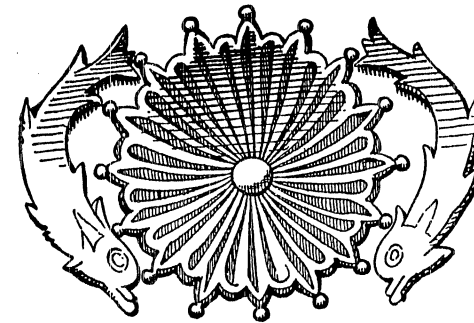


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LE CAIRE
IMPRIMERIE DE L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE

MCMLXVI

GREEK LOAN WORDS IN COPTIC

BY

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(In Religion ABBA PAKHOMIUS AL-MUHARRABI)

[Continuation]

PHONETICS

I am well aware that this matter requires a special treatment based on a thorough investigation which alone would fill a book. Therefore, and because others have dealt with the matter, I have not wished to concentrate my researches on this point. On the other hand, I should not like to leave unmentioned the phonetics which may be learned from the spelling of Greek words in Coptic texts. Thus, I give some remarks and hints just to present some of the problems involved and to give an outline of the subject. I am well aware how important these investigations are both for Coptic and Greek phonetics, but they must be worked out on a much broader scale and cannot be restricted to the spelling of Greek words occurring in Coptic texts.

COPTIC SPELLING OF GREEK WORDS

Correct orthography of Greek words in Coptic texts does not present problems or prove anything. We can learn only from spellings which differ from the correct Greek orthography. Of course, those misspellings which are obviously caused through inattentiveness, a mere slip of the writer's pen or a 'caprice' must be discarded, as they are entirely without any interest for our investigations.

Those Copts who were not very well trained in Greek often wrote a Greek word as they were wont to hear and to speak it. The Greek words which are spelled in this way are very interesting for they show us the pronunciation of the Greek words which was usual at a particular

time and in a particular place among the Copts. They do not prove, by any means, that the Greek words were pronounced in the same way by the Greeks themselves. It is only natural that the Copts assimilated the pronunciation of the foreign words to their own phonetic system. But, nevertheless, we may learn something of the general Greek pronunciation which was common in Egypt in Coptic times.

Reviewing this material, we must always bear in mind some difficulties. In every instance which we consider, we must ask some questions which can not always be answered easily and with certainty. These questions are :

1° Does the spelling under consideration give the phonetic value or is it merely a slip of the pen, without any value for our considerations?

I should be inclined to say that, if a certain phenomenon is found frequently, it is clear that it is of importance for showing how the Copts pronounced this particular word. If a particular spelling is found only once or twice I should prefer to leave it out of consideration at all. For it is either a mere mistake or it is simply caused by an uncertainty as how to write the foreign word, or that the particular sound was unfamiliar to the Coptic ear and tongue.

2° Much more difficult is it to be sure about the place and the time at which the document was written from which we take a particular word.

Most of the editions of Coptic texts do not indicate the place where the document or documents were found. And even if the finding place is certain, some documents, especially literary documents, may have been written in another place and brought from there. But, nevertheless, in certain cases we may be sure about the place. The question of the time is a little easier, as the modern publications at least endeavour to give an idea of the approximate date, where it is not possible to give an exact date. Again, this may be misleading in that a literary text may have been copied from a much older one with all its peculiarities. But place and time do not play a very important part in our investigations, as the Coptic way of pronouncing foreign words does not seem to change very much as to place and time. There are, however, some exceptions which will be considered separately.

THE UNSTRESSED VOWELS

The Coptic language had a strong stress accent⁽¹⁾ which reduced the unstressed syllables around it. Therefore, the vowels of the unstressed syllables are reduced to ε or even to that dull vowel written in good spelling by the horizontal stroke. Adjacent consonants may give a special 'colour' to the reduced vowel so that they may appear as λ, εΙ (ι) or ΟΥ. In vulgar spelling even ο, η, γ and ω may appear in an unstressed syllable.

In the language of every day life, the Copts assimilated the pronunciation of foreign words to their own phonetic system and habit. This is the reason why we may find in Coptic texts every unstressed vowel (or diphthong) of Greek words replaced by any other vowel. In considering the following examples, the reader must bear in mind that in Greek verbs which are not used in the form of the Greek infinitive, the stressed syllable is not that of the Greek infinitive (cf. § 185).

§ 1. a) Unstressed α nearly always keeps its value in Coptic use, as λ is quite common in unstressed syllables of Coptic words. Exceptions are very rare. Nevertheless ε̄νερε (J. 4, 64. 66. 69. 71; 12, 36; 13, 49; 18, 54 [all §.] and *passim*, and similar spellings: ενερε (J. 67, 100.106; 105, 19; 121, 2. 4; Ryl. 184, 4; 302, 4 (all §.)), λινερε (AZ. 1891, p. 22, 3; 23, 5. §.), εινερε (J. 60, 3. §.), ινερε (J. 68, 94; 88, 13 §.) are frequently found in legal documents representing εινδγειν 'to bring into court', 'to sue'. In Coptic, however, the initial ε is stressed.

In some cases, we find unstressed α represented by the vowel stroke in Coptic:

ἀγγεῖον 'vessel' > ἡκην or ηκην for ἡκην : Ryl. 106, 68 §.; Ep. 543, 4.5 §. ...

⁽¹⁾ Cf. W. TILL, 'Betrachtungen zum Wortakzent im koptischen' in *BSAC*, t. 13 (Le Caire, 1950), p. 13-32.

ἀραξ 'peanut' > ορ̄ξ, ωρ̄ξ, or ορξ, ωρξ : *CO.* 170, 5; 241, 6; 497, 1; *VC.* 25, 10; *OMH.* 46, 3; *Tor.* 34, 5, (all §.). ...

σύραξ 'storax, styrax' > στυρ̄ξ : *Pméd.* 143; 325; *TArzn.* 15. 2. p. 96; *Knopp. J.* 48; *M.* 11. (all §.).

Cl. ρ̄τοϋ, ρ̄ταϋ, ερ̄τοϋ, ερ̄τοϋ, ελ̄ταϋ -- ἀρτάβη (*Crum, Dict.*, p. 305, b). See also *ST.* 40, 7; 46, 7; 189, 3; 298, 6; 308, 9; 421, 5; 438, 4. 5. 10. 14 (all §.). ...

b) Unstressed α at the end of a word is sometimes spelled ε or even η in Coptic :

καμάρα 'vaulted chamber' > καμαρε : *J.* 4, 37; 55; 25, 17. 29; 45, 27. 31. 33; 46, 7; 67, 74; *VC.* 82, 7 (all §.).

Σίβυλα or Σίβυλλα 'Sibla' > σιβλαε (*J.* 67, 61 (cf. *ibid.* 1. 63, σιβλα)); 69, 6 §.).

σπεῖρα 'band' > σπηρη : *Ac.* 21, 31; 27, 1 §. [*BUDGE*].

c) Sometimes unstressed α disappeared in Coptic pronunciation : ἀναγνώστης 'Lector, Reader' > λιγνώστης (*anagnostes*) : *OMH.* 59, 13 §.; *VC.* 5, 36. §.; *AZ.* 1875, p. 144, B. ...

§ 2. a) As αι was pronounced like ε, these two letters replace each other in Coptic spelling :

αι > ε

e. g. αἰχμαλωσία 'captivity' > εκμαλωσια : *Ps.* 13, 7; 67, 19; 77, 61; 84, 1; 125, 1. 4. *Ezek.* 40, 1; *Z.* 42, 12 f. b.; *HCons.* 287, 13; 15, 15; 16, 8 (all B); *Mg.* 83, 4; 170, 9; *LApoc.* 47, 40-41 (S); *Agathonicus* 16. B. 3, 5 (F). ...

δικαῖος 'just' > δικεος : *Prov.* 12, 10 §.; *MDIK.* 10, p. 131. *N. III.* 3. 9 §.; *PO.* XI, p. 358, 8 (B); *ibid.* 14 p. 324, 14. 15; 326, 1, 346, 10; 357, 2 (B); O'Leary *H. II v°* 16 (B); *Mt.* 13, 49 (F); *Is.* 5, 23 (F) [*Z.* 148 b]. ...

αἰών 'age' > εων : *Knopp. G.* 13, R 1, 8 (S); *Wor.* 325, 1 (F) ...

πραيتώριον 'Lat. praetorium, official residence of a governor' > πρετωριον : *Jo.* 18, 33 (B); *P.O.* XI, p. 382, 8; 347, 16 (B); *J.* 84, 26 (S). ...

ε > αι

e. g. ἀνεσις 'indulgence, licence' > αιησις : *J.* 65, 30, §.

δωρεά 'gift' > λωραια : *Aeg.* 283, 2 f. b.; *Rec.* 6, p. 105, 2 f. b.; *BMis.* 41, 6 (all §.). ...

πόλεμος 'war' > πολλιμος : 1 *Reg.* 30, 22 (*LBib.* 3); *Tbau.* p. 125. I. R° 5; *BMis.* 1, 5; 5, 3; 6, 11 (f. b.); 8, 12; 11, 10; 12, 2; 16, 7-6 (f. b.); 21, 3; 22, 1; 24, 12; 25, 10 (f. b.); 29, 5-6; 30, 14; 31, 17 (f. b.), 8 (f. b.); 33, 4. 5 (all §.). ...

κεφάλαιον 'principal, capital' > κειφαλλ(λ)ιον : *HM.* 1, 194, 21; *C.* 42, p. 62, 12. *Z.* 269, 6; *Wor.* 167, 21; 172, 1; *BMis.* 188, 3 (f. b.); 210, 12 (f. b.); 229, 6 (f. b.); 309, 8 (f. b.); 310, 13 (f. b.), 481, 8 (f. b.) (all §.). ...

b) But unstressed αι may be replaced occasionally also by η, ει or γ.

καιρός 'time' > κηρος : *Amherest* p. 60. a. 68 §. ...

αἰών 'age' > ειωη : *J.* 85, 44; 97, 30 (S). ...

σπηλαιον 'cavern' > σπηλων : 3 *Reg.* 19, 6 (S). ...

εὐκαιρία 'opportunity, chance' > ευκαιρια : *Z.* 335, 13; *D. Men.* 4. a. 7-8; 14. a. 24-25; *BSAC.* 8, p. 68. b. 20-21 (all §.). ...

§ 3. For unstressed ε, we find all sorts of vowels replacing it in Coptic writing. The surrounding consonants may have had, in a number of cases, some influence on the pronunciation of ε, and may have given it a certain 'colour' : *e. g.*

ἐργάτης 'worker' > αρκατης (*BMis.* 261, 10 f. b.; 263, 15; 269, 5; *Kr.* 245, 11 (all §.). ...), αρκατης (*BM.* 477, 4 (6 times); *BMis.* 263, 6; 257, 7; *Tor.* 34, 6; *Ryl.* 373, 14 (all §.). ...), αρκατες (*AZ.* 1885, p. 27, 6 F. ...), αρ^r (*Ryl.* 258 §. ...).

ἐγκεφάλος 'brain' > λικεφλλος (*BMar.* 28, 4-5; 40, 18 §....), λικεφλλος (*Ryl.* 107, §. ...), λικεφλλου (*PS.* 344, 5 §. ...).

ἐγγύη 'security' > ηηγια (*BM.* 1107, 2, p. 465. a. §. ...).

ἀνάθεμα 'anathema' > ἀΝΑΘΥΜΑ (Z. 306, 8. §. ...).

κεντηνάριον 'hundredweights' > ΚΥΝΛΙΗΝΑΡΙΟΝ (Ryl. 439, 13 B, ...), ΚΥΝΔΥΝΑΡΙΟΝ (LMar. 34, b, 28-29. §. ...).

σεμνός 'holy, august' > ΣΥΜΝΟΣ (Z. 348, 11 f. b. §; LMis. 134, p. 495 [465]. ...).

πόλεμος 'war' > ΠΟΛΥΜΟΣ (LMis. 107, p. 1154 B; Z. 305, 13 §. ...).

The vowel stroke is very often found replacing an unstressed ε, e. g.

παρεμβολή 'encampment, camp' > ΠΑΡΒΙΒΟΛΗ (Sap. 19, 7 [Thom.]; Num. 10, 34; 11, 1 [Schleifer]; Ps. 77, 28 [Cod. Vidnob] (all §.). ...).

ἐβδομάς 'week' > ἘΒΛΩΜΑΣ (BAp. 79, 10 f. b.; BMis. 455, 4 (f. b.) (all §.). ...), ἘΒΛΩΜΑΣ (BMar. 151, 10; 221, 7; 228, 5; BMis. 26, 6-7; 473, 3 f. b.; BAp. 98, 11 f. b. (all §.). ...), ἘΒΤΩΜΑΣ (C. 99, p. 88, 8 §. ...).

ἐργάτης 'workman' > ἘΡΓΑΤΗΣ (BMar. 159, 6; BAp. 154, 6; 168, 7 f. b.; Wor. 227, 1; 271, 1; 293, 25; 295, 9; DLeg. 42, 11 (all §.). ...), ἘΡΚΑΤΗΣ (Wor. 290, 1; 291, 25; 292, 17; 293, 15 (all §.). ...), ἘΡΚΑΤΗΣ (Ryl. 355, 3 §. ...).

ἐπίγειον 'receipt' > ἘΠΓΑΓΙΟ, ἘΠΤΑΚΙ, ἘΠΤΑΚΙ: (Bal. 125, 10 §; BM. 458, 4 §, and *passim*)...

ΚΛΗΣΙΑ for ἐκκλησία 'Church' is certainly to be taken for κλησία, pronounced aklesía: J. 36, 75; 37, 129; 68, 102; KKS. 53, p. 48 [514] (all §.). ...

The last mentioned examples show a dull pronunciation of unstressed ε before κ, μ, π or ρ according to the Coptic habit.

§ 4. a) εἰ had the same pronunciation as ε and, therefore, it is often replaced by ι in Coptic spelling: e. g.

ἀσφάλεια 'security' - ασφਾਲια (J. 16, 16; 61, 17 §).

ὠφέλεια 'profit' > ογφελια, ωφιλια (J. 79, 10; KKS. 56, p. 19 [553] (all §.). ...).

εἰρήνη 'peace' with the Coptic definite article τ- prefixed to it is nearly always spelled τ-ρηνη (Ps. 33, 14; 72, 3; Judith 7, 24; BMis. 179, 9; 215, 13; 415, 2. 15 (f. b.); BAp. 1, 1; 18, 7; 32, 7;

40, 15; 41, 2; 58, 1; 63, 17; UM. p. 195, 2 (all §.) TILL, Oster, p. 9, 15; 13, 53; 16, 93. 94. 96 (A.). ...).

εἰκών 'image' is very often εΙΚΩΝ (BMar. 74, 9; 102, 4 f. b.); 219, 5 (f. b.); BAp. 21, 4 (f. b.), 121, 17; 155, 2 (all §.). ...

αἰτεῖν 'to ask' > ΑΙΤΙ, ΑΙΤ-, ΕΤΙ etc. Jo. 14, 13. 14; 15, 16; 16, 24 (all A₂); OMH. 60, 9; 101, vo. 6; 119, 9; 363, 8 (all §.). ...).

καταπατεῖν 'to trample under foot' > ΚΑΤΑΠΑΤΙ (Judges 5, 21 §. ...).

ἀμελεῖν 'to neglect' > ΑΜΕΛΙ (CA. 89, 25; 90, 26 §. ...).

μετανοεῖν 'to repent' > ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙ (BMis. 70, 2 (f. b.); 212, 9-10; 221, 10 (all §.). ...).

b) On the other hand εἰ replaces ι: e. g.

ἔτι 'yet, still' > ΕΤΕΙ, ΑΙΤΕΙ (DMena 43, 15; DLeg. 38, 2; 42, 5; HM. I, 22, 7; 96, 20 (all §.). ...).

κάμινος 'oven' > ΚΑΜΕΙΝΟΣ (Cl. 58, 30, A. ...).

c) γ substituting unstressed εἰ seems to indicate a rather dull pronunciation, e. g.

ἀπειλή 'threat' > ΑΠΕΛΗ (Wor. 290, 25 §. ...).

κείρια 'grave clothes' > ΚΥΡΙΑ, ΚΥΡΕΛ (LProc. 85, 3; ST. 268, 7; (all §.). ...).

d) λ instead of a regular -ει in the ending of a Greek verb with the infinitive in -ειν is not a phonetic phenomenon, but is due to a change of the class in some verbs (cf. § 195). So ἀρνεῖσθαι 'to deny' is always λρηλ as if it were a contracted verb of the -άω class. So also ἀπαρνεῖσθαι 'to deny utterly' - λρηλρηλ. It is the same with εὐχαριστεῖν 'to give thanks' > ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΛ (cf. § 195). If καταπατεῖν 'to tread under foot' is spelled ΚΑΤΑΠΑΤΛ (LMis. 148, p. 212 §. ...), it was certainly mistaken for a compound of the more frequent ἀπατᾶν > ΑΠΑΤΛ.

§ 5. a) It is easy to understand that unstressed η was often replaced by ε, e. g.

ἀγάπη 'love' > ΑΓΑΠΕ (BM. 489, p. 232. a. 8. 11; p. 232. a. 10 (f. b.). 7 (f. b.); *ibid.*, 489, p. 232 b. v^o, 8 (all §.). ...).

ἐρμηνευτής 'translator' > ΖΕΡΜΕΝΕΥΤΗΣ (Z. 319, 10 (f. b.) §.; *LMis.* 95, p. 327 §. ...).

If μηρός 'thigh' is sometimes spelled ΜΕΡΟΣ (*Judges* 3, 16 §.; *Judith* 9, 2. §.; *BAr.* 84, 18. 19. §.; *PO.* 9, p. 137, 15), the very common μέρος 'share' has influenced the spelling of μηρός which was far from being familiar to the Coptic writer.

b) η seems to have had a pronunciation, in the Greek of the Coptic period in Egypt, between that of υ and ι. In Coptic spelling it is often replaced, sometimes by γ, sometimes by ι. γ seems to point to a dull, ι to a bright pronunciation.

η > γ

e. g. ἡγούμενος 'president, chief' > ΖΥΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ (*Judith* 5, 5 §.; *Mt.* 2, 6 B; *Lk.* 22, 26 B; *Heb.* 13, 24 B; *BSM.* 104, 12 B; *BM.* 917, 5 (f. b.) B; *HM. I.* 29, 18 §. ...).

ἡλικία 'full age' > ΖΥΛΙΚΙΑ, ΖΥΛΙΓΙΑ, ΖΥΛΥΚΙΑ, ΖΥΛΗΚΙΑ, etc. (*Wor.* 208, 2 §.; *BAr.* III, 7 §.; *DLeg.* II, 2 §.; *BMis.* 154, 5 f. b.; 155, 2-3; 284, 4 f. b.; 545, 9 (§.); Z. 328, 1 (f. b.) §.; *DMena.* 45. a. 5-6 §.; *Tri.* 439, 2 §. ...).

Θηρίον 'wild animal' > ΘΥΡΙΟΝ (*DLeg.* 7, 33 §. ...).

κηπαρός (-ουρός) 'gardener' > ΚΥΠΩΡΟΣ, ΚΥΠΑΡΟΣ, ΚΥΠΟΡΟΣ (*LProc.* 48, 44 §.; *LMis.* 96, p. 335; *KKS.* 25, p. 302. ...).

πονηρός 'the evil one' > ΠΟΝΥΡΟΣ (*Wor.* 279, 10-11 §.; *DLeg.* 64, 16-17 §.; *BMar.* 162, 2 (f. b.); 204, 3; 224, 8 (f. b.); 249, 5 (f. b.) §. ...).

κентηνάριον 'hundredweight' - ΚΥΗΛΗΑΡΙΟΝ, ΚΥΗΛΥΗΑΡΙΟΝ (*Ryl.* 439, 13 B; *LMar.* 34. b. 28. ...).

η : ι(ε)

ἡλικία 'full age' - ΖΙΛΙΚΙΑ (*BAr.* III, 14 §. ...).

χρηστός 'good, kind' - ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ (*Sap.* 2, 12. §.; *Wor.* 278, 2. §. ...).

ἀγέλη 'herd' - ΛΙΓΕΛΗ (*BMar.* 206, 14 §.; *C.* 99, p. 95, 7 (*bis*) §. ...).

ἐπισημή 'prudence' > ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΕΙ, ΕΠΙΣΛΗΜΕΙ, ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΕΙ, ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΕΙ (*DMena.* 58. b. 28 §.; *BMis.* 12, 16; 434, 15 (f. b.) §.; 457, 12 (f. b.) §.; *BAr.* 60, 11 §.; *BMar.* 159, 9 (f. b.); 161, 17-18; 192, 2 §.; *DLeg.* 2, 6 §. ...).

αἴτημα 'request' > ΑΙΤΤΕΙΜΑ (*J.* 106, 182 §. ...).

ἀπαίτησις 'claim' > ΑΠΑΙΤΤΙΣΙΣ (*BM.* 1146 §. ...).

§ 6. Unstressed ι is generally written correctly in Coptic. We find, of course, ι occasionally replaced by some other vowel as e. g.

ι : χριστιανός 'Christian' > ΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ (*J.* 12, 41; 13, 56; 87, 36 §. ...).

γ : ικανός 'befitting' > ΖΥΚΑΝΟΣ (*Is.* 49, 16 B; (*P.O.* 24, p. 277, 13 B); *Tri.* 619, 2, §. ...).

ἡλικία 'full age' > ΖΗΛΥΚΙΑ, ΖΥΛΥΚΙΑ, etc. (*BMar.* 85, 5 §.; *BMis.* 155, 2-3 §.; *DLeg.* II, 2 §. ...).

εἰ : διώκειν 'to pursue, chase' > ΤΕΙΟΚΕ (*Wor.* 238, 11 §. ...).
ἐπικαλεῖν 'to call on' > ΕΠΕΙΚΑΛΕΙ (*Ps.* 49, 15 §. [*LBib.*]; *DLeg.* 25, 27 §. ...).

οἰ : ἀμφιβολία 'doubt' > ΑΜΦΟΙΒΟΛΙΑ (*Bal.* 163, 4 §. ...),
ΑΜΦΟΙΒΟΥΛΙΑ (*Bal.* 117, 8 §. ...).

κιβωτός 'ark' > ΚΟΙΒΩΛΟΣ (*BMis.* 87, 9 f. b.; 346 a, 1 f. b., 347 a, 5 §. ...), ΚΟΙΒΟΥΤΟΣ (*BMis.* 191, 11 11 f. b. §. ...).

All these letters were more or less pronounced like ι, as in Modern Greek. In some rare cases even ε is found representing ι, e. g.

λεγιών 'Lat. legio, a large body of troops' - ΧΕΙΓΕΩΗ (*Mt.* 26, 53 §.; *Mk.* 5, 9 §B; 5, 15 §.; *Lk.* 8, 30 §.; *BMis.* 336 a, 1 f. b.; b, 1 f. b. §. ...).

Ἰνδιανή 'Indian' - ΕΠΙΛΙΚΗ (*KKS.* 2, p. 406 §. ...).

In some cases we find the vowel stroke replacing an unstressed ι, e. g.
κινδυνεύειν 'to be in danger' > ΣΗΤΕΝΕΥΕ or ΣΗΤΕΝΕΥΕ (*VG.* 71, 8 §. ...).

λαδίξ 'lodix, coverlet, blanket' > ΛΑΤ̄Ξ (*Ep.* 545, 14 §. (cf. *ibid.* I. 6, ΛΑΤ̄Ξ); ΛΑΤ̄Ξ (*J.* 66, 40.41; 76, 42.44; *ST.* 110, 5; 126, 3; 138, 6; *Ryl.* 245, 1.2; *Bal.* 327, 3 (all §. ...)).

δολοκτίσιος 'holokottinos' > ΖΟΛΟΚΟΤ(Τ)Ἰ (Aegyptus 31, p. 334, 2 §. ...), ΖΟΛΟΚΟΤ(Τ)Ἰ (Ryl. 134, vo. 3; 215, 10; 217, 3; 385, vo. 10; BM. 531, 6.11; 1028, 10; 1029, 4; 1036, 7; 1119, 17; 1157, 7; 1162, 10; UM. p. 196, 5; Aegyptus 31, p. 335, 2; Bal. 127, 2 (all §). ...).

σινδώνιον 'fine linen' > ΣἸΝΤΩΝΕ (CLT. 10, 12.14; CO. 472, 1 f. b. (all §). ...).

τριμήσιον 'tremis' > ΤΡΜΗΣΙΟΝ (J. 16, 18; CO. 257, 3. 8, 8-9; ST. 227, 8; OMH. 51, 8; 53, 5 (all §). ...), ΤΡΜΗΣΙΟΝ (OMH. 161, 5-6 §. ...).

§ 7. a) Unstressed *υ*, apart from the combinations with other vowels, is very often replaced in Coptic spelling by *ι* or *ε* (̄), because the sound indicated by the Greek *υ* at that time in Egypt either did not exist in Coptic at all, or was not written by a special letter. The pronunciation of simple *υ* in an unstressed position seems to have been near that of *ι* or *ε*, *e. g.*

Κυριακή 'Lord's Day' > ΚΙΡΙΑΚΗ (JKP. 48, 6 §. ...).

μάρτυρος 'martyr' > ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ (CNUM, *Stu.*, p. 329 vo., 2 §. ...).

ὑποτάσσειν 'to do homage' > ΖΠΟΤΑΣΕ (JEA. 20; p. 51, 2, §. ...).

συναρπαγή 'deceit' > ΣΕΝΑΡΠΑΓΗ (J. 86, 42 §. ...), ΣΕΝΑΡΠΑΚΗ (J. 3, 12; 7, 16 §. ...), ΣΕΝΑΡΠΑΓΕ (J. 13, 64-65 §. ...), ΣΝΑΡΠΑΓΗ for ΣἸΑΡΠΑΓΗ (J. 68, 15 §. ...).

Unstressed *συν* or *συμ* is often written *σἰ* or *σἸ* respectively; *e. g.*

συγχωρεῖν 'to permit' > ΣἸΧΩΡΕ, ΣΝΧΩΡΕ: (CO. 108, 4 §; J. 97, 52 §. ...).

συμφωνεῖν 'to agree' > ΣἸΦΩΝΕΙ, ΣΜΦΩΝΕΙ (J. 6, 20 §. ...).

A vowel stroke replacing an unstressed *υ* occurs occasionally also in other syllables, *e. g.*

κἠρξ 'herald' > ΚΥΡΞ (AZ. 52, 121, 2 (f. b.); BMis. 123, 19; 426, 3; BSAC. 10, p. 46, 2; WTh. 189, 7 (f. b.); LDi. 271, vo. 9; C. 99, p. 111 b, 34; BHom. 27, 18 (all §). ...).

b) *υ* may also be occasionally represented by dark vowels, *e. g.*

συνπρόσιον 'dining-room, sitting-room' > ΣΑΝΠΩΣΙΟΝ (J. 20, 55, 58-59 §. ...), ΣΑΠΩΣΙΟΝ (J. 20, 53-54 §. ...), ΣΑΜΠΩΣΕ (ST. 298, 4-5 §. ...).

μυρσίνη 'a myrtle' > ΜΟΥΡΣΥΝΗ (KKS. 25, p. 306 §. ...), ΜΟΥΡΣΙΝΗ (Z. 539, 18 §. ...), ΜΟΥΡΣΗΝΗ (BM. 1008, p. 419 a, 4-5 §. ...), ΜΟΥΡΣΥΝΗ (BSAC, 10, p. 53, 12 f. b. §; KKS. 25, p. 306 [214]. ...).

μυλῶν 'mill-house' > ΜΟΥΛΩΝ, ΜΟΥΛΟΝ, ΜΟΥΛΟΟΝ (Jerem. 52, 11. B; AZ. 66, p. 58, N. 26 §; p. 53.61; p. 123-130, Nos. 1-25; 27-29; 31-58; 59, 60-69; 71; 76; 77; 80; 83; 85-87; UM. p. 263-281, Nos. 1; 5, 5-10; 13-16; 18-21; 23-25; 27-41; 43-58; 60-67; 70-72; 74-77 (all §)).

§ 8. a) *ο* and *ω* very often interchange between themselves, *e. g.* ἔμολογια 'declaration' > ΖΟΜΩΛΩΓ(Ε)ΙΑ, ΖΩΜΩΛΩΓ(Ε)ΙΑ (PLond. 1550, 8; 1504, 2; 1587, 10, 15 (all §)).

κιννάμωμον 'Cinnamomun Cassia' > ΣΙΝΝΑΜΟΜΟΝ (Aroc. 18, 13 § [BUDGE]. ...).

§ 8. b) There is no unstressed *ο* or *ω* in literary Coptic. Therefore, we find, sometimes, unstressed *ο* or *ω* in Greek words replaced, in Coptic texts, by other vowels which may occur in Coptic unstressed syllables. The Greek unstressed *ο* was weakened, in these cases, as it would have been in a Coptic word:

καταβολή 'payment' > ΚΑΤΑΒΟΥΛΗ (J. 37, 75; CO. 411, 4; 418, 6-7; Orientalia, 16 (1947), Nos. 3, 7-8; 4, 6; 8, 6; 9, 4; 10, 6; 11, 1-2; 18, 2; 27, 6; 28, 5 (all §). ...).

κάδος 'vessel, pot' > ΚΑΔΟΥΣ, ΚΑΤΟΥΣ (Is. 40, 15 §B; WS. 161, 9 §; ST. 329, 2-3 §; Ryl. 206, 4; 208, 4; 209, 5; CMSS 34, 5; BM. 1063; Bal. 116, 11; UM. p. 186 ro, 3 (all §); P.O. 24, p. 277, 9-10 B; LMis. 141, p. 916 [502] §; AZ. 67, p. 102, 9 (§). ...).

σύμβουλος 'governor' > ΣΥΜΒΟΥΛΟΣ, ΣΥΝΒΟΥΛΟΣ (PLond. 1542, 5; 1553 vo. 8; 1634, 7; 1499, 8 §; VC. 49, 6 §; WMac. 174, a, 5, 19; b, 1, 7-8, 17, 24; 175, a, 6, 13; b, 11 B. ...).

κολοφονία 'colophonium' > ΚΑΛΛΦΩΝΙΑ(ϸ) : (*Pméd.* 142; 273; 343; 248; 300 (S); *TArzn.* 73; *Mus.* 65, p. 160, 1, 2-3; 161, 2, 8 (S); *Ann.* I, p. 59, 248 (B). ...).

δλοκότινος 'holokottinos' > ΖΑΛΛΑΚΟΤΙΝΟΣ, ΖΑΛΛΑΚΟΧΓ, ΖΑΛΛΑΚ-
ΩΤΤΕ, ΖΑΛΛΑΚΟΥΤΕ, ΖΑΛΛΑΚ/ (*J.* 57, 6; *AZ.* 1871, p. 23; *El-Gebrāwī,*
pl. 29, N. 2, 1; *Ryl.* 139, 3; *J.* 49, 3; 20, 67, 87; *ST.* 227, 7;
Bal. 114, 4; 138, 3 (all S); *Tor.* 38, 4, 5 (A). ...).

δπο > ΛΠΟ(Υ)-, e. g., δποκάλμος 'juice of calamus' > ΛΠΟΥΧΑ-
ΛΑΜΩΝ (*Pméd.* 325 S; *TArzn.* 152, p. 96, 97; *Mus.* 64, p. 79. ...).

δποπάναξ 'gum of oropanax hispidus' > ΛΠΟ(Υ)ΠΑΝΑΚΟΣ (*Pméd.*
358; 370 S; *TArzn.* 107, p. 82; *Mus.* 64, p. 79. ...).

δπάρα 'fruit, fruit tree' ⁽¹⁾ > ΖΗΠΩΡΑ (*BM.* 1166, 6 S; *VC.* 48,
13 S. ...), ΖΥΠΩΡΑ, ΖΥΠΟΡΑ (*Z.* 539, 17 S; *BMis.* 570, 11.12
(f. b.) S; *BAp.* 141, 2 (f. b.); 142, 8 (S); *BMar.* 222, 20 S; *Aeg.*
210, 6 S; *Aeg.* 210, 12 (f. b.) B; *Rec.* 6, p. 109, 18 S; *TConst.* p. 173,
2 (f. b.) B; *Tri.* 498, 2 S; *Miss.* 4, p. 730, 1 f. b., 725, 1 (f. b.) S;
KKS. 25, p. 303 S).

Lat. 'nummus, a Roman silver coin' > νοῦμμος > ΝΟΥΜΕϸ (*Z.* 436,
11 S; *BSAC.* 12 (1946-1947), p. 47; *LMis.* 131, p. 629. ...).

είδος 'utensil, thing' > ΕΙΤΗΣ (*AZ.* 1892, p. 39, 13, 16
S. ...).

δρμος 'port' > ΖΟΡΜΕϸ, ΖΩΡΜΗΣ (*BSG.* 78, 2 B; *LMis.* 131,
p. 629 [445], B; *Kr.* 228, ro, 8 S. ...).

Φθινόπωρον 'autumn' > ΠΟΘΗΝΟΠΕΡΩΝ (*Tbau.* 120, D^o 3
S. ...).

Φονεύς 'murderer, slayer' > ΦΕΝΕΥϸ (*FR.* 112, 7 B. ...).

δράκων 'dragon' > ΛΡΑΚΗ, ΛΡΑΚΗ (*Ryl.* 48, 1 (f. b.) S. ...).

Lat. velum 'curtain' > βῆλον > ΟΥΗΛΗ, ΟΥΗΛΗ (*Ryl.* 241, 8,
9 S. ...).

Θεοδόσιος 'Theodosius' > ΘΟΥΛΩϸΙΟΣ (*JKP.* 46, 11; 50, 17;
52, 13, 16, 18, 28; 54, 22 S. ...).

σύμφωνον 'contract' > ΣΥΜΦΛΗΘΗ (*AZ.* 67, p. 102 S. ...).

⁽¹⁾ Cf. *AZ.* 64 (1929), p. 122 ff.

c) Weakening of unstressed vowels in pronunciation certainly favoured the confounding of the Greek endings -ης and -ος in words denoting persons, e. g.

Lat. tribunus 'tribune' > τριβουῖνος > ΤΡΙΒΟΥΝΗΣ (*ST.* 257, 2
S. ...).

Lat. chartularius, 'chartulary, keeper of the archives' > χαρτουλ-
άριος > ΧΑΡΤΟΥΛΑΡΙϸ (*UM.* 192, 3 S. ...). On the other hand :
πέρσης 'Persian' > ΠΕΡϸΟΣ (*BAp.* 96, 1 f. b.; *Est.* 1, 14, 18, 19;
16, 10, 14; *Z.* 617, 6 f. b.; *LAL.* 9, 9; *C.* 99, p. 130, a, 20; *MIF.*
67, p. 171, 4 (all S). ...).

d) The weakened pronunciation of Greek unstressed ο leads often to its entire disappearance in the ending -ιον ⁽¹⁾, e. g.

εξάγιον 'payment' ΕΞΑΓΙΝ (*UM.* p. 200, 4 S. ...).

έντάγιον 'receipt' > ΕΝΤΑΓΙΝ (*Bal.* 244, 9, 10 S. ...), ΕΝΤΑΓΗ
(*Orientalia*, 16, p. 531, N. I, 13, 18; p. 532; 525; 526; 529,
S. ...).

καράδιον 'boat', 'a light ship' > ΚΑΡΑΚΗ (*Ryl.* 326, 8 S. ...),
ΚΑΡΑΚΗ, ΚΑΡΑΚΗ (*Ryl.* 144, 3, 5, 13, S. ...).

άγγειον 'vessel' > ΑΓΙΝ (*OMH.* 156, 5 S. ...), ΑΓΓΗΝ (*ST.* 46,
6; 43, 7; 127, 7; 131, 2 S; *Ryl.* 106, 68 S; *VC.* 37, 12 S; *Ep.* 543,
4, 5; 312, 7 S; *BMis.* 387, 7 S; *OMH.* 41, 1 S; *Kropp.* p. 52, 46 S;
Tor. 29, 4 S; *Bal.* 322, 8 S; ... *Mt.* 13, 48 F.), ΑΝΚΗΝ (*ST.* 133,
3, 4, 5 S. ...).

δγγία 'ounce' > ΝΓΙΑ, ΗΓΙΑ (*J.* 18, 69 S. ...).

σίπιον 'tow, oakum' > ΣΙΠΗΝ, ΣΙΠΗ, ΣΙΠΗ (*Ryl.* 267, 8;
306, 5; 348, 9, 10, vo. 2 all S. ...).

Lat. faciale 'turban' > Φακιάριον > ΦΛΑΚΑΡΙΝ, (*Ryl.* 238, col. 2,
22 S. ...), ΦΛΑΚΑΡΗ, ΦΛΑΚΑΡΗ (*VC.* 52, 1 S. ... *Ryl.* 243, 19 S. ...).

The same phenomenon is found in words ending -ιος, e. g.

κύριος 'lord, master' > ΚΥΡΙϸ (*BSAC.* X, p. 48, 5 f. b.; 49,
13; *Kr.* 29, 2; *Ep.* 435, 8; *Ryl.* 166, 4 (all S). ...).

⁽¹⁾ For another development of this ending, see § 50.

Perhaps this way of pronouncing *-ιον*, *-ιος* was a Greek habit of the time, cf. Modern Greek ψάρι < ὀψάριον 'fish', ψωμί < ψωμίον⁽¹⁾ 'bread'; Hellenistic κύρις sometimes for κύριος⁽²⁾.

e) Furthermore, we often see, in non-literary texts, the noun endings *-ιον*, *-ον* in unstressed syllables, omitted or replaced by ε, η or ι, e. g.

κεράτιον 'caral' > ΚΕΡΑΤΕ, ΣΑΡΑΤΕ (*Lk.* 15, 16 §; *CO.* 454, 9-10 §; *Ep.* 521, 13; 535, 2; 547, 9 §. ...).

καμίσιον 'shirt' > ΚΑΜΙΣΕ, ΚΑΜΗΣΕ (*ST.* 116, 22, 23, 24; 422, 14 (§); *OMH.* 187, 8 §; *Bal.* 331, 1 §. ...), ΚΑΜΙΣΗ (*BM.* 473, 1 §. ...), ΚΑΜΙΣΙ, ΚΑΜΗΣΙ, ΚΑΜΑΣΙ (*BM.* 557 F; 585, 17 F; 639, 4 F; *AZ.* 1885, p. 41 (3 times) F. ...).

σάβανον 'towel' > ΣΑΒΑΝΕ (*Ryl.* 243, 11 §; *Co. Ad.* 36, 4 §. ...), ΣΑΒΑΝΗ (*BM.* 480, 12 §. ...).

σίπιον 'tow' > ΣΙΠΠΕ (*WS.* 104, 11 §. ...), ΣΙΠΠΗ, ΣΙΦΙ (*BM.* 580 p. 275. b. 6 (*bis*) F; 528 p. 258. b. N. 26 F; 615 p. 290 F; *AZ.* 1885 p. 29 F. ...).

ταρίχιον 'pickles' > ΤΑΡΙΧΕ, ΤΑΡΕΙΧΕ (*ST.* 117, 5; *CO.* 197, 7; 465, 4; *WS.* 92, 10-11; *Bal.* 197, 8; 206, 8; 259, 10 (all §.)), ΤΑΡΙΧΗ (*VC.* 110, 2 §. ...).

τριμήσιον 'tremis' > ΤΡΙΜΗΣΕ, ΤΡΙΜΗΣΣΕ, ΤΡΕΜΗΣΣΕ, ΤΕΡΜΗΣΣΕ, ΤΙΡΜΗΣΣΕ, ΤΙΡΜΕΣΣΕ, ΤΕΡΜΕΣΣΕ, ΤΕΡΜΗΖΕ (*ST.* 96, 4; 388, 17; *Ep.* 349, 1; 354, 5; 520, 8; 288, 5; *CO.* 164, 4; 165, 4; *VC.* 101, 7, 12; 25, 11; *ST.* 281, 15; *OMH.* 10, 4, 7, 9-13; 68, 5; 69, 3; 79, 5; 135, 7-8; 156, 4; *Tor.* 2, 6 (all §. ...), ΤΡΙΜΗΣΙ, ΤΕΡΜΗΣΙ (*BM.* 1227, 3 F; *ST.* 350, 7 §. ...).

⁽¹⁾ Cf. F. BLASS, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, Göttingen, 1949, § 111, 3.

⁽²⁾ Cf. E. A. SOPHOCLES, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods from B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100*, New York 1887, p. 699 b; F. PREISIGKE, *Wörterbuch der Griechischen Papyrusurkunden mit Einschluss der griechischen Inschriften, Aufschriften, Ostraka, Mumienbilder usw. aus Ägypten*, Berlin, 1925-1931, I, p. 855.

The replacement of the unstressed ending by ε, η or ι is noticed also in proper names with the ending *-ιος* or *-ος*. The Bohairic seems to prefer the replacement by -ι, whilst the Sa'idic, the replacement by -ε e. g.

Ἀντώνιος 'Antonius' > ΑΝΤΩΝΕ (*Ryl.* 214, 7 §; 165, 10 §. ...), ΑΝΤΩΝΗ (*Ryl.* 461, 28, B; *P.O.* 14, p. 354, 4 (5), B; O'Leary H. v. fol. 2 ro. 12 B. ...).

Γεώργιος 'Georgius' > ΓΕΩΡΓΕ (*AZ.* 1885, p. 146 §; *Ryl.* 124, vo. 1 §; 144, 1 §; 197, 6 §. ...), ΓΕΩΡΓΗ (*P.O.* 14 p. 354, 4. 5. B. ...).

Θεόδωρος 'Theodōros' > ΘΕΘΩΡΕ (*Ryl.* 134, 1 §; 144, 17. §; 153, 6 §. ...).

Μακάριος 'Macarius' > ΜΑΚΑΡΕ (*El-Gebrāwī* pl. 29. N. 4, 1 §. ...), ΜΑΚΑΡΗ (*WMac.* 123. a 9; b, 2 B; O'Leary H. v. fol. 2 ro. 15 B. ...).

§ 9. Οι must have been pronounced like ι or near to it, for very often it is found replaced by ι, εΙ, ε(ΛΙ), Η or Υ, e. g.

κοινωνός 'partner' > ΚΙΩΩΝΟΣ, ΚΙΝΩΝΟΣ (*Ro. II.* 17 F; *BAp.* 79, 11 f. b. §. ...).

μετάνοια 'repentance' > ΜΕΤΑΝΙΑ, ΜΙΤΑΝΙΑ (*VC.* 6, vo. 12 §; *WMac.* 160 b, 3 B; *BM.* 544, 15.27 F; 545, 10 F; 618, 2 F. ...).

διοικητής 'Dioikētēs' > ΛΙΚ(Λ)ΙΤΗΣ (*J.* 104, 58 §; *Ryl.* 354, 2 §. ...), ΛΙΓΙΚΕΤΗΣ (*J.* 86, 11 §. ...), ΛΙΗΚΗΤΗΣ, -ΚΥΤΗΣ, -ΚΕΤΗΣ, -ΚΙΤΗΣ (*J.* 1, 8; 2, 3; 4, 4; 12, 4; 13, 4; 20, 12; 88, 3 ...).

λοιπόν 'henceforward' > ΛΙΠΟΝ, -ΩΝ (*J.* 66, 6; 91, 6, 7, 15, 20 §; *CO. Ad.* 35, 5 §; *VC.* 6, 5 §; *BM.* 1116, 4, 7, 14 §; *CMSS.* 24, 27 F. ...), ΛΕΠΟΝ, -ΩΝ (*ST.* 184, 4; 226, 8; 447, 7; *CO. Ad.* 38, 7; *J.* 68, 32; 100, 24; 56, 8, 9, 13; *Ryl.* 409; *BM.* 1103, 21; *PLond.* 1638, 4; *Kr.* 228, 5, 8, 12, ro. 1, 6; *CLT.* 2, 5; *Bal.* 228, 4-5; 241, 10; 242, 6; *Tor.* 31, 12 (all §. ...), ΛΗΠΟΝ (*Bal.* 264, 4 §. ...).

κοινωνία 'communion' > ΚΕΝΩΝΙΑ, ΓΕΝΩΝΙΑ (*VC.* 6 vo. 11; *RChamp.* 541 N. 11, 11; *CO.* 135, 5 (f. b.); *LCypr.* 5, a, 24 (all §. ...), ΚΥΝΩΝΙΑ (*J.* 91, 32, §. ...).

κακόνοια 'malice' > ΚΑΚΟΝΑΙΑ (*J.* 5, 18 §; 24, 39 §. ...).
 κοιωότης 'Koinotēs' > ΚΑΙΝΟΤΗΣ, -ΩΤΗΣ (*Bal.* 113, 2; 156, 1 §. ...).
 λοιπός 'remainder' > ΛΑΙΠΑΣ (*Bal.* 291, 9 §. ...).

STRESSED VOWELS

The stressed vowels of Greek words generally keep their phonetic value in Coptic. This does not mean that they are always expressed by the same letters as in Greek.

§ 10. Stressed α is nearly always λ in Coptic spelling. Exceptions are rare and are certainly caused by quite different reasons.

ΚΕΠΑΡΙΣ (*BSAC.* XII, p. 50, 51-52 §. ...) < κάρπαις < Lat. capparī spinosa, caper) and ΛΑΚΗΝΗ (*BMis.* 484, 8 §. ...) < λακύνη 'basin' are due to a special pronunciation of these words, for ε or η rendering Greek α is by no means typical.

ο for α in ἀνίσκος 'youth' > ΟΗΙΣΚΟΣ (*LMis.* 14, p. 149-150 §. ...), γενεά 'race' > ΚΕΓΕΟ (*Z.* 367, 9 §. ...) are either 'overcorrect' spellings or due to a caprice or slip of the pen of the writers. γενεά is generally spelled ΓΕΝΕΛ in Coptic where it is a very common word.

As for κορβανᾶς 'treasure of the Temple' > ΚΟΡΒΑΝΟΣ (*Mt.* 27, 6 §; *PCod.* 4, 1 §. ...) we may be sure that the writer used the common ending -os instead of the unusual -ās in the rare word of Hebrew origin קֶרְבָּן.

§ 11. αι was pronounced like ε and, therefore, we find it often replaced by ε or η in Coptic spelling, e. g.

αἰσθάνεσθαι 'to perceive' > ΕΣΘΑΙΕ (*Z.* 337, 2 §; *Won.* 189, 6 §; *Won.* 189, 6 §; *LApoc.* 99, 23 §; *J.* 106, 99 §; *DMena.* 33, a, 14 §. ...).

καί 'and' > ΚΕ, ΓΕ (*Jo.* 19, 19 B; *DMena.* 50. b. 3 §; *Bal.* 152, 1 §).

δαίμων 'demon' > ΔΕΜΩΝ (*Z.* 306, 7 §; *P.O.* XI p. 329, 2. 7; 368, 14; 371, 10. B; *C.* 135 p. 80. b. 14 B; 85. b. 25 B; *Agathonicus* p. 9, 9; 12, 12; 13, 30 F. ...).

αἴτησις 'demand' > ΗΤΗΣΙΣ, ΗΤΑΣΙΣ (*Amherest* p. 60, b, 89 §; *AZ.* 1891, p. 7, 9 §. ...), ΥΤΕΣΙΣ (*J.* 46, 50 §. ...).

αἰτεῖν 'to ask' is very often spelled ΕΤΙ, and this seems to have been the exact pronunciation of this word in Coptic spellings like ΗΤΕ (*OMH.* 73, 22 §. ...), ΕΙΤΕ (*Tor.* 8, 5 §. ...), ΕΙΑΕ, especially the last, which are nothing but attempts to cope with the orthography (unknown to the writer) of the foreign word, mere guess work, not phonetic renderings.

The same may hold good for ΤΑΛΛΗΠΟΡΟΣ (*Apoc.* 3, 17 § [BUDGE] - τάλαιπῶρος 'miserable' or it shows an individual or local pronunciation of this word.

§ 12. a) Stressed ε generally keeps its pronunciation and spelling in Coptic. Occasionally, we find it replaced by other vowels.

Φέρμος 'lupine' > ΟΑΡΜΟΣ, ΟΑΡΜΟΥΣ (*BSAC.* XII, p. 50, a, 19 §; *Z.* 630, 10 §; *Ann.* 1, p. 61, 355 B) seems to show a very open pronunciation of ε. The contrary is shown by ΗΙΕΓΕ (*J.* 88, 13 §) < ἐνάγειν (η is stressed), perhaps due to the following η. In the same direction points the spelling ΕΙΤΕΓΕ (*J.* 60, 3 §. ...) γ for ε in words as πέλαγος 'high sea' > ΗΥΛΛΟΣ (*Shel.* 6, b, 19 §), προσέλευσις 'access' > ΠΡΩΣΥΛΙΣΙΣ (*AZ.* 1891, p. 7 §. ...) is perhaps due to a dull pronunciation before λ.

b) As αι was pronounced like ε it seems quite natural that we find λι replacing ε, e. g. ἐνάγειν > ΛΙΕΓΕ (*J.* 74, 81, 87 §; *AZ.* 1891, p. 22, 15; 23, 5 §. ...). Spellings like ΕΙΤΕ (*J.* 76, 15, 17; 66, 21, 23 §. ...), ΛΙΤΕΙ (*HM.* 1, 22, 7; 96, 20 §; *DLeg.* 15, 7; 18, 20; 21, 10 §; *LApoc.* 47, 60; *J.* 70, 11, 20; 106, 171 §), ΛΙΤΙ (*BM.* 995, p. 413, a, 6 f. b. §. ...) all for ετι 'yet', have not a phonetic, but rather a psychological cause. The writers were quite conscious of ετι being a foreign word. A foreign word is often not spelled as it is actually pronounced. Not knowing the exact orthography of the word, the writers were quite sure that a mere ΕΤΙ could not be correct to render ετι; it seemed too poor. So they tried to guess.

c) In some cases, we find even the vowel stroke replacing stressed *é*, e. g.
σπέρμα 'seed, offspring' > *σπ̄ρμα* (*Ps.* 88, 5 § [*Cod. Taurin.*]
 cf. *WESSELY, Ps.* 7, b; *BMar.* 238, 15 (f. b.); *BMis.* 82, 8 § (but
σπ̄ρμα in *ib* 76, 7; 87, 2; 91, 7 f. b.); *BAp.* 102, 3; 103, 5 (f. b.),
 118, 12 (f. b.) §; *C.* 42, p. 45, 14 §. ...).

ἐνεργεῖν 'to put into operation' > *ε̄ν̄ργει* (*BAp.* 88, 9 §; *C.*
 100 p. 211, a, 29-30; 231, 11 §. ...).

ἐλπίζειν 'to expect, hope' > *ε̄λπ̄ιζε* (*BMar.* 107, 4 f. b.; 115,
 4 (f. b.), 3 (f. b.) §; *BMis.* 101, 4; 109, 7 (f. b.), 114, 12 (f. b.);
Ps. 12, 6 § (*Cod. Rom.*); *BAp.* 122, 8, §. ...).

ἐμπορος 'merchant, trader' > *ε̄μπορος* (*Apoc.* 18, 11 § [BUDGE];
Tri. 294, 3 §. ...).

§ 13. a) *ει* had the pronunciation of *ι*; therefore stressed *ει* is very
 often replaced by *ι* in Coptic spelling, e. g.

εἰδωλον 'idol' > *ιδωλον* (*LMis.* 96, p. 341 §; *BMis.* 5, 16;
 173, 13 §. ...).

λείψανον 'remains' > *λιψ̄ανον* (*FR.* 36, 3 §; *DLeg.* 45, 10,
 §; *Anp.* 41, p. 59, 13 §; p. 60, 7; 61, 11, 15, 17; 63, 23 §).

ἀντικείμενος 'adversary' > *αντικ̄ιμενος* : (*P.O.* 14, p. 362,
 7-8; 366, 1 (f. b.) B. ...).

σημεῖον 'sign' > *σ̄εμιον*, *σ̄υμιον*, *σῑμιον* (*HM.* I, 57, 4, 11,
 20, 28 §; *AZ.* 1883, p. 153, III, 13 §).

b) Sometimes, we find *γ* instead of a stressed *ει*, e. g.

συνείδησις 'conscience' > *σ̄υνη̄λησις* (*I Cor.* 8, 7 F, (Z. 153).

πρεσβεία 'intercession' > *π̄ρεσ̄β̄εγα* (*C.* 42, p. 226, 20; 238, 3
 §; *KKS.* 56, p. 75. ...).

But this is not common and may be a mere caprice of the writer.

§ 14. a) When stressed *η* is replaced by another vowel, we find in
 most cases either *ε* or *ει* = *ι* at its place :

πληγή 'plague' - *πλη̄γει*, *πλη̄γε*, *πλη̄γε*, *πλη̄γε* (*BMis.* 476,
 10 (f. b.) §; *Z.* 446, 5 (f. b.) §; *BAp.* 6, 15 §; *C.* 100, p. 323, 24 §;
ST. 199, 21 §. ...).

ψυχή 'soul' > *ψ̄ηχι* (*Wor.* 323, 3 F. ...).

βοήθεια 'help' > *βο̄ιθ̄(ε)ια* (*BMis.* 208, 1 f. b.; 211, 6 f. b.
 §. ...).

κατήγορος 'accuser' > *κᾱτοιγορος* (*Aeg.* 227, 49, 1 §; *Rec.*
 6, p. 113, 49, 1 §. ...) shows quite the same thing, because *οι* was
 pronounced like *ι*.

From this it may be deduced that the pronunciation of *η* was between
 that of *ε* and that of *ι*, that is, it denoted a closed *ε*.

b) Sometimes, the vowel stroke is written replacing stressed *η*, e. g.
κηρυγμα 'proclamation' > *κ̄ριγμα*, *κριγμα* (*BAp.* 105, 3 (f. b.)
 §. ...).

λιμήν 'haven; picture (?)' > *λῑμη̄ν* (*BMis.* 271, 14, 18; 272,
 11 (f. b.) § (cf. *ΛΙΜΗΝ* *ib.* 272, 9 f. b.)).

In these cases we may suppose a rather dull pronunciation, cf. in
 Coptic *αλᾱ* for the correct *αληα*.

§ 15. a) Stressed *ι* sometimes is found in Coptic spelling, represented
 by combinations of vowels which were pronounced like *ι* :

ἵχνος 'footstep' > *εῑκνος* (*CO.* 322, 2 §. ...).

κίνησις 'motion' > *κο̄ινησις* (*J.* 37, 48; 23, 51; 44, 90 §. ...).

b) Quite exceptionally we can find *ε* at the place of a stressed *ι* :

χειρά 'grave clothes' > *κε̄ρεα* (*Jo.* II, 44 §Λ₂; *Prov.* 7, 16 §;
CO. 459, 15 §; *BM.* 168, p. 57, a, 14 §; *KKS.* 20, p. 145 §).

c) Occasionally, a vowel stroke is written instead of a stressed *ι*, e. g.
κιν̄τηνος < *κιν̄δυνος* 'danger' (*Bal.* 51, 20 §. ...).

§ 16. a) The original difference in the pronunciation between *ο*
 and *ω* had disappeared. Therefore, we find these two letters replacing
 each other in Greek words written by Coptic writers. Two examples may
 suffice for many :

ἀπόστολος 'apostle' > *ᾱποστ̄ωλωσ* (*WS.* 48, 4 §; *C.* 135,
 p. 33, 23 §. ...).

χώρα 'land' > *χο̄ρα* (*JKP.* 48, 10 §. ...).

b) Apart from that, there are some cases which show a bright vowel (η, ε, γ) instead of a stressed ο; e. g.

δρόμος 'course' > ΔΡΗΜΟΣ (*My.* 68, 1, 3 §. ...).

ἑβόλος 'vaulted vapour bath' > ΟΗΛΟΣ (*IIM.* 1, 96, 24 §. ...).

οικοδόμος 'builder' > ΕΙΚΟΔΗΜΟΣ (*DMena.* 74, a, 15 §. ...).

κωμόπολις 'village town' > ΚΩΜΗΠΟΛΙΣ (*IIM.* 1, 116, 26 §. ...).

καρπός 'fruit' > ΚΑΡΠΕΣ (*Griff. Stu.*, p. 163, 17, 35 F. ...).

ἀπόδειξις 'representation' > ΟΥΠΥΔΗΞΙΣ (*Aeg.* 252, 41, 3 §; *TConst.*, p. 43, 6 (f. b.) B. ...).

These Greek words are generally spelled, in Coptic, as in Greek and the mentioned Coptic forms are found only exceptionally. But their number shows that it is not an isolated instance. I am at a loss to explain them phonetically. In some cases, other familiar words may have influenced the writer as the very common κώμη 'village' in ΚΩΜΗΠΟΛΙΣ. But δρυμός 'forest' is by no means so common in Coptic as the very familiar δρόμος (which nearly always is spelled ΔΡΟΜΟΣ in Coptic). ΕΙΚΟΔΗΜΟΣ is perhaps a misspelling of *οικοδόμης, as many Greek words denoting persons end in -ης. ΚΑΡΠΕΣ for καρπός is quite exceptional and must not be taken seriously. ΟΥΠΥΔΗΞΙΣ differs in nearly all vowels from its original, so it must be considered as either the rendering of a very bad pronunciation of an illiterate man, or the outcome of a personal caprice of the writer.

c) Sometimes stressed ο is replaced by ΟΥ in Coptic, e. g. ἀρχηγός 'chief, commander' > ΑΡΧΗΓΟΥΣ: (*BSM.* 2, 15; 10, 7 B. ...).

ἐχθρός 'enemy' > ΕΧΟΡΟΥΣ (*Stegemann*, p. 20, n° 24; p. 23, N. 1, p. 42, N. 24 [94], 1 §. ...).

φθόνος 'ill-will' > ΦΘΟΥΝΟΣ (*C.* 42, p. 238, 24 §. ...).

This shows that δ in some area of Egypt at a certain time had a very close pronunciation, at least, in some words.

§ 17. Οι, as mentioned, was pronounced like ι or very near to it. Therefore, we find it replaced by ι(ει), ε(λι), η or γ in Coptic, e. g. for the very common ἐτοίμος 'ready' spellings are found as ΖΕΤΕΙΜΟΣ (*CO.* 43, 6-7 §. ...), ΖΕΤΙΜΟΣ (ΖΥΤ-, ΖΛΙΤ-, ΕΤ-) (*ST.* 423, 5;

426, 5 §; *CO.* 30, 9 §; *Kr.* 19, 5 F; 42, 3 §. ...), ΖΥΤΕΜΟΣ, ΖΗΤΕΜΟΣ (*CO.* 157, 9; 163, 3 §; *ST.* 424, 9 §; *Kr.* 41, 5 §. ...), ΖΕΤΗΜΟΣ, ΕΤΗΜΟΣ, ΕΛΗΜΟΣ, ΖΕΛΗΜΟΣ, ΗΛΗΜΟΣ (*UM.* 209, 4 F; *ST.* 96, 4 §; *Kr.* 25, 5 F; 60, 3 §; 62, 7 §; 68, 3 F. ...).

Φοῖνιξ 'phoenix' > ΦΗ(Ο)ΙΞ (*My.* 89, 9 §; *AZ.* 1885, p. 47 §; *Tri.* 614, 2 §; *LMis.* 81, p. 359; ...), ΦΥΠΗΞ (*AZ.* 1895, p. 51 §; *LMis.* 81, p. 366 §. ...).

διοικεῖν 'to manage' > ΛΗΚΕ(Ι) (*DLeg.* 3, 30; 9, 29; 23, 33 §; *ST.* 363, 10 §; *Amherest*, p. 60, a, 50, 51, §. ...).

μοῖρα 'portion, lot' > ΜΗΡΑ (*Kropp. C.* 21, F. ...).

ἐποίκιον 'homestead' > ΕΠΗΓΙΟΝ, -ΓΗΟΝ, ΟΠΗΓΙΟΝ (*PLond.* 1542, 6, 1508, 2; 1614, 5; *Bal.* 124, 2 (all §.). ...).

οἰκησις 'habitation' > ΕΓΕΣΙΣ (*My.* 170, 2 §. ...).

ὁμοίως 'likewise' > ΖΟΜΛΙΩΣ, ΖΩΜΛΙΩΣ, ΟΜΛΙΩΣ (*C.* 73, p. 11, 1; 195, 8-9; *C.* 42, p. 31, 23; *LAp.* 110, b, 1; *Wor.* 192, 21; 202, 11; 310, 22; *DLeg.* 1, 13; 2, 28, 33, 35; *BMis.* 423, 10; 461, 12; 500, 4 f. b. (all §.).

§ 18. a) In the same way, υ is sometimes replaced, in Coptic, by ε, η, ι(ει) or the vowel stroke, e. g.

σύναξις 'service' > ΣΕΠΑΣΙΣ (*WMac.* 69, a, 9 §.).

πρεσβύτερος 'priest' > ΠΡΕΣΚΗΤΕΡΟΣ, ΠΡΕΣΚΗΤΕΡΟΣ (*AZ.* 55, p. 70, 32 §; *KKS.* 47, p. 0162; *Dict. d'Archéol. Chrét.* 3 (2), col. 2865, 11 §. ...).

σῦλος 'pillar' > ΣΤΗΛΟΣ (*LAp.* 116, a, 15-16, 21, 24; 118, a, 5-6, 16 F. ...).

κινδυνεύειν 'to be in danger' > ΚΗΠΤΗΠΕΥΕ (*AZ.* 1900, p. 60, 32-33 §. ...).

συνέχειν 'persevere' > ΣΥΝΕΧΕ (*UM.* 204, 16 §).

συντάσσειν 'to promise' > ΣΥΤΑΣΣΕ, ΣΥΤΑΣΣΕ (*VC.* 48, 3 §. ...).

πύλη 'gate' > ΠΛΗ, ΠΛΙ (*LAp.* 116, a, 10, 20 F. ...).

προσκυβεῖν 'to do homage' — ΠΡΟΣΚΕΪΝΕ (*VC.* 64, 2; 75, 2 §. ...), ΠΡΟΣΚΙΝΕ (*VC.* 90, 2 §; *Bal.* 242, 1 §. ...), ΠΡΩΣΚΗΠΗ (*VC.* 114, 5 §. ...), ΠΡΟΣΚΗΝΕ (*Bal.* 189, 3, 31 §. *ib.* 110, n. 1. ...).

b) If we find in certain Coptic forms ΟΥ for υ, this does not mean that υ was pronounced ΟΥ by the Copts. ΚΟΛΛΟΥΡΙΟΝ (often written only ΚΟΛΛΙΟΝ for κολλύριον 'collyrium' and ΜΟΥΛΟΝ (μύλος) 'mill stone' certainly had ου also in Greek at that time.

§ 19. ςϣ for εϥ in ζιππςϣ (Nah. 3, 3 A; Hab. 1, 8 A) < ιππεύς 'horseman' is so isolated that it cannot authorize us to suppose that εϥ was generally pronounced ςϣ (as in Modern Greek). The same manuscript writes correctly ζιππςϣς at another place (Hab. 1, 8). We may be sure that γ between two vowels had a consonantal pronunciation, e.g., ΚΕΛΕΥΓΕ (κελεύειν) = kélewē. So ιππεύς may have been pronounced *hippéws, and this is very near to ζιππςϣ.

(To be continued)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- A : Achmimic dialect.
 Ac : *The Acts of the Apostles*.
 Aeg : P. de Lagarde, *Aegyptiaca*, Göttingen, 1896.
 Aegyptus : (periodical), Milan.
 Agathonicus : W. ERICHSEN, *Fajumische Fragmente der Reden des Agathonicus Bischofs von Tarsus*. København, 1932.
 Amherst : W.E. CRUM, « *Coptic Papyrus* » in the *Amherst Papyri* by P.E. Newberry, Pap. No. LXXII, London, 1899.
 Ann : *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, Le Caire.
 Apoc : *The Apocalypse* (of the Blessed Apostle John).
 AZ : *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*.
 B : Bohairic dialect.
 Bal : P.E. KAHLE, 'Bala'izah', 2 vol., London, 1954.
 BAp : E.A.W. BUDGE, *Coptic Apocrypha in the dialect of Upper Egypt*, London, 1913.
 BBib : E.A.W. BUDGE, *Coptic Biblical Texts in the dialect of Upper Egypt*, London, 1912.
 BIHom : E.A.W. BUDGE, *Coptic Homilies in the dialect of Upper Egypt*, London, 1910.
 BLASS : F. BLASS, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*. 8. Auflage bearbeitet v. A. Debrunner, Göttingen, 1949.
 BM : *British Museum, Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts*, by W.E. CRUM, London, 1905.
 BMar : E.A.W. BUDGE, *Coptic Martyrdoms in the dialect of Upper Egypt*, London, 1914.
 BMis : E.A.W. BUDGE, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the dialect of Upper Egypt*, London, 1915.
 BSAC : *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte*, Le Caire.
 BSG : E.A.W. BUDGE, *Martyrdom and Miracles of St. George*, London, 1888.
 BSM : E.A.W. BUDGE, *Saint Michael the Archangel*, London, 1894.
 C : *Corpus Scriptorum Christian. Oriental.*
 CA : W. RIEDEL and W.E. CRUM, *The Canons of Athanasius of Alexandria* (Text and Transl. Society), London, 1904.
 CL : C. SCHMIDT, *Der Erste Clemensbrief in Altkoptischer Übersetzung*, Leipzig, 1908.
 CLT : A.A. SCHILLER, *Ten Coptic Legal Texts*, New York, 1932.
 CMSS : W.E. CRUM, *Coptic Manuscripts brought from the Fayyum*, London, 1893.
 CO : W.E. CRUM, *Coptic Ostraca*, London, 1902.
 Cor : *The Epistle of St. Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians*.
 CRUM, Dict. : W.E. CRUM, *A Coptic Dictionary*, Oxford, 1939.
 CRUM, Stu. : *Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute. Studies in honor of W.E. Crum*, Boston, 1950.

- Dict. d'Arch. Chrét.* : Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie.
- DLeg* : J. DRESCHER, *Three Coptic Legends*, Le Caire, 1947.
- DMena* : J. DRESCHER, *Apa Mena*, Le Caire, 1946.
- El-Gebrāwī* : W.E. CRUM, *Coptic Graffiti in the Rock Tombs of Deir El-Gebrāwī*, part II, London, 1902. (Archaeol. Survey of Egypt, ed. F. Griffith).
- Ep* : *Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*, ed. H.E. WINLOCK, W.E. CRUM, E. WHITE, New York, 1926.
- Est* : *The Book of Esther*.
- Ezek* : *The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel*.
- F* : Fayyūmic dialect.
- f.b* : folio (b)
- FR* : F. ROBINSON, *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels* (Texts and Studies IV), London, 1896.
- Griff Stu* : *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, 1932.
- Hab* : *The Book of the Prophet Habakkuk*.
- HCons* : G. HONNER, *The Service for the Consecration of a Church and Altar according to the Coptic Rite*, London, 1902.
- Heb* : *The Epistle of St. Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews*.
- HM* : W.C. TILL, *Koptische Heiligen und Martyrerlegenden*, I, II, Roma, 1935.
- Is* : *The Book of the Prophet Isaiah*.
- J* : W.E. CRUM and G. STEINDORFF, *Koptische Rechtsurkunden des Achten Jahrhunderts aus Djēme*, Leipzig, 1912.
- JEA* : *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, London.
- Jerem* : *The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah*.
- JKP* : H. JUNKER, *Koptische Poesie des 10. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1908, 1911 (from *Oriens Christianus*).
- Jo* : *The Gospel according to St. John*.
- Judges* : *The Book of Judges*.
- Judith* : *The Book of Judith*.
- KKS* : O. VON LEMM, « Kleine Koptische Studien », (*Bulletin d. l'Acad. Impér. des Sc. de St. Pétersb.*), St. Pétersbourg, 1899-1912.
- Kr.* : J. KRALL, *Koptische Texte* (Corpus Papyrorum Raineri vol. II), Wien, 1895.
- KROPP* : A.M. KROPP, *Ausgewählte Koptische Zaubertexte*, Bruxelles, 1930-1931.
- LAL* : O.V. LEMM, *Der Alexanderroman bei den Kopten*. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Alexandersage im Orient. (L'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg), St. Pétersbourg, 1903.
- LAp* : O. VON LEMM, « Koptische Apokryphe Apostelacten ». (*Mélanges Asiatiques*) (*Bulletin de l'Acad. Impér. des Sc. de St. Pétersbourg*), t. X, St. Pétersbourg, 1890, 1892.
- LApoc* : P. LACAU, 'Fragments d'Apocryphes Coptes'. *Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. Mémoires* t. IX, Le Caire, 1904.

- LBib* : O. VON LEMM, « Sahidische Bibelfragmente, I, II, III, (*Mélanges Asiatiques*), t. X, St. Pétersbourg, 1890, 1907.
- LCypr* : O. VON LEMM, « Cyprian v. Antiochien. Sahidische Bruchstücke der Legende von Cyprian von Antiochien ». (*Mémoires de l'Acad. Impér. des Sc. de St. Pétersbourg*), St. Pétersbourg, 1899.
- LDi* : O. VON LEMM, « Eine dem Dionysios Arcopagita zugeschriebene Schrift in Koptischer Sprache ». (*Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*), St. Pétersbourg, 1900.
- Lk* : *The Gospel according to St. Luke*.
- LMär* : O. VON LEMM, « Bruchstücke Koptischer Märtyrerakten ». (*Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg*), vol. XII, St. Pétersbourg, 1913.
- LMis* : O. VON LEMM, « Koptische Miscellen ». (*Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*), St. Pétersbourg, 1907.
- MDIK* : *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Institutes für ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo*, Berlin.
- MIF* : *Mémoires de l'Institut français d'Archéologie Orientale au Caire*. Le Caire.
- Miss* : *Mémoires ... de la Mission archéol. franç. au Caire*. Le Caire.
- Mt* : *The Gospel according to St. Matthew*.
- Mus* : *Le Muséon* (periodical).
- My* : A. HEBBELYNCK, « Les Mystères des Lettres Grecques d'après un manuscrit Copte-Arabe de la Bibliothèque Bodléienne d'Oxford » (*Le Muséon*, 1900, 1901), Paris, 1902.
- N* : number
- Nah* : *The Book of the Prophet Nahum*.
- Num* : *The Fourth Book of Moses, commonly called Numbers*.
- O'Leary H.* : De Lacy O'LEARY, *Fragmentary Coptic Hymns from the Wadi 'n-Natrun*, London, 1924.
- OMH* : E. STEFANSKI and M. LICHTHEIM, *Coptic Ostraca from Medinet Habu*, Chicago, 1952.
- Orientalia* : (periodical), Roma.
- Peod* : *Papyruscodex Saec. VI-VII der Phillippsbibliothek in Cheltenham*. Koptische theologische Schriften, ed. W.E. CRUM, Strassburg, 1915.
- Pl* : plate.
- PLond* : *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, ed. F.G. KENYON and H.I. BELL, London.
- PMéd* : E. CHASSINAT, « Un Papyrus Médical Copte ». (*Mémoires publiés pour les membres de l'Institut français d'Archéologie Orientale au Caire*, Le Caire 1921.
- P.O* : *Patrologia Orientalis*.
- Prov* : *The Book of Proverbs*.
- Ps* : *The Book of Psalms*.

- PS : C. SCHMIDT, *Pistis Sophia* (= Coptica II), 1925.
 RChamp : *Recueil d'Études...* J.F. Champollion, 1922.
 Rec : *Recueil de Travaux*.
 Reg : *Regum, The Book of the Kings*.
 Ro : *The Epistle of St. Paul the Apostle to the Romans*.
 Ryl : W.E. CRUM, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the collection of the John Rylands Library Manchester, Manchester, 1909*.
 S : Sa'idic dialect.
 Sap : *Sapientia, The Wisdom of Solomon*.
 SHel : G.P.G. SONNY, *Le Martyre de St. Hélias, Le Caire, 1919*.
 ST : W.E. CRUM, *Short Texts from Coptic Ostraca and Papyri*. Oxford, 1921.
 STEGEMANN : V. STEGEMANN, *Die Koptischen Zaubertexte der Sammlung Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer in Wien (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie), Heidelberg, 1934*.
 TArzn : W.C. TILL, *Die Arzneikunde der Kopten, Berlin, 1951*.
 TBau : W.C. TILL, « Eine Koptische Bauernpraktik » (*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo*), 1936.
 TConst : H. TATTAM, *The Apostolical Constitutions or Canons of the Apostles in Coptic*, London, 1848.
 TILL : W.C. TILL, *Achtmündisch-Koptische Grammatik, Leipzig, 1928*.
 TOster : W.C. TILL, *Osterbrief und Predigt in achtmündischem Dialekt (Studien zur Epigraphik und Papyruskunde)* Leipzig, 1931.
 Tor : H. THOMPSON, *Theban Ostraca, IV, Coptic Texts (University of Toronto Studies)*, Oxford, 1913.
 Tri : O. VON LEMM, *Das Triadon, St. Petersburg, 1903*. (Ein Sahidisches Gedicht mit arabischer Übersetzung. Acad. Impér. des Sc. de St. Péters.), St. Pétersbourg, 1903.
 UM : W.H. WORRELL, *Coptic Texts in the University of Michigan Collection, Ann Arbor, 1942*.
 VC : W.E. CRUM, *Varia Coptica, Aberdeen, 1939*.
 WESSELY : K. WESSELY, *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde*.
 WMac : H.G.E. WHITE, *New Coptic Texts from the Monastery of St. Macarius. (The Monasteries of the Wadi n-Natrûn. Part. I, New York, 1926*.
 WOR : W.H. WORRELL, *The Coptic Manuscripts in the Freer Collection, (University of Michigan Studies), New York, London, 1923*.
 WS : W.E. CRUM and H.I. BELL, *Wadi Sarga, Coptic Texts (= Coptica III), 1922*.
 WTh : E.O. WINSTEDE, *Coptic texts on Saint Theodore the General, St. Theodore the Eastern, Chamoul and Justus (The Text and Translation Society), London, 1910*.
 Z : G. ZOEGA, *Catalogus Codicum Copticorum Manuscriptorum qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris adservantur, Leipzig, 1903*.

MURMELVOKAL, VOKALSTRICH, SILBENAKZENT... OU SURLIGNE?

PAR

R. KASSER

On sait qu'on trouve dans les manuscrits coptes, au-dessus de certaines lettres, une barre horizontale plus ou moins longue (en bohaïrique, dans certaines conditions, un « point » ou un « accent grave »), à laquelle divers noms ont été donnés, suivant l'utilité que l'on croyait reconnaître à ce signe. Avant d'essayer d'apporter une modeste contribution au fond de ce débat, dans lequel MM. Lagarde, Stern, Steindorff, Till, Vergote, Vycichl, Polotsky ont déjà fait entendre leur voix autorisée, nous voudrions suggérer l'usage d'un terme nouveau⁽¹⁾, *purement descriptif*, qui ne préjuge pas de l'interprétation que l'on donne de cette barre horizontale ; il est en effet souhaitable que la terminologie utilisée reste stable, et ne soit pas obligatoirement dépendante des explications de fond qui l'accompagnent.

On trouve déjà parfois, en anglais, l'appellation « superlinear stroke » qui correspondrait au français « trait supralinéaire ». Étant purement descriptive, cette terminologie répond à notre désir, mais elle présente deux inconvénients : d'une part l'appellation « trait supralinéaire » est très longue (le « verbe » serait « placer le trait supralinéaire sur »), et d'autre part elle peut donner l'impression que l'adjonction de ce trait représente une « correction », l'adjonction d'un signe omis, comme les lettres ajoutées *superl(ineam)*. Aussi avons-nous utilisé, dans quelques-

⁽¹⁾ En bohaïrique, cependant, nous avons déjà l'appellation de *djinkim* pour le « point » supralinéaire.