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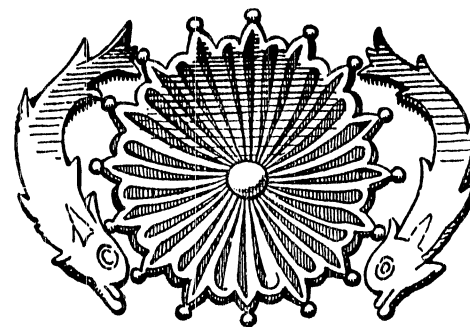
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LE CAIRE

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MCMLXX

GREEK LOAN WORDS IN COPTIC

BY

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(In Religion the Rt. Rev. Bishop GREGORIUS)

CONSONANTS

§ 20. *a*) It is a well-known fact that the explosives in Coptic are neither voiced nor aspirated⁽¹⁾. Therefore a Coptic ear was not accustomed to catch the difference between β and π , γ and κ , δ and τ ⁽²⁾. We may be certain that, in the general Coptic pronunciation of Greek words, there was no difference between β and π , γ and κ , δ and τ . This is why in the writing of Greek words these letters very often replace one another :

$\beta\lambda\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\epsilon\iota\nu$ 'to hinder, to harm' > ΠΑΛΠΤΕΙ (*BMis.* 531, 9 §; *LMis.* 85 p. 1101, ...).

$\pi\rho\alpha\iota\kappa\omega\nu$ 'Lat. praeco, crier' > ΒΡΗΚΩΝ, ΒΡΕΚΩΝ (*DMena.* 3. a. 6 §; *P.O.* 9 p. 69, 12 B, ...).

$\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma$ 'workman' > ΕΡΚΑΤΗΣ, ΕΡΚΑΤΕΣ (*BM.* 591, 5-6. 10-11. F; 598, 4 F; 1230, 9 F; *DMena.* 76, 9 §, ...).

$\kappa\alpha\rho\pi\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ 'fruit' > ΓΑΡΠΟΣ (*TBau.* BR° p. 118, 4; DR° p. 120, 2; 122, FR° 9 §; *My.* 116, 11 §; *I Cor.* ix, 7 F; *Phil.* i, 11 F (*Z.* 154. a, 165. b F; *BM.* 511 p. 245. b. 5 (f. b.) F, ...).

$\delta\alpha\iota\mu\omega\nu$ 'demon' > ΤΑΙΜΩΗ (*Wor.* 323, 18, F, ...).

$\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\varsigma$ 'order' > ΛΑΞΙΣ (*Z.* 298, 3 f. b. §; 304, 3. 1 (f. b.) §, ...).

⁽¹⁾ W. H. WORRELL, *Coptic Sounds*, (1934) p. 17 ff. J. VERGOTE, *Phonétique Historique de l'Égyptien*, (Louvain 1945) p. 124 ff., 47 ff.

⁽²⁾ W. TILL, *Das Koptische Heutiger Stand der Forschung*. *Orbis*, t. 3, N° 2 (Louvain 1954) p. 491 ff.

b) A special case may be β or π preceded by μ . In this case μ has influenced the pronunciation of the following π and this was pronounced voiced. So in Modern Greek $\mu\pi$ is used to transcribe «b» in a foreign word.

$\kappa\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\eta$ 'caterpillar' > $\kappa\lambda\mu\beta\eta$ (*Joel*. 1, 4 (A); 2, 25 (A), ...) and vice versa $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\mu\beta\eta$ 'cabbage' > $\kappa\rho\lambda\mu\beta\eta$, $\gamma\rho\lambda\mu\beta\eta$ (*BM*. 1095 §; 411 §, ...). $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\mu\beta\omicron\varsigma$ 'lash, iron-comb (?)' is always spelled $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\mu\beta\omicron\varsigma$ (if this equation is correct cf. *Crum, Dict.* p. 375 a, 509 b) (*HM*. 1. 95, 12; 36, 15; *ib.* 2. 32, 1. 4; 107, 5 §, ...) cf. $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\mu\beta\omicron\iota\varsigma$ (*BMar.* 36, 12 f. b. §, ...).

§ 21. a) As σ in classical Sa'ïdic was pronounced as a palatalized κ ⁽¹⁾ it often replaces Greek γ or κ especially when it precedes a vowel pronounced ϵ or ι :

$\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ 'race' > $\sigma\epsilon\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ (*AZ*. 1895 p. 133, 19 §; cf. *ib.* p. 132, 10 ($\gamma\epsilon\gamma\omicron\varsigma$), ...).

$\sigma\upsilon\nu\alpha\rho\pi\alpha\gamma\acute{\eta}$ 'deceit, robbery' > $\sigma\upsilon\nu\alpha\rho\pi\alpha\sigma\eta$, $\sigma\iota\eta\alpha\rho\pi\alpha\sigma\eta$ (*J*. 76, 9 §; *AZ*. 1884 p. 145, 5 §, ...).

$\kappa\acute{\iota}\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma$ 'ark' > $\sigma\iota\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma$, — $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$, — $\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, — $\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ (*Josh.* II, 8. 11. 13. 15 (bis). 17; IV, 7. 9. 10. 11. 16. 18; VI, 8. 9. 11. 12. 13; IX, 6; XXIV, 33; *Judges* XX, 27; *Deut.* X, 1. 2. 3. 5. 8; XXXI, 9. 26; *Gen.* IX, 18; *Ps.* CXXXI, 8; *Apoc.* XI, 19; *Z.* 209, 2 (f. b.) (all §), ...).

$\kappa\iota\nu\delta\upsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ 'danger' > $\sigma\eta\lambda\lambda\upsilon\gamma\eta\omicron\varsigma$ (*Sir.* XLIII, 26 §; *PS*. 98, 23 §; *VC*. 7, 7; 106, 31 §; *Cl.* 18, 28 A; 62, 16 A, ...).

$\sigma\epsilon\rho\omega\gamma\eta$, $\sigma\iota\rho\eta$ ⁽²⁾ a derivative from Lat. *cera* > $\kappa\acute{\eta}\rho\alpha$ 'wax' not found in Greek. In Coptic it means 'candle, lampstand' (*CO*. 459, 5-4 f. b.; *ST*. 125, 2; *OMI*. 183, 4 (all §), ...).

Very instructive is *faciale* 'turban' $\varphi\alpha\kappa\iota\delta\iota\omicron\gamma\iota\omicron\nu$ > $\varphi\lambda\sigma\lambda\alpha\rho\eta$, $\varphi\lambda\sigma\lambda\alpha\rho\eta$, $\varphi\lambda\sigma\lambda\alpha\rho\eta$ (*VC*. 52, 1 §; *Ryl.* 238 col. 2, 22; 243, 19; 246, 5 (all §); *Z.* 282, 14 §; *KKS*. 53 p. 31 §, ...) which shows clearly the palatal pronunciation of σ .

⁽¹⁾ W. H. WARBELL, 'Coptic Sounds' p. 24 ff.

⁽²⁾ A. RAHLES, 'Griech. Wörter im Koptischen' in *Götting. Sitz. d. Kön. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaft* (1912) p. 1036 ff.

b) When we find, not so frequently, but nevertheless in a number of words, σ replacing γ or κ before a consonant or λ , \omicron , $\omicron\upsilon$, ω this may point to a special palatalized pronunciation of γ or κ respectively by some individuals or in a certain area:

$\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\alpha}\pi\eta$ 'love' > $\lambda\sigma\lambda\pi\eta$, — ϵ (*ST*. 209 v^o 13; 225, 19-20; 378, 9 (all §) ...).

$\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\omega}\nu$ 'contest' > $\lambda\sigma\omega\gamma\eta$ (*CO*. 436, 6 §, ...).

$\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\acute{\omega}\mu\iota\omicron\nu$ 'encomium' > $\epsilon\gamma\sigma\omega\mu\iota\omicron\nu$ (*CO*. 249, 9-10 §, ...).

c) $\kappa\acute{\eta}\rho\upsilon\gamma\mu\alpha$ 'proclamation' > $\kappa\epsilon\rho\epsilon\sigma\mu\alpha$ (*CO*. 249, 8 §, ...).

$\kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ 'branch' > $\sigma\lambda\lambda\delta\omicron\varsigma$ (*Mt.* XXIV, 32 §; *BMis.* 422, 3 f. b. §, ...).

d) As σ was pronounced *ch* (*tch*) in Bohairic, the replacement of γ or κ by σ is not found in Bohairic texts.

§ 22. a) The aspirates θ , φ , χ were heard, at least at the time when the Greek alphabet was adopted for the Egyptian language, as: $\theta = \tau + z$; $\varphi = \pi + z$; $\chi = \kappa + z$ ⁽¹⁾. This becomes evident by common spellings like $\omicron\epsilon = \tau z\epsilon$ 'the manner' ($z\epsilon$), $\varphi\omega\kappa = \pi z\omega\kappa$ 'the matter' ($z\omega\kappa$), $\mu\lambda\chi = \mu\lambda\kappa z$ 'to be grieved' (*Crum, Dict.* p. 163. a) etc. The Coptic pronunciation of \omicron becomes evident in $\kappa\lambda\tau\tau\iota\sigma\tau\lambda$ (*Cl.* p. 37. 6, 17 A) for $\kappa\alpha\theta\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\lambda\alpha\iota$ 'to appoint'.

The sounds $\tau + z$, $\pi + z$, $\kappa + z$ occurred in Coptic and therefore the Greek aspirates were caught correctly by the Copts. Nevertheless we find the interchange of θ or π with φ , γ or κ with χ , and δ or τ with θ . But we may be sure that in the examples found in Sa'ïdic texts it is either by inaccuracy or ignorance of the writer or even by Bohairic influence. A few examples from Sa'ïdic texts are:

$\beta\lambda\alpha\sigma\varphi\eta\mu\iota\alpha$ 'blasphemy' > $\varphi\lambda\lambda\sigma\varphi\gamma\mu\iota\alpha$ (*Aeg.* 251. 40, 5 f. b. §; *Rec.* 5 p. 208. 40, 7 §; *BMis.* 58, 4-3 (f. b.); 189, 5 f. b. §, ...).

$\acute{\alpha}\mu\varphi\iota\sigma\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu$ 'disputed point' > $\lambda\mu\beta\iota\omicron\upsilon\gamma\lambda\omicron\eta$ (assimilation?) (*UM*. p. 237, 8 §, ...).

⁽¹⁾ The letters \omicron , φ , χ in Bohairic form a different problem which is outside our field of investigation.

χρεία 'need' > κρια (rare) (CO. 245, 4 (f. b.) §, ...).

χαλκίον 'cauldron' > κλλχιον (assimilation?) (FR. 20, 18 §, ...).

Θεωγνώστη 'Theognoste' > ΔΘΟΓΝΩΣΤΗ (UM. p. 183, 1 §, ...).

Βηθσαιδα 'Bethsaida' > ΒΗΛ.ΣΑΙ.ΔΑ (Mk. VIII, 22 § (LBib. 2) ...).

ἀρχιμανδρίτης 'archimandrite' > ΑΡΧΗΜΑΝΟΡΙΤΗΣ, ΑΡΧΗΜΟΝ-ΟΡΙΤΗΣ (C. 42 p. 226, 22; 228, 15. 27; 232, 3. 25; 236, 11. 19 §, ...).

Σέρμος 'lupine' > ΤΑΡΜΟΣ (Ep. 543, 9-10 §) is perhaps taken from the Arabic *ترمس* (cf. § 12. a.).

καθέδρα 'seat' > ΚΑΤΓΕΔΡΑ (Ps. I, 1).

σίπιον 'tow, oakum' > ΣΙΦΟΝ (HM. I. 72, 9. 13 §), ΣΙΦΙ (BM. 528, p. 258 b. N. 26 F; 615 p. 290 F; AZ. 1885 pp. 29, 41 F, ...).

φθινόπωρον 'autumn' > ΠΟΙΝΟΠΩΡΟΝ, ΠΟΕΙΝΟΠΩΡΟΝ, ΠΟΥ-ΝΟΠΟΡΟΝ, ΠΟΕΝΟΠΕΡΟΝ (TBau. p. 120, DR^o, 3 §; Orientalia 12 p. 233, 6. 14 §; Z. 249, 2 (f. b.) §; My. 57, 4 §, ...).

Lat. Frumentius > Φρουμέντιος > ΠΡΩΜΕΝΤΙΟΣ (LMis. 47. 8 p. 1073, 1074, §.).

Κάμφορα 'camphor' > ΚΑΜΠΟΥΡΑΣ (BSAC. 12 p. 43, 6 §, ...).

σφραγίζειν 'to seal' > ΣΗΡΑΚΙΣΣΕ (Wor. 323, 4 F, ...).

The spellings ΚΑΤΗΓΓΕΙ, ΚΑΤΗΚΕΙ, ΚΛΘΗΚΕΙ, ΚΛΘΗΓΓΕΙ §, ΚΛΘΗΚΗ Β for κατηχεῖν 'to instruct' (Lk. I, 4; Ac. XVIII, 25; I Cor. XIV, 19; Gal. VI, 6 (bis) ...) are due to confusing this verb with κληγεῖσθαι 'to lead, conduct' which, at least in Sa'idic, was very near, in pronunciation to κατηχεῖν (*kathékhei* : *kathéggei*). The same holds good for ΚΛΘΗΓΓΙΣ > κατήχησις 'instruction' (Ep. : 466, 5; Tri. 495, 1; Z. 651, 5; BAp. 146, 1; BMar. 157, 15 f. b.; 158, 14; 159, 10 (all §. ...)).

b) It is quite different with Bohairic where ο, φ or χ replace τ, π or κ respectively much more often than in Sa'idic. This use corresponds

with the special rule for ο, φ, χ replacing τ, π, κ respectively in Bohairic⁽¹⁾. Examples are :

τριάς 'Trinity' > ΟΡΙΑΣ (WMac. 139 (ode σ Αρα §, 14; WTh. 6, 10. 12. 23; BSG. 146, 3; Quellen und Studien 1 (1935) p. 7, 33; 10, 47; TConst. 31, 1; 57, 13; O'LEARY H. V. fol. 3 v^o 1; IX r^o 9; X v^o 11 (all B), ...).

Lat. tribunus > τριβούνος 'tribune' > ΟΡΙΒΟΥΝΟΣ (BSG. 3, 5-6. 8. 14; 4, 12; 90, 19-20; 110, 1. 15; Z. 13, 3 (all B) ...)

πλάσσειν 'to mould, form' > ΦΛΑΞΙΝ (WMac. 198, B, ...).

Lat. praeda > πραῖδα 'spoil' > ΦΡΕΤΑ (Z. 36, 15 f. b.; C. 42 p. 44, 14; LMis. 47 p. 1074 (all B), ...).

κλάδος 'branch' > ΚΛΑΤΟΣ (WTh. 7, 9 f. b. B, ...).

κρίνον 'white lily' > ΧΡΙΝΟΝ (Exod. XXV, 33; HCons. 107, 15-16 (all B), ...).

κύπη 'vault, covering' > ΧΗΠΙ (Gen. VIII, 13; KKS. 20 p. 160 [192] (B), ...).

c) On the other hand, we find, in Bohairic texts, ΛΥΜΟΣ for θυμός 'wrath, anger' (WTh. 11, 6; LMis. 107 p. 1142 [342]. ΚΟΛΥΜΒΕΔΡΑ, ΚΟΛΕΜΒΗΔΡΑ for κολυμβήθρα 'baptismal font' (BM. 848 p. 357. a. n. 1.; De Lacy O'Leary II. VII. 224 r^o 10) and others of that kind. In these cases the writers considered the spelling with θ as incorrect and tried to write in a correct way ('over correct' forms).

§ 23. a) In a later time χ in Greek was no longer pronounced *k + h*, but as *ch*. in German. Therefore we find it occasionally transcribed by *ϕ* in Bohairic, or *z* in Sa'idic texts, e.g. χαρκατήρ 'mark, picture' : - ΦΑΡΑΚΤΗΡ (WMac. 19. a. 11 B, ...); ελάχιστος 'the least' : - ΕΛΛΑΣ (abbreviated : e.g. AZ. p. 55 p. 71. a. 1 §, ...). The 'ich' sound (as in German 'ich') of X was unfamiliar both to the Coptic and the Arabic ears. The consonant nearest to χ before an *i*- sound was in

⁽¹⁾ Cf. A. MALLON, *Grammaire Copte* (Beirut 1926) § 23. W. TILL, *Koptische Dialektgrammatik* (München 1931) § 7 h. M. CHAÏNE, *Éléments de Grammaire, Dialecte Copte*, Paris (1933) §§ 19, 21, 22.

Coptic ω . So χ before an i -sound was in Coptic ω . Therefore we find, in some cases, ω replacing χ before i (or another vowel pronounced i), e. g. $\chi\iota\lambda\iota\alpha\rho\sigma$ 'captain over a thousand' > $\omega\iota\lambda\iota\alpha\rho\sigma$ (AZ. G. 2 p. 59; L. 1, 91), $\sigma\chi\eta\mu\alpha$ 'form' > $\sigma\omega\eta\mu\alpha$ (My. 45, 5 §), but also $\sigma\eta\mu\alpha$ (My. 22, 1. 3 §).

b) The interchange of χ and κ which is often found even in old manuscripts⁽¹⁾ is not due to a special pronunciation of χ but only to the similarity in the form of these two letters, e. g. $\omega\delta\sigma\chi\alpha$ 'Passover' > $\pi\alpha\sigma\kappa\alpha$ (Jh. vi, 4 A²) (but $\pi\alpha\sigma\kappa\alpha$ in *ib.* 2, 13. 23; xi, 55 (bis); xii, 1; 13, 1; xviii, 28).

§ 24. The same holds good for the interchange of ζ and ξ . This interchange may often be due to a misreading of the editor or even a mere misprint. At any rate it has nothing to do with phonetics.

But κ replacing ξ in $\omega\iota\alpha\xi$ 'charger, platter, dish' which very frequently occurs as $\beta\iota\lambda\alpha\kappa$, $\beta\eta\eta\alpha\kappa$ (*Exod.* xxv, 29; *Mt.* xiv, 8. 11; *Mk.* vi, 25. 28; *Lk.* xi, 39; *Z.* 72, 5 f. b.; AMÉLINEAU, *Isaac* 67, 11-12; *P.O.* 11 p. 373, 7 (all B) ...) $\eta\eta\eta\epsilon\sigma$ in a F text (*Mt.* xiv, 8. 11 F), marks a special pronunciation of ξ in this one word.

§ 25. a) We are not surprised to find $\kappa\epsilon$ for ξ or $\kappa\sigma$ for $\xi\sigma$. This is a mere matter of spelling not of phonetics:

Lat. *exactor* > $\epsilon\acute{\xi}\alpha\kappa\tau\omega\rho$ 'exactor, tax-collector' > $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\alpha\kappa\tau\omega\rho$ (*Ryl.* 273, 14 §, ...).

$\epsilon\acute{\xi}\omega\sigma\iota\alpha$ 'power, authority' > $\epsilon\kappa\sigma\omega\gamma\sigma\iota\alpha$ (STEGEMANN p. 55 N° 30 [99] B v° 5-6 F, ...).

$\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma$ 'ecstasy' > $\epsilon\kappa\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma$ (*Ac.* xi, 5 §, ...).

b) It is the same with $\eta\epsilon$ for ψ :

$\psi\eta\phi\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$ 'decree' > $\eta\epsilon\gamma\phi\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$ (*Est.* 9, 24 §, ...).

$\psi\eta\chi\eta$ 'soul' > $\eta\epsilon\iota\chi\eta$ (*Kr.* 227, 14 F, ...).

$\eta\iota\psi\iota\varsigma$ 'plough' > $\eta\eta\eta\iota\varsigma$ (*WS.* 145, 5 §, ...).

⁽¹⁾ P. KAHLE, 'Balawizah', London 1954, vol. I, chap. 8, §§ 117 C., 123 J.

§ 26. It may be mentioned that \dagger sometimes is written instead of $\tau\iota$, $\tau\epsilon\iota$, $\tau\eta$, $\delta\iota$, $\delta\epsilon\iota$ etc. e. g.

$\tau\iota\mu\eta$ 'value' > $\dagger\mu\eta$ (*BMis.* 20, 10 f. b.; 21, 13 §, ...).

$\nu\eta\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha$ 'fasting' > $\eta\eta\sigma\tau\alpha$ (*DLeg.* 25, 6 §; *BMis.* 92, 3 (f. b.) §, ...).

$\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\sigma$ 'deacon' > $\dagger\lambda\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\sigma$ (*GUIDI, Coptica*, p. 12, 3 §; *ALR.* vol. I (1892), p. 492, 3 f. b. §).

$\delta\epsilon\iota\kappa\upsilon\acute{\nu}\epsilon\iota\nu$ 'to show forth' > $\dagger\kappa\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ (*FR.* 4, 4 §, ...).

$\sigma\tau\lambda\alpha\tau\eta\lambda\delta\tau\eta\varsigma$ 'general, commander' > $\sigma\tau\tau\lambda\alpha\tau\eta\lambda\tau\eta\varsigma$ (*BMar.* 235, 17 §; *BMis.* 233, 1 f. b. §, ...).

§ 27. a) We must come back to β . This letter, as Coptic β , was pronounced υ which becomes evident from spellings like these: $\lambda\gamma\kappa\alpha\rho\sigma$ (*B. I. F. A. O.* 54, p. 23, 3-4 f. b. §; *Leyd.* 462, 1 §, ...) is the common transliteration of $\Lambda\epsilon\gamma\alpha\rho\sigma$, the name of the king of Edessa famous for his correspondence with the Christ (cf. EUSEBIUS, *The Ecclesiastical History*. 1. xiii. 21). Lat. *velum* 'curtain, hanging' > $\beta\eta\lambda\omicron\nu$ > $\omicron\upsilon\eta\lambda\omicron\nu$, $\omicron\upsilon\eta\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$, $\omicron\upsilon\eta\lambda\eta$, $\omicron\upsilon\eta\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$, $\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon$ (*Ryl.* 238, 11 §; 241, 8. 9 §; *Ep.* 552 §; *ST.* 200, 11. 17. 19 §; *BM.* 155 p. 421. f. 2. b. 8 (f. b.) §; *ib.* 703 p. 311 F, ...). $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\beta\eta\varsigma$ 'pious' > $\epsilon\kappa\sigma\epsilon\beta\eta\varsigma$ (*Ac.* 10, 2 §; *BMis.* 428, 4-5 §, ...) and others mark clearly a pronunciation very near to that of Modern Greek.

b) Due to the pronunciation of β are the cases where it is replaced by α .

κ was the voiced counter part of α : $\beta\lambda\delta\pi\tau\epsilon\iota\nu$ 'to hinder, to harm' > $\alpha\lambda\lambda\eta\tau\epsilon\iota$ (*Z.* 295, 6 (f. b.) perhaps influenced by the preceding $\mu\eta\omicron\upsilon$ -). $\Lambda\beta\tau\alpha\delta\mu$ 'Abraam' > $\lambda\alpha\tau\alpha\gamma\lambda\mu$, $\lambda\alpha\tau\iota\gamma\lambda\mu$ (*AZ.* 1896 p. 87, 30 §; *Z.* 291 n. 27 §, ...). $\alpha\kappa\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha$ 'exactness' > $\lambda\kappa\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha$ (*BMis.* 51, 5 §, ...) etc.

§ 28. ϕ replacing α in Coptic words is a special feature of the Coptic texts written in Greek script⁽¹⁾, but is very seldom in other Coptic texts.

⁽¹⁾ Cf. W. E. CRUM, 'Coptic Documents in Greek Script'. *The Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. 25 p. 249-271; W. E. CRUM, 'An Egyptian text in Greek Characters' in *JEA* 28, p. 20-31.

§ 29. In some parts of Egypt the pronunciation of λ and ρ was very near to each other (nearly all ρ of the other dialects are λ in Fayûmic). Therefore the interchange of λ and ρ occurs also in Greek words:

ἀκυρος, ον 'invalid' > ἀκελον (BM. 1037, 9 §), καρίνωμα 'carcinoma, cancerous ulcer' > κλλακκηώμα, κλλακιλώμα, κλλακκινώμα (Mus. 65 p. 166 §, BMar. 63, 7; 65, 1 (f. b.) §; Z. 337, 4-3 (f. b.) §, ...); Lat. curator 'guardian' > κουράτωρ > κουλλάτωρ, κολλατωρ, κουλλατωρ (BM. 307, 4. 5 §; BSM. 104, 16; 106, 5; 107, 3; 108, 5; 109, 25 (all B); LMis. 113 p. 1261; KKS. 15 p. 58, ...), τερέβινθος 'terebinth' > τελεβινθος (Pméd. 302 §, ...).

ἐλπίζειν 'to hope for' > ζερπιχη (BM. 1119, 15 p. 472. b. §, ...); Lat. fiminalia, 'trousers, breeches' > φιμινάλια > φιμιναριον, φιμεναριον, φυμεναριον (BMar. 14, 27 §; HM. 1 43, 14 §; LMis. 81 p. 363, 368 §, ...).

§ 30. In some rare cases Greek λ is replaced by η in a Coptic text: e. g. συμβουλεύειν 'to counsel, advise' > συμβουηγε (ST. 254, 9 §, ...).

§ 31. a) η is sometimes written η before κ, e. g. σύμβουλος 'governor' > κυμβου(γ)λος, χημβουλος, γενου(γ)λος (PLond. 1495, 12; 1499, 5. 8; 1552, 30; 1553, 23; 1563, 19 §; VC. 49, 6 §; Bal. 187, 6 §; Aeg. 249, 33. 8 §; Rec. 5, p. 207, 3 §; WMac. 174. a. 5. 19, b. 1. 7-8. 17. 24; 175. a. 6. 13. b. 11 B, ...), and many others.

This spelling is due, of course, not to a peculiar pronunciation, but only to the effort of the writer to write correctly. The result is 'overcorrect' forms.

b) It is strange to observe that η at the end of words of Hebrew origin is replaced by η in Coptic texts. Such words are:

נשׁפ > Μασσαμ > μασσαη (Gen. xxv, 14 §), עִרְשֵׁף > Λοωμειμ > λοωμειν (Gen. xxv, 3 §, ...), עִרְשֵׁף > Σεραφειμ 'Seraphim' > σεραφ(ε)ιν, ζεραφιν (Wor. 154, 16; 241, 3 §; BMar. 51, 13

(f. b.); 15, 13; 232, 1 §; AZ. 1896 p. 86, 10; 87, 31 §; TT. p. 31 §; P.O. 2 p. 150, 3; 193, 3. 12-13 §; HM. 1 p. 181, 11 §; KKS. 43 p. 091 [273] §), עִרְשֵׁף > χερουβιμ 'Cherubim' > χερουβ(ε)ιν, χειρουβ(ε)ιν, χαιρουβ(ε)ιν (Sir. xlix, 9 §; Pcod. 1, 5; AZ. 1896 p. 86, 10; 87, 31; Wor. 154, 15; 241, 2-3; BMar. 51, 14-13 f. b.; 18, 12; 232, 1; 235, 10 (f. b.); HM. 1 p. 181, 10; Crum, Stu. p. 267, 23. 25; 329. a. 9; SHel. 10. a. 2; P.O. 2 p. 190, 2. 8; 193, 2. 3. 6; 194, 2 (all §); WMac. 51. b. 6. 9 B, ...).

§ 32. In some words of Latin origin, final ρ appears η in Coptic⁽¹⁾:

Cursor 'cursor, messenger' > κούρσωρ > κουρσων, — συν, κορσων (P.O. 9 p. 69 [95], 5. 7. 12 §; DMena. 55. b. 21 §; Knopp J. 28 §; BMar. 44, 14. 15 (f. b.) §; STEGEMANN p. 70. 45 [108]. 1, 18 §; Rossi I. I. (Evang. Nicodemi): 13. a. 31, b. 4, b. 22; 14. a. 13 (cf. KKS. 49 p. 0176); Rossi, Papii Copti di Torino 1.1.13. b, 17. a. 21, b. 16 (KKS. 53 p. 31).

Prior 'prior, senior' > πριωρ > πριον (Ann. 49 p. 73, 21-22; p. 72, 24-25 §, ...).

§ 33. The Egyptian language lost the difference between Z and S (that is voiced and voiceless S) long before Coptic. Therefore Coptic ears were not accustomed to register this difference in foreign words. That is why we find frequently z replaced by c and vice versa c by z, e.g.

ζυγη 'pair' > σεκη, — ε (J. 16, 23. 51 §; ST. 378, 3 §, ...), χαριζειν 'to grant' > καρικε (J. 16, 38 §, ...).

Σεραφειμ > ζεραφιν (Is. vi, 2 §; HM. 1. 181, 11 §; P.O. 2, p. 190, 3; 158, 9 §; LProc. 26, 15; 50, 28 §; LMis. 134 p. 496 [466]. §, ...), βάσανος 'torture' > βαζανος (BMis. 46, 10 f. b.; 541, 13; 542, 17-18; 552, 10 §; BSG. 3, 1; 5, 26; 13, 25; 77, 27 B; WMac.

⁽¹⁾ Also in παντοκράτωρ 'almighty' written occasionally παντο(γ)κρατων (Bal. 114, 11 §) cf. *ib.* chapter 8, § 101.

117. b. 2; 189. a. 19 B, ...), ἀποτάσσεισθαι 'to bid farewell' > ΑΠΟ-ΔΑΣΣΕ, ΑΠΩΤΑΣΣΕ (ST. 54, 3 §; OMH. 76, 5; 91, 7-8 §, ... but ΑΠΟΤΑΣΣΕ: OMH. 75, 5; 96, 10), ΑΠΟΤΑΣΣΕΟΣ, ΑΠΟΔΑΣΣΕΟΣ (Mk. vi, 40 B; Lk. ix, 61; xiv, 33; Ac. xviii, 18. 21; II Cor. ii, 13; Aeg. 45, 14 (all B) ...).

§ 34. a) In some texts, both Sa'ïdic and Bohairic, we find ΣΥΜΠΟ-ΔΙΟΝ, ΣΥΝ-, ΣΕΜ- (Sir. xxxv, 5 § (Lagarde); CO. 86, 6-7 §; WMac. 47, 14 B, ...) for συμπόσιον 'symposium, dining-room'. I do not think that this isolated phenomenon shows a peculiar pronunciation of σ. It is rather due to the influence of a common word like ὑποπόδιον 'footstool'. συμπόσιον occurs very often in legal documents and is always written correctly there (cf. e. g. J. 35, 28; 42, 20; 76, 31 and often). As ΣΥΜΠΟΔΙΟΝ occurs also in a good old manuscript (Lagarde's Sirach), it seems impossible that at that early time, the Greek δ had the pronunciation which it has in Modern Greek and which could have induced a Coptic writer to confound it with σ.

b) A similar phenomenon is τοπαζιον 'topaz' spelled ΤΟΠΑΔΙΟΝ (Ps. cxviii, 127 §; Apoc. xxi, 20 §), ΤΩΠΑΛΛΙΟΝ (LAL. 3, 12-13; 43 §, ...), ΛΟΠΑΤΙΟΝ (Ps. cxviii, 127 B; Job. xxviii, 19 B; P.O. 18 p. 292, 12 B; BAp. 36, 14 §, ...), ΤΟΠΑΤΙΟΝ (BMis. 10, 16 f. b. §), ΤΟΠΑΤΙΟΝ (BMis. 10, 8 f. b. §), ΛΩΠΑΛΛΙΟΝ (Z. 610, 7 §), ΛΟΠΑΛΛΙΟΝ (I Chron. xxix, 2 B, HCons. 109, 9-10 B; Apoc. xxi, 20 B; HCons. 316, 2 B) in some Coptic texts. This spelling seems to me to be an 'overcorrect' form as we can see, that τ before ι in some words was pronounced τς, at least in certain parts of Egypt (cf. the pronunciation of Latin -ti before a vowel as tsi in the Middle Ages), e. g.

κερατιον 'carat' > ΚΕΡΑΤΣΕ (CO. 162, 4; 477, 10-11 §; VC. 39, 9 §; ST. 40, 11; 93, 8; 121, 5-6 §; UM. p. 239, 10 §; OMH. 82, 11-12; 130, 2 §; Ep. 278, 17; 280, 4; 286, 5; 520, 10 §; BM. 1160, 6 §; J. 117, 8 §), ΚΥΡΑΤΣΗ (ST. 120, 8-9 §), ΓΕΡΑΤΣΕ (CO. 120, 13. 15 §; ST. 73, 1 §; Ep. 353, 22 §), ΓΕΡΑΤΣ (CO. 154, 5 §, ...).

κνιδιον 'knidion (a measure of wine)' > ΚΝΙΤΣΕ (BM. 1102, 19 §, ...).

Lat. linteum 'napkin, towel' > λέντιον > ΛΗΝΤΣΕ (Ryl. 139, 4 §; TILL, Ehevertrage, p. 629 N. 2).

Λεώντιος (Λεόντιος)⁽¹⁾ 'Leontion' > ΛΕΩΝΤΣΕ (J. 94, 51-52 §; but in its standard form: ΛΕΩΝΤΙΟΣ, ΛΕΩΝΤΙΟΣ in J. 6, 36; 21, 91-92; 48, 10; 61, 71; 69, 5; 70, 32; 90, 27. 34. 50).

ὁλοκότινος 'Holokottinos' > ΖΟΛΟΚΟΤΣΙ (AZ. 60 p. 109, 6), ΖΟΥΛΟΥΚΟΤΣΙ (BM. 544, 22. 23; 594, 9; 670, 1 (all F)), -ΚΩΤΣΙ (BM. 660, 10 F), ΖΩΛΟΚΩΤΣΙ (UM. 209, 3 F), ΟΛΟΚΟΤΣΙ (VC. 116, 3 §; Kr. 22, 4), ΖΟΛΟΚΟΤΣΕ (VC. 39, 8 §; OMH. 174, 5; 198, 4; 203 v° 3 §) and other similar forms ending with -ΤΣΙ or -ΤΣΕ in very many places mostly Sa'ïdic and Fayûmic, while (ΖΟ)ΛΟΥΚΟΧΙ(ΗΟΣ) and vars. with ΧΙ is common in Bohairic and Fayûmic e. g. in HL. 100, 15-16 B; WMac. 163 B; BSG. 53, 1. 8. 10. 22 B; Kr. 65, 2; 69, 3 F, ...).

§ 35. I may just mention that γ before γ, κ or χ is very often rendered by η, according to the Greek pronunciation, e. g. ἀνάγκη 'force, constraint' > ΑΝΑΗΚΙ, ΑΝΑΗΓΓ, etc.

ASSIMILATION, DISSIMILATION AND METATHESIS

§ 36. We find among Greek words in Coptic texts, some cases of assimilation. So the words μοναχός 'monk', ὄραμα 'vision', ὄρασις 'appearance, vision' are usually in Sa'ïdic ΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ, ΖΟΡΟΜΑ and ΖΟΡΟΣΙC. ἐνάγειν 'to prosecute' appears in a great number of cases as ἔνεγε, ἐνεκε.

Other words show assimilation only occasionally, as e. g. νικηφόρος 'victorious' > ΝΙΚΟΦΟΡΟΣ (J. 15, 33; 90, 11; 99, 45; 104, 9 §, ...), στεφανηφόρος 'the crown-wearer' > ΣΤΕΦΛΗΝΟΦΟΡΟΣ (J. 15, 33 §, ...) (cf. Greek στεφανηφορεῖν and στεφανοφορεῖν).

ἢ ηλκασσε (BMar. 95, 5-4 f. b.; 96, 1; 147, 2 f. b. (all §) for ἀποτάσσειν 'to destroy', the verb πατάσσειν 'to smite' > ΗΛΤΑΣΣΕ may have been of some influence. If a writer wrote ΚΑΤΑΒΛΛΗ, ΚΑΤΑΒΛΛΕ

⁽¹⁾ PREISIGKE, Namenbuch.

(*J.* 42, 39 §; *CO.* 412, 4; 415, 8 §; *Bab.* 240, 5. 6 §) for *καταβολή* 'payment', he may have had in mind the verb *καταβάλλειν* 'to pay'. In *κυνάρα* (*I Chron.* xv, 16. 21. 28; xvi, 5; *II Chron.* v, 12 (all B) for *κινύρα* 'kinnor, kinyra' the influence of the more common *κithάρα* 'lyre' and perhaps also of *κινδρά* 'artichoke' has played a rôle.

§ 37. a) Also with consónants we find, in some cases, a sort of assimilation or uniformity as e. g. in *αγρατωρ* or *αγκρατωρ* (*BSAC.* 12 p. 50, 25; 53, ...) for *ἀκρατον* 'unmixed wine'; *κινάμων*; *κυνάμων* (*Jerem.* vi, 20 B; *Αποκ.* xviii, 13 B; *KKS.* 25 p. 306) for *κινάμων* 'cinnamon'.

b) Comparatively often we find λ and ρ confounded (cf. § 29). In some cases the writer used only one of these two letters in one word, e. g. *αριστολοχια*(c) (*Pméd.* 284 §, *TArzn.* 108) or *αριστοροχια*(c) : (*Pméd.* 277 §) for *ἀριστολοχία* 'aristolochia, birthwort'; *κλυτταλλ(λ)ος* (*Ps.* cxlvii, 8 §; *BMis.* 429, 12 §; *Aeg.* 22, 9 (f. b.) §; *KKS.* 43 p. 0139 §; *LMis.* 110 p. 1251) or *κρυτταρος* (*IT.* p. 31 §) for *κρύσταλλος* 'ice'. Sometimes λ and ρ have changed places : *αριστοροχιας* (*TArzn.* 108, *Pméd.* 289 §) > *ἀριστολοχια*. In other cases the writer seems to have considered Greek words with two λ or two ρ in them as incorrect and dissimilated one of the two, e. g. *Lat. veredarius* 'a post-boy, courier' > *βερηδάριος* > *βερετταριος* (*HM.* 1. 47, 10. 18; 48, 5; 170, 21; 171, 8; 172, 1. 7. 9; 207, 12 §; *BMar.* 71, 16. 8. f. b.; 72, 6 §; *BMis.* 147, 6; 155, 11 §; *Z.* 285, 6 (f. b.). 2 f. b. §; *BSAC.* 10 p. 52, 9 (f. b.). 10 (f. b.). 12 (f. b.) §, ...), *δευτεράριος* 'the second officer in a monastery' > *λεγτελλαριος*, *λεγλαελλαριος*, *λεγτολλαριος* (*BM.* 154, 1; 489 p. 232. a. 1 §; *Z.* 37, 9. 10 B), *βελιζ* > *Βελλιαλ* 'Belial' > *βελιαρ* (*J.* 69, 25 §; *Amherest* p. 59, 25 §, ...) and many others.

§ 38. a) Changing of place (metathesis) is found with μ and ν in *αλανομη* for *δικινομή* 'continuance' (*J.* 20, 4; 21, 3; 35, 3. 73; 38, 3. 51 §) cf. *μονοθετης* for *νομοθέτης* 'lawgiver' (*C.* 42 p. 227, 7 §, ...).

b) A certain simplification in spelling Greek words as far as letters are concerned the pronunciation of which was either equal or very similar (cf. §§ 2-20), sometimes gives the impression of an assimilation. But this assimilation is only graphic not phonetic. Such spellings are e. g. *ψηχη* > *ψυχή* 'soul' (*CRUM, Stu.* 329. b. 6 §; *Ep.* 169, 13 §; *CRAMER, Inschrift.* p. 32, 4 §), *τρημησιον*, -*σεν*, -*σε* > *τριμήσιον* 'tremis' (*CO.* 164, 4; 176. 9; 306 v° 2 §; *Ep.* 520, 8 §; *WS.* 96, 3 §; *OMH.* 75, 8 §), *προσοπον* > *πρόσωπον* 'person' (*Est.* xvi, 11 §; *CO. Ad.* 20, 7-8 §; *C.* 100, p. 287. b. 21; 336. b. 9 §; *UM.* p. 219, 9-10 §; *Kr.* 113, 3-4 §; *AZ.* 1891 p. 13, 15 §, ...), (z)ε-*τεμος* < *έτοιμος* 'ready' (*CO.* 42, 4; 157, 3-4; 166, 6; 311 v° 4; *OMH.* 54, 11; 56, 3; 61, 10; 63, 7; *Bal.* 102, 15; *Ton.* 2, 5; 12, 8 all §), (z)ερετικός > *αιρετικός* 'heretic' (*Z.* 29, 15 B; *Tit.* iii, 10 B; *P.O.* 11 p. 370, 7; 371, 1-2 B; *Aeg.* 224, 15 (f. b.); 227, 6 f. b.; 228, 6 (f. b.) B), *πρεσβύτερος* < *πρεσβύτερος* 'priest' (*Αποκ.* v, 6. 14; 7, 13; xi, 16; xiv, 3; 19, 4 all § [Budge]; (*Dleg.* 1, 3 §; *AZ.* 55 p. 70 §), *ζωλωσ* < *ὅλως* 'wholly' (*DLeg.* 8, 1 §; *BMar.* 35, 4 f. b. §), *γαλλιιογραφος* < *καλλιγράφος* 'penman, copyist' (*BM.* 490 p. 233. b. 3 §), *καζοφγλακιον*, *καζω-*, *καζοφι-* < *γαζοφυλάκιον* 'treasury' (*J.* 106, 54 §; *Ryl.* 454 p. 227. xv B; *BMar.* 248, 6-7 §; *BMis.* 88, 5 (f. b.); 404, 7-8. 11. 9 (f. b.) 5 (f. b.) §; *BAP.* 96, 11 (f. b.) §; *BHom.* 47, 7 §), *κασηκουμενος* < *κατηχούμενος* 'catechumens' (*C.* 100 p. 241. a. 1-2, b. 13-14 §; *Z.* 83, 18 B, ...), *καλχηλαων*, *καλχητωη*, *καρχηλαωη*, *καρχηλαιον*, *καλχητων* < *χαλκηδών* 'Chalcedon' (*Αποκ.* xxi, 19 §; *Z.* 282, 7; 540, 2-3. 8 §; *LMis.* 141 p. 921 [507] §; *KKS.* 53. p. 20 [486] §, ...); *δεσπολης* < *δεσπότης* 'lord, master' (*DMena.* 43. a. 30 §; *BMis.* 504, 18; 532, 20 §; *BAP.* 68, 15 (f. b.); 126, 9 (f. b.) §; *BMar.* 223, 6 (f. b.) §), *βηλασιδα* < *βηθσαιδα* 'Bethsaida' (*Jh.* v, 2 A₂; *Leyd.* 46, 19; 54, 17-18 §), *τεγετερος* < *δευτέρος* 'second' (*BM.* 1060, 6 §; *J.* 98, 28 §; *CLT.* 2, 1 §; *Ep.* 618 obv. 3. 8 §), *πλαπτει* < *βλάπτειν* 'to hinder' (*BMis.* 531, 9 §; *BHom.* 3, 5 (f. b.); 21, 3-2 (f. b.); 42, 13 (f. b.); 59, 1; 121, 12 (f. b.) §; *LMis.* 85 p. 1101 [247] §; *ΚΑΖΑΝΙΖΕ* (*Αποκ.* 11, 10 §; *BMar.* 21, 12 (f. b.); 36, 3 (f. b.);

37, 9 (f. b.) S; Leyd. 36, 20 S) or $\kappa\alpha\sigma\alpha\nu\iota\zeta\epsilon\iota$ (*LAp.* 136 B, 4 F) for $\beta\alpha\sigma\alpha\nu\iota\zeta\epsilon\iota$ 'to torment'.

This sort of simplification of the spelling is by no means the rule but occurs together with all other possibilities of replacement.

The majority of these spellings shows nothing but uncertainty how to write correctly a foreign word, a phenomenon found in documents of all languages and all times.

1.

ADDITIONS AND OMISSIONS

OF CONSONANTS ⁽¹⁾

§ 39. The insertion of μ before labial stops, of ν before dental stops and sibilants (or of τ before guttural stops) is comparatively often found in Greek words used in Coptic texts. This phenomenon cannot be explained in the same way in every case.

§ 40. If we find $\mu\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\lambda\gamma\mu\psi\iota\varsigma$ rendering $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\psi\iota\varsigma$ 'participation' in a Sa'idic text (*Bal.* 34, 28-29), it is evident that ν in $\mu\bar{\nu}\tau$ - for $\mu\epsilon\tau$ - is due to the well known rule that original unstressed *met* appears as $\mu\bar{\nu}\tau$ in Sa'idic.

This rule explains also the added ν in $(\epsilon\eta)\kappa\lambda\sigma\tau\rho\iota\mu\iota\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\iota\mu\theta\omicron\varsigma$ 'ventriloquist' (*I Kgs.* xxviii, 3 (bis). 7. 9. 21 S; *KKS.* 15 p. 47; *Tri.* 527, 4 S) and perhaps even in $\chi\rho\gamma\sigma\omicron\lambda\iota\theta\omicron\varsigma$ $\chi\rho\sigma\omicron\lambda\iota\theta\omicron\varsigma$ 'torax' (*Apoc.* xxi, 20 S B; *LAl.* 3, 14; 43 S; *LCypr.* 12. a. 27-29 S; *BMis.* 10, 7 (f. b.) S; *HCons.* 315, 19 B, ...) ⁽²⁾ although here the syllable begins with λ not with μ . Unstressed *let* does not occur in Coptic. Therefore we do not know if it would appear as * $\lambda\bar{\nu}\tau$ in Sa'idic. At least it seems very probable (cf. § 49).

§ 41. From the way how we find many Greek words spelled in Coptic texts we gathered that it was difficult for most of the Copts to register

⁽¹⁾ Cf. P. E. KAHLE, *Bala'izah*, London, 1954, vol. I, chap. viii, § 79, A-146.

⁽²⁾ Certainly $\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$ 'document' is due to the same phonetic phenomenon.

the difference in the pronunciation between β and π , δ and τ , γ and κ because these differences did not exist in their own language (cf. § 20. a). On the other hand there were certainly Copts who not only registered the differences in the pronunciation of the mentioned sounds but endeavoured to mark them in the spelling. e. g.

$\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\rho < \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ 'for', occurs 4 times in Budge's Biblical Texts (4. a cent.): *Deut.* ii, 5; 5, 11. 26; xxxi, 23 (S) and *Ryl.* 292, 5. 16 (S) (IVth-Vth cent.); *ib.* 314, 21 (S) (Vth-VIth cent.), *Wor.* 325, 11. 4; 323, 10 F. In *Acta Pauli* (VIth cent.) $\nu\tau\alpha\rho$ occurs 26 times, excluding the uncertain and supplied ones, while $\tau\alpha\rho$ occurs 7 times only.

$\bar{\nu}\lambda\epsilon < \delta\epsilon$ 'on the other hand'. So in *Ryl.* 6, 28; 292, 8 (S); (both dated from IVth-Vth cent.); C. 135 p. 34, 14 (Vth cent.); Crum's unpublished fragment of *St. John* XX ⁽¹⁾. In *Acta Pauli* (A_2) $\bar{\nu}\lambda\epsilon$ occurs very often (71 times, at least).

$\bar{\nu}\lambda\omicron\kappa(\epsilon)\iota$, $\bar{\nu}\lambda\omicron\sigma\iota < \delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\iota$ 'it seems good, it seems right', is found in 4 passages of Budge's Biblical Texts ⁽²⁾. *Ac.* xv, 22. 25. 28. 34 (S); $\lambda\epsilon\bar{\nu}\lambda\omicron\sigma\iota$ for $\epsilon\delta\omicron\zeta\epsilon(\nu)$.

$\bar{\nu}\lambda\iota\omega\nu$ for the proper name $\Delta\iota\omega\nu$ ⁽³⁾, occurs as such in *AP.* p. 21. 30, 9. 11. 20; p. 24. 33, 14. 25 (A_2) (but $\lambda\iota\omega\nu$: *ib.* p. 21. 30, 2. 14).

$\mu\epsilon\rho\upsilon\chi\omicron\varsigma$ ⁽⁴⁾ $< \beta\rho\omicron\upsilon\chi\omicron\varsigma$ 'locust': *II Chron.* 6, 22 B ($\omicron\upsilon\mu\beta$); *III Reg.* viii, 37 B ($\omicron\upsilon\mu\beta$); *II Cons.* 234, 13; 254, 10 B.

$\kappa\omicron\lambda\upsilon\mu\beta\omicron\nu < \kappa\acute{\omicron}\lambda\lambda\upsilon\beta\omicron\nu$ 'small gold weight', e. g. in *Mt.* xxi, 12; *Mk.* xi, 15; *Jh.* ii, 15; *Tri.* 651, 4; 665, 4 (all S).

$\kappa\epsilon\eta\lambda\rho\omicron\varsigma < \kappa\acute{\epsilon}\delta\rho\omicron\varsigma$ 'cedar', e. g. in *Sir.* i, 12 (Lag.) S; *Agathonicus* p. 23, 22-23 F.

$\lambda\gamma\iota\rho\iota\omicron\nu < \acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ 'savage, fierce', e. g. *Wor.* 217, 22 S; *BMis.* 320, 17 S.

⁽¹⁾ Cf. P. E. KAHLE, *Bala'izah*, I, p. 241.

⁽²⁾ Cf. THOMPSON (Sir H.), *The New Biblical Papyrus*, p. 37; L. TH. LEFORT, *Concordance du Nouveau Testament sahidique*, Louvain (1950), p. 74 n.

⁽³⁾ PREIZIGE, *Namenbuch*. s. v.

⁽⁴⁾ In the same way the spelling $\mu\epsilon\rho\upsilon\chi\omicron\varsigma$ for $\beta\rho\omicron\upsilon\chi\omicron\varsigma$ (*Joel* i, 4 (bis); 2, 25; *Nah.* iii, 10 (all A)) is to be considered as an attempt to denote the voiced pronunciation of : abbrûkhos.

СИΓΓΕΛΙ < σιγγίλιον 'pass' e. g. KR. 122, 4 §.

ΚΩΝΔΙΟΝ < ζῴδιον 'statuette', e. g. MOR. 30, 52 F (cf. CRUM, *Dict.* p. 215. a).

Lat. quadrans (Roman brass coin) > κοδραντης > ΚΟΝΔΡΑΝΤΗΣ e. g. *Mt.* XII, 42 B [Horner], ΚΟΝΤΡΑΝΤΗΣ (*Mt.* V, 26 [CRUM, *Dict.* p. 215. a]); *BHom.* 24, 2 §), ΚΟΝΔΡΟΝΤΗΣ (*Tri.* 399, 4 §).

All these words and the like may be explained in this way. The voiced pronunciation of β, γ, δ, unknown in Coptic, was heard by the Coptic ear as if Ν or Μ respectively, was articulated before these consonants. And therefore those writers wishing to spell the foreign words very exactly wrote Ν before γ and δ, Μ before β⁽¹⁾. Under these circumstances, we see that it was easy to confound παραβολή 'parable' > ΠΑΡΜΒΟΛΗ, ΠΑΡΜΒΟΛΗ (*Mt.* XXIV, 32 § [*BMis.* 422, 4 f. b.]; *Lk.* XIV, 7 § [*BMis.* 430, 7]) with παρεμβολή 'camp, encampment' written sometimes ΠΑΡΜΒΟΛΗ or ΠΑΡΜΒΟΛΗ (*Sap.* XIX, 7 § [Thom.]; *Num.* X, 34; XI, 1 § [Schleifer]). For the second α in παραβολή, in the unstressed syllable had lost its pronunciation in the Coptic months and so the two words were pronounced nearly equally.

§ 42. The endeavour to mark the voiced pronunciation of ζ⁽²⁾ in ζώνη 'girdle' may have caused the spellings ΝΖΩΝΗ, ΝΚΩΝΗ, ΝΚΩΝΕ, ΝΚΩΝΕ, ΕΝΖΩΝΗ, ΕΝΖΩΝΗ, ΕΝΖΩΝΕ, ΑΝΖΩΝΗ, ΑΝΖΩΝΗ etc., which are common in Coptic texts. But it is much more difficult to suppose that this really was the reason, because the spellings with an added Η mentioned in § 41 occur side by side with the correct Greek spellings, they rather are the exception. It is difficult with ζώνη which, in Coptic,

⁽¹⁾ In Demotic Greek δ was transcribed by *nt*, e. g. *notegagiste* — *δοδεκαμιστη*, *ntōtrōma* = *δοδραμα*, *hrōntor* = *ροδορ* etc. (J. J. Hess, 'Zur Aussprache des Griechischen' in *Indogerm. Forschungen* 1896, p. 132, 133). Cf. also CRUM, *Dict.* p. 48 b. (below); DE ROUAK, 'Note sur la transcription des hiéroglyphes' in *AZ.* 1866, p. 72; K. ZERTE, in *AZ.* 50, p. 98, 99. Greek γ, also, was transcribed, in Demotic, by *ng*, *nk* respectively (Hess, *op. cit.*, p. 132).

⁽²⁾ Cf. RAUERS, 'Griechische Wörter im Koptischen' in *Sitz. d. König. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. z. Berlin* (1912) p. 1041 ff.

is nearly always spelled with the prefixed Ν, ΕΝ or ΑΝ, e. g. ΝΤΕΟΥ-ΦΜΟΥ ΦΩΠΕ ΖΙΧΝ ΤΕΚΝΩΝΗ (= ἐπὶ τῆς ζώνης σου) [*Deut.* XXIII, 13 § (Budge)] 'a peg shalt be upon thy girdle'; ΑΗΜΟΡΟΥ ΝΖΕΝΝΩΝΗ (= ἔζωσεν .. ζώνας) [*Lev.* VIII, 13 §] 'he girded them with girdles'; ΕΓΕΜΕΡΟΦ ΝΟΥΕΝΩΝΗ [*Lev.* XVI, 4 §] 'he shall be girded with a girdle'; ΤΕΓΕΝΩΝΗ ΕΧΜ ΠΕΜΕΡΟΦ 'his girdle on his thigh' [*Judges* III, 16 §]; ΟΥΝΩΝΕ ΕΝΑΝΟΥΦ [*III Kgs.* XVIII, 11 §] 'a good girdle'; ΟΥΝΩΝΗ ΠΦΑΛΡ [*PS.* 106, 25 §] 'a girdle of skin'; ΟΥΝΩΝΗ ΕΦΝΑΜΟΡΦ ΜΜΟΦ [*PS.* 109, 15 §] 'a girdle with which he shall be girded'; ΕΡΕΤΕΓΑΝΩΝΗ ΕΤΜΗΡ ΜΜΟΦ [*HM.* 1. 192, 21 §] 'his girdle with which he is girded', ΠΟΥΦΩΦ ΠΤΕΓΑΝΩΝΗ [*G.* 99, p. 155. b. 28 §] 'the breadth of his girdle'; ΑΥΧΙ ΛΕ ΠΝΕΥΕΝΩΝΗ [*AZ.* 1886 p. 95 §] 'and they took their girdles'; *Cod. Borg.* 145 (= *KKS.* 48 p. 0169) : ΑΚΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ ΠΤΕΓΑΝΩΝΗ 'she loosed his girdle'; ΑΥΦΩΛΗ ΠΝΕΥΕΝΩΝΕ [*Bal.* 43. 7 §] 'they cut off their girdles'; ΠΕΦΩΛΗ ΠΤΕΓΑΝΩΝΗ [*KKS.* 48 p. 441 §] 'and they cut off his girdle'. Also ΕΝΩΝΕ in *Pméd.* 313; 320; 322 and many other places.

The strange idea that this prefix represents the Arabic article ال before the Greek word⁽¹⁾ must be rejected, above all, because the discussed spelling is found long before the Arab time⁽²⁾ of Egypt. Lemm⁽³⁾ presumed a Greek substantive ἐζώνη parallel to ἐζώνυμι = ζώνυμι (cf. ἐζωνίζομαι). This is possible but its existence cannot be proved for the time being. At any rate ΑΝΩΝΗ, ΕΝΩΝΗ, ΝΩΝΗ etc. recalls the Coptic ΑΝΧΗΒΕ, ΑΝΖΗΒΕ 'school', derived from ΕΒΩ 'teaching'.

§ 43. The inserted Ν in ΣΥΝΖΥΓΟΦ < σύζυγος 'yoke-fellow, associate' (*PS.* 45, 21; 49, 26; 64, 3; *ib.* 2, 14; 23, 17-18; 40, 10; 215, 26, all §), ΣΥΝΖΥΓΙΑ < σύζυγα 'union, combination, suzygy' (*BG.* p. 95, 3), ΣΥΝΖΗΤΕΙ < συζητεῖν 'to discuss' dispute

⁽¹⁾ E. CHASSINAT, 'Un Papyrus Médical Copte' (Le Caire 1921), p. 276.

⁽²⁾ For instance *Deut.* XXIII, 13 in Budge's Biblical Texts, dated from the first half of the IVth century, about three centuries before the Arab invasion took place.

⁽³⁾ O. V. LEMM, 'Kleine Koptische Studien', N. 48, p. 0167, 0169.

with' (*DLeg.* 19, 17 §; *ST.* 250, 11 §) may be explained by the endeavour to mark the voiced pronunciation of ζ. But I think it is more probable that these spellings are adopted from the Greek cf. *σύνζυγε* in *Phil.* iv, 3⁽¹⁾.

In composition with *σύν*, this preposition seems to keep always its *ν* in Coptic spelling, e.g. *ϢΥΝΛΕΜΨΙΝ* < *σύλληψις* 'help, co-operation' (*ST.* 27, 5 §), which certainly is an adopted vulgar pronunciation of Greek.

§ 44. *ΟΚΤΩΜΒΡΙΟΣ* for *ὀκτώβριος* 'October' (*Tri.* 311, 4 §; *STERN* § 290) owes its *Μ* undoubtedly to the name of other months which surround October: September (*σεπτέμβριος*), November (*νοέμβριος*) December (*δεκέμβριος*), all ending in *-μβριος*.

§ 45. Inserted *η* before dentals or gutturals, or *μ* before labials occur in Greek words used in Coptic texts also when the explosive is unvoiced, e.g.

ϢΑΝΤΡΑΠΗΣ < *σατράπης* 'satrap' (*I Kgs.* vi, 4; *KKS.* 15 p. 45; *STERN* § 419; *Z.* 210, 2 §, ...).

ΑΠΟΛΗΨΙΟΣ < *Ἀθανάσιος* 'Athanasius' (*Z.* 270, 11 §; *CO.* 45, 2. v°. 6-7 §; *J.* 7, 5. 27; 14, 89; 39, 82; 43, 76; 68, 105; 90, 26 §; *AZ.* 1868 p. 64 b).

ΑΚΟΛΛΩΝΟ(Ε)ΙΑ < *ἀκολουθία* 'conformity' (*J.* 92, 57; 107, 33 §; *AZ.* 1891 p. 8, 2 §, ...).

ΑΠΚΡΑΤΟΝ, ΑΠΚΡΑΤΩΡ < *ἀκρατον* 'unmixed wine' (*BMis.* 10, 14 f. b. §; *BSAC.* 12 p. 53 ...).

ΜΗΛΡΑ⁽²⁾ < *πᾶρα* 'more than' ... (*Mk.* iv, 34 §; *II Cor.* i, 8 §; *Heb.* xi, 11 §; *Rom.* xii, 3 F; *Heb.* ii, 7. 9 F; *II Cor.* xii, 11 F; *HM.* 1.

⁽¹⁾ Cf. *Novum Testamentum Graece*, ed. Tischendorf n. 3: *σύνζυγε* cum Ἐ'ΑΔ'FG. The form *σύνζυγος* is mentioned also in SOPHOCLES; and in J. H. Moulton, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, London 1952 p. 607 a. *συνζητέω* is also in Moulton, *ibid.*

⁽²⁾ Cf. *μελα* rendered sometimes *μηεχεγ*, *μηεχλα* (§), *μηεχε-*, *-εα* (F), *μηαχεα* (A₂) etc. (CUM, *Dict.* p. 285. a. with references); *Bal.* chap. viii, § 79 A. d.

108, 4; 116, 4; 163, 17; *ib.* 2. 34, 27 §; *JKP.* 44, 7; 50, 19 §; *CO.* 405, 5; *Ad.* 15, 8 §; *BM.* 583, 19 F; 586, 8 F; *CO.* 315, 9 f. b. §; *VC.* 31, 1; 100, 5 §; *CMSS.* 24, 23 F; *BMis.* 50, 6 f. b.; 229, 18 f. b. §; *WTh.* 152, 3 §; *LCypr.* 15 b. 17 §; *DMena.* 18. a. 6. 14; 19. b. 2; 20. a. 9 §; *Ann.* 41 p. 55, 23 §; *Aeg.* 288, 7 §; *Rec.* 6 p. 107, 6 (f. b.); *Bal.* 152, 7 §, ...).

ΜΠΡΟΣ < *πρός* 'according to; for, ...' (*VC.* 46, 11 §; *Bal.* 102, 18 §, ...).

ΑΠΠΟΤΛΑ(Σ)Ε < *ἀπίτασσειν* 'to refuse, renounce' (*Zech.* xi, 12 § [*Giasca*]; *C.* 42 p. 99, 24; 100, 10 §; *C.* 100 p. 351. a. 16 §; *BM.* 1032, 6 §, ...).

ΚΟΥΜΠΙΖΕ (*BMar.* 36, 12 f. b. §, ...) or *ΚΟΥΜΠΙΖΕ* (*BMar.* 14, 2 §) < *κουφιζειν* 'to lift up'.

ΝΥΜΦΕΙΝ < *νήφειν* 'to be sober' (*Z.* 28, 2 B; *TConst.* 69. 51, 4; 147, 9 B, ...).

This shows rather a vulgar pronunciation of Greek than a peculiarity of the Copts (cf. § 43). In later Greek, we find an inserted *μ* in the derivatives of *λαμβάνειν*: *ΑΠΛΑΜΨΙ(Ε)*⁽¹⁾ < *ἀνάληψις* 'assumption, ascension' (*Lk.* ix, 51 § B & often), *ϢΥΝΛΕΜΨΙΝ*⁽²⁾ < *σύλληψις* 'co-operation' (*ST.* 27, 5 §), *ΑΚΑΤΑΛΛΗΜΠΙΤΟΣ* < *ἀκατάληπτος* 'incomprehensible' (*Z.* 314, 8 §) and other words with similar endings as e.g., *ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΙΣ* < *ἀποκάλυψις* 'Apocalypse' (*PO.* 14 p. 343, 17 B; *BMis.* 552, 8-9; 569, 3 §, ...), *ΑΜΨΑΝΗ*⁽³⁾ < *λαψάνη* 'the herb charlock' (*C.* 99 p. 138, 5 §; *ST.* 255, 11 §, ...), *ΑΜΨΑΝΟΝ* < *λείψανον* 'remains' (*WMac.* 132, b. 15 B; *FR.* 120, 4 B; *LIB.* 5, 19 B, ...), *ΝΙΨΙΣ* < *νίψις* 'plough; basin for hand-washing' (*Bal.* 329, 2 §, ...).

§ 46. In some old texts, we find *ΗΚΟΡΙΝΟΣ* apparently for *κέρυθος*. This is certainly so in Budge's edition of the *Acts* (xviii, 1): *ΑΚΕΚΚ ΕΝΓΟΡΙΝΟΣ*⁽⁴⁾ = *ἦλθεν εἰς κέρυθον* 'he went to Corinth'.

⁽¹⁾ So Greek in *Lk.* ix, 51 *ἀνάληψις*. Cf. also LIDDELL.

⁽²⁾ Greek *σύλληψις* occurs in Greek. v. SOPHOCLES.

⁽³⁾ *λαψάνη* also is in Greek (cf. LIDDELL).

⁽⁴⁾ HORNER's and THOMPSON's editions both read *ΕΚΟΡΙΝΟΣ* here.

Budge's text came from an old manuscript (the first half of the fourth century) which have some dialectical peculiarities⁽¹⁾. Its ΝΓΟΡΙΝΘΟΣ < κόρινθος certainly is one of these peculiarities. As much as I see it is not found elsewhere. But in the Achmimic version of the *First Epistle of Clement*⁽²⁾ p. 29. 1, 4: ΝΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΜΗΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΞΟΟΗ Ξ̄Ν̄ Ν̄ΚΟΡΙΝΘΟΣ renders τῆ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῆ παροικούση κόρινθον⁽³⁾ 'to the Church of God that is in Corinth'. Ν̄ΚΟΡΙΝΘΟΣ occurs in two more places of the same text; but there it is equal to οἱ κορίνθιοι 'the Corinthians': ΛΧΠ, 3-4 ΑΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ Ν̄ΝΚΟΡΙΝΘΟΣ translates τὴν... κορινθίων ἐκκλησίαν; and in the title at the end of the text (83, 25) ΦΑ Ν̄ΚΟΡΙΝΘΟΣ translates πρὸς κορινθίους. The same inconsistency is found in the Subachmimic text of the *Acta Pauli*⁽⁴⁾, XLVIII, 11 reads Ν̄CΝΗΥ [ΕΤ]ΨΟΟΗ Ξ̄Ν̄ Ν̄[ΚΟ]ΡΙΝΘΟΣ 'the brethren living in Corinth'. In all other places (XLV, 12. 24; XLVI, 12) κόρινθος is rendered by ΚΟΡΙΝΘΟΣ (without a prefixed Ν) in the Coptic text. But, the same as *I Clement*, once ΚΟΡΙΝΘΟΣ means κορίνθοι: XLVII, 16, ΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ Ν̄ΝΚΟΡΙΝΘΟΣ 'the church of the Corinthians', although, in 1, 19, we read Κ]ΟΡΙΝΘΙΟC.

By these facts it becomes evident that some Coptic writers did not distinguish carefully between ΚΟΡΙΝΘΟΣ and ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟC and the former: too was used in the meaning of Corinthian. So it seems well possible that the two meanings of ΚΟΡΙΝΘΟΣ 'Corinth' and 'Corinthian' occasionally were interchanged. That is what may have taken place in *I Cl.* 1, 4⁽⁵⁾ and *AP.* 48, 11 where we find ΝΚΟΡΙΝΘΟΣ 'the Corinthians' instead of ΚΟΡΙΝΘΟΣ, 'Corinth'⁽⁶⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Bal. chap. 9, p. 193 ff., chap. 8, p. 48 ff.

⁽²⁾ G. SCHMIDT, 'Der Erste Clemensbrief in Altkoptischer Übersetzung' in *TU.* 32, Leipzig (1908).

⁽³⁾ R. KNORR, «Der Erste Clemensbrief» in *TU.* 20, Leipzig 1904, p. 94 ff.

⁽⁴⁾ G. SCHMIDT, «Acta Pauli, aus der Heidelberger Koptischen Papyrus-Handschrift Nr. 1», Leipzig (1905).

⁽⁵⁾ Of Schmidt's text. Not any of the mentioned passages is preserved in the manuscript published by F. ROSCH, 'Bruchstücke des Ersten Clemensbriefes nach dem Achmimischen Papyrus', Strassburg (1910).

⁽⁶⁾ G. Schmidt distinguished ΚΟΡΙΝΘΟΣ = κόρινθος from ΚΟΡΙΝΘΟΣ = κορίνθιοι in *I Clem.*, index p. 155, but not in *AP* index p. 80*.

§ 47. μαστιξ 'whip, scourge' is very often written: ΜΑΣΤΙΓΞ, ΜΑΣΤΙΓΞ̄, ΜΑΣΤΙΓΞ̄, ΜΑΣΤΙΓΓΟC, with inserted Γ pronounced Ν as in *Sir.* XXII, 6; XXIII, 2. 11; XXVI, 6; XXXIX. 35; XI, 11 (all §); *Ps.* XXXIV, 15; IXXXVIII, 32 (B); *Mk.* III, 10; V, 29. 34 (§B); *Lk.* VII, 21 (§B); *Joh.* II, 15 (§); *Act.* XXII, 24 (§B); *Heb.* XI, 36 (§B); *C.* 42 p. 76, 18; 77, 1 (§); *P.O.* 4 p. 581. a. 2 (f. b.) §; *BMis.* 239, 19; 241, 7 f. b.; 296, 3; 298, 12 (§); *Cl.* XXIV, 15; XXXII, 6 (A).

This, I think, is due firstly to the influence of the common CΑΛΠΙΓΞ (σαλπιγξ) 'trumpet'; secondly to the oblique case with the voiced γ: μαστιγος. That this is so is evident by the fact that λωδιξ (gen. λωδικος) 'coverlet' which is very frequent in Coptic texts is usually written without an inserted Γ⁽¹⁾ e.g. in *OMH.* 5, 2; 73, 9 §; *CO.* 100, 3; 242, 6; 459, 10; 465; 466 v° 3 §; *ST.* 119, 2; 125, 12. 13; 191, 6; 261, 7 § and many others⁽²⁾.

§ 48. a) 'Overcorrect' spellings omitting ν before dentals, γ before gutturals or μ before labials show that the insertion of Η, Μ or Γ respectively, corresponds to a vulgar pronunciation of Greek. Some Coptic writers knew that ν very often was pronounced in Greek words where it was not written. So, endeavouring to spell the Greek words correctly, they sometimes omitted Ν (Γ or Μ respectively) where it was correct, e. g.

ἀρχιμανδρίτης 'archimandrite' > ΑΡΧΙΜΑΛΡΙΤΗΣ (*Z.* 302, 4. 5. 10 §, ...), ΑΡΧΗΜΑΤΡΙΤΗΣ (*J.* 106, 104 §; *Ryl.* 124; *Ro.* 1, 3 §; *C.* 100 p. 204. a. 7 §; *Dict. d'arch. Chr.* 3 (2) col. 284 7 B).

Centenarium 'hundredweights' > ΚΕΝΤΗΝΑΡΙΟΝ > ΚΕΔΕΝΑΡΙΟΝ (*BMar.* 9, 10-9 f. b. §), ΟΥΤΗΝΑΡΙΟΝ (*Wor.* 160, 9-10 §).

παντοκράτωρ 'almighty' > ΠΑΤΩΚΡΑΤΩΡ (*Leyd.* 481, 2-3 §; *CMSS.* p. 62).

σάνδαλον 'stumbling block' > ΕΚΑΤΑΛΟΝ (*Leyd.* 451, 19 §). καταλαμβάνειν 'to take hold of' - ΚΑΤΑΛΛΑΒΗC (*Wor.* 158, 14 §; *BMis.* 307, 7-6 f. b. §; *BMar.* 62, 13 §).

⁽¹⁾ Quite exceptionally is λωτετξ in *ST.* 315, 9. 13 §.

⁽²⁾ Cf. also λωτξ in § 6.

μεμβράνα 'parchment' > ΜΕΒΡΑΝΟΝ, ΜΗΒΡΑΝΟΝ, ΜΕΒΡΩΝ or ΜΕΒΡ/ (*BMis.* 513, 15 §; *BM.* 704; *Ep.* 554, 6 §; *CMSS.* 44, 8 F; *ib.* p. 62).

ἀμφιβολία 'doubt' > ΑΦΙΒΟΛΕΙΑ, ΑΦΙΒΟΛΙΑ, ΑΦΟΒΙΛΙΑ (*J.* 63, 19; 64, 17 §; *BM.* 1126, 4 F).

ἀναγκάζειν 'to compel' > ΑΝΑΚΑΖΕ, -CE (*Ryl.* 320, 3-4 §; *ST.* 323, 11 §; *CMSS.* XI, 11 F; *OMH.* 156, 9 §) or ΑΝΑΓΑΖΕ, -ΖΙΝ (*OMH.* 198, 3 §; *BMis.* 285, 6; 292, 4 f. b. §).

ἐγκράτεια 'continence' > ΕΚΡΑΤΙΑ (*BM.* 171, p. 61. a. 5; b. 16 §; *LMis.* 85 p. 1102) or ΕΓΡΑΤΙΑ (*Sir.* xviii, 29 § [*LBib.* 111]; *Wor.* 278, 5-6 §; *KKS.* 10 p. 21 B; 47 p. 0159).

ἐγραπεύεσθαι 'to exercise self-control' > ΕΚΡΑΤΕΥΕ (*BHom.* 29, 7 §) or ΕΓΡΑΤΕΥΕ (*BMar.* 161, 11 §; *CA.* 88, 23 §; *C.* 100 p. 273. b. 11. 18 §).

σπλάγγον 'inward parts' > ΣΠΛΑΧΗΟΝ (*J.* 67, 27 §; *C.* 42 p. 46, 18 §; *DLeg.* 26, 17 §; *AZ.* 1883 p. 143. 111. 6 §; *AZ.* 48 p. 82, 8 §; *Ann.* 49. p. 78, 21. 34-35; 79, 3. 20; 80, 7 §, ...) ΣΠΛΑΧΗΟΝ (*WTh.* 64, 14 B, ...).

συγχωρεῖν 'to allow, permit' > CΥΧΩΡΕΙ (*VC.* 8, 7 §; *Ep.* 475, 7 §).

σάλπιγξ 'trumpet' > ΣΑΛΠΙΞ (*Josh.* vi, 8 §; *JKP.* p. 52, 11 §).

ἀγγεῖον 'vessel' > ΑΓΙΝ (*OMH.* 156, 5 §) or ΑΓΙΗΝ (*Bab.* 322, 8 §, ...).

γάγγραινα 'gangarime' > ΓΑΓΓΡΑΙΝΑ (*Rec.* 5 p. 205, 8 §; *TConst.* p. 21, 4 B).

b) The same explanation holds good for the omission of -έγ before κ at the beginning of a word, e. g.

ἐγγαστήριμθος 'ventriloquist' > ΚΑΣΤΡΙΜΙΝΘΟΣ⁽¹⁾ (*I Kgs.* xxviii, 7. 24; *KKS.* 15 p. 47; *Tiv.* 527, 4 §).

ἐγκυφίας 'loaf baked in the ashes' > ΚΡΥΦΙΑΣ (*Num.* xi, 8 §; *KKS.* 10 p. 2 [34]; *ib.* 15 p. 47).

⁽¹⁾ For the insertion of Ν, cf. § 40.

ἐγκλημα 'charge' > ΚΛΙΜΑ (*Iri.* 415, 3. §.).

ἐγκλεισθαι 'to be shut in' > ΚΛΗCΘΕ (*Wor.* 325, 5 F).

Here ἐγ- pronounced en-⁽¹⁾ was considered as an incorrect initial ἢ. By omitting ἐγ- the writer thought to restore the correct spelling.

c) The omission of Ν in ΚΩCΤΑΝΤΙΝΟC (much more common than the correct spelling ΚΩΝCΤΑΝΤΙΝΟC) e. g. in *BMar.* 63, 2. §; *PO.* 14 p. 361, 12. B; *BSAC.* 10. p. 49, 9-10 §; *Crum, Stu.* p. 288. 2, 1-2; 289, 2; 291, 1; 293, 1-2; 294, 1 §; *DLeg.* 63, 7 §; *DMena.* 7. b. 8 §; *Z.* 72. 3. 14 B; *AZ.* 43 p. 154. 10, 1 §, ..., and in ΚΩCΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΙC < ΚωνCταντινούπολιC 'Constantinople' (e. g. *DLeg.* 4, 2; 11, 33; 63, 9 §; *Z.* 29, 2. 4 B; *JKP.* 46, 21. §, ...), cannot be explained by over-correctness. Certainly it shows how this name was really pronounced at the time. The Ν was dropped here to facilitate the pronunciation. Cf. the Italian *Costantinopoli*.

§ 49. In one Greek word Ν was inserted before ρ: ΧΙΜΑΝΡΟC < χείμαρροC 'torrent', which occurs in the Bohairic version of *Joh.* xxii, 24. This verse is not preserved in the Sa'ïdic version. But in the Sa'ïdic version of *Joh.* xviii, 1, this word is spelled as in Greek. The inserted Ν is found only in Bohairic. This fact gives the clue. We have the same phonetic phenomenon as in Bohairic ΜΕΝΡΕ-, ΜΕΝΡΙΤ-, ΜΕΝΡΙΤ (derivatives of ΜΗΙ 'to love') with an inserted Ν before the ρ in a syllable beginning with Μ (cf. § 40). This explanation was offered by Ludwig Stern in *KG.* § 103 and others⁽²⁾.

§ 50. In § 8 c. we have shown that the unstressed ending -ιον in most of the words was much reduced⁽³⁾. But we find it filled up in some words; e. g.

Lat. semicinctium 'apron' > σιμικίνθιον > CΙΜΙΚΙΝΘΙΟΝ, CΙΜΙΓΙΘΙΟΝ, CΙΜΙΚΥΝΘΙΟΝ (*Act.* xix, 12 § B; *BMis.* 10, 19 §, ...).

⁽¹⁾ Cf. W. II. WORRELL, *CS.* pp. 79, 80; VERGOTE, *Phonét. Historique* p. 104.

⁽²⁾ Cf. O. RUBENSOHN in *AZ.* 42, p. 144; F. CALICE, 'Zur syllabischen Orthographie' in *AZ.* 44, p. 102; H. P. BLOK, 'Die griechische Lehnwörter im Koptischen' in *AZ.* 62, p. 56.

⁽³⁾ Cf. § 8. d. also.

Lat. linteum 'cloth, napkin' > λέντιον > λΗΝ†ΝΟΝ, ΛΥΝ†ΝΟΝ (*Ryl.* 24, 8. 9-10. §, ...).

σάρδιον 'a carnelion' > ΣΑΡΔΙΝΟΝ (*Apoc.* XXI 20 B; *HCons.* 315, 18 B).

§ 51. The insertion of λ, ρ or ρρ in ΚΕΛΣΕΛΕΗΛ (*LDi.* 277 v°. 42, 6-7 §), ΚΕΡΣΕΛΙΗΛ (*HCons.* 370, 6; 375, 5 B), ΚΕΡΣΕΛΙΗΛ (*HCons.* 4, 19. B) for Βεσελεηλ < 𐩧𐩨𐩣𐩪𐩣, was explained by Lemm (*op. cit., ibid.*) as being due to the influence of ΚΕΛΣΕΒΟΥΛ (*Mt.* x, 25). But I think it is rather due to assimilation of the first syllable to the two others ending in λ: ΚΕΛ/ ΣΕΛ/ ΕΗΛ. The forms with ρ or ρρ instead of λ show a later dissimilation of the inserted λ (cf. § 37).

§ 52. a) In ΔΙΜΩΡΙΣΤΗΣ (*Aeg.* 54, 16. B), ΔΙΜΩΡΙΣΤΗΣ (FR. 96, 12 B) for τιμωρητής 'avenger', the frequent ending -ιστής was confounded with ητής (pronounced -istis: -itis).

b) In ΕΛΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΣ (*T. Bau.* B v° p. 119, 8. §) for ελλόγιμος 'prominent, distinguished', the inserted c is due to the influence of ΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΣ (λογισμός) 'reason, thought' which is very common in Coptic texts, e. g. *Eccles.* ix, 10 §; *Na.* 1, 11 §BA; *Tri.* 320, 3; 495, 2; *BMis.* 27, 3; 237, 9 f. b.) §,

§ 53. Spellings like ΤΑΚΧΗ for ταχύ 'quickly' (e. g. Stegemann. p. 79. 51. 114. A, 6 §), ΕΚΧΕΤΙ for ἐξεστί 'it is lawful' (e. g. *J.* 104, 5 §), ΠΑΡΑΛΙΚΙΜΑ for παράδειγμα 'example, model' (*C.* 42. p. 42. 8. §), ΤΩΡΩΝΟΣ for θρόνος 'seat, throne' (e. g. Leyd. 432. b. 10. §, ΝΕΤΩΡΩΝΟΣ); ΚΑΛΑΣΑ for χαλασα 'hail' (e. g. *Ps.* 147, 8 § [Budge]), ΚΑΙ†ΚΑΙΣ for καψάκης 'Lat. capsa, cruse' (e. g. *I Kgs.* xix, 6 § [Till, *MPS.* 2]; *Judith* x, 5. §), ΑΝΑΦΕΡΕΙ for ἀναφέρειν 'to lead up, offer' (e. g. *Ryl.* 22, 2. §), and the like, are only a consequence of the writer's not knowing the correct spelling. He proposes two different ways of spelling and leaves it to the reader to choose the correct one. These spellings have nothing to do with a peculiar pronunciation.

2.

ADDITIONS AND OMISSIONS OF VOWELS.

§ 54. Groups of consonants the pronunciation of which offered some difficulties to a Coptic tongue were sometimes made easier to pronounce by adding a vowel. If the Greek word begins with a group of consonants, a vowel may be pronounced before the initial group of consonants. This way of facilitating the pronunciation is the same as in Arabic (e. g. اكتب for uktub) and is common also in Coptic words, e. g. ΕΣΚΟ (B) ΣΚΟ (S). Examples for Greek words are: ΕΒΡΑΒΙΟΝ < βραβεῖον 'prize' (*BHom.* 6, 15 f. b. §: ΖΕΝΕΒΡΑΒΙΟΝ), ΕΜΝΑ < μνά 'mna' (*STERN* § 61).

§ 55. In some cases a prosthetic vowel is used where it could not have had the purpose of facilitating the pronunciation, e. g. ΑΚΥΑΜΟΣ < κύαμος 'bean' (*Z.* 629, 11. §: ΟΥΑΚΥΑΜΟΣ); ΑΓΡΕΑΓΡΑ < κρεάγρα 'hook to seize or drag by' (*Num.* iv, 14 B; *HCons.* 142, 19 B: ΠΑΓΡ.) (κρ at the beginning of Coptic words is quite common); ΕΛΕΠΩΗ (*Ryl.* 409, 7. §), ΕΡΕΠΩΗ (*BM.* 1103, 21. §), ΕΛΟΠΩΗ (*Bal.* 189, 14. 17. 21. 27 §), ΕΙΛΙΠΩΗ (*BM.* 1116, 4. 7. 14, v°. 3. 5 §, ...) all for λοιπόν 'therefore, now then'; ΕΠΙΚΡΙΑ < πικρία 'bitterness' (*Leyd.* 453. B. 11. §); was it thought to begin with the preposition ἐπι?

In these cases the prosthetic vowel is perhaps due to a vulgar way of pronunciation among the Greeks in Egypt, at least in a certain area; cf. ΕΚΧΕΝΑΕΥΟΝΤΟΝ = ξεπιτευόντων 'being abroad, in exile' (*AZ.* 40 (1902) p. 23 N° 14, 2), ΗΜΗΜΗΗ and ΥΜΗΜΗΗ = μνήμη, μήμη (*AZ.* 40 (1902) N° 29, 2; 21, 2). Cf. the modern pronunciation of Arabic in some parts of Egypt: عفت for هفت (= 𐩧𐩨𐩣).

§ 56 a) The difficult pronunciation of a group of consonants can be facilitated by an inserted vowel, e. g. ΣΑΜΑΝΙΑ 'scamony' > ΣΑΚΑ-ΝΟΥΠΙΑ (*PMed.* 148; 153 §); πρεσβύτερος 'priest' > ΠΕΡΕΣΒΕ-ΤΕΡΟΣ (*AZ.* 55 p. 71. a. 3-4 §); κρανίον 'skull' > ΚΑΡΑΝΙΟΝ (*AZ.* 1883. p. 141, 9. §), although κκ, ηρ, κρ are quite common at the beginning of Coptic words.

b) It must be borne in mind that θ , φ , χ were, for the Copts (except those speaking in Bohairic dialect) $t+h$, $p+h$ and $k+h$ respectively. Thus $\Theta\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ 'throne' was *thronos* and we understand the occasional spellings $\Theta\epsilon\rho\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma$ (AZ. 62 (1927) p. 50), $\chi\omicron\rho\omega\varsigma\tau\epsilon$ < $\chi\rho\epsilon\omega\sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ 'to owe' (UM. p. 211, 2. §), $\chi\epsilon\rho\iota\alpha$ (BM. 591, 2. 3-4. 7. 11-12 F) or $\chi\iota\rho\iota\alpha$ (BM. 592, 13-14 F) both for $\chi\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha$ 'need'; $\phi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\kappa\mu\alpha$, $\phi\gamma\lambda\epsilon\gamma\mu\alpha$ < $\phi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\mu\alpha$ 'flame, heat' (Z. 571, 5 f. b. §).

§ 57. Groups of consonants difficult to be pronounced may occur also at the end of a Greek word or in its middle. In these cases too we see that the pronunciation was sometimes facilitated by an inserted vowel, e. g.

$\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\xi}$ 'flesh' > $\varsigma\alpha\rho\epsilon\zeta$, e. g. in *Gen.* ix, 15. 16. 17 § [LBib. 111]; *Heb.* ii, 14 F [Wessely]; *Heb.* v, 7 F [Z. 157. a]; *Heb.* ix, 13 F [Z. 162 b.]; *Heb.* x, 20 F [Z. 164 b.]; *I Cor.* vii, 28 F [Z. 152 b.]; *Phil.* i, 22. 24 F [Z. 166. a. b.]; *Ryl.* 80 v° 2. §; AZ. 1878 p. 28; $\varsigma\alpha\rho\alpha\zeta$ e. g. *Ps.* ci, 6 § [Lagarde]; Z. 127, 17 (f. b.) B; *Sir.* i, 10; 23, 20 § [TILL in BJRL. 34 p. 439, 441].

$\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\xi}$ 'bear' > $\lambda\rho\epsilon\zeta$ (e. g. in AZ. 3 (1865) p. 48, 41. B; *Ann.* 1. p. 50, 4. B; KKS. XI p. 29 [61]), $\lambda\rho\alpha\zeta$ (e. g. *Sap.* XI, 18 § [Thom., Lagarde]).

§ 58. It is, of course, not a matter of phonetics if the Greek $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi$ -being the first part of compound words is often written, in Coptic, $\lambda\rho\chi$ -, e. g. $\lambda\rho\chi\eta\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ < $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ 'archangel' (LMis. 73, p. 171, 7 B), $\lambda\rho\chi\eta\iota\alpha\tau\rho\omicron\varsigma$ < $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\iota\alpha\tau\rho\omicron\varsigma$ 'chief-physician' (HM. 1. 161, 14 §).

§ 59. As with nearly all phonetic phenomena also the contrary is found; in this case the omission of a vowel. Perhaps some of such spellings might be explained as 'over-correct' forms, but I am inclined to think that most of them show the actual pronunciation. This is quite certain with $\kappa\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ < $\kappa\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ 'collyrium' (*Mus.* 64 p. 71, 42. §; *TArzn.* A. 2), $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\beta\iota\kappa\lambda\lambda\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\beta\eta\kappa\lambda\lambda\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\beta\omicron\upsilon\kappa\lambda\lambda\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ < $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\beta\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ 'cubicularius, the emperor's chamberlain'

(Z. 282, 2. 5 f. b.; 283, 4 §; Z. 23, 20. B; HM. 1. 23, 7 §; TILL, *Schutzbr.* p. 125. N. 100, 2. §; BMis. 34, 9 f. b. §; *Ann.* 49 p. 77, 19. 25. §; BJRL. 6. p. 552; *Ryl. Copt. MS.* N. 94 fol. 4^a (pε), 16. 33-34 §, ...); $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\gamma\kappa\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$, $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\gamma\kappa\lambda\iota\omicron\nu^{(1)}$ $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\gamma\kappa\lambda\epsilon$, $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\gamma\kappa\lambda\alpha$, $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\kappa\lambda\alpha$, $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\kappa\epsilon\lambda$ etc. all for $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\kappa\omicron\upsilon\lambda\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$ 'Lat. cucullus, cuculla' (2) (e. g. AZ. 23 p. 41. F; CO. 395, 1-2. 3; 466. v° 2. §; BAp. 125, 8 (f. b.) §; BM. 699, 5. §; LMis. 20 p. 503; CRUM, *Dict.* 101. b); $\varsigma\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\lambda\alpha$ < $\sigma\alpha\rho\kappa\omicron\delta\lambda\lambda\alpha$ < Lat. : *Sarcocolla* 'a Persian gum, the gum of the peach tree' (LMis. 20 p. 503[21], *Cod. Vat.* 61, 4 fol. 118^v p. 64, 16), $\gamma\upsilon\eta\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma$ or $\kappa\upsilon\eta\tau\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ < $\alpha\iota\gamma\upsilon\pi\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma$ 'Egyptian', cf. Coptic. (KIRCHEN, *Introd.* l. 9 B; Tri. 413, 4 §; Z. 648 §; STERN, *KG.* p. 1).

We may suppose that the same was true with $\lambda\lambda\chi\eta\omicron\nu$ < $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha\eta\omicron\nu$ 'vegetables, garden herbs' (*TConst.* p. 73. 54, 8. B). In words like $\kappa\lambda\omega\eta\iota\varsigma$ < $\chi\epsilon\lambda\omega\eta\iota\varsigma$ 'threshold' (*Judith.* xiv, 15 §), $\varsigma\omicron\lambda\eta\epsilon$ < $\alpha\iota\sigma\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ 'to perceive' (LDi. p. 278, 14-15. §), $\chi\mu\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma\iota\alpha$ < $\alpha\iota\chi\mu\alpha\lambda\omega\sigma\iota\alpha$ 'captivity' (BAYNES, *Gnostic.* 28, 31. § ογχ.), probably the writer heard the vowel, denoted by the stroke in Coptic. The stroke is very often omitted especially in non-literary texts, although the vowel certainly was pronounced in these cases. Thus the three words mentioned were pronounced khilonis, isthane and ikhmalosia.

§ 60. I think $\epsilon\upsilon$ - was omitted in the verbs $\Theta\eta\eta\eta$ < $\epsilon\upsilon\theta\eta\eta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ 'to flourish' (*Mk.* iv, 27. B) and $\lambda\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\zeta\epsilon$ < $\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ 'to announce good tidings of' (*Cl.* liv, 9-10. A) because the writer took it for the verbal prefix $\epsilon\gamma$ (or $\epsilon\alpha$), 3rd pers. plur. (or 3rd pers. sing. masc.) of the second present tense or circumstantial.

§ 61. a) If we find in Coptic texts, Greek words spelled with a double consonant where, in correct spelling, there is only one, as $\zeta\iota\kappa\kappa\omega\nu$ < $\epsilon\iota\kappa\omega\nu$ 'image' (e. g. *Sap.* xiv, 15. 17; xv, 5; xvii, 20 § [Thompson]) or vice versa: $\epsilon\kappa\lambda\eta\kappa\iota\alpha$ < $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\alpha$ 'Church' (e. g. Gumi, *Coptica*

(1) Cf. $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\kappa\lambda\iota\omega$ (Preisigke).

(2) A monk's cowl, that covers his head and goes down to the nape till his shoulders (cf. *Mus.* 57 (1944) p. 103, n. 100) Arabic القفلة وهي رأس البرنس (AZ. 23 '1885', p. 41).

p. 13, 15-16 §; *J.* 48, 65; 66, 83 §; *WTh.* 56, 2 f. b. B; *C.* 135 p. 32, 30 F (?); *Kr.* 159, 3 F; *CMSS.* 28, 3; 30, 5. 8 F, ...), this, of course, is due to the fact that the correct spelling was not familiar to the writer. Such spellings do not show anything about the actual pronunciation of the words. This is different with *rr* (cf. § 41).

b) Doubled vowels, on the other hand, show a special pronunciation in a certain area of Egypt. In all Coptic dialects except Bohairic, the stressed vowel is written twice if an 'Aleph or 'Ajin is pronounced after it⁽¹⁾. Texts coming from Esna have very often a doubled vowel where there is neither 'Aleph nor 'Ajin⁽²⁾. Such spellings certainly show a particular feature of the local pronunciation. The same is found also in Greek words, e. g. *κλλη* < *κἄν* 'even if' (e. g. *Wor.* 274, 19. §), *κκεγγε* < *σκειν* 'vessels' (e. g. *Ryl.* 239, 1 §), *εειηητε* < *ειμήτι* 'except' (e. g. *Wor.* 319, 13. §), and even in unstressed syllables, e. g. *κελεγγε* < *κελεύειν* 'to order, command' (e. g. *BMar.* 2, 4 §; *BMis.* 238, 6 f. b.; 239, 17 §), *κηλεγγεγγε* < *κινδυνεύειν* 'to be in danger' (e. g. *BMis.* 303, 12-13 §); *ηηεεγγε* < *πιστεύειν* 'to believe' (*BM.* 308, 5 §); *μοοηαχο* < *μοναχός* 'monk' (*AZ.* 1878 p. 13, 5. §).

⁽¹⁾ W. TILL, 'Altes 'Alep and 'Ajin im Koptischen' in *WZKM.* 36 (1929) p. 186-196.

⁽²⁾ P. E. KAHLE, *Bal'izah*, I, chap. VIII, § 44, 19. a., 36 c, 45, 63. a.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

In addition to the list of abbreviations given in tome XVIII, p. 93-96 we hereby add the following list.

ALR : Accademia dei Lincei, *Rendiconti*.

AmIsaac : AMÉLINEAU (E.), *Histoire du Patriarche Copte Isaac*, Paris, 1890.

Am : *Amos*.

AP : *Acta Pauli*, ed. C. Schmidt, 1904, according to asterisked pages of book.

BGNos : BAYNES (Ch. A.), 'A Coptic Gnostic Treatise contained in the Codex Brucianus'. BRUCE MS. 96. Bod. Lib. Oxford, Cambridge (1933).

BG : Berlin Gnostic Papyrus 8502 (cf. Preuss. Akad., *Sitz.* xxxvi, 839), from photographs.

BJRL : *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Manchester.

BIFAO : *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*.

Cambyses : JANSSEN (H. L.), *The Coptic Story of Cambyses, Invasion of Egypt*. Oslo, 1950.

Chron. : *The Chronicles*.

CHSym : CHAÏNE (M.), *La Vie et les Miracles de St. Siméon Stylite l'Ancien*, Le Caire, 1948.

CIASCA : CIASCA (P. A.), *Sacrorum Bibliorum Fragmenta Copto-Sahidica*. Musei Borgiani, Romae.

CodBor : Codex Borgianus.

Col : *The Epistle of St. Paul the Apostle to the Colossians*.

CRInscr. : CRAMER (M.), *Koptische Inschriften Im Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum zu Berlin*. Publications de la Société d'Archéologie copte. Textes et Documents. Le Caire, 1949.

CS : WORRELL (H. W.), *Coptic Sounds*. Ann. Arbor, 1934.

Deut. : *The Fifth Book of Moses, commonly called Deuteronomy*.

De V. : DE VIS (H.), 'Homélies Coptes de la Vaticane'. I (Hauniae 1922); II. (H. 1929). Coptica Consilio et impensis Instituti Rask-Operstediani.

Eccles : *The Wisdom of Jesus The Son of Sirach, or Ecclesiasticus*.

El : STEINDORFF (G.), *Die Apokalypse des Elias*. Texte und Untersuchungen 17. Band. Leipzig, 1899.

Eph : *The Epistle of St. Paul the Apostle to the Ephesians*.

Evang. Nicodemi : *The Gospel of Nicodemus, formerly called The Acts of Pontius Pilate*.

Exod : *The Second Book of Moses, commonly called Exodus*.

Gal : *The Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians*.

Gen. : *The First Book of Moses, commonly called Genesis*.

Gesp. J. : SCHMIDT (C.), 'Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern nach der Auferstehung'. Texte und Untersuchungen. 43. Band, Leipzig, 1919.

- GUIDI, *Coptica* : GUIDI (I.), *Coptica. Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*. 15 (1906), pp. 463-477.
- HL : AMÉLINEAU (E.), *De Historia Lausiaca quaenam sit hujus ad monachorum Aegyptiorum historiam scribendam utilitas*. Parisiis, 1887.
- Hos. : *Hosea*.
- James : *The General Epistle of James*.
- Job : *The Book of Job*.
- Joel : *Joel*.
- Josh. : *The Book of Joshua*.
- Kgs : *The First Book of Samuel*
The Second Book of Samuel
The First Book of the Kings
The Second Book of the Kings
- KIRCHER : KIRCHER (A.), *The Scalae in Lingua Aegyptiaca Restituta*.
- Lev. : *The Third Book of Moses commonly called Leviticus*.
- Leyd : *Manuscripts coptes du Musée ... à Leide*, 1897.
- Lib : LEMM (O. V.), *'Iberica. Mémoires de l'Acad. Imper. d. Sc. d. St. Petersb.'* VIII^e série, vol. VII, N. 6 (1906).
- Mic. : *Micah*.
- Mich : A series of vellum leaves at Michigan University, independently numbered thus.
- Mk : *The Gospel according to St. Mark*.
- Mor : MSS. belonging to Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, New York, as reproduced & numbered in 56 vols. of photographs, according to numbers and pages of these volumes (not identical with those of Check List, 1919).
- Nah : *Nahum*.
- Obd : *Obadiah*
- Pet : *The Epistle General of Peter*.
- Phil. : *The Epistle of St. Paul the Apostle to the Phillipians*.
- Phl. : *The Epistle of St. Paul to Philemon*.
- PS : SCHMIDT (C.), *Pistis Sophia. Coptica consilio et impensis instituti Rask-Oerstediani edita II. Hauniae*, 1925.
- Quellen u. Studien : *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums und des Mittelalters*. Heidelberg.
- ROC : *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, according to volume.
- ROSSI : ROSSI (F.), *I. Papiri Copti ... di Torino*, according to volume, fascicule and page.
- RAI : ROSSI (F.), *Alcuni MSS. Copti ... di Torino* (= Mémoire ... Torino, Ser. II tome XLIII), according to pages of separate publication.
- Sir : *The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach, or Ecclesiasticus*.
- STERN : STERN (L.), *Koptische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1880.

- TEH : TILL (W. C.), *Die Koptische Eheverträge*. Die Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Testschrift. Wien 1948, pp. 627-638.
- Thes. : *The Epistle of St. Paul the Apostle to the Thessalonians*.
- Tit : *The Epistle of St. Paul to Titus*.
- TKS : TILL (W. C.), *Koptische Schutzbriefe*. Mitteilungen des Deutschen Institutes für ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo 8. Berlin, 1938, pp. 71-127.
- TMPs : TILL (W. C.), *Koptische Pergamente Theologischen Inhalts*. I. Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien (Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer) Wien, 1934.
- TT : CRUM (W. E.), *Theological Texts from Coptic Papyri*. Oxford, 1913.
- TU : GEBHARDT, HARNACK and C. SCHMIDT, *Texte und Untersuchungen* (Bd. 43. Gespräche Jesu).
- WZKM : *Wiener Zeitschrift für d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes*.
- Zech : *Zechariah*.