W. Smoczyński: *Kuryłowicz Memorial Volume Part Two* • Warsaw University • Chair of General and Baltic Linguistics (Cracow 1995, Universitas). A list of its contents is appended in *KMV I* pp. 591-593 (not yet seen).

² Kuryłowicz' erudition and his achievements certainly match those of such orientalists and historians as Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (1758-1838), Karl Brockelmann (1868-1956), and Arnaldo Momigliano (1908-1987).

After a kind of introductory chapter in *personam*³ *munera operaque*, as far as the latter are relevant to *KMVI*,⁴ the following sections are offered:

(1)⁵ General and methodological issues,⁶ (2) Indo-European,⁷ (3) Hittite,⁸ (4) Tocharian,⁹ (5) Indo-Iranian,¹⁰ (6) Armenian,¹¹ (7) Greek,¹²

³ Combined of four articles: W. Smoczyński: Jerzy Kuryłowicz 1895-1978. On the hundredth anniversary of his birth [pp. XI-XXIV], W. Skalmowski: Remembering Professor Kuryłowicz [pp. XXV-XXX], and U. Dąbska-Prokop: Séminaire de Jerzy Kuryłowicz pour assistants [pp. XXXI-XXXIII], and W. Smoczyński: A selected bibliography of the works by Jerzy Kuryłowicz [pp. XXXV-XLVII].

⁴ See Smoczyński's list in foregoing note 3.

⁵ In this article these sections are cited through numbers in brackets, hence (1) etc. Articles are adduced by their authors' surname with reference to the relevant section.

⁶ W. P. Lehmann: Kuryłowicz's use of structural relationships [pp. 1-9], K. H. Schmidt: Historiographische Daten im Umfeld der Laryngaltheorie [pp. 11-18], A. Holvoet: Jerzy Kuryłowicz on verbal aspect [pp. 19-24], R. Schmitt: Jerzy Kuryłowicz' Beitrag zur indogermanischen Namenforschung [pp. 25-31], T. Bolelli: Note sulla ricostruzione linguistica [pp. 33-37], L. Bednarczuk: Typologie et isomorphisme du système indo-européen [pp. 39-47], A. Bogusławski: "Worüber kann sich der Autor den Kopf zerbrechen? Über ebensolche Fragen, wo der Sprecher sein Kopfzerbrechen ausdrückt. Eine Fallstudie zum Begriff der 'sekundären syntaktischen Funktion' [pp. 49-58], W. N. Toporow, Несколько замечаний о сверх-эмпирическом смысле глагола 'стоять' [pp. 59-71].

⁷ A. M. Schenker: The Proto-Indo-European obstruents in their functional aspect [pp. 73-80], T. V. Gamkrelidze: The root structure and apophony in Kartvelian (South Caucasian) and Indo-European [pp. 81-91], J. E. Rasmussen: Betonte Schwundstufe im Indogermanischen. Neuanalyse anhand bekannter Parallelen [pp. 93-100], J. L. García-Ramón: Zur Konkurrenz von Dativ und Akkusativ von Nomina actionis und Abstrakta im Indogermanischen [pp. 101-113], P. Di Giovine: Sul preterito a vocalismo radicale lungo nelle lingue indoeuropee 'occidentali' [pp. 115-129], W. Stefański: Remarques sur l'origine du parfait en indo-européen [pp. 131-135], W. Euler: Der Injunktiv, die archaischste Verbalkategorie im Indogermanischen [pp. 137-142], O. Carruba: Die Verwandtschaftsnamen auf -ter des Indogermanischen [pp. 143-158], J. Sławomirski: La pronominalisation et l'analogie [pp. 159-164].

⁸ F. Josephson: Directionality in Hittite [pp. 165-176], J. Puhvel: Laryngal-suffixed infix verbs in Hittite [pp. 177-179], N. Oettinger: Hethitisch *apezziya-* und vedisch *aptyá-* [pp. 181-185], G. T. Rikow: Indo-European **h₂* and **h₃* before **y* and **i* in Hittite [pp. 187-190].

⁹ G.-J. Pinault: Préhistoire de tocharien *Byṣuwar* [pp. 191-205], D. Q. Adams: Tocharian A *āstār*, B *astare* 'clean, pure' and PIE **h₂eh₃(s)-* 'burn' [pp. 207-211].

¹⁰ A. Lubotsky: Reflexes of intervocalic laryngeals in Sanskrit [pp. 213-233], H. M. Hoenigswald: Vedic perfects and *it* [pp. 235-238], T. Y. Elizarenkova: About the 'unmanifest' in the verbal system of the R̥gveda [pp. 239-245], B. Forssmann: Vedisch *apāmārgá-*, griechisch *ἀπομάργνυμι* [pp. 247-253], J. Gippert: Zur Syntax des Infinitivs auf -tum im Altindischen [pp. 253-277], D. J. Edel'man: О фonoлогической аналогии в истории иранских языков [pp. 279-285], W. Skalmowski: New Persian *xana* 'house' [pp. 287-290].

¹¹ M. Job: Zum Lautwandel im Armenischen: Probleme einer relativen Chronologie [pp. 291-311], J. A. C. Greppin: Kuryłowicz and Hittite *h*, and further extensions on to Armenian [pp. 313-315].

¹² F. Bader: Laryngeals et prosodie: traitements de groupes à laryngale et substitution de deux brèves à une longue dans l'hexamètre grec [pp. 317-344], C. J. Ruijgh: Observations sur les voyelles d'appui en proto-indo-européen et en grec ancien [pp. 345-356], K. Strunk: Griechisch *δὲ νδρεον* und Zugehöriges [pp. 357-363], T. Gotō: Griechisch *ἐλεφαίρομαι* [pp. 365-

(8) Albanian,¹³ (9) Latin,¹⁴ (10) Celtic,¹⁵ (11) Germanic,¹⁶ (12) Semitic,¹⁷ and (13) Turkic.¹⁸

II

Beside their arrangement by languages one can classify the contributions by other characteristics. This has been recognised by the editor who already assigned eight articles to his first section (1). Whereas it should be noted from the outset, that no rigid dividing lines between the various topics in the articles and the types of their treatment can be drawn, there are features a number of the contributions have in common across the various sections. They may be listed more than once. Some are concerned with phonology and historical consequences thereof,¹⁹ especially, in relation to roots and morphology²⁰ or on account of its impact on poetry and metrics²¹ as well as the relationship of pronunciation and script.²² Others deal with semantic matters and etymology, such as in individual words,²³ especially in

370], H. Schmeja: Σκαίαι Πύλαι. Zur Orientierung bei Homer [pp. 371-379], J. Knobloch: Vorgriechische Grundzahlwörter, ermittelt unter Rückgriff auf die Glottaltheorie [pp. 381-383], R. Lanszweert: Palatale Register aus griechischer Frühzeit [pp. 385-394].

¹³ E. P. Hamp: Albanian *dha* 'gave' [pp. 395-398].

¹⁴ H. Rix: Einige lateinische Präsensstambildungen zu Set-Wurzeln [pp. 399-408], O. Szemerényi: Etyma Latina VII, 38-44 [pp. 409-416], E. Neu: Homomorphie im Lateinischen [pp. 417-426].

¹⁵ P. de Bernardo Stempel: Zum Genus Femininum als ableitbarer Kategorie im Keltischen [pp. 427-446], F. R. Adrados: The Celtiberic verb [pp. 447-453], A. Ahlquist: Two Old Irish middles [pp. 455-456], A. Bammesberger: Nochmals zu gallisch [...] *dekanem* [pp. 457-464], J. Corthals: Zu idg. **nek^we* im Altirischen [pp. 465-467].

¹⁶ H. B. Rosén: Zur Erschliessung der Quellen und der Lautwerte des gotischen Alphabets [pp. 469-481], S. Suzuki: Jerzy Kuryłowicz' contribution to Old Germanic metrics [pp. 483-490], R. D. Fulk: Kuryłowicz on resolution in Old English [pp. 491-497], F. O. Lindeman: On the etymology of Germanic **dawjana-* 'to die' [pp. 499-504], K. Shields Jr.: On the Indo-European origin of the Germanic cardinals '7' and '9' [pp. 505-512], I. Duridanov: Germanisch **Kaukalanda* [pp. 513-515].

¹⁷ R. Stempel: Stativ, Perfekt und Medium: Eine vergleichende Analyse für das Indogermanische und Semitische [pp. 517-528], A. Zaborski: Kuryłowicz and the so-called 'aspect' in Classical and in Modern Arabic [pp. 529-541], D. Testen: Secondary vowels in Semitic and the plural pronominal endings [pp. 543-551].

¹⁸ M. Stachowski: Der Komitativ im Jakutischen und Dolganischen [pp. 553-559].

¹⁹ Schmidt (1), Rasmussen (2), Job (6), Greppin (6), Lanszweert (7).

²⁰ Lehmann (1), Bolelli (1), Bednarczuk (1), Sławomirski (2), Gamkrelidze (2), Rikow (3), Hoenigswald (5), Edel'man (5), Rix (9), Neu (9), De Bernardo Stempel (10), Testen (12).

²¹ Bader (7), Suzuki (11), Fulk (11).

²² Rosén (11).

²³ Oettinger (3), Pinault (4), Adams (4), Skalmowski (5), Forssman (5), Greppin (6), Strunk (7), Gotō (7), Schmeja (7), Hamp (8), Szemerényi (9), Bammesberger (10), Corthals (10), Lindeman (11), Duridanov (11).

names,²⁴ numerals,²⁵ and nominal forms,²⁶ and then also with Syntax,²⁷ the formation and significance of verbs, in particular, verbal aspect,²⁸ while still another group comprises such relating to the Proto-Indo-European / Proto-Indo-Iranian levels of the Indo-European languages.²⁹

III

While it would be rewarding to spend considerable time over each and every contribution, here are the items I selected as of particular interest not only for the student of the Orient, but for human history in *Eurasia* as well: 1. Schmitt (1), 2. Knobloch (7) and Shields (11).

1. **Rüdiger Schmitt** resumes August Fick's differentiation³⁰ between two sizable major groups of anthroponyms, i.e. those having used merely one stem and such having been created with the help of two stems as compounds or "full names" the latter serving, in turn, as basis for names that are forms which "durch Kürzungen entstanden sind" and "ersichtlich nur ein einziges Lexem aufweisen, so dass häufig eine grosse Ähnlichkeit zu den (wie man sagt) 'von jeher' einstämmigen Namen besteht und ihrer Herkunft nach verschiedenartige Bildungen sorgsam auseinandergehalten werden müssen."³¹

While Schmitt adduces in his article presenting this view in condensed form³² as **ancient** support merely Greek samples for illustration,³³ he not only neglects to refer to divine names, i.e. such of deities and "demi-gods", i.e. heros and heroines treated in very much the same way as though they were anthroponyms, he notes also regarding the names having been shortened from a combination of two stems, i.e. the so-called 'two-stem'

²⁴ Schmitt (1), Carruba (2).

²⁵ Knobloch (7), Shields (11).

²⁶ Stachowski (13).

²⁷ Bogusławski (1), Sławomirski (2), Josephson (3), García-Ramón (2), Di Giovine (2), Gippert (5), Bammesberger (10), Stachowski (13).

²⁸ Toporow (1), Euler (2), Stefański (2), Holvoet (1), Puhvel ((3), Rix (9), Adrados (10), Ahlquist (26), Stempel (12), Zaborski (12).

²⁹ Schenker (2), Lubotsky (5), Elizarenkova (5), Ruijgh (7).

³⁰ In *Die griechischen Personennamen nach ihrer Bildung erklärt, mit den Namenssystemen verwandter Sprachen verglichen und systematisch geordnet* (Goettingen 1874).

³¹ Schmitt (1) p. 25 f.

³² He refers to his approximately simultaneous articles "Morphologie der Namen: Vollnamen und Kurznamen bzw. Kosenamen im Indogermanischen" and "Entwicklung der Namen in älteren indogermanischen Sprachen" in E. Eichler *et al.*, *Namenforschung • Ein internationales Handbuch zur Onomastik* vol. I.1 (Berlin-New York 1995) pp. 419-427 and 616-636.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-30.

names, there should not be any further investigation in this context, "worin diese Kürzungen begründet sind. Meistens macht man den grösseren Umfang der Namenkomposita und die sich daraus ergebende Unbequemlichkeit im alltäglichen Gebrauch verantwortlich. Seiler (1983, 152)³⁴ hat jedoch darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass der 'prädikative Charakter' der semantisch 'durchsichtigen' Komposita bei der onomastischen Verwendung entbehrlich ist und > < die Kürzung dazu beiträgt, diesen zu verwischen. **Die hauptsächliche Funktion eines Namens besteht ja bekanntlich in der onomastischen Identifizierung des Namenträgers (bzw. des zu Benennenden), ohne dass es hierbei aber darum geht, ihn (bzw. es) in 'bedeutungsvoller' Weise als etwas Bestimmtes zu 'bezeichnen'.**"³⁵

Inter alia Schmitt criticises Kuryłowicz for his "ständige Vermischung von Belegformen aus älteren und jüngeren Sprachen im Zuge der Beweisführung".³⁶ Yet the reviewer cannot but throw the ball back, for Schmitt has not only *generalised* Greek circumstances, as he and others see them, and implied that they reflect a *general* Indo-European situation, but he even goes beyond the branches of the Indo-European language group with their great variety by his adoption of the mistaken generalising definition of what in normal circumstances names are supposed to be (exceptions not withstanding). He really turns matters upside down by his claim that the main function of a name is to serve the onomastic identification of the bearer of a name without indication of "something definite" through the designation,³⁷ an idea that occurred to him, as it appears, on account of practices attested through Roman family and gentilic names and such which, to a certain extent, have become customary among the 'refrigerator barbarians' of *our* times. The latter are the kind of people who mostly do not know the meaning and/or the origin of their daughters' or sons' names when they have them called 'Jessica' or 'Jesse', 'Vanessa', 'Senta', or the like, since they may just have been enthused by the names' sounds.

While even the Greek situation is overly simplified by Schmitt,³⁸ it certainly is *not* correct to declare for antiquity and the Middle Ages and the following times right through into the middle of the 20th century [save the

³⁴ Here he relates to H. Seiler "Namegebung als eine Technik zur sprachlichen Erfassung von Gegenständen" in M. Faust and R. Harweg (eds.), *Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, Sprachtypologie und Textlinguistik* = Festschrift für Peter Hartmann (Tübingen 1983), pp. 149-56.

³⁵ My emphasis.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

³⁷ Schmitt's consequence is "Ich sehe hier deshalb grundsätzlich davon ab, Personen -namen zu übersetzen." (*Ibid.* p. 26). See below through n. 40, however.

³⁸ Names representing, e.g., Bahuvrīhi (see, e.g. Καλλιόπη, Εὐρώπη [the heroine], Κάλλιπος [cf. the interpretation of the analogue καλλιπαις in E. Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik...* vol. I = *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* II.1.1 (Munich 1959³), p. 429]) and Dvandva Compounds common in Greek dialects and other Indo-European languages and beyond scarcely fit into Schmitt's patterns.

U.S.A. and now Germany and a relatively few other countries] the utilitarian factor in name-giving to have generally been its *prime* intent or the result of the name-giver's *peculiar* motivation. Since primeval times, the usefulness of a name for the sake of mere designation has certainly been for most people(s) a minor consideration only, if any, and the true motives are already noticeable as widely attested for the eldest names shown in Hamito-Semitic and Indo-Iranian languages, as in Old Egyptian and the wealth of the Akkadian dialects, in particular the Eblaite,³⁹ and Sanscrit and Old Persian as well. And it has been held so right into our times. Indeed, the first motive has normally been to attach to a new-born child or infant or adult, such as renamed slaves, wishes, expressions of gratitude, and other distinguishing marks or favourable thoughts on the minds of givers of names. A different matter is, of course, whether scholars in our times do understand the meaning of such names, be they „one-stem” or any other. Yet this does not help Schmitt's arguments.

The predicative character of transparent compounds like other elements may be „dispensable” from time to time, yet it *stands behind most names* (including also shortened and hypocoristic forms) *even today*. Much more important than the utilitarian motive emphasised by Schmidt has been *benevolence*.⁴⁰ In most nations, tribes, and their clans deviations from this principal procedure are still the exception.

³⁹ Since Schmitt appears to be unaware of the early Egyptian and Akkadian situation, I refer to the survey in Pascal Vernus' articles "Namengebung" and "Namensbildung" in W. Helck *et al.*, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. IV coll. 326-337, as well as Emma Brunner-Traut's "Namenstilgung und -verfolgung" *o.c.* coll. 338-341, J. J. Stamm's *Die akkadische Namengebung = Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft* 44 (Leipzig 1939, repr. Darmstadt 1968) [hence = *Stamm*], the considerable number of volumes of the series *Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla* and *Archivi Reali di Ebla • Testi* published by the universities of Naples and Rome [hence = *MEE* and *ARET*] (since the late seventies) containing a wealth of names, Akkadian (Eblaite), Sumerian and others.

⁴⁰ a) Virtually shortened Akkadian names such as *Abu* are as old as *Abu-^dNN* and *Abu-ilaya* "My God is/was my father"* and the like as the Eblaite has shown.** *Abu* need not be interpreted as being hypocoristic, it could very well represent a vocative as an exclamation of the child's mother. Neither was in Eblaite *I-di-in* [in *MEE* I # 1671, *ARET* III # 871 II 5] ≈ *Iddin* "he gave" a distinct subject connected with the child as the person responsible for its life, i.e. as the father or a deity [cf. *Stamm* § 17 [pp. 136-139]. Nor was Hebrew/Jewish *Nāṭān* necessarily derived from *N^tanyā* or *N^tanyāhū*,*** *N^than* "el", Punic *ninb'l* and similar North-west Semitic names.

* Erroneously misinterpreted in *Stamm* p. 298 as many similar expressions in Eblaite names relating to deities as fathers of human beings suggest.

** See the *MEE* and *ARET* volumes throughout.

*** These two variations of the same appellative name are, actually, a striking sample for the fact that shorter forms are sometimes older than the assumed "Vollname" which consequently is an extended version only. (I shall return to this matter in a forthcoming study regarding the Eblaite *dIa* in his relation to *Yahweh*.)

Thus, one must *not* concur with Schmitt's conclusion "dass" regarding hypocoristic and short forms, other than such based on one stem, "sich der Wortbildungsvorgang in dieser Richtung vollzogen hat, dass also tatsächlich eine Kürzung der Vollnamen erfolgt ist, wird *schlüssig* insbesondere durch solche Fälle *bewiesen*, in denen ein und dieselbe Person wahlweise mit einem Vollnamen oder einem daraus hervorgegangenen Kurz- bzw. Kosenamen benannt wird."⁴¹

In his attempt to refute Kuryłowicz' thought of a "mutilation hypocoristique" in the process of growth of a "racine hypocoristique + suffixe + gémination (facultative)" in particular through his denial of the "real existence" of "hypocoristic roots"⁴² Schmitt claims "dass diese sog<enannte> hypokoristische Wurzel, wie Kuryłowicz später (1967, 2 = 1975, 136)⁴³ ausdrücklich bemerkt, – ich⁴⁴ füge hinzu: im Gegensatz zu den

b) Not all of the samples of names adduced in this note are common Indo-European, yet, contrary to Schmitt's claim they bear significant meanings and, thus, testify to the original and predominant purposes or intentions of name-giving. Of the various types, including also names with 'suffixes' which surely have specific meanings and functions one may note:

West Germanic German / English *Gottfried* / *Godfrey*, *Wilhelm* / *William*, and German / Italian *Bruno*, as mediaeval and modern samples, and North Germanic Danish *Brandr* = "stick, (fire-)brand", *Gamal* = "the old one", *Skarpi* = "the hare-lipped", *Norra* = "the unparsimonious, the generous", *Ærra* = "the pugnacious" (the latter names belonging to the kind many of which originated in by-names), East Germanic Gothic *Wulfila* = "Wolf-cub", *Tōtila* [cf. Anglo-Saxon *Tōta*] *Gunthigis* = "Dreaded in battle", *Gudilub* / *Gudilaib* [Latinised *Gudilebus*], Old (Church) Slavonic *Bogonosisi* = "One who has [lit. "carries"] God at [lit. "in"] his heart" (common epithet of saints), Sorbian and Polish *Bolesław* = "The most (or "more") famous", *Bronisław* = "One famous through his arms" (or "defence), *Čadomil* = "One who loves his children", *Zemistaw* = "One famous on earth" or "for his estate". They express qualities name-givers wish to have or see in the persons so named. Certainly, they are appellative and have not been coined merely for designation's sake.

For the meanings in Indic and Iranian names very common and making good sense one should consult the relevant dictionaries and F. Justi's well established and widely known *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg 1895; repr. Hildesheim 1963), and I may, perhaps, just point to a few studies of more recent dates in some of which Schmitt had a share himself. See, e.g., Mayrhofer *et al.*, *Onomastica Persepolitana • Das altiranische Namengut der Persepolis-Täfelchen = Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Phil.-hist. Kl. [= ÖAW] SB 286*, Oriental. Kommission vol. 1 (Vienna 1973), Mayrhofer's *Die awestischen Namen = Iranisches Personennamenbuch* I/1 (Vienna 1977) and his *Zum Namengut des Avesta = ÖAW SB 308,5*, Or. Kom. vol. 3 (Vienna 1977), as well as M. A. Dandamayev *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia = Columbia Lectures on Iranian Studies* 6 (Costa Mesa and New York 1992 pp. 23-166, and with regard to the meaningfulness of divine names, including also compounds, see, e.g., B. W. W. Dombrowski "Mazdā Ahura – Ahura Mazdā – Auramazdā = 'Lord Wisdom' [hence = *Mazda Ahura*] *Iranica Antiqua* 18 (1983) pp. 199-220.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* p. 27. The emphasis is mine.

⁴² *Ibid.* p. 30.

⁴³ Here Schmitt refers to Kuryłowicz' "La gémination consonantique dans les noms propres" *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 62 (1967), p. 2, ≈ in K.'s *Esquisses linguistiques = Internationale Bibliothek für allgemeine Linguistik* vol. 37 [E Coseriu, ed.] (Munich 1975), p.136.

'echten' indogermanischen Wurzeln – nicht als Nominalstamm dienen kann. Kuryłowicz selbst rechnet zwar damit, dass sie in unflektierter Form als Vokativ, als Anruf- bzw. Anredeform gebraucht wird, beruft sich dafür aber auf Beispiele aus lebenden Sprachen, – da er solche aus altindogermanischen Sprachen (wen wundert es?) nicht gefunden haben dürfte."⁴⁵

The virtually forceful and yet vague language Schmitt uses here betrays that he does not feel to be on safe grounds, and indeed, he argued wisely in his hesitation to continue any further. (1) While very many items of the Indo-European nomenclature are transparent by their meanings and construction, the bulk of them show considerably more variation than Schmitt allows.⁴⁵ (2) Thus, many names in the Indo-European group are still wanting explanation or, at least, more precise parsing. This holds true for both the old languages and such having strata of both their heritage and elements of more recent times, the so-called 'Modern Languages'.⁴⁶ (3) The

⁴⁴ Schmitt.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* p. 29.

⁴⁶ This includes – contrary to Schmitt's criticism regarding Kuryłowicz as quoted above – personal and divine names not only of "lebende Sprachen" in the Indo-European group but also languages of antiquity having employed the vocative. So Otto Hoffmann noted already in 1906 [in his "Poseidon" in *Schlesische Gesellschaft für vaterländische Cultur • Vierundachtzigster Jahresbericht 1906* IV. Abt. b: *Orientalisch-sprachwissenschaftliche Sektion* (Breslau 1907) pp. 8-16, here p. 14:] the "Tatsache der Namenbildung, dass ein in der Anrede gebrauchtes, also im Vokativ stehendes Beiwort eines Namens mit diesem eng zu einer Einheit verschmelzen kann Es kann deshalb auch der Name Ποσειδάων aus den selbständigen Vokativen Ποσει Δαίμων u.s.w. zusammengesetzt sein, wenn sich der eine von ihnen als Titel oder Anrede eines Gottes nachweisen lässt, und das ist der Fall." Hoffmann should have written "Beiwort/Titel/Epithet eines anderen Wortes oder eines Namens..... zu einem neuen Namen als einer Einheit verschmelzen kann..." That he pointed in the right direction is confirmed by the employment of the vocative in other Indo-European composite names [see Lat. Iupiter and through *Mazda Ahura* pp. 206 ff., in particular pp. 210-212] and such of other language groups [see B. W. W. Dombrowski, *Poseidon and Enki and their Relatives in the Near East* (extended version still in preparation) esp. ch. 1. For analogous Median and Old Persian forms attested in personal names though not to be traced to a vocative see *Mazda Ahura* p. 204 n. 21.

A modern composite name showing in its first member the vocative case is German *Gotthilf* [apparently < misunderstood Hebrew *El'āzār*, *El'īšā'* whose hind parts are perfect forms], likewise, Polish *ojczulek* = "daddy" as by-name and in monastic and religious life "dear Father" [< *ojciec*, *vocative: *ojcze/-u* + suffix for endearment**] and the address *mospanie* [< *mości panie*] "my gracious lord" replacing the actual name of the superior.

* For the great age of this word [attested since Old (Church) Slavonic] and its relatives throughout the various branches of Slavic languages see M. Vasmer *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* [hence = *Vasmer Wb*] (Heidelberg 1953-1958) vol. 2 p. 290. Vasmer follows others in its derivation from the assumed 'Urslavisch' and connects it with Greek *ἄττα* "father" and *atta* of languages such as Hittite and Gothic. Still more may be added from groups of the Hamitic and Semitic languages.

** This very common element has made its way even into the German language through

arrangement of anthroponyms in those being or having been based on just one stem and alternately on two stems and/or in such items being used as hypocoristic names can only be a matter of auxiliary simplification. Thus, both Kuryłowicz and Schmitt have noticed like others that the so-called "hypocoristic roots" can be treated like formations in non-shortened names. Schmitt⁴⁷ ought not deride, therefore, Kuryłowicz' "Konzept der sog. hypokoristischen Wurzel" in its "nichtsdestoweniger vorbehaltloser Anerkennung", i.e., truly, in spite of his actual reservations, and, further, that Kuryłowicz "meint, es [the concept] müsse 'für die sprachwissenschaftliche Analyse einfach als gegeben hingenommen werden'"⁴⁸. Nor should Schmitt qualify the concept's acknowledgement as "sehr fruchtbar und hilfreich" through his condition "wenn man es formal strenger fasst, allein auf die Verhältnisse der altindogermanischen Sprachen anwendet, sich seiner dort aber konsequent bedient."⁴⁹

According to Schmitt one "muss sich also dessen bewusst sein, dass weder die Charakterisierung der Form als 'Wurzel' noch die Beschränkung auf hypokoristische Namenbildung das Richtige treffen." He feels, there "würde doch zweifellos ein anderer Name für dieses Phänomen angemessener sein," the simple word "'Wurzel' liesse sich leicht durch 'Basis' ersetzen; schwieriger ist jedoch die Suche nach einem (bisher nicht gebräuchlichen) Oberbegriff für Kurz- und Kosenamen gleichermassen..."⁴⁸. Unfortunately, the reviewer cannot share in Rüdiger Schmitt's scepticism and reasoning. Since shortened and mutilated name-forms have often been treated as independent words as though they were roots by their own

Wendic resp. Sorbian (Old Sorbian and generally Old Slavic) surnames and first names, a considerable number of which were originally "Vocative (Rufformen, Anredeformen" ^{**1}, die nach wendischem Sprachgebrauch die Geltung von Nominativen erlangt haben" (K.) E. Mucke [A. Muka], "Die wendischen Familiennamen (des Kreises Lückau) und ihre Bedeutung" in *Bausteine zur Heimatkunde des Luckauer Kreises* {Luckau 1918}, pp. 261-306, here esp. p. 263. Obviously the Sorbian and Wendic dialects as *Restsprachen* of populations who had to struggle, even fight tenaciously to cling to their peculiar heritage and to retain their identity (often without success) have retained very old elements or remnants thereof which can very well help to understand developments in other languages and their results. Notwithstanding his casual errors and exaggerations see, further, Muka's *Meña ds. swójbzow a domow. – I. Dolnosrbská jména rodinná. – I. Die niedersorbischen Familiennamen* = vol. III of Muka's *Wörterbuch der nieder-wendischen Sprache und ihrer Dialekte • Słownik dolnosrbskeje rěcy a jeje narěcow* {Prague 1928} pp. 1-119; reprint of both treatises in E. Eichler (ed.) *Ernst Mucke / Arnošt Muka: Abhandlungen und Beiträge zur sorbischen Namenkunde (1881-1929)* {Leipzig 1984} pp. 653-698 and 533-651. See, further, relevant materials offered in other contributions *ibid.*

^{**1} My emphasis.

⁴⁷ For the following quotations see *ibid.* pp. 30 f.

⁴⁸ Schmitt quotes from Kuryłowicz, *Indogermanische Grammatik* vol. II: *Akzent, Ablaut* = *Indogermanische Bibliothek* 1st series (Heidelberg 1968) p. 347.

⁴⁹ Schmitt (1) pp. 30 f.

standing, and since users did not know the background thereof any longer, why should their stems not be called "secondary roots". Roots they have become, going through principally the same processes as the formations wherefrom they were once derived.⁵⁰ The general designation "roots" or more specifically "primary roots" and "secondary roots" appears to apply correctly to Indo-European and Semito-Hamitic languages and others (e.g. Sumerian) as well.

2. **Johann Knobloch** (7) and **Kenneth Shields** (11) offer articles concerned with numerals. While Knobloch is interested in such having been in use prior to the attestations of Greek, Shields tries to explain the origins of the Germanic cardinals for 'seven' and 'nine'.

The investigation of the numerical systems and individual numbers used by social groups is of great importance on several grounds. Especially, it helps to understand, to a certain extent, the thought of tribes and peoples and the linguistic expressions thereof and religious or rather superstitious beliefs secondarily attached thereto as well. Of equal or even higher significance, it may, further, point to the background(s) of the numbers' users and their histories. In particular, it may unearth information regarding their migrations, former places or regions of their habitation, contacts, and interrelationships.

This holds true, the more as our generation has become aware that behind and in every substance, matter, and motion are or appear to be recognisable, at least, numbers und numerical systems. In times when figures have usually gained more weight than human beings and the minerals, fauna and flora in our environment, when figures of production, trade, and gains are decisive for those in their command rather than the well-being of the cosmos, when human and extraterrestrial communications are no longer merely affected, but effected and often dominated through digital systems, and when medical diagnosis and treatments rest on the proper application and interpretation of digits, when ships and airplanes operate, war is waged, and even the conquest of space is achieved through the employment of figures and numerical precision, it is imperative to reconsider what the materials for calculation are and to look back and consider how all this came about. This is the more a task especially for students of Oriental languages and civilisations as people(s) in the Orient

⁵⁰ In addition to (K. E. Mücke's / Muka's study on Wendic family names in the county of Luckau (cf. foregoing n. 46) see in his *Historische und Vergleichende Laut- und Formenlehre der niedersorbischen (niederlausitzisch-wendischen) Sprache... = Preisschriften... of the Fürstlich Jablonowskische Gesellschaft zu Leipzig* (Leipzig 1891; repr. ibid. 1965) the chapter on the vocativus singularis (= pp. 316-318 = § 167), esp. his list of hypocoristic first and second names employing or having used the vocative case.

(in the widest sense of this word) appear to have been particularly active in the utilisation of the discovery of numbers and their potentials.⁵¹

Thus, one should welcome, from the outset, efforts such as made by both Knobloch and Shields, two scholars chiefly concerned with languages of the Indo-European group,⁵² joining the chorus of those trying to find out what the actual forms and significance of numbers have originally been.

Their concentration on Indo-European languages entails an obvious limitation, however, and, unfortunately, appears to be *a priori* a serious impediment, in as much as numbers and numerical systems have been used *before* Indo-European tribes and peoples appeared as such on the scene of history, to go by historical records. Further, there is really nothing that entitles us to assume that Indo-European tribes and peoples and their forefathers were in no contact whatsoever with others of different linguistic and psycho-intellectual essence and extraction. Moreover, as there is a high degree of likelihood that once upon a time there existed a group of languages and dialects having much in common and being called 'Indo-germanische' or better Indo-European 'Gemeinsprache', less aptly an 'Ur-sprache'⁵³ or 'Grundsprache',⁵⁴ considerable uncertainty about its true character and geographical home and expansion still exists and will presumably continue to do so, at least, for a long span of time to come.⁵⁵

These premises being as they are, both of these contributors to *KMV I* have limited their plateau of operations still further by their complete disregard, *a priori*, of possible alternatives for the explanation of the

⁵¹ See the monographs by G. Ifrah *Histoire universelle des chiffres* (Paris 1981), in German: *Universalgeschichte der Zahlen* [transl. by A. von Platen] (special ed. Frankfurt/Main-New York 1986, 1991²), H. Gericke *Mathematik in Antike und Orient* and by the same author *Mathematik im Abendland* (Berlin-Heidelberg 1984 and 1990; repr. of both volumes as special ed. Wiesbaden 1992 [here used]), as well as F. A. Dombrowski and B. W.W. Dombrowski "Numerals and Numeral Systems in the Hamito- Semitic and other Language Groups" [hence = *Do.I*] in A. Kaye (ed.) *Semitic Studies in honor of Wolf Leslau on the occasion of his eighty-fifth birthday November 14th, 1991* vol. I (Wiesbaden 1991) pp. 340-381, F. A. Dombrowski "Die Zahlen in kuschitischen Sprachen: Systeme und Analyse" in E. Ebermann *et al.* (eds.) *Komparative Afrikanistik • Sprach-, geschichts- und literaturwissenschaftliche Aufsätze zu Ehren von Hans G. Mukarovsky anlässlich seines 70. Geburtstages* (Vienna 1992) pp. 95-111, B. W. W. Dombrowski "Das System der eblaitischen Zahlen im Vergleich zu anderen, vornehmlich in den semitischen und hamitischen Sprachbereichen" [hence = *Do.III*] in *Folia Orientalia* 30 (1994) pp. 39-76.

⁵² See the institutions mentioned at the end of their articles.

⁵³ With reference to A. Meillet *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale* 1 (Paris 1926²) pp. 19-60, P. Thieme "Die Heimat der indogermanischen Gemeinsprache" [hence = *Thieme Heimat*] = *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz Abh. d. Geistes- und sozialwiss. Kl.* 1953 Nr. 11 (Wiesbaden 1954) pp. 539-613, esp. pp. 540 f.

⁵⁴ Knobloch (7) p. 382.

⁵⁵ Cf., e.g., *versus Thieme Heimat* esp. p. 566, D. W. Anthony's survey "Shards of Speech" in *The Sciences* 36,1 [published by the New York Academy of Sciences] (January/February 1996) pp. 34-39.

numerals they are concerned with. Consequently, they have fallen prey to merely illegitimate speculation, each in his own way, rather than using all the facts that are known or may be obtained through sober research.⁵⁶

So I have counted in Knobloch's learned article of two and one half pages too many assumptive and/or hypothetical assertions,⁵⁷ *eleven* of them leading to his conclusion: "Als *Ergebnis*⁵⁸ bietet sich *eine neue Deutung*⁵⁷ des Zahlwortes für vier an".⁵⁹

Whether Knobloch's claim⁵⁸ "durch Dissimilation von *t'we-t'we-r- ist zunächst *q'we-t'we entstanden: zugrunde lag also ein Dvandva-Kompositum" can be sustained is therefore questionable. This holds the more true as the -r appears to be a firm element in the equivalents to English "four" since the first attestations of this numeral throughout the various branches of the group of Indo-European languages.⁶⁰ Exceptions, actually very few, are explicable, so in Sanskrit *catūh* = "four times" with its combinations⁶¹ as it is not only a consequence of phonological change⁶² but also follows the pattern tangible in *dvīh* "twice" and *trīh* "thrice".⁶³

Thus, Knobloch's connection of Russian *četyre* "four" with *četá* which has as *just one of its meanings* that of "pair" and has to be seen against the background of its cognates and equivalents in other languages, i.e., Old (Church) Slavonic, East, West, and South Slavic,⁶⁴ cannot convince.

⁵⁶ The reviewer concedes that a reasonably based examination of a subject such as the significance and/or origin of numbers and/or a numerical systems may not produce any new result, but such situation would do away with or even prevent false impressions and beliefs.

⁵⁷ I.e., *twelve*. See on p. 381 in para. 4: "könnte daraus abstrahiert worden sein" and "... (germanischer?) Legionäre"; on p. 382 in para. 1: "wobei man auch an den sicher vorgriech<ischen> Namen der *Parisii* denken kann:" and "Auch *Paris* hätte so einen sprechenden Namen", *ibid*. "Hier könnte es sich um einen alten Anlaut *tw-* handeln", "Die Möglichkeit ist schon gesehen worden", "Auch *pāx* könnte mit zusammenhängen", etc. etc. For Shields see the discussion near the end of my review-article.

⁵⁸ My emphasis.

⁵⁹ Knobloch *ibid*.

⁶⁰ See comparative dictionaries for Indo-European languages, such as J. Pokorny *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* vol. I (Bern and Munich 1959) pp. 642-644, M. Mayrhofer *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen* • *A Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary* [hence *Mayrhofer EtWb*] vol. I (Heidelberg 1956) pp. 370-372, R. L. Turner *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages* [hence = *Turner*] vol. I (London 1966) pp. 249-252, and Addenda and Corrigenda (1985) p. 33, H. Frisk *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* [hence = *Frisk*] vol. 2 (Heidelberg 1973²) pp. 883 f., and *VasmerWb* vol. 3 pp. 331 f.

⁶¹ See *Mayrhofer EtWb* vol. I p. 371, *Turner ibid*.

⁶² See in compounds besides *catūh-* also *catuṣ-* and *catuṣ-*.

⁶³ The reverse procedure in Old Nordic *tveir* '2' and *þrír* '3' after *fiórir* and *fiǫgur* '4'. For the latter see H. Hirt *Handbuch des Urgermanischen* [hence = *Hirt Hb*] 3 vols. (Heidelberg 1931-1934), here vol. 2 p. 110.

⁶⁴ *Vasmer Wb* vol. 3 pp. 330 f.

Shields came to a somewhat different interpretation of the creation and growth of the numeral "four" with approximately the same result, however, claiming that "one can thus⁶⁵ derive '4' (**kwetwor-*) from **kwe-* "that one," + **-u* (a non-singular marker), hypercharacterizing the non-singularity of '4,' + **-u* (a non-singular [> dual] marker), perhaps emphasizing the paral nature '4,' + **-or* (a non-singular [collective] marker), perhaps emphasizing that '4' constitutes a collection of pairs. I<ndo>E<uropean> **kwetwor-* can thus be assigned the etymological meaning 'those ones in pairs together'."⁶⁶ It should be noted, however, that the alleged "non-singular [collective] marker" or "suffix" **-or* belongs to forms whose significance was merely assumed by Shields and whose quality of existence was reconstructed by hypothesis.⁶⁷ Thus his explanation of the cardinal '4' in Germanic languages, is by no means more convincing than Knobloch's proposal, and its weakness matches Karl Brockelmann's notoriously far fetched explanation of the common Semitic root and group of cognate words for '4'.⁶⁸

However, one has to suppose connections and possibly a common dependence, at least partially, of Semitic and Indo-European numbers and numeral systems in several regards, first of all in view of similar ways in their calculations. This is obvious from both the partially parallel application of what I have called the methods of subtraction and addition in Eblaite and Sumerian⁶⁹ being comparable to such of several Indo-European languages affecting *inter alia* the figures for '7' and '9'.⁷⁰ Further, both the Indo-European group and Akkadian,⁷¹ and the Berber languages (e.g., of the Shilluh and of Kabylie-Irjen⁷²) as well show the structure of Dvandva-compounds in their numbers '13' to '19'.⁷³

In view of these and other circumstances still to be referred to and discussed, also Shields' attempt to find an "internal" Indo-European origin

⁶⁵ On the premiss of his explanation of the origin of the Germanic cardinals for "seven" and "nine".

⁶⁶ Shields (11) p. 508 with references *ibid*.

⁶⁷ See the lists of suffixes in H. Krahe and W. Meid *Germanische Sprachwissenschaft* 3 vols. (Berlin 1967¹-1969⁷), here vol. III §§ 56 ff., esp. 81 f., and already in W. Streitberg *Urgermanische Grammatik...* (1896¹, repr. Heidelberg 1943) pp. 205-207, *Hirt Hb* vol. 2 pp. 51 f.

⁶⁸ For details see *Do. I* pp. 371 f.

⁶⁹ And casually in Babylonian texts as well as Berber languages (see through *Do. I* p. 343).

⁷⁰ See *Do. III* pp. 40 f., 59-62 (notes 9, 14, and 15).

⁷¹ W. von Soden *Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik* [hence = *GAG*] = *Analecta Orientalia* 33/47 (Rome 1969²) p. 91.

⁷² H. Stumme *Handbuch des Schilchischen von Tazerwalt* (Leipzig 1899) S. 101, A. Basset and A. Picard *Éléments de grammaire berbère (Kabylie-Irjen)* (Algiers 1948) p. 51.

⁷³ The process of the combination of digits and tens into compounds is obvious – as in Germanic languages [*Hirt Hb* pp. 11 f.] – from several Semitic languages, e.g., Hebrew, Arabic, and Ge'ez, especially, as compared to Akkadian and Sumerian [cf. *Do. I* pp. 346, 349, 361-361.

and explanation for the Germanic cardinals deserves *a priori* thorough reconsideration within a broader context.

This holds the more true as the common Semitic root for '7' is attested as *sebe, seba*, fem. *sebet*, in Akkadian⁷⁴ and in Ugaritic as *šb*.⁷⁵ Hebrew and other Northwest Semitic languages show it as *šeba'* / *š'ba'*,⁷⁶ Arabic has *sab'un* with the fem. *sab'atun*. Other members of this Semitic group need not be adduced in this context, added should be Old Egyptian *sfh(w)*⁷⁷ and its Coptic derivations, however.⁷⁸ Yet, while Cyrus H. Gordon declared "*sfh* '7' has generally been taken to be cognate <with Ugaritic *šb*> in spite of the phonetic difficulties",⁷⁹ these "phonetic difficulties" have no real substance in as much as the *b* in the Semitic numeral for '7', i.e., *seba, šeba'* etc. may have been aspirated long before aspiration under certain conditions became a rule in Hebrew, while such in Akkadian is known to have existed, yet needs further investigation.⁸⁰ As far as the situation in Egyptian and Coptic is concerned, especially the scribal changes from *f* to *b* and the phonetic step from *h* to *š* as well as the partial metathesis of *f* and *h*,⁸¹ all these are well understandable and easily explicable. They do not fall out of the limits of what is common in the layers of Egyptian and the following dialects and /or the Hamito-Semitic languages.⁸² The same holds true, of course for the possibility of a change from Semitic 'Ayin to the pharyngeal *h* and to the laryngeal *h*. This root serving as basis of a Semitic family of words has been recognised for quite some time as being

⁷⁴ With the Assyrian form *šabe* as well as a number of derivations. See through I. J. Gelb, E. Reiner et al. *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* [hence = *CAD*] vol. 15 (Chicago, Ill. and Glückstadt, Germany 1984) pp. 203-206 and vol. 17 p. 11a; *GAG* ebda.

⁷⁵ C. H. Gordon *Ugaritic Textbook...* [hence *Gordon UT*] = *Analecta Orientalia* 38 (Rome 1965, repr. 1967) pp. 487 f.

⁷⁶ L. Koehler – W. Baumgartner – J. J. Stamm et al. *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament* [hence = *HAL*] 4th instalment (Leiden etc. 1990³) p. 1301b f., C.-F. Jean and J. Hoftijzer *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest* (Leiden 1965) p. 289.

⁷⁷ *sfh* which in A. Erman's and H. Grapow's *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* [hence = *Erman-Grapow*] vol. IV (Leipzig 1930) p. 115 is declared a cognate of "semit. *šeba*" could and must [see below] have been a loan from a *forerunner* of the earliest known Semitic numeral for '7', not from the Hebraic form cited by Erman and Grapow, nor any other of the later Semitic attestations [according to W. Vycichl *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte* (Leuven 1983) p. 203b it was attested in Middle Babylonian as *šap-ha*]. This is seemingly confirmed by the other meanings of the root *sfh* which it has as merely virtually homomorphous analogues in Egyptian (*Erman-Grapow* vol. IV pp. 116 f.).

⁷⁸ See through *Do. I* p. 342.

⁷⁹ *Gordon UT* p. 488a.

⁸⁰ *GAG* p. 4** § 27.

⁸¹ For the various forms see *Do. I* p. 342.

⁸² Cf. below note 95.

homonymous – apart from slight variations in the vocalisation⁸³ –, at least, with the one commonly used in Hebrew and attested for several Aramaic dialects to express the thoughts of "to swear" and "oath".⁸⁴ Whether they were more than that, i.e., related in one way or another, has been denied or remained unknown so far.⁸⁵

It is known, however, that beside its aforementioned use Hebraic *šāba'* can merely mean "to imprecate", "to curse one's self" "to promise".⁸⁶ In the ambiguity of its meanings it is paralleled, however, by the Sanskrit root *śap(a)-*,⁸⁷ this root – being clearly distinguishable without and with variations in the employments of verbal and nominal forms – is attested in Prakrit, Pali and other texts also.⁸⁸ It should be particularly noted in this context that the character of *sapta*⁸⁹ "seven" and the participle pret. *śaptá* (→noun) is very similar and – in consideration of the relative frequency of changes from *ś* to *s* and *vice versa* since the Vedic period, at least,⁹⁰ – the latter's meanings being "adjured, conjured, sworn, taken as an oath, a curse, imprecation, an oath" are of special interest in this context. Sanskrit *sapta* "seven" could very well be related, therefore, to *śapta* and *śap-* as described afore.⁹¹

In addition to *this* analogy of the words for '7' having the parallel of their roots used for "to swear, imprecate, oath," etc. in Hebrew (within the group of Semitic languages) and in Sanskrit with Prakrit and Pali (within the group of Indo-European languages), reference should be made to the

⁸³ Due to dialectal changes and forms of employments.

⁸⁴ *HAL* pp. 1298b-1301b and 1288b f.

⁸⁵ See C. A. Keller "שָׁבַע Ni. schwören" [hence = *Keller*] in E. Jenni and C. Westermann (eds.) *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament* vol. 2 (Munich-Zürich 1976) coll. 855-863, here 856-858, *HAL* pp. 1299a.

⁸⁶ *Keller* coll. 856-860.

⁸⁷ O. Böthlingk and R. Roth (eds.) *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch* by the Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften [hence = *PWb*] (St. Petersburg 1855-1875; repr. Delhi 1990) pt. 7 coll. 60-62, O. Böthlingk *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung* [= *Böthl. SWbkF*] vol. 6 (Petersburg 1886; repr. Graz 1959) pp. 203c f., R. Schmidt *Nachträge zum SWbkF* (Delhi 1991) p. 341, Sir M. Monier-Williams et al. *Sanskrit-English Dictionary...* [hence = *Monier-Williams*] (Oxford 1899; repr. New Delhi 1976) p. 1052. (The difference of the diacritical markers in Sanskrit *ś* and Semitic *š* rests on the traditional transliteration of the languages concerned. Cf. also for the internal situation of Sanskrit below n. 90).

⁸⁸ *Turner* vol. II p. 712.

⁸⁹ *Mayrhofer EtWb* vol. 3 p. 431, *Frisk* vol. 2 p. 545 and others have *saptá*. See, further, below.

^{89a} →*śapátha* "vow", "curse" [*Turner* II p. 712]

⁹⁰ Note, e.g., J. Wackernagel *Altindische Grammatik* [hence = *Wackernagel*] vol. I (Göttingen 1896) §§ 197 d) β) and 198 [pp. 226 f.] as well as the change from Sanskrit *sapta* to *satta* in most Prakrit dialects (see R. Pischel *A Grammar of the Prakrit Languages* [transl. by S. Jhā] (Delhi • Varanasi • Patna 1981) §§ 227 and 442 (pp. 193, 369), *Turner* vol. II pp. 760 f.

⁹¹ *Monier-Williams* p. 1052a.

association of these words for '7' with other numerals in both language groups as well as in Egyptian – here it means “to solve, dissolve, detach, separate” and other⁹² – with the Coptic dialects.

The numerals next to '7', i.e., the designations for '6' and '8' in Akkadian and other Semitic languages,^{93,94} have, thus, their cognates also in Old and Middle Egyptian and the Coptic dialects,⁹⁵ and a partial analogy to this situation is then attested through the Sanskrit word *ṣaṣ* and its cognates, variations, derivations, and equivalents in other Indo-European languages or such tongues offering elements thereof for '6',⁹⁶ preceding, of course, Sanskrit *sapta*, Prakrit and Pali *satta*, Avestan *hapta*, Pahlavi *hpt* [haft], (New) Persian *haft*, Greek ἑπτά, Latin *septem* etc.,⁹⁷ and there cannot be any doubt that the words for the Indo-European numbers '6' and '7' have

⁹² Erman-Grapow vol. IV p. 116, R. O. Faulkner *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford 1962, repr. 1964) p. 225.

⁹³ See through HAL p. 1533b and, further, next note and add Arabic *sittun* (masc.), *sittatun* (fem.).

⁹⁴ Obviously a secondary root *sdš* was developed at a very early level in the course of developments of the branches of the Semitic languages, as is evident from the Old Assyrian *šedišum* “group of six” (CAD 17, II, p. 256a) which finds its corresponding cognates in the Ge'ez feminine *sedestū* and Tigre *sadās* by the side of the masculine *sesū* (Ge'ez) and *ses* (Tigre), Amharic *siddist* as well as the Arabic ordinal number *sādisun* (masc.) and *sādisatun* (fem.). K. Brockelmann *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* [hence Brockelmann Gr] vol. I § 249 a.ζ [p. 486] assumed “danach wird *šidp* als ursem <itisch> anzusetzen sein”. However, the attestations in a number of Aramaic dialects of the element *št* with various vocalisations [see through HAL p. 1796a] by the side of the *šš*-type (Hebrew), the *ss*-form (in the fem. of Ge'ez) and the root *sdš/l* in *s,d,l* (masc.) [*s,d,l* (fem.)] paralleled by *s'¹t(t)* in Old South Arabian (Sabaic, Qatabanian, etc.) suggest that various mutilations have occurred similar to those in the Indo-European languages, already recognisable in Sanskrit *ṣṣ* beside *ṣṣ*. For others see through note 96.

Regarding the word for '8' see next note.

⁹⁵ For '6' see E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik = Analecta Orientalia...* 34 {Rome 1955} § 392 (pp. 168 f.): *jsw* (masc.), *jst* (fem.), Erman-Grapow vol. IV p. 40: *sjs*, and A. Erman *Ägyptische Grammatik...* = *Porta Linguarum Orientalium* 15 (Berlin 1928) p. 102: *sw* (masc.) and *st* (fem.) and for '8' Erman-Grapow vol. III p. 282, cf. Do. I p. 342. Significantly, the *s* resp. *š* (in Babylonian *samāne* [status absolutus masc.] and Old Assyrian *šamāne* [dito] as well as Hebrew *šemoneh*, Arabic *tamānin* and similar forms) appears as *h* in Egyptian *hmn.w* '8' [since Old Egyptian: see Edel *ibid.*] and *š* recurs in Coptic dialects as *šaj* (Saidic Ⲫⲙⲟⲩⲛ *šmūn*) and *hōri* (Achimic Ⲫⲙⲟⲩⲛ *hmūn*) etc.

⁹⁶ Wackernagel vol. III § 182 [pp. 354-356], Mayrhofer *EtWb* vol. III p. 407, Turner vol. II pp. 742 f. Note, in particular, the considerable frequency of phonetic changes producing ostensibly new forms. See, e.g., Young Avestan *xšvaš*, Prakrit and Pali *cha*, (New) Persian *šāš*, Greek ἑξ (dial. ῥέξ), Russian *šest'*, Polish *sześć*, Cymric *chwech*, Albanian *gašte*, Old Irish *sé*, Old High German *sēhs*, Gothic *saihs*, Old English (West Saxon) *siex* etc., and many others by the side of Sanskrit *ṣaṣ** / *ṣaṣ**.

* Recall that the cerebral *s* in Sanskrit shown as *ṣ* does not correspond to the emphatic *ṣ* in Semitic languages likewise designated through *ṣ*.

⁹⁷ See Mayrhofer *EtWb* vol. 3 p. 431, Turner vol. II pp. 760 f.

been in a cluster, so to speak, comparable to the cluster of '6', '7', and '8' of the Semitic language group and Egyptian, the major difference being that the Indo-European words based on a common variable root and elements for '8' are virtually irreconcilably alien *vis à vis* the forms based on the root for this figure in Semitic languages and in Egyptian.

There were considerable similarities of the words for '7' not only in the Semitic group and Egyptian on the one side and the Indo-European equivalents on the other. However, the same holds true for the words designating '6', in as much as the great variation on both sides allows analogues for '6' as noticeable in Coptic – see Achmimic Ⲫⲁⲩ {sau} (masc.), Ⲫⲱⲉ / Ⲫⲟⲉ {sō⁶ / so⁶} (fem.), Saidic Ⲫⲟⲟⲩ {so'ū} (masc.), Ⲫⲟ(ⲉ) {so(ⲉ)} (fem.), Ⲫⲉⲩ (unaccented), and Fayumic Ⲫⲁⲩ (masc.), Ⲫⲁ (fem.)⁹⁸ – and in NiDoc.⁹⁹ *šo*, Dameli and Wotapūri *sō*, Gawar-Bati *ṣ'ō*, Dumaki *sa*, Dodi *šāh*, Kashmiri *šē* and *šēh*, Marāthi *sahā* and *sā*, and many others.¹⁰⁰

There remain a few virtual problems:

(1) One might ask why the words for '8' in the Semitic group together with Egyptian did not match those of the Indo-European group with its many branches. The explanation is plainly that all numerical systems are of a composite nature with elements of various backgrounds and grew resp. were developed in accordance with the needs of their creators and users, as has been recognised for quite some time.¹⁰¹

(2) It was noted that the basic meaning of the Sanskrit and Hebrew and Aramaic verbs virtually being based on the same roots as the words for '7' in either language does not seemingly tally with the meaning of their Egyptian verbal counterpart. In fact, said Semitic and Sanskrit verbs obviously portray actions exactly opposite to the one of the Egyptian verb. This contradiction is easily understood, however, and even supports the assumption of the root for '7' as common with the one of said verbs. Roots semantically contrasting in their employment in different, though related or cognate languages as well as in the speech of the same ethnic group are not uncommon in the realm of the Hamito-Semitic families of vernaculars, i.e.,

⁹⁸ W. Till *Wackernagel's Dialektgrammatik...* (Munich 1961) p. 21.

⁹⁹ “Language of 'Karošthi' Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan” [Turner vol. I p. xiv].

¹⁰⁰ See through Turner vol. II pp. 742b f. and foregoing note 96.

¹⁰¹ See through the studies listed above in note 50. Also mentioned should be, in this context, that in Hittite and Luwian the words for '4' have been *meu-* (Hit.) and *mauwa* (Luw.), i.e., such of another than Indo-European background (J. Friedrich *Hethitisches Elementarbuch* part 1 [hence = Friedrich] {Heidelberg 1960²} pp. 71 f.). A. Kammenhuber (“Hethitisch, Palaisch, Luwisch und Hieroglyphenluwisch” in J. Friedrich et al. *Altkeleinasische Sprachen = Handbuch der Orientalistik* 1.2.1-2.2 {Leiden/Cologne 1969} p. 249) suggests that in this and similar instances words for numbers were “lost”, but provides no clues why such loss should have occurred. It is held here that as another explanation the growth of numerals and their systems as *need* appeared to be is feasible.

both languages and dialects. Thus, since the proper meaning of Hebrew and Aramaic שָׁבַע *šāba* / *š̄ba* 'was not really alone or even in the first instance "to swear, to take an oath",¹⁰² one could well conceive from the assertions with other significances that the basic meaning of the verb *šāba* / *š̄ba* 'was "to bind, to oblige one's self", the more so as this verb was never attested in the Ground stem (Qal), but very frequently through forms of the Niph'al and then through other derived stems.¹⁰³ Since the Niph'al has as one of its major employments reflexive-ingressive force one need not wonder that – different from, yet not necessarily in contrast to Levy¹⁰⁴ – Keller noted "*šb* 'ni <ph'al> ist mit "schwören" insofern ungenau übersetzt, als einerseits der Hebräer praktisch nie einen vorliegenden Tatbestand durch einen Schwur bekräftigt, vielmehr sich für die Zukunft verpflichtet, und andererseits das Verbum sehr oft nur "versprechen" zu bedeuten scheint ... Dass", further, "*šb* 'ni. nicht immer im formellen Sinne »schwören, einen Eid leisten« heisst, wird durch die Tatsache nahegelegt, dass sich der Gebrauch dieses Verbuns in keiner Weise mit demjenigen der sog. Schwurformeln deckt. Es ist ausgeschlossen, aufgrund des Verbuns *šb* 'ni. eine phänomenologische Studie über den Eid im AT zu schreiben."¹⁰⁵

If these observations are correct, and there cannot be any doubt, that "*šb* 'ni. in vielen Fällen einfach ein feierliches, unwiderrufliches Versprechen meint, die Verpflichtung, etwas unter allen Umständen zu tun bzw. nicht zu tun",¹⁰⁶ then the contrast to Egyptian *sfb* "to (dis)solve [trans.], detach, separate" and further also the Arabic verb *saba'a* "to tear apart resp. to pieces, to lacerate"¹⁰⁷ as evidently corresponding thereto allow to understand the split of the meanings between the Hebraic and Aramaic employments of the verb *šb* ' and the uses of its Egyptian and Arabic counterparts as the result of root-differentiation having been brought about in the course of their uses.

Moreover, Keller has drawn attention¹⁰⁸ to the reference in Lane's dictionary¹⁰⁹ regarding the expression of the activities of "scolding", in order

¹⁰² See above through notes 84 f.

¹⁰³ Of 216 instances in the Old Testament 154 times in the Niph'al, in the Hiph'il 31x. For more see Keller col. 856, and, further J. Levy *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim...* [hence = *Levy WbTM*] (Berlin-Vienna 1924², repr. Darmstadt 1963) vol. IV p. 500, G. H. Dalman *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch* (Göttingen 1938³) p. 414a.

¹⁰⁴ O.c. pp. 499 f., see below.

¹⁰⁵ Keller coll. 856 f. with reference to J. Pedersen's and F. Horst's relevant contributions in *rem.*

¹⁰⁶ Keller col. 858.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Arabic *sab'u*, *sabu* 'beast of prey, predatory animal, lion'.

¹⁰⁸ Keller col. 856.

¹⁰⁹ E. W. Lane, *Maddul-Qamoos • an arabic-english Lexicon...* 8 vols. (London 1863-1893) here vol. I pt. 4 (p. 1296).

"to disgrace, affront, insult", and "to engage oneself in abusive terms" which Arabic *sb* ' carries also. This use corresponds to the additional or alternate employment in the active voice and the medium of Sanskrit *śap*-¹¹⁰, i.e. to its meanings "to curse, revile, scold, blame" in the Ṛg-Veda, by Yājñavalkya, in Kāvya literature and in Purāṇas.¹¹¹

(3) On the other hand, similar to the thought of Jewish scholars, including Ibn Ezra (c. 1092-1167),¹¹² and even more so, lexicographers of Arabic have felt impelled to subsume the forms relating to that language's root for *sb* ' "seven" and those pertaining to *sb* ' "to tear apart" under one root and lexical entry, the latter being considered an allusion to the division of something into seven parts.¹¹³

Their far-fetched claims to the causations of the meanings of Hebrew *šb* ' – one might be tempted to call them, in spite of the learning of their advocates, "common folks etymology" – cannot satisfy in as much as their explanations virtually disregard the sacred character of the number *seven* and its impact throughout very many civilisations and languages, including those of the Indo-European and Semitic realm as well as in Egypt where '7' had far more than just symbolic value whose significance and origin have not been clarified, as yet.¹¹⁴

(4) As ever the matters of an interrelationship of the Semitic and Egyptian words for '7' with the verbs based on the same roots as well as the comparison with respect to the like situation in relation to Sanskrit and cognates in other Indo-European languages may be weighed, i.e., whether one may prefer to separate said verbs from the discussed words for the number '7' as being similar merely by contingency or one takes the analogous conditions as evidence for a common background of this sacred number, the evidence adduced so far for such coherence should not be denied any longer, neither explicitly nor by attempts, as the one undertaken by Kenneth Shields Jr., implicitly. The evidence pointing to a common

¹¹⁰ See above through n. 87.

¹¹¹ *PWb* vol. VII p. 60 f., Monier-Williams p. 1052a.

¹¹² See *Levy WbTM* vol. IV pp. 499b f.

¹¹³ E.g., J. B. Belot *al-farā'id ad-durriya 'arabiyya 'ifransiyya* (Beirut 1955¹⁷) pp. 308b f., H. Wehr – J. M. Cowan *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* (Wiesbaden 1979⁴) s.v.

¹¹⁴ Beyond H. Goedicke "Symbolische Zahlen" in W. Helck et al. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. VI (Wiesbaden 1986) coll. 128 f. and versus Keller's weak abrogation (*ibid.* col. 856 sub (3), see, e.g., H. Bonnet *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin 1952) p. 874b f. and the comprehensive presentation and résumé on the important role of the number '7' and its designations in the civilisations of Egypt and her adjacent neighbours, the Middle East, and South East Asia by Friedrich Heiler in his *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion = Die Religionen der Menschheit* vol. 1 (Stuttgart 1961 [cit.], 1991⁵) pp. 161 f., 167-169. Still useful on the biblical situation and interesting to read is James Strong's article "Number" in J. M'Clintock and J. Strong *Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature* vol. VII (New York 1890) pp. 218-220, esp. section 2.

background of the words for "seven" in the Semitic and Indo-European groups as well as in Egyptian (which is generally known to be interrelated with the Semitic languages in many elements) is strong and goes along with the logical consideration of an interdependence of the old Semitic and Egyptian elements with such attested in Indo-European languages and civilisations in general. The circumstantial evidence for the common origin of '7' long before the historical periods in the Near East must be considered paramount to the largely hypothetical linguistic attempts of Shields Jr.

Irrespective of the explanation of the Indo-European words for '9' '10', and '100' (which for practical reasons cannot be offered in this context¹¹⁵), the accentuation of Sanskrit *sapta* as *saptā* by linguists being experts in the Indo-European field¹¹⁶ should be abandoned.¹¹⁷ The apophony from *-a* to *-ām/-ān*, → *-un* and similarly with elision of the dental consonant¹¹⁸ and acculturation through simplification in the process of daily use as in Pahlavi *haft* and (Neo-) Persian *haft*¹¹⁹ (by mutual assimilation with *šāš* "six" and *hāšt* "eight") are far more convincing than the assumption of a number of linguists that words for 'seven' ending on *-a* were younger than such ending on a nasal consonant or even a sonorant + a dental. This interpretation of the Indo-European situation suits to the historical attestations and developments from the levels of Sanskrit and seemingly also Hittite¹²⁰ onwards.

Gratitude is due to the editor and his helpers for a work well done in all respects.

¹¹⁵ The study of the various words for these numbers would require the size of a whole book, and then one would have to find out to what extent imitations have really occurred in the language groups and for which numerals [see Old Nordic *siau* "seven" after **aitau* (cf. Gothic *ahtau* ≈ Sanskrit *aṣṭau*). See regarding the Indo-European languages (*versus* Shields) *Wackernagel* vol. III §§ 185 and 191 [pp. 360 and 370] and *Mayrhofer EtWb* vol. 2 pp. 26 and 141 f.

¹¹⁶ See above through note 85.

¹¹⁷ Significantly *Mayrhofer ibid.* has placed the accent for *nava* and *daśa* on their first syllable, but follows (not withstanding its equivalents in other Indo-European languages, of both major branches, i.e., *satem* and *centum*, presumably *metri causa*) Greek ἑκατόν to read *śatām* [o.c. vol. 3 p. 293].

¹¹⁸ See Anglo-Saxon *seofon*, Old Saxon *sibun*, Gothic *sibun*, Old High German *sibun* and *siban* [(A. D. 9th cent.) W. Braune and K. Helm *Althochdeutsche Grammatik* (Halle/Saale 1944) § 271 (p. 224)]. Chlodwig's Lex Salica of c. 510 A.D. [preserved in fragments only] has *septun*, however!

¹¹⁹ Cf. also the samples offered in the works adduced above in note 97.

¹²⁰ See *Friedrich* p. 71. Typical is for this latter language its obvious exposedness to different influences notable in its numerical system. In this respect Hittite conforms to the languages of other peoples in the area. See *Do. I* and *Do. III*.

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QUMRANOLOGICA IV*

Of a number of collective works in the province of Qumran studies published in latter years several deserve special attention. To these belong:

Julio Treballe Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner (eds.), *The Madrid Qumran Congress. Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls Madrid 18-21 March, 1991* = *STDJ* XI, 1 and 2, 2 vols. = (E. J. Brill [Leiden - New York - Cologne] and Editorial Complutense [Madrid], 1992) bound: [ISSN 0169-9962, ISBN 90 04 09769 4 <vol. 1>, 90 04 09770 8 <vol. 2>, and 90 04 09771 6 <set>], vol. 1: XXV + 362 pp. [= pp. 1-362], vol. 2: VIII + 321 pp. [= pp. 363-683], both vols. with altogether 25 plates on pp. 355-362 and 667-683, two photographs in vol I; Nlg 329.00 / US \$ 212.50; [henceforth adduced as *A*].

Michael O. Wise, Norman Golb, John J. Collins, and Dennis G. Pardee (eds.), *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site. Present Realities and Future Prospects* = *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 722 (The New York Academy of Sciences, New York, New York 1994) [ISSN 0077-8923, ISBN 0-89766-793-X <cloth> and 0-89766-794-8 <pb.>], XIV + 514 pp. with illustrations and two photographs, US \$ 125.00; [henceforth cited as *B*].

Devorah Dimant and Lawrence Schiffman (eds.), *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness: Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1989-1990* = *STDJ* XVI (E. J. Brill, Leiden - New York - Cologne 1995) cloth: [ISSN 0169-9962 and ISBN 90 04 10225 6], X + 157 pp. with one photograph and charts on pp. 37-58, Nlg 95.00 / US \$ 61.50; [henceforth designated through *C*].

* "Qumranologica I" in *Folia Orientalia* XXXI (1995) pp. 211-238 plus missing notes on the back cover after p. 260, "Qumranologica II" and "Qumranologica III" in *FolOr* 32 (1996) pp. 165-199. These review-articles will be referred to by their titles.