Indhold

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Runes : Genealogy and Grammatology

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"Runernes Genealogi og Grammatologi" which was presented at Aarhus University 10 October 1996

1. Introduction: Background and Hypothesis

There are more paths into the history of Danish (Nordic-German) languages than that presented by Erik Moltke and his colleagues and companions (WIMMER, SKAUTRUP, N.Å.NIELSEN, MOLTKE, KARKER, KRAUSE, JANKUHN, ODENSTEDT and others). I present a few grammatological arguments for the conjecture that the older 24-sign rune-futhark was established as a well-ordered alphabetic writing system in the same period as the Greek and that both the Runic and the Greek system shared the tradition of the *Semitic writings from the Bronze Age and early Iron Age in the Near East.* [1]

The theoretical basis for my conjectures is a dialectical theory of language which I have developed in co-operation with the philosopher Jørgen Døør (cf. BANG & DØØR 1985-95).

My hypothesis is that the futhark is older than the Greek alphabet. An argument is that there are deeper and more consequential reasons for this being the case than for the opposite.

The hypothesis contradicts the established assumption on the genealogy of the runes which is still passed on in the newest writing encyclopedia *The world's writing systems* (DANIELS & BRIGHT 1996 : 333). The section "The Runic Script" has an explicit reference[2] to Erik Moltke's hypothesis that the runes were invented in Denmark in "the year 0 ± 100 (50) years", and that they "were an independent creation based on Roman writing", i.e. that the runes were invented by an individual "creator of the futhark" and "based on the Roman capital letters of imperial times" (cf. MOLTKE (1976 : 54f.) and MOLTKE (1985 : 64f.) .

There are, however, real contradictions between Moltke's linguistic and grammatological premisses on the one hand and his conclusional hypothesis on the other. If one applies linguistic and grammatological criteria to his premisses and makes a conjunction of his premisses and conclusion the result is a blatant contradiction: His conclusion implies that the runes are younger than the classical Roman alphabet while his premisses imply that the runes are older than the classical, Greek and Roman, alphabets. Thus Moltke writes that the Danes were "always independent of Rome", and he summarises a number of rune- and rune-writing-characteristics in comparison to other writing systems (Phoenician, Greek, Roman and Etruscan) as follows,

(5) The futhark's independence of classical alphabets is shown in its new *sequence of the letters, which is as unaccountable in phonetic terms as the original alphabetical order of the Phoenicians.*

(6) The oldest runic inscriptions have *all the primitive characteristics* observed in the early phase of the classical alphabets (several centuries *before* the runes came into existence): *irregularity of size and line, writing direction both to right and left, bustrophedon,* inconsistent or non-existent punctuation, and the fact that *each rune has its individual name.*

MOLTKE 1985:65 [My italics, JCB] [3]

So, Moltke acknowledges that the ordering of the futhark, the "alphabetical order", opposes the order of the classical alphabets, just as the Phoenician on which Greek is based; the runic inscriptions have all the (more) primitive characteristics which are known from pre-classical writings, including individual sign size, alternating left- or right-directional writing, and every rune had a name with a meaning.

It seems to me less probable that one by chance should develop signs and a writing system that in analogical ways share both sign form and orders, names and phonetic values, and forms of writing, with much earlier writings without knowing these writings or sharing their grammatology. The Roman writing system implies a grammatology characterized by more abstract, metaphorical, or "quasi-non-analogical", relations between the graphic, phonetic, and semantic dimensions of the sign, while the pre-classical writings more explicitly indicated the analogical implications of the dimensions and media.

On the names of the signs DANIELS & BRIGHT (1996 : 261) notice that "these names have meanings only in Phoenician (or Semitic in general), not in Greek (or Indo-European)". The analogy relation between the sign's form and its meaning was forgotten – abstracted or absent from conceptual memory – following the formation of the Greek alphabet.[4]

The Viking Age runes did, however, have names that have meanings in Old Norse and also from Gothic and Anglo-Saxon we know rune-names with a meaning. W.KRAUSE and others have tried to reconstruct the old futhark-runes' original names and plausible meanings. In my argumentation I use these younger and reconstructed names and meanings to indicate that the old futhark-runes explicitly were associated both with the phonetics and the semantics of the prototypical name. Today we cannot but make conjectures on the original names and their phonetical and semantical implications. It would be, however, interesting if the runic signs in more relevant aspects shared phonetic and semantic fields with graphically similar signs of one or more pre-classical writings. I think there are more linguistic and grammatological indications for that. This should imply that the runes were created (by creative transformation) in a time and place by people for whom these interrelations were present, i.e. before the Greek loss of the pre-classical form-name-meaning-relations. And long before the name-less letters of the Roman alphabet. The runes have recognizable roots in pre-classical tradition and are a potential source to older stages of Indo-European languages.

(And furthermore to the younger stages, e.g. to the Greek and the Roman writing systems and the modern European languages).

Therefore, I think that Moltke is wrong in his insistence on the time, place, and model of origin of the runes. Thereby, I certainly – implicitly – question those archaeological identifications which Moltke used as his *a priori* determinations.[5] However, my arguments are in accordance with now accessible, and comparable, grammatologies and data, e.g. the outstanding *The worlds writing systems* (DANIELS & BRIGHT 1996) and MORRIS 1988. I hope hereby to contribute to explanations and assumptions which to a lesser degree are determined by linguistic and grammatological contradictions or ignorance.[6]

Fig. 1: Two hypotheses about the genealogy of European writing systems

(Dating is based on traditional European dating)

A. Traditional hypothesis (Moltke-tradition)

Hieroglyphs	> Semitic	> Phoenician	> Greek	> Roman	> Futhark
(3000 BC)	(2000 BC)	(1000 BC)	(750 BC)	(650-500 BC)	(100 AD)

B. Alternative hypothesis (JCB)

		> Futhark			*Nordic-Germanic*
Hieroglyphs	> Semitic				*Semitic*
		> Phoenician	> Greek		*Greek*
				> Roman	*Roman*
(3000 BC)	(2000 BC)	(1000 BC)	(750 BC)	(650-500 BC)	(- 1000 AD)
boustrophedon, names, meaning			one direction, no name, no meaning		

The Moltke tradition obviously faces grammatological problems when defining several of the runes as derivatives of Latin capitals. Moltke writes, e.g.

> We have no way of knowing why the futhark's creator used Latin P for his *w* [ᚹ] and then designed the more complex character ᛈ for *p*. […[7]] Nor shall we ever understand why he used the form of Roman M for runic *e* [ᛖ] but modified it slightly to create his runic *m* [ᛗ]. Similarity of form and sound show that the m-rune must have been inspired by Roman M. Was it because he had already fixed on M for *e* and was reluctant to go back on his decision?

MOLTKE 1985: 66 [My parentheses, JCB]

These and other problems can be solved less "complicatedly" (one of Moltke's criteria) by understanding the runes as formed in a Semitic-Arabic writing tradition; here the already mentioned signs, and others, can be found in analogous *forms* with similar *phonetic-semantic* characteristics; and with corresponding writing habits, alternating writing directions and *bustrophedon* ("furrow-writing").

In the following I shall attempt to show some remarkably clear *analogies in form, sound, and meaning* between the runes and documented (attested) writings prior to the Greek alphabet, more precisely from the Bronze Age and early Iron Age, localised to the cultural area between the Nile and the Tigris. By doing this we more easily can explane the concrete characteristics of the runes. And perhaps we better can understand the Indo-European phenomenon (cf. the observation by Rask, Grimm, and Verner that the current Nordic (-Germanic) languages have certain systematic correspondences with the current Roman (-Greek) languages). The Indo-European phenomenon indicates that the Indo-European languages were born out of a common, or shared, culture. Through the years, owing to mutual cultural separation, the different people developed different phonologies, to different degrees conservated & transformed by traditional writing-articulations and/or by later imported forms of writing. The runes could be a *hereditary* writing form accompanying "the Danish tongue" along the same paths to Denmark; perhaps around the Black Sea and north along the Russian rivers. (Cf. e.g. OTTO VON FRIESEN 1904). If so, it was not until the introduction of Christianity (c. 1000 AD) that we *borrowed* a writing form, Latin, which can be seen as a kind of nephew or niece in relation to Runic writing.

My hypothesis regarding the genealogy of the futhark has vital implications for our understanding of the Nordic and (Indo-) European languages and cultural identities; it follows amongst others that the Greek alphabet *is not* alone as the world's first fully alphabetical writing system in the development from *pictogrammes*, *(logo-) syllabaries* and *consonantal* writings ("*abjads*"). Furthermore, my arguments and data illustrate the effect of the assumption that no language sign or symbol in any important or interesting way is arbitrary (but analogy-motivated in several dimensions and relations in order to work, refer, recall, relate: mimesis, mind and memory).

Moltke (and the Moltke tradition) considers the runes to be an invention made by an individual rune-creator in a given place (Denmark) at a given time (approx. year 0). This rune-creator supposedly had knowledge about a fully developed classical alphabet, the Latin alphabet, from which *he* borrows in order to construct a complete runic alphabet. Then he implements this writing so skillfully in an illiterate culture that this culture, during the next thousand years, uses this writing form homogenously (however with a revision ca. 750, when the 24-sign futhark was replaced by the younger 16-sign futhark). I find it improbable that a

single revolutionary can revolutionize such a large cultural area *without* there being any tradition-based foundation for this in the culture.

The development of *applicable* and *learnable* alphabets is, however, a large-scale, human achievement, which has taken humanity many generations to develop. (Just as in this day and age a great deal of resources are – more or less sensibly – directed at upholding a writing norm and teaching each new generation the writing and reading of the norm.)

I am rather inclined to assume that a complete writing system, such as the old Futhark really is, should rather be considered a *classical* writing system, with its adequate phonological and morphological relationship with the spoken language, with its vowel and consonant signs, with its restricted inventory (24 signs), and so on. Where Moltke considers the until now earliest dated findings from around year 100-200 AD as the beginning of the Runic era, I consider these findings as being at a classical, fully-matured stage at the end of a development over generations of forerunners. Therefore I would rather ask the question:

Where can we find this mature writing's earlier forms, the forerunners of the classical Runic alphabet?

The same question has been asked and answered about the acknowledged classical writings, Latin and Greek. Today grammatologists acknowledge these writings as a comprehensively conditioned, cultural and institutionalized norm, which has found its classical form being the product of the general cultural tradition and development; a cultural writing tradition and development over a period of several thousand years; ranging from the first Egyptian dynasties, through the Near-East's ("Semitic and Arabic") thriving cultural environments in the Bronze Age, over one of these (writing) dialects (the "Phoenician"). The Phoenicians were especially connected to the new cultural form of trade (implying money, coins) in the Eastern Mediterranean region, the Western Near-East, where Greek culture was provided the sufficient conditions for flourishing and established the classical Greek alphabet.

Just as in the Moltke tradition, I see clear kinship-*similarities* between the Runes and Greek and Latin; but I see clear *generation* differences, which tells me that the mature futhark comes from a different line of descent, and that its traditional forerunners should be sought in older generations of writing and culture than the immediate forerunner of Greek, i.e. in those environments which were prior to, or were found in other places than the Phoenecian writing norm's dominance.

The finding of runes from before the Greek alphabet?

I am greatly endebted to my now deceased friend Kai H. Sørensen, typographer & cand.phil., for actually finding rune-like signs, i.e. figures of writing which in architecture and line very much resemble runes. Kai H. Sørensen joined for many years my courses on language history where I, amongst other things, sought better explanations than the generally assumed

regarding the genesis of the runes; and I joined his studies of typography and handwriting; and so, one day a couple of years ago he placed the table in front of me which can be found in Appendix 2 (DRIVER 1976 : 145). We looked and drew and compared and blinked hard: There were really many striking similarities between the runes and the South-Semitic-Arabic "Thâmudean" signs.

Afterwards I studied several contemporary writing dialects from the same area with the forms and names of the signs in mind. I began to consider the names to be a source to both the phonetic values of the signs and their proto-meanings, i.e. their phonetic-semantic references as signs. Moreover, I began to see the deictic indications of the signs as gestured proto-meanings such as 'ox/cattle', 'house', 'door', 'stem', 'sign', 'eye', etc. I could trace a chain of transforming transmission to the newer, more stereotypicalized, forms of the signs, from the older, more proto-iconic, forms that more directly were formed to symbolize by means of transparent analogies between the graphic form and some salient visible characteristics of the proto-referent, e.g. the two horns of the oxe, the roof and walls of the house, the triangle form of the door, the waves of flowing water, the parts of our human body, eye, mouth, hand, etc. By saying, and listening to, the sign-names and learning their meanings, i.e. their phonetic and semantic implications, I began to glimpse developmental conditions and potentials in the vital grammatological dialectics of the sign in writing, sound, thought & reference, as well as the internal, traditionally bound dependences (their "synchronic and diachronic" conditions).

When my friend Jørgen Døør, the philosopher, drew my attention to the new encyclopedia of writing systems (DANIELS & BRIGHT (1996)), I found here a presumably competent, full and comparable presentation of the signs of identified writings. I found signs looking exactly like runes in the tables of Semitic-Arabic writing signs from the Bronze Age and onwards. In Appendix 4 I supply these tables as very important evidence and documentation of my hypothesis that in this area, in this age, we find the probable forerunners of the runes. I do not identify a single writing dialect or a more precisely specified area as being the precise environment of the runes, for the good reason that I do not know enough about this, but I suggest the existence of a large, coherent environment where characteristics of the runes, in several relevant details and aspects, were very much present.

2. Analogies between the Runes and the Semitic-Arabic writings from approximately 2000-1000 BC.

In this section I show some analogies between runes and pre-Greek characters, more precisely signs in Arabic-Semitic writing dialects which are

- clearly and recognizably related (belonging to the same literate milieu),
- clear and recognizable developments of Egyptian hieroglyphic script,

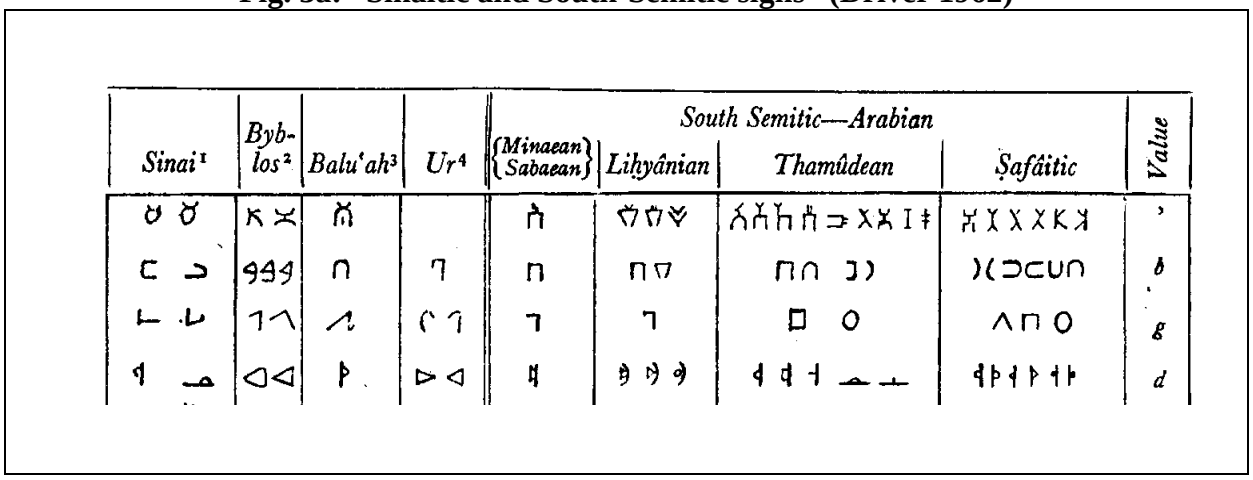
- clear and recognizable precursors, or forerunners, of Greek characters (which are in turn models for the Latin ones).

Here I shall deal with only a few runes and compare them to only a few tables of script and writing.

2.1. Possible forerunners of the first three runes [ᚠ ᚢ ᚦ] (f, u, and th)

Let us begin with the first three runes of the futhark and compare them with the first signs in the traditional order of Semitic-Arabic writings. I refer to Fig. 3a and to the tables of Appendix 2-4. In all the tables of App. 4 the signs are listed according to "the traditional order", so we can easily, line by line, follow and compare the graphic presentations in the different dialects of the signs of "the same order". Furthermore the tables indicate – more or less explicitly – the phonetic and semantic "values" of the graphemes.

Fig. 3a: "Sinaitic and South-Semitic signs" (Driver 1962)



The first rune, the f-rune [ᚠ]

Moltke, and others, identify the first rune, the f-rune [ᚠ], as derived from the Latin F. Of course there are obvious similarities between ᚠ and **F** both in their visible graphic form and in what we today assume was their contemporary phonetic "value".

But why was the f-rune placed as the first sign of the futhark and why did it have a name with a meaning and why that name and that meaning, or semantics?

By comparing the f-rune with the above-mentioned writings – the forerunners of "fully alphabetical writings" – I see graphical analogies to the ALFA-ALEF sign, the first sign in the traditional order.

Semantically, the sign-name ALEF-ALEPH-ALFA had the lexical meaning 'ox' and this meaning can be indicated by the two staves in the graphic form if these are interpreted as analogical symbols of the two horns of the ox, or *fæ, Vieh* ('cattle'), a well-known *pars-pro-*

toto symbolics. The meaning of the first sign of the futhark is probably FÆ ‘cattle’, the runic word for the general equivalent value, ‘wealth’, cf. Latin *pecus* and the modern Danish loan-word *pekuniær* (pecuniary), *penge* (money). FÆ, ‘cattle’, is a more general category than the specific ox, but both are sharing similar semantic fields. The difference could be explained by cultural development.

Phonetically the proto-word *alef-alfa* contains both a- and f-phonetics, so that both a- and f-phonemes are possible developments from, compatible with, or constituents of, the sound-situation of the same proto-word. Perhaps FÆ was developed from AL’FÆ with the removal of the first syllable that perhaps was unstressed and considered as being a prefixal morpheme *al-*.

Both the Greek ALPHA and the futhark’s FÆ are possible developments of the same earlier forms and unities; in Appendix 4 we can see, at the first order place, both clear [ᚠ] forms (e.g. 4 B, col. vi and viii, and 4 D, xxi, xxiii) and clear [α] forms (e.g. 4 B, x, 4 D, xxv) as well as forms potentially implying both.

The fourth rune of the futhark [ᚨ], a, has perhaps been developed from the same ALEF-ALFA sign in order to indicate the vowel-part of the syllable- or word-sound as the f-rune indicated the consonantal part. The f-rune was placed at the first order place probably because the fæ-sign had the corresponding semantic value, meaning, of that place. The a-rune can additionally be interpreted as being a vowel indication of the l-sign [ᛚ] “lameth”, ‘a goad’ (cf. Apps. 2B and 3). All the signs related to words, or syllables, including salient “a-phonetics”, such as AL, FA and LA, are in a phonetic aspect motivated to function as a prototype model for the modification into an a-vowel-sign; which of them was the dominant model I cannot decide without further study. As both the f-rune and the l-rune share relational indications with the a-rune it is possible that the a-rune was created to indicate “the common denominator” of AL, FA and LA, cf. the phonological method of commutation.

The first place in the futhark indicates the interpretation of the f-rune [ᚠ] as being an eqvivalent and analogue to the traditional first sign; therefore there might be an analogical correspondence to the Greek alpha [α], and later the Latin *A*, which until now has been out of sight.

If the f-rune, as assumed by Moltke, was created on the basis of the Roman F, there were no obvious reasons for its place in the futhark and for its name and semantics.

My interpretation implies an explanation of the fact that the f-rune is the first in the futhark and that it had that name-semantics and value. The graphic form of the f-rune is more similar to some of the forerunner signs than it is to the Latin or Roman F. The phonetic value of the f-rune is compatible with the phonetics of the name of the forerunner sign ALFA-ALEF.

My conjecture is that the f-rune depended upon the forerunner sign ALFA-ALEF and was completely independent of the Roman-Latin F.

The second rune of the futhark order, the u-rune [ᚢ]

The second rune of the futhark order, the u-rune [ᚢ], displays similar analogies to the second sign in the traditional pre-classical writing systems, both in order, graphic form, phonetic and semantic field.

Following Moltke and others the graphic form of the u-rune was an upside-down Latin V and its name was *uruz the meaning of which was ‘aurochs’ *(‘ur-okse’)*.

If, however, we compare the graphic form [ᚢ] with the second sign in pre-classical writings we find several examples of a similar form (cf. e.g. Sinai, Balu’ah, Ur, South Semitic-Arabian (Fig. 3a and Appendix 4). In Appendix 2B and 3 we can see a hieroglyph of similar graphic constitution.

The meaning of these signs belongs to the semantic field of ‘house’ with a name phonetically similar to *BETH* (a Hebrew word for ‘house’).

It is probable that the graphic form was *coined* as a symbol that indicated the walls and roof of a house by means of analogy.

The cultural-semantic value of ‘house’, ‘home’, ‘origin’ could imply reasons for the prominent second place in the sign order, next to the sign for the exchange value, ALEF-ALFA.

It is the current assumption that these beth, or house, signs (via the Phoenician script) were the forerunners of the Greek BETA (cf. e.g. DANIELS & BRIGHT 1996 : 261 ff.). The Greek BETA [β] has a name that shares the phonetics of BETH (but, as mentioned above, the Greeks forgot its original meaning, its *ur-* or proto-meaning ‘house’).

Now, the u-rune obviously shares the number in the sign order, and the graphic constituents of the old ‘house’ signs; but did the u-rune, in any significant aspect, share the phonetics and semantics with those signs?

Phonologically the u-rune [ᚢ] denotes a vowel as the Greek beta [β] denotes a consonant. Phonetically, however, they share the rounded bilabial articulation behind which the cave, or house, of the mouth, the oral cavity, is sounding. The phonetic similarities between the two sounds are implied by some word-relations such as *bio-vita-liv-live.*

Semantically, the u-rune could share fields of meaning if its probable name *uruz could be interpreted ‘ur-hus’ (‘proto-house’), ‘ur-os’, ‘ur-mund’ (‘proto-mouth’). Such an interpretation is in accordance with the assumed etymology of the Danish city name *Århus* that probably originates from AR-OS with the meaning *‘å-munding’* (‘river mouth’). Both UR- and -US can be interpreted as semantically related with BETH in meanings such as ‘house’, ‘origin’, ‘home’, ‘cave’, ‘mouth’, ‘uterus’. In the grammatological context these interpretations are more pertinent than the current “aurochs” that lacks any obvious relationship.

Following my explanation the u-rune shares much genealogy and grammatology with the Greek beta and the Latin B: common forerunners of similar graphic forms, sign order, semantic values, and phonetic features. In spite of the obvious surface graphic and phonetic

similarities between rune-b [ᛒ] and Greek [β] and Latin B, I think that their differences (sign order number and semantics) indicate that the b-rune was more secondarily related with the forerunners of beta and B than was the u-rune. Of course there might be some system-internal partnership of the b-rune and the u-rune, cf. the interesting meeting of B and U in the important words *bo, bonde, by* (residence/live, farmer, town), and URBS, ORBIS. (Further comments on the b-rune in section 2.2). I want to emphasize that every sign has more than one motive, or cause, more than one history, and hence different explanations may be true.

My conjecture is that the u-rune [ᚢ] depended upon the forerunner sign BETH and was completely independent of the Roman-Latin V.

The third rune [ᚦ] the th-rune

The third rune [ᚦ] the th-rune holds clear analogies to the fourth traditional sign, the "daleth-" or the door-/thor-sign. The ᛑ-rune corresponds to the Greek delta [Δ δ] and the Latin D, in other words the fourth sign in these alphabets.

Moltke interpreted the ᛑ-rune as "direct loan or close imitation of Roman D" because of "similarity in both form and sound" (MOLTKE 1985 : 59). Again, the similarity in form and sound between Latin D and the ᛑ-rune are obvious, but their deeper relationship disappears in Moltke's comparison as his methods do not imply criteria for telling which of them is the older and which the younger.

In the tables of the pre-classical writings (cf. Fig.3a and App. 2-4) we find several "daleth" signs of graphic forms that much more than the Roman D are similar to those of the ᛑ-rune (the triangle upon the middle part of the stem). And we find "daleth" signs of a form more similar to the delta triangle of the Greek delta and the Roman D.

Phonetically, the names "daleth" and "delta" may imply phonetic features similar to our modern d-, t-, and th-distinctions. If the futhark rune [ᚦ] indicated th-phonetics and two different signs, [ᛞ or ᛞ] and [ᛏ], indicated d- and t-phonetics – and this is the current assumption – then I find it more probable that the th-rune was coined in the environment of "daleth" than in that of "delta" and D. If the runes were created on the basis of the Roman capitals, why was it not the d-rune, but the th-rune, that most directly or closely imitated the Roman D? (The Latin word for 'door' was *foris*; the futhark is obviously closer to the proto-Indo-European form *dh than are both Greek and Latin; it is misleading to conceive the Indo-European developmental processes as if the Germanic languages (sound and script) are more transformed in relation to "Proto-Indo-European" than are the Roman ones).

Following Moltke and others the reconstructed name of the th- rune, *thurisaz, means 'giant'. Why should the *third* rune imply such semantics? How could 'giant' function as the prominent prototype for the third rune?

Again, I think we may find better conjectures on the th-rune's name and semantics if we consider the semantic fields of the pre-classical names of the similar signs, i.e. the semantic

fields of ‘door’, ‘gate’, ‘port’, ‘gateway’, ‘Thor’, ‘Tor’, ‘dør’, ‘opening in house towards the outside world’. The th-rune could imply the semantic value of the door, next to the u-rune’s of the house and the f-rune’s of the wealth. Why not suggest that the prototypical name *thuri- meant ‘door’, ‘thor’? A simple referent was the door or port in the everyday life which truly opened for more metaphoric meanings and usages. Both the Danish *dør*, the English *door*, and the German *Tor* may be phono-historical developments from a name like *thuri-.

My conjecture is that the th-rune [ᚦ] shared semantics with the old door-sign as did the later delta- and d-signs. Cf. as important examples the numeral *three* and the second and third person pronoun, which were indicated by the ᚦ-sign, ᚦᛁᚲ, ᚦᛖᛁᚱ, *dig, dem, Dich, Thou, them, their*.

(The d-rune [ᛞ] or [ᛞ] can probably be understood as a double sign, namely two daleth-/th-sign put together, and the d-rune may be part of a different phono-semantics than the th-rune. The d-rune is most likely younger and especially connected to the “do-” morphology, i.e. the younger past tense conjugation of verbs, cf. the placing of d and o [ᛞ ᛟ] as the two final signs in the futhark order next to the ng-rune [ᛜ] implied in the derivational suffix -*ing*).

Following this interpretation the beginning of the futhark can be understood as motivated by the common tradition, and so the name *futh-ark* can be viewed as analogous with *alfabet* and *abecedarium* in more dimensions. (Perhaps -*arc* was related to semantic fields like ‘order’, ‘traditional order’, ‘system order’, cf. the meaning in words like *hier-archy*, *olig-archy*, or *Noah’s Arc*, or *archaic*).

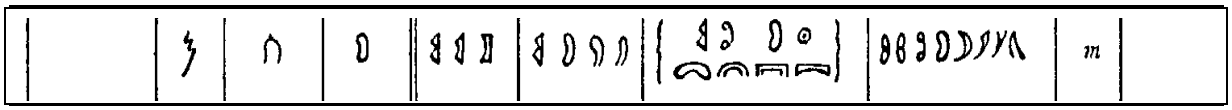
Why the traditional third sign, GIMEL-GAMMA-’camel’, did not get that place and the implied values in the futhark, is a relevant question. Perhaps the form and values of the GIMEL-GAMMA sign was not general in the relevant area and time but a more local, or later, creation, cf. that the “g-place” in several of the scripts (App.4) has a sign similar to the u-rune [ᚢ] if the script has a more beta-like form at the “b-place”; cf., too, that the Greek and Roman alphabets have different forms and values at that place. Perhaps a camel was neither a prominent part of the Runic people’s everyday life nor prototypically associated with the sixth rune [ᚲ], currently transliterated k. The sixth rune, the c-rune, could perhaps relate to the old ‘throw-stick’ sign and/or the analogical hand gesture. I think that the so-called k-, g- and h-runes should be subject for closer studies along the lines similar to those proposed in this essay; perhaps we might gain a deeper insight in their phonetic and phonological transformations during the history of Indo-European languages).

2.2. Possible forerunners of the runes No 18-20 [ᛒ ᛖ ᛗ] (b, e, and m)

At the “mem” line, m, in the possible forerunner writings (see appendices and Fig. 2b) we find clear analogies in form of each of the runes [ᛒ ᛖ ᛗ] (b, e, and m). The old

hieroglyphic sign was analogous to the waves in the water, 'the source of life', and a Semitic name for this sign was MEM.

Fig. 3b: A part of the "mem" line of the "Sinaitic and South-Semitic signs" (Driver 1962)



Phonetically, "*mem"* implies both m and e. A proto-sign with that name could be used as a common relative for both the m-phoneme and the e-phoneme when coining different signs for the vowel- and consonant-aspect of the formerly entity.

Both e and m are important "mini-morphological", phono-morpho-semantical, constituents in the Indo-European *first person singular prounouns* ; the nominative case is dominated by e (*ek, ego, ich, jeg, I*), while the other cases are dominated by m (*me, mik, mig, mich*). The first person pronoun is the deictic expression for the speaker of an utterance and is as such a basic constituent in speech referring to the person who utters the signs. It could be a possible semantic (metaphoric) development from water as 'the source of life' to humankind as 'the source of speech (and writing)'. It is in agreement with such a cultural semantic development that the m-rune was related to the name *mann- 'menneske' (man, person). (The words for 'mother' are wellknown as indices for the more general phono-semantic implications of the m-phonetics, cf. e.g. ROMAN JAKOBSON (1979) and BANG (1987) and (1995)).

It is also phonetically well-motivated if the b-rune [ᛒ] relates to the same protosign: the Nordic-Germanic b and m share some phonetic constituents, "segments", or features: closed-lips and non-aspirated opening, cf. the tendency to loss of b-distinctness when articulating words implying b and m in juxtaposition such as *købmand* ('tradesman') or *lambs, climbs.*

It is worth noticing that the three runes, which I interpret to be developed from one and the same traditional sign, MEM, are placed next to each other in the futhark, flanked by the traditional signs t and l (the "sign" and the "stem") [ᛏ ᛒ ᛘ ᛗ ᛚ]. In the syntax of the futhark they are closely related; should this constellation indicate some genetical and semantical relations? And should the primitive deixis sign, "the pointing arrow" [ᛏ], indicate some key function of the following signs as being the more transparant examples of the logics used to create the futhark *system*?

This interpretation implies that the b-rune has a different history than the Greek beta and the Latin B. There is supposedly both a phonetic and semantic difference between the Greek-

Roman b and the Nordic-Germanic b, even though we today see and perceive the Latin letter B to be "identical" to the Nordic. The graphic similarity between the b-rune and the Latin B has, in connection with the forgetting of the meaning of the signs, led to a confusion, and ignorance, of sources, which of course cannot be helped by a linguistics that is systematically bound to a paradigm based upon the *apriori* assumption that the linguistic sign is arbitrary and without relevant historical and contextual relations. But I think it may be of interest whether or not our u is related to the Greek beta and whether our B is related to our (and the Greek) M.

I understand that Moltke has found it difficult to understand the graphic similarity between the m-rune and the e-rune, seen from a Roman, or Latin point of view, but with the older writings as forerunners the similarity is motivated.

(Let me, too, suggest a meaning of the so-called w-rune [ᚹ], rune No 8, which Moltke could not understand. Graphically it looks like a Latin P but they share no other obvious characteristics. If we try to consider the "qof" sign to be the forerunner of the w-rune, however, we can find some interesting similarities. This sign's name implies both the qv- and the hw/wh-phonetics and can then be understood, also morphologically, to be a forerunner of both the Roman and the Nordic-Germanic question-morpheme prefix. If we should compare Runic and Latin signs there were perhaps more relevant shared relations of the Latin q/Q and the Runic [ᚹ]).

3. The runic figures as mutually distinct writing-articulations corresponding to phonetic-semantic prominent distinctive features.

In previous sections I showed some possible 'lexical' backgrounds for the runes, i.e. the runes' dependence on a similar sign's traditional phonetic-semantic implications, what these signs hitherto meant. Now I take a different view by viewing the mutual indications of similarities and differences between the runes, i.e. their mutual systematic formation, their 'anaphoric' relationship. Here, I shall also present just a few examples. Firstly a few examples which show some possible consonant correspondences, and secondly, some possible vowel-consonant correspondences.

If I am correct in my reference to the mentioned writings as the forerunners of the runes, the construction of the runic alphabet met two writing-historical tasks: one was to extract vowel signs from the "consonant" signs of the age; the other was to relate the phonetic qualities of the signs to prominent graphic expressions, i.e. to make the written signs more phonetically-phonologically indicative and less iconically-semantically bound. The same tasks which were carried out in the formation of the Greek alphabet and even more perfected

– into phonologically abstractness (as if without bodily and other meanings) – in the Latin alphabet.

Consonant system correspondences

Above was mentioned the "lexical" and phonetic relationship between the m-rune and the b-rune. Taking the b-rune [ᛒ] as my point of departure I shall view some possible correspondences between the graphic and phonetic expression and articulation.

Now I consider the b-rune to be constructed from segments which form a stylized figure of two closed lips. Following the same segmental logic I see the same two lips indicated in the p-rune [ᛈ], but with the distinct difference that now the lips are parted. (Michael Barnes has previously made the same observation, cf. Note 7).

Fig. 4: The Consonant Groups b, w/v, d, g, p, f, t, k

Prominent features	translit.	non-aspirated	aspirated
bi-labial (two lips)	b : p	ᛒ	ᛈ
mono-labial (lip-teeth)	w/v : f	ᚹ	ᚠ
tip tongue-teeth	d : th : t	ᛞ ᚦ	ᛏ
back tongue	g : k	ᚷ	ᚲ

If I then continue to compare, based on the same segmental logic, the b-rune and the w-rune, i.e. [ᛒ] and [ᚹ], the first one can be considered bi-labial, while the other misses one of the lips which corresponds to the monolabial (labiodental) w or v. I then move on to the aspirated opponent to v/w, f, which agrees with the same segmental logic: [ᚹ] [ᚠ] . If I continue inwards, against the air-flow used to express the sounds, I move from labial to frontal-dental consonants. When I then look from w to th [ᚹ] : [ᚦ], I see that the place of closing-opening has been lowered on the stem (inwards corresponds to downwards), while in the relationship between th and t [ᚦ] : [ᛏ] I see the closed room of the triangle (more "voice-body") as opposed to the open, aspirated, segment (minor "voice-body", more "air-flow-sound"). As already mentioned I view the d-rune as a morphologically dependent new formation (in relation to the time of establishment of the futhark). The grammatological history of the three consonants, t, th og d, requires further treatment, which I will not discuss here. In Fig.4 I have tentatively shown some features of the consonant system where phonetically prominent, or salient, features are corresponded by graphic, segmental indications.

Consonant-Vowel analogy-correspondences

It is well-known that the forerunner-writings did not (and do not) contain any real vowel signs. The indication of vowel signs in the Nordic-Germanic dialects were, however,

important due to their verbal inflections (cf. e.g. *synger, sang, sunget, sing, sang, sung*). Much indicates that the vowel signs were constructed from the proto-names of the "consonant" signs, as mentioned above in connection with common origin of the e- and m-runes. In Fig. 5 I show some possible and motivated vowel-consonant pairs, which, due to space, will not be further commented upon, but left open to closer observation and reflection.

Fig. 5: Vowel-Consonant-Analogies

	vowels	consonants		vowels	consonants
a : f / l	ᚨ	ᚠᚢᚱ	i : n	ᛁ	ᚾ
u : b	ᚢ	ᛒ	o : ng	ᛟ	ᛜ
e : m	ᛖ	ᛗ	ë : j	ᛇ	ᛃ

Fig. 6: Runes-Greek-Latin-Analogies

Name and 'meaning'	Runes	Greek	Latin
'fæ', 'Vieh', 'cattle', 'value' *fehu, alef / al-fa*	ᚠ	α	A
'house', 'hus', 'ur-mund', *ur-uz, bu, beth*	ᚢ	β	B
'door', 'dør', 'thor', 'Tor' (2.-3. pers: *du, thou, dem, them*) *daleth / delta*	ᚦ	Δ	D
'water', 'source', 'man' (1.pers: *me, mek, ek*) *mem*	ᛗ ᛖ	μ ε	M E

4. Summary and conclusion

To summarize:

The **graphic** forms of the runes, their **names** (implying **semantics** and **phonetics**), their mutual **system**-correspondences (implying **phonetics** and vowel-consonant **phonology**), and

their **place** in the order of the old futhark (implying cultural **value** logics), indicate that the runes are closely and directly related with the preclassical scripts (being shared prototypes) dated before the (differently stereotypicalized) classical Greek alphabet. The runes share in several aspects the characterics of the more primitive, preclassical, scripts. Their shared grammatology indicates their genealogical relations; and by means of that kind (kinship) of grammatology it is possible to explain the characteristics which hitherto were considered as being incomprehensible, e.g. the futhark order, the p-, w-, m-, and e-runes. By means of the more adequate grammatology of the preclassical scripts and signs, it is furthermore possible to formulate more interesting and 'deeper' interpretations of the signs and the characteristics which the futhark shares with the Roman alphabet and "capital letters of Imperial times". To consider the classical alphabets as models for the study of the runes is to use a simpler and more reduced system as a matrix ("mother") for a more complex and multidimensional system. By using a modern grammatology in the study of the runes, Moltke, and his colleagues, were not aware of the characteristics which are not ac*count*ed for in the modern grammatology and theory of signs. By trying to be aware of a more contemporary grammatology – at least to be more open to the possibility of a grammatology different from the modern type – I think we are able to learn deeper insights in our common origins and perhaps better to know our modern constitutionals and relations.

Notes

Note 1
"The Semitic languages are spoken across major sections of the Old World […] In ancient times they were spoken in the area of south-western Asia known nowadays as the *Near East or the Middle East, from the banks of the Tigris in the east to the Mediterranean in the west, and from the Armenian mountains in the north to the Arabian peninsula in the south*; then, as now, they were used alongside a variety of languages from other families." [My italics, JCB]
DANIELS & BRIGHT 1996 : 88

Note 2
"The runic futhark, so named from the first six symbols […] in the traditional common Germanic sequence of its letters, is *of uncertain origin*. It *may* have been *the creation of an individual familiar both with the Roman alphabet*, as there are many formal parallels, and with some northern Italic alphabet or alphabets which share some more unusual runic forms as well as the variable directions of writing found in some runic inscriptions, but not in Latin. *That the futhark was invented in Denmark has been argued strongly by Moltke* (1985: 64-65).
The earliest runic inscriptions from Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein are all on portable objects dating from the first century C.E. Others, also using the common Germanic futhark, belong to the period of the Germanic migrations and have been found in various parts of central Europe. Despite some minor formal variations, *they all show remarkable uniformity of lettering and variable direction of writing*. Their language has been called "Runic" or, better, "Northwest Germanic." [My italics, JCB]
DANIELS & BRIGHT 1996 : 333

Note 3

"Let us conclude our survey by summarising:

(1) The presence of two i-runes shows that the futhark was created not later than the end of the second century AD (This idea is now obsolete, as the ï-rune originally stood for c4).

(2) The oldest known runic inscriptions (Øvre Stabu, Illerup) are dated on archaeological evidence to c. AD 200, but if the inscription on the Meldorf fibula is runic – and of course it is – then the date of our earliest inscription has to be moved back by another 150 years, to c. AD 50. If we follow cautious practice in alphabet history and allow one or two centuries of as yet undiscovered finds to precede the oldest known inscriptions, we arrive at a date around the birth of Christ, or perhaps as far back as 100-150 BC, for the origin of runes. It might seem safe to say the year 0± 100 (50) years.

(3) For chronological reasons the runes cannot stem from the Phoenician alphabet, and for reasons of letter-shape they cannot be derived from the Greek alphabet (particularly not Greek cursive). Derivation from Etruscan is ruled out by letter-shapes and by principles of alphabet history (cf. also point (7) below).

(4) Runes are based on the Roman capital letters of imperial times. Some ten were taken over directly, others were imitated, and some completely new signs were invented.

(5) The futhark's independence of classical alphabets is shown in its new sequence of the letters, which is as unaccountable in phonetic terms as the original alphabetical order of the Phoenicians.

(6) The oldest runic inscriptions have all the primitive characteristics observed in the early phase of the classical alphabets (several centuries before the runes came into existence): irregularity of size and line, writing direction both to right and left, bustrophedon, inconsistent or non-existent punctuation, and the fact that each rune has its individual name. [The younger futhark inscriptions have the same characteristics, cf. e.g. Glavendrup, JCB]

(7) Points (4)–(6) lead to the conclusion that the futhark could not have arisen in the immediate vicinity of the classical alphabets.

(8) Judging from an abundance of early inscriptions in a relatively confined area, Denmark is the most likely place for the invention of runes. They were an independent creation based on Roman writing. The inspiration could have come from the Rhineland."

MOLTKE 1985: 64-65

Note 4

"Semitic consonantal writing, as developed and attested in the North Semitic scripts, was the ancestor of three geographically and linguistically diversified developments: […] and the third spreading toward the west, where it led to the creation of fully alphabetic writing systems for the Indo-European languages.

[…] of the Phoenician consonantal script (22 signs) to the Greeks […]

The derivation of the Greek alphabet from the Phoenician script is evident from: [a] the shapes of the letters, obvious despite reflection, elaboration, or simplification; [b] their ordering; [c] their numerical value; [d] and their names […] *These names have meanings only in Phoenician (or Semitic in general), not in Greek (or Indo-European)*. […]

The Greeks created an alphabet capable of transcribing all the segmental components of the Greek language *by adding signs with vocalic value to the consonantal inventory of Phoenician*. The signs of the Greek alphabet constitute the basis of all alphabets that developed in the West."

DANIELS & BRIGHT 1996 : 261. [My italics and parentheses, JCB]

Note 5

Cf. Moltke's point 3 (Note 3)

Note 6
"I hope to point out throughout the course of this investigation that *we simply do not know with certainty* where the runes come from and that *we should keep an open mind* concerning investigations which reevaluate the data and come to conclusions which do not agree with presently or formerly held beliefs. *To assume a priori that the runes cannot be older than the birth of Christ, is not only based on insufficient evidence, but it also leads to fallacious interpretations* of the inscriptions themselves.

I intend […] to bring to light the many *striking similarities* which the runic tradition *shares with* the Mediterranean epigraphic traditions. […] by examining the Greek and Latin traditions in their *preclassical stages, for* this is the period in which *a source for* runic tradition must be sought. Similarities between the runic writing system and the *archaic* Latin and Greek systems have *heretofore been ignored or explained away* as being the result of imperfect attempts by a primitive Germanic people to master epigraphic writing, *because scholars sought to* compare the runic tradition with *the highly refined classical traditions of Imperial Rome and Hellenistic Greece*. Strikingly different results are obtained when the runic tradition is juxtaposed to the Mediterranean traditions in their earlier stages of development."

MORRIS (1988:1-2) [My italics JCB]

Note 7
The English version (MOLTKE 1985: 66) includes a passage that is not included in the Danish version:
"On this point I have had a laconic query from Michael Barnes, of University College London, who asks, "Isn't the p-rune ᛕ ᛒ with two of the side staves moved?", and adds, "Cf. the phonetic relationship of p and b." Brilliant! He must certainly be right. It then becomes illuminatingly obvious that ᛕ was modelled on an existing ᛒ, in the same way as we may legitimately suppose that ᛟ o was hit upon, "designed", after ᛜ ng and ᛗ after ᛘ (Σ) e (though in these there is no "phonetic relationship" to compare) *[Yes, indeed, in the Semitic words, or syllables,* AYIN/OJING ('eye', 'øjne'), MEM/EM/ME*, cf. my interpretations, JCB]* In all probability the first runic forms to be sanctioned were those that were directly copied from Roman capital letters, ᛒ < B, ᚠ < F, ᚱ < R, and so on."

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Appendices

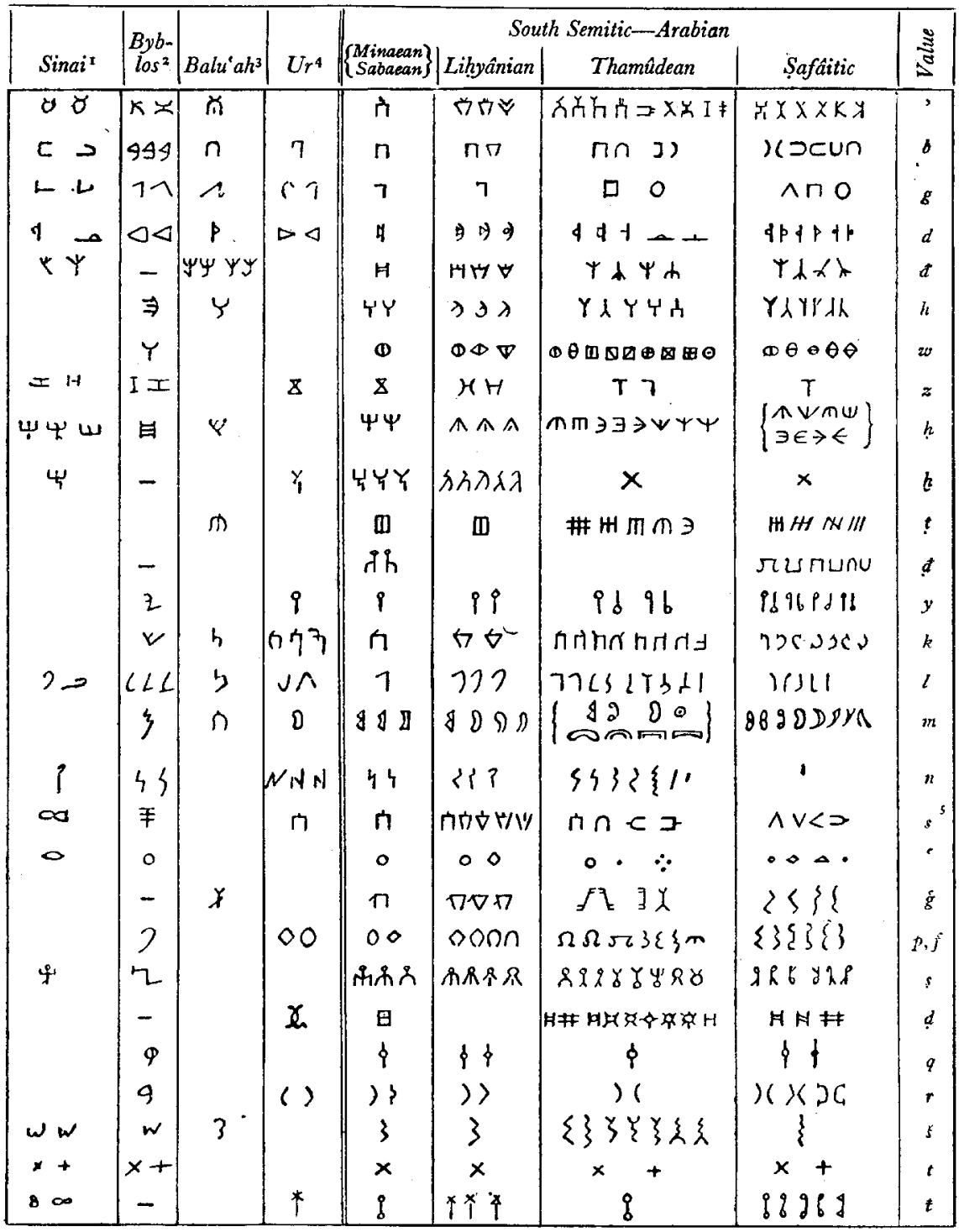
Appendix 1

Runes (Germanic, Anglo-Saxon, and Scandinavian) (DIRINGER 1962 : 163)

Phon. Value	Germanic Letters	Anglo-Saxon Letters	Scandinavian Early Signs Letters	Scandinavian Late Signs Danish Letters	Scandinavian Late Signs Swed.Norw. Letters	Scandinavian Dotted Letters
f	ᚠ	ᚠ ᚹ	ᚠ ᚹ ᚠ ᚹ	ᛒ	ᚠ	ᛒ
u	ᚢ ᚤ	ᚢ ᚣ	ᚢ ᚣ	ᚢ	ᚢ	ᚢ
þ	ᚦ	ᚦ ᚧ	ᚦ ᚧ ᚦ ᚧ	ᚦ	ᚦ ᚦ	ᚦ
a	ᚨ	ᚨ ᚩ	ᚨ ᚩ	ᚭ ᚭ ᚭ ᚭ	ᚭ ᚭ	ᚭ
r	ᚱ	ᚱ ᛦ	ᚱ ᛦ	ᚱ ᚱ	ᚱ	ᚱ
k	ᚲ	ᚳ ᚴ ᚵ ᚶ	ᚲ ᚳ ᚴ ᚵ ᚴ	ᚴ	ᚴ	ᚴ
g	ᚷ	ᚷ ᛝ	ᚷ			ᚸ ᚸ
w	ᚹ	ᚹ ᚻ	ᚹ ᚻ ᚹ ᚻ			
h	ᚺ ᚻ	ᚻ ᚼ	ᚺ ᚼ	ᛅ	ᚼ	ᛅ
n	ᚾ	ᚾ ᚿ ᛀ ᛁ	ᚾ ᚿ	ᚾ	ᚿ ᚿ	ᚿ
i	ᛁ	ᛁ	ᛁ	ᛁ	ᛁ	ᛁ
j	ᛄ ᛇ	ᛇ ᛈ ᛉ	ᛇ ᛈ ᛉ ᛋ ᛏ ᛐ ᛅ ᛆ	ᛇ	ᛅ ᛆ ᛇ ᛇ ᛁ	ᛁ
e	ᛇ	ᛂ	ᛂ ᛇ			
p	ᛈ	ᛈ ᚸ	ᛈ ᛇ ᛒ			ᛒ ᛒ ᛕ
r	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ ᛦ	ᛘ	ᛁ	ᛘ ᛘ ᛧ
s	ᛋ ᛊ ᛌ ᛍ	ᛌ ᛋ ᛎ ᛋ ᛏ	ᛋ ᛌ ᛍ ᛎ ᛏ	ᛋ ᛎ	ᛁ ᛁ ᛦ	ᛁ ᛁ ᛦ
t	ᛐ ᛏ	ᛏ	ᛏ	ᛏ ᛏ	ᛏ ᛏ ᛏ ᛏ	ᛏ
b	ᛒ	ᛒ ᛓ	ᛒ ᛓ ᛒ ᛓ	ᛒ ᛒ	ᚠ ᚯ ᚯ	ᛒ
e	ᛖ	ᛖ	ᛖ ᛖ ᛗ			ᛯ ᛯ
m	ᛗ	ᛗ	ᛗ ᛘ	ᛘ ᛦ	ᛏ ᛏ	ᛦ
l	ᛚ	ᛚ ᛘ	ᛚ ᛘ	ᛚ ᛚ	ᛚ ᛦ ᛦ	ᛚ
ng		ᛝ	ᛋ ᛜ ᛋ ᛟ			ᛠ
o	ᛟ	ᛟ ᛞ	ᛟ			
d	ᛞ ᛞ ᛞ	ᛞ ᛞ ᛞ	ᛞ ᛞ			ᛏ ᛏ ᛏ
a		ᚪ ᚫ				ᚮ
ae		ᚬ ᚭ				ᛁ ᛁ
y		ᛣ ᛦ ᛤ ᛨ ᛩ				ᛏ
ea		ᛠ				ᚯ ᚯ
io		ᛡ				ᛏ
c		ᛢ ᛣ ᛪ				ᛦ
g		ᛪ				

Appendix 2 A

Sinaitic and South Sinaitic signs (DRIVER 1976 : 145)

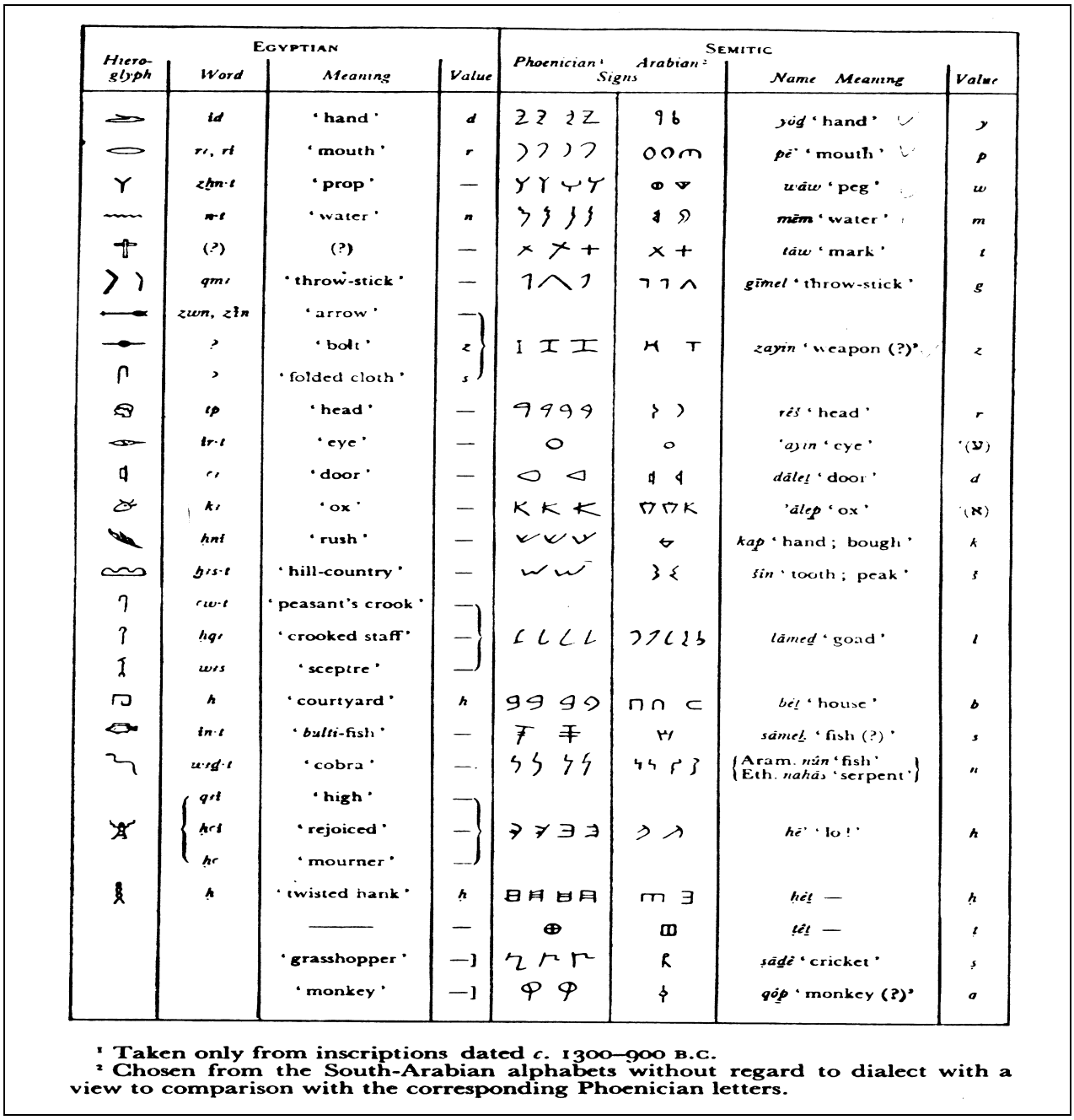


[1] S. pp. 94–8. [2] S. pp. 104–7. [3] S. p. 123.
[4] S. p. 124. [5] Or 𐤔 = *ś* (שׂ) and 𐤎 = *s* (ס).

FIG. 82. Comparative table of Sinaitic and South-Semitic signs.

Appendix 2 B

Comparison of Egyptian and Semitic Scripts (DRIVER 1976 : 167)



Egyptian: Hieroglyph	Word	Meaning	Value	Semitic: Phoenician[1] Signs	Arabian[2] Signs	Name Meaning	Value
	id	'hand'	*d*			*yōḏ* 'hand'	*y*
	r, *rỉ*	'mouth'	*r*			*pē'* 'mouth'	*p*
	ẓḫn·t	'prop'	—			*wāw* 'peg'	*w*
	n·t	'water'	*n*			*mēm* 'water'	*m*
	(?)	(?)	—			*tāw* 'mark'	*t*
	qmỉ	'throw-stick'	—			*gīmel* 'throw-stick'	*g*
	ẓwn, *ẓỉn*	'arrow'	—				
	?	'bolt'	*ẓ*			*zayin* 'weapon (?)'	*z*
	›	'folded cloth'	*s*				
	tp	'head'	—			*rēš* 'head'	*r*
	ỉr·t	'eye'	—			*'ayin* 'eye'	*'* (ʿ)
	ỉ	'door'	—			*dāleṯ* 'door'	*d*
	ỉḫ	'ox'	—			*'ālep* 'ox'	*'* (ʾ)
	ḥnỉ	'rush'	—			*kap* 'hand; bough'	*k*
	ḫỉs·t	'hill-country'	—			*šin* 'tooth; peak'	*š*
	ỉw·t	'peasant's crook'	—				
	ḥqỉ	'crooked staff'	—			*lāmeḏ* 'goad'	*l*
	wỉs	'sceptre'	—				
	ḥ	'courtyard'	*ḥ*			*bēṯ* 'house'	*b*
	ỉn·t	'*bulti*-fish'	—			*sāmeḵ* 'fish (?)'	*s*
	w·rḍ·t	'cobra'	—			Aram. *nūn* 'fish'; Eth. *nahāš* 'serpent'	*n*
	qỉ	'high'	—				
	ḫỉ	'rejoiced'	—			*hē'* 'lo!'	*h*
	ḥr	'mourner'	—				
	ḥ	'twisted hank'	*ḥ*			*ḥēṯ* —	*ḥ*
	———		—			*ṭēṯ* —	*ṭ*
		'grasshopper'	—]			*šāḏē* 'cricket'	*š*
		'monkey'	—]			*qōp* 'monkey (?)'	*q*

[1] Taken only from inscriptions dated *c.* 1300–900 B.C.
[2] Chosen from the South-Arabian alphabets without regard to dialect with a view to comparison with the corresponding Phoenician letters.

Appendix 3

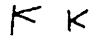
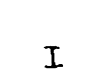
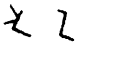
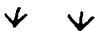
From Hieroglyphs to Roman Script (ARNESEN 1987 : 35)

Hieroglyffer	Sinai-skrift	Hebraisk	Semittisk skrift	Gresk	Romersk
		Alef - okse		AA	A
		Beth - hus		BB	B
		Gimel - kamel		ΓΓ	C
		Daleth - dør		Δ	D
		He - vindu		ΗΕ	E
		Vav - krok		(Ϝ)	F
		Zajin - våpen		Ζ	Z
		Heth - gjerde		Η	H
		Jod - hånd		Ι	I
		Kaf - håndflate		ΚΚ	K
		Lamed - stav		Λ	L
		Mem - vann		Μ	M
		Nun - fisk		Ν	N
		Ajin - øye		Ο	O
		Pe - munn		ΓΡ	P
		Qof			Q
		Res - hode		ΡR	R
		Sin - tann		ΣΣ	S
		Tav - tegn		Τ	T
		Waw		Υ	V
				Φ	
		Samek		Χ	X
				Ψ	
				Ω	

Oversikten viser utviklingen av Sinai-skriftens «bokstaver» fram til romersk monumentalskrift. De greske bokstavene er vist slik de forekom i bustrofedon (plogskrift), der skriftlinjene fram til ca. 500 f. Kr. ble skrevet hverannen linje fra høyre mot venstre, hverannen fra venstre mot høyre.

Appendix 4 A
The Earliest Linear Scripts (DANIELS & BRIGHT 1996 : Table 5.1)

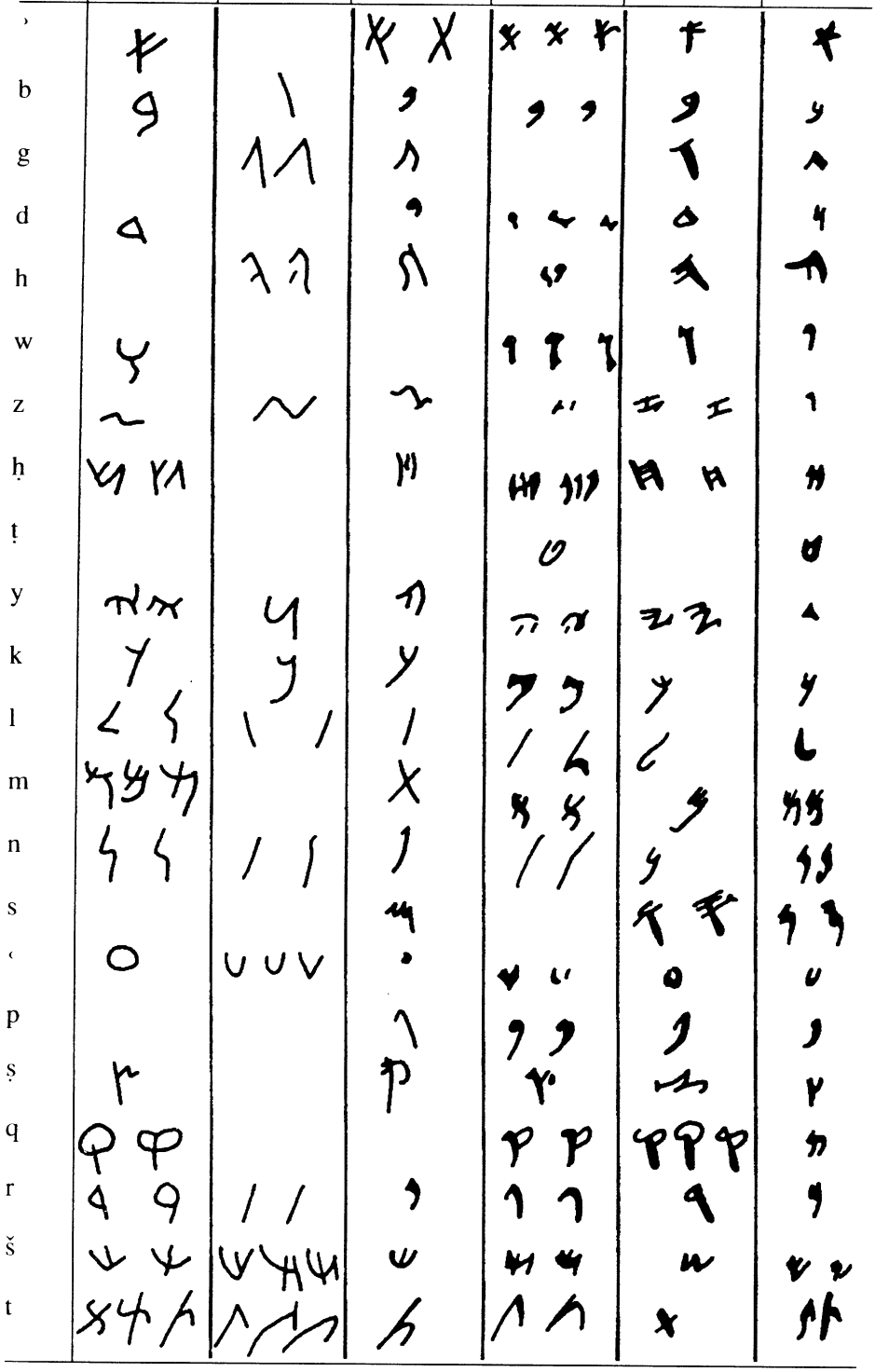
TABLE 5.1: *The Earliest Linear Scripts (Garbini 1979, fig. 1)*[a]

	I	*II*	*III*	*IV*	*V*
ʾ					
b					
g					
d					
h					
w					
z					
ḥ					
ṭ					
y					
k					
l					
m					
n					
s					
ʿ					
p					
ṣ					
q					
r					
š					
t					

a. Col. I, Arrowheads from Lebanon; col. II, Byblos 7765; col. III, Aḥiram inscription; col. IV, Inscriptions from Palestine; col. V, Gezer calendar.

Appendix 4 B
Northern Linear Cursive Scripts (DANIELS & BRIGHT 1996 : Table 5.3)

TABLE 5.3: *Northern Linear Cursive Scripts (Garbini 1979, fig. 4)*[a]



a. Col. VI, Mozia, 6th c. B.C.E., stela, Punic; col. VII, Malta, 3rd–2nd c. C.E., ostraca, Late Phoenician cursive; col. VIII, Sidon, 5th c. B.C.E., Phoenician; col. IX, Phoenician papyrus, 4th–3rd c. B.C.E.; col. X, Samaria, mid 8th c. B.C.E., ostraca, Hebrew cursive; col. XI, Aramaic papyrus, 465 B.C.E.

Appendix 4 C

Northern Linear Monumental Scripts (DANIELS & BRIGHT 1996 : Table 5.4)

TABLE 5.4: *Northern Linear Monumental Scripts (Garbini 1979, fig. 5)*[a]

	XII	*XIII*	*XIV*	*XV*	*XVI*
ʾ					
b					
g					
d					
h					
w					
z					
ḥ					
ṭ					
y					
k					
l					
m					
n					
s					
ʿ					
p					
ṣ					
q					
r					
š					
t					

a. Col. XII, Siloam inscription, Hebrew; col. XIII, Hebrew seals; col. XIV, Mesha inscription, Moabite; col. XV, Ammonite script; col. XVI, Hasmonean coins and Abba inscription, 2nd–1st c. B.C.E., "Paleo-Hebrew" script.

Appendix 4 D
North Arabic Scripts (DANIELS & BRIGHT 1996 : Table 5.6)

TABLE 5.6: *North Arabic Scripts (Garbini 1979, fig. 9)*[a]

	XXI	*XXII*	*XXIII*	*XXIV*	*XXV*	*XXVI*
ʾ						
b						
g						
d						
h						
w						
z						
ḥ						
ṭ						
y						
k						
l						
m						
n						
s						
ʿ						
p						
ṣ						
q						
r						
š						
t						

a. Col. XXI, Dedanite; col. XXII, Late Liḥyanite; cols. XXIII–XXV, Thamudic (XXIII, Teima; XXIV, Hejaz; XXV, Tabuk); col. XXVI, Safaitic.

Appendix 4 E

Monumental Script of Yemen and Ethiopia (DANIELS & BRIGHT 1996 : Table 5.7)

TABLE 5.7: *Monumental Scripts of Yemen and Ethiopia (Garbini 1979, fig. 10)*[a]

	XXVII	*XXVIII*	*XXIX*	*XXX*
ʾ				
b				
g				
d				
ḏ				
h				
w				
z				
ḥ				
ḫ				
ṭ				
ẓ				
y				
k				
l				
m				
n				
s[1]				
ʿ				
ǵ				
p				
ṣ				
ḍ				
q				
r				
s[2]				
s[3]				
t				
ṯ				

a. Col. XXVII, Epigraphic South Arabian script (forms in parentheses are of the North Arabic type, found in some older inscriptions); col. XXVIII, Later South Arabian script; col. XXIX, "Thamudic" type of Ethiopic script; col. XXX, Ethiopic consonantal script. The order of letters in this table is artificially based on the North Semitic order; for the ancient South Semitic order, see SECTION 68.

Note 1

"The Semitic languages are spoken across major sections of the Old World […] In ancient times they were spoken in the area of south-western Asia known nowadays as the *Near East or the Middle East, from the banks of the Tigris in the east to the Mediterranean in the west, and from the Armenian mountains in the north to the Arabian peninsula in the south*; then, as now, they were used alongside a variety of languages from other families." [My italics, JCB]

DANIELS & BRIGHT 1996 : 88

Note 2

"The runic futhark, so named from the first six symbols […] in the traditional common Germanic sequence of its letters, is *of uncertain origin*. It *may* have been *the creation of an individual familiar both with the Roman alphabet*, as there are many formal parallels, and with some northern Italic alphabet or alphabets which share some more unusual runic forms as well as the variable directions of writing found in some runic inscriptions, but not in Latin. *That the futhark was invented in Denmark has been argued strongly by Moltke* (1985: 64-65).

The earliest runic inscriptions from Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein are all on portable objects dating from the first century C.E. Others, also using the common Germanic futhark, belong to the period of the Germanic migrations and have been found in various parts of central Europe. Despite some minor formal variations, *they all show remarkable uniformity of lettering and variable direction of writing*. Their language has been called "Runic" or, better, "Northwest Germanic." [My italics, JCB]

DANIELS & BRIGHT 1996 : 333

Note 3

"Let us conclude our survey by summarising:

(1) The presence of two i-runes shows that the futhark was created not later than the end of the second century AD (This idea is now obsolete, as the ï-rune originally stood for c4).

(2) The oldest known runic inscriptions (Øvre Stabu, Illerup) are dated on archaeological evidence to c. AD 200, but if the inscription on the Meldorf fibula is runic – and of course it is – then the date of our earliest inscription has to be moved back by another 150 years, to c. AD 50. If we follow cautious practice in alphabet history and allow one or two centuries of as yet undiscovered finds to precede the oldest known inscriptions, we arrive at a date around the birth of Christ, or perhaps as far back as 100-150 BC, for the origin of runes. It might seem safe to say the year 0± 100 (50) years.

(3) For chronological reasons the runes cannot stem from the Phoenician alphabet, and for reasons of letter-shape they cannot be derived from the Greek alphabet (particularly not Greek cursive). Derivation from Etruscan is ruled out by letter-shapes and by principles of

alphabet history (cf. also point (7) below).

(4) Runes are based on the Roman capital letters of imperial times. Some ten were taken over directly, others were imitated, and some completely new signs were invented.

(5) The futhark's independence of classical alphabets is shown in its new sequence of the letters, which is as unaccountable in phonetic terms as the original alphabetical order of the Phoenicians.

(6) The oldest runic inscriptions have all the primitive characteristics observed in the early phase of the classical alphabets (several centuries before the runes came into existence): irregularity of size and line, writing direction both to right and left, bustrophedon, inconsistent or non-existent punctuation, and the fact that each rune has its individual name. [The younger futhark inscriptions have the same characteristics, cf. e.g. Glavendrup, JCB]

(7) Points (4)–(6) lead to the conclusion that the futhark could not have arisen in the immediate vicinity of the classical alphabets.

(8) Judging from an abundance of early inscriptions in a relatively confined area, Denmark is the most likely place for the invention of runes. They were an independent creation based on Roman writing. The inspiration could have come from the Rhineland."

MOLTKE 1985: 64-65

Note 4

"Semitic consonantal writing, as developed and attested in the North Semitic scripts, was the ancestor of three geographically and linguistically diversified developments: […] and the third spreading toward the west, where it led to the creation of fully alphabetic writing systems for the Indo-European languages.

[…] of the Phoenician consonantal script (22 signs) to the Greeks […]

The derivation of the Greek alphabet from the Phoenician script is evident from: [a] the shapes of the letters, obvious despite reflection, elaboration, or simplification; [b] their ordering; [c] their numerical value; [d] and their names […] *These names have meanings only in Phoenician (or Semitic in general), not in Greek (or Indo-European).* […]

The Greeks created an alphabet capable of transcribing all the segmental components of the Greek language *by adding signs with vocalic value to the consonantal inventory of Phoenician*. The signs of the Greek alphabet constitute the basis of all alphabets that developed in the West."

DANIELS & BRIGHT 1996 : 261. [My italics and parentheses, JCB]

Note 5

Cf. Moltke's point 3 (Note 3): "(3) For chronological reasons the runes cannot stem from the Phoenician alphabet, and for reasons of letter-shape they cannot be derived from the

Greek alphabet (particularly not Greek cursive). Derivation from Etruscan is ruled out by letter-shapes and by principles of alphabet history (cf. also point (7) below)."

[6] **Note 6**

"I hope to point out throughout the course of this investigation that *we simply do not know with certainty* where the runes come from and that *we should keep an open mind* concerning investigations which reevaluate the data and come to conclusions which do not agree with presently or formerly held beliefs. *To assume a priori that the runes cannot be older than the birth of Christ, is not only based on insufficient evidence, but it also leads to fallacious interpretations* of the inscriptions themselves.

I intend […] to bring to light the many *striking similarities* which the runic tradition *shares with* the Mediterranean epigraphic traditions. […] by examining the Greek and Latin traditions in their *preclassical stages, for* this is the period in which *a source for* runic tradition must be sought. Similarities between the runic writing system and the *archaic* Latin and Greek systems have *heretofore been ignored or explained away* as being the result of imperfect attempts by a primitive Germanic people to master epigraphic writing, *because scholars sought to* compare the runic tradition with *the highly refined classical traditions of Imperial Rome and Hellenistic Greece*. Strikingly different results are obtained when the runic tradition is juxtaposed to the Mediterranean traditions in their earlier stages of development."

MORRIS (1988:1-2) [My italics JCB]

Note 7

The English version (MOLTKE 1985: 66) includes a passage that is not included in the Danish version:

"On this point I have had a laconic query from Michael Barnes, of University College London, who asks, "Isn't the p-rune ᛕ ᛒ with two of the side staves moved?", and adds, "Cf. the phonetic relationship of p and b." Brilliant! He must certainly be right. It then becomes illuminatingly obvious that ᛕ was modelled on an existing ᛒ , in the same way as we may legitimately suppose that ᛟ o was hit upon, "designed", after ᛜ ng and ᛗ after ᛘ (Σ) e (though in these there is no "phonetic relationship" to compare) *[Yes, indeed, in the Semitic words, or syllables,* AYIN/OJING ('eye', 'øjne'), MEM/EM/ME, *cf. my interpretations, JCB]* In all probability the first runic forms to be sanctioned were those that were directly copied from Roman capital letters, ᛒ < B, ᚠ < F, ᚱ < R, and so on."