

NOTES ON THE RUMANIAN NUMERALS

IN the second number of the ROMANIC REVIEW, Mr. F. Vexler criticizes my notes on Rumanian published in the seventh volume of *Modern Philology*. I am sorry to find that he has misunderstood my views about the numerals, and should like to explain them here.

I. THE TENS

In Albanian, 20 is expressed as 'one score,' while 40 is 'two score' in some regions and 'four tens' in others; see Pekmezi, *Grammatik der albanesischen Sprache*, § 62, Wien, 1908. Therefore I am justified in saying, in regard to the Rumanian multiples of ten, as I did in *Modern Philology*, that Albanian does not furnish a complete parallel for their formation. In Old Bulgarian the even tens, as well as the odd, are counted as such: two tens, four tens, six tens, eight tens; see Leskien, *Handbuch der altbulgarischen Sprache*, § 74, Weimar, 1898, and Vondrák, *Vergleichende slavische Grammatik*, II, 80, Göttingen, 1908. Since this is also the regular Rumanian method of counting, it seems reasonable to suppose it derived from Slavonic rather than from Albanian influence.

II. SUTĂ 'HUNDRED'

In Old Bulgarian, *o* interchanges with *ǔ*, as *e* does with *ǐ*; but this *o* stands for an earlier *u*-sound, Slavonic *ǔ* being the regular representative of Indo-European short *u*. Rumanian *o* is the usual stressed derivative of Slavonic *ǔ*, as *dobitoc* < *dobyťukǔ*, *sol* < *sǔlǔ*. To explain such cases of *o* < *ǔ*, beside *sută* with *u* < *ǔ*, we need only to suppose that this word was borrowed earlier than the others, at a time when Slavonic *ǔ* was a real *u*-sound, or more *u*-like than *o*-like. I have never assumed such a form as **sotǎ*; the honor of inventing it belongs to Mr. Vexler alone.

If Slavonic *ǔ* made *u* in *sută*, we might expect to find such a treatment of *ǔ* in other words. Tiktin thinks that *cúmătru* < *kǔmotrǔ* is a case of the same kind. Mr. Vexler objects to *cumătru* on two grounds: it may have been modified by some other word;

and the *ă* is now strest. The first objection is valid, but the second is not. Early Rumanian texts make use of stress marks, and Tiktin is careful to say that the older stress was *cúmătru* (*Rumänisches Elementarbuch*, §§ 32, 76, Heidelberg, 1905).

Mr. Vexler thinks that from the *o* of *sŭto* we should expect *ău*, because Rumanian *ău* corresponds to present Hungarian final long *o*. But this theory is hardly tenable, even if we assume that short *o* and long *o* were treated alike. Hungarian final long *o* is a regular contraction of *ou*; see Simonyi, *Die ungarische Sprache*, 322, Strassburg, 1907. In some cases *ou* stands for an older *au* or *av* (*ava*, *avo*) cognate with Finnish *ava*; see Szinnyei, *Finnisch-ugrische Sprachwissenschaft*, 102, Leipzig, 1910. Modern Hungarian shows traces of this contraction, as in *tó* 'teich,' which has the dative *tónak*, but the accusative *tavat*, the plural *tavak*, and the personated forms *tavam* 'mein teich,' *tavad* 'dein teich' (Nagy, *Ungarische Sprachlehre*, 24, 37, Heidelberg, 1897). A few dialects still keep diphthongs, as *ao*, *au*, *ou*, corresponding to literary long *o*; see Simonyi, *Die ung. Sprache*, 138. It is thus rather unlikely that Rumanian *ău* came from long *o* in words of Hungarian origin; it is probably derived from an old diphthong.

Rumanian stressless *ă* comes from Latin *o* in a few words, as *că* < *quod*, *nă* < *nos*; also from medial Slavonic *o*, as *cúmătru* < *kŭmotrŭ*, *stăpîn* < *stopanŭ*. It is therefore possible that final *ă* is derived from *o* in the vocative adjective *dragă* (Tiktin, *R. Elementarbuch*, § 197) and in the nouns *ciudă*, *pravilă*, *sticlă*, *sută* (Gartner, *Darstellung der rumänischen Sprache*, § 42, Halle, 1904), corresponding to Slavonic *drago*, *čudo*, *pravilo*, *stĭklo*, *sŭto*. If the *ă* of *sută* is not directly derived from *o*, it may be analogical, like *ă* in *soră* for *sor* < *soror*; or it may come from *a* in the Slavonic plural *sŭta*. Hence there is no reason for doubting that *sută* may be of Slavonic origin.

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