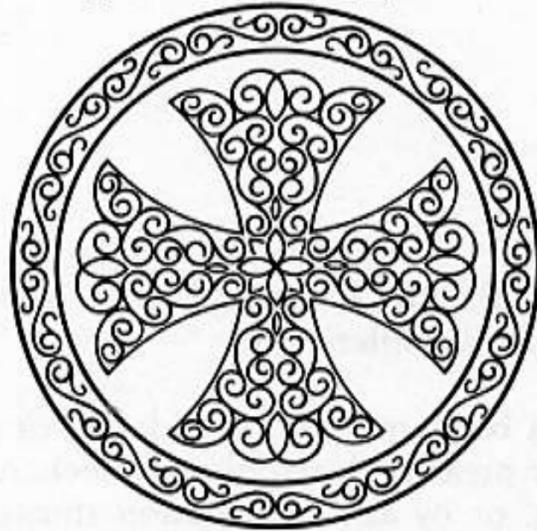


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RODOLPHE KASSER

DJINKIM. The *djinkim* (ⲓⲥⲣ) is a Coptic reader's sign in the form of a point (derived from a much reduced supralinear stroke?) or, in BOHAIRIC (*B*) only, a grave accent, placed above a grapheme—a sign that is commonly found in *B* (cf. Polotsky, 1949) or in *M*, or Mesokemic (cf. Kasser, 1981; Schenke, 1981, pp. 26-30) and of which only a few traces have been discovered in *V*. (None are known in *F* or in any other of the Coptic dialects.) Polotsky (1949, p. 25, n. 1) wrote, "The name is inspired by the position of the point above some letters, superficially similar to that of the *ḥarakāt* in relation to the *ḥurūf* in Arabic writing. One cannot draw any conclusion from this regarding the significance of the point." In these various idioms the *djinkim* was used from the beginnings of their literary existence, but is employed in a way that differs from one dialect to another or even within the same dialect. Thus, one may distinguish at least four systems of its use, those of classical *B*, late *B*, pre-classical *M*, and classical *M*.

In classical *B* the only letters marked with a *djinkim* are (1) any vowel forming a syllable by itself, such as ⲁⲒⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, he went out, and ⲁⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ, sin; (2)

the letters **M** and **N** when they are grammatical elements (prepositions, marks of the genitive, negation) or the first radical before another graphic consonant, as in ⲢⲈⲘⲛⲬⲘⲘⲘ, Egyptian; ⲘⲁⲛⲬⲟⲨⲛ, prison; ⲘⲦⲐⲐⲐ, repose; and ⲛⲟⲟⲕ, thee (Polotsky, 1949, pp. 25-29). These are then, in each case, either a graphic vowel = a vowel in phonology also, or a (nasal) graphic consonant = a vowel too in phonology, more precisely a nasal sonant. Hence, each letter marked with a *djinkim* in classical *B* is a phoneme with a vocalic function and forming a syllable by itself.

In late *B*, in addition to the syllabic vowels and sonant nasals of classical *B* (cases 1 and 2 above), the following four categories are also marked with the *djinkim*: (3) the first of two consecutive consonants at the beginning of a word or within the word when it is a case of Greek compounds, as in ⲉⲓⲙⲓ, woman; ⲁⲗⲟⲙ, crown; ⲁⲕⲟ, engender; ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ, church; ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲓⲦⲟⲙⲁ, offense; and ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲫⲏ, census; (4) the prefixes of the present I when they consist of a single consonant (2. masc. ⲕ-(ⲁ-), 3. masc. ⲕ-, 3. fem. ⲉ-) both before a consonant and before a vowel, as in ⲕⲟⲨⲦⲈⲘ, you hear; ⲁⲛⲁⲩ, you see; ⲁⲕⲏ, he is placed; ⲕⲉⲙⲓ, you know; and ⲉⲟⲛⲓ, she resembles; (5) the weak definite article masc. sing. ⲏ- (ⲕ-), fem. ⲧ- (ⲉ-), both before a consonant and before a vowel, as in ⲏⲟⲩⲣⲓ, the son; ⲕⲣⲟⲙⲓ, the man; ⲏⲟⲩⲟⲩ, the glory; ⲧⲣⲉ, heaven; ⲉⲙⲁⲩ, the mother; and ⲧⲁⲕⲉ, the head; (6) the auxiliary ⲟ, be able: ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ, which cannot be measured (Polotsky, 1949, pp. 25-26). In all these cases, which are late and probably influenced by Arabic, the consonant marked by the *djinkim* never forms a syllable by itself. One may thus with reason consider them suspect from the point of view of Coptic phonology and exclude them from a comparative analysis limited to the investigation of the general value and varieties of usage of the genuinely Coptic *djinkim*.

In preclassical *M* (fourth century; Orlandi, 1974) the letters marked with the *djinkim* (which might well have the same material aspect as the *djinkim* of classical *M*; see below) are as follows: (1) of vowels, only **ε** when it forms a syllable by itself (equally within the word?) in bradysyllabication, as in ⲉⲧⲃⲉ, because of, 1 Thes. 3:1 (but ⲁⲛⲁⲕ, I, not ⲁⲛⲁⲕ, 1 Thes. 3:5); ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ, to believe, 1 Thes. 2:13 (but ⲡⲁⲣⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ, advent, not ⲡⲁⲣⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ, 1 Thes. 3:13); (2) (exactly as in point 2 of classical *B*) sonant **M** or **N** forming a syllable by itself (also within a compound word or at the end of a word?), as in ⲛⲙⲟⲧⲉⲛ, you, 1 Thes. 3:3; ⲛⲧⲉⲛ, near to, 1 Thes. 2:13; ⲛⲛⲧⲟⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲛ, not you, 1 Thes. 2:19 (Kasser, 1981).

In classical *M* (fifth-century, rather than sixth-century[?]) manuscripts, of which only one has been published so far (Schenke, 1981), the letters that use the *djinkim* (which has sometimes the appearance of a very short stroke, sometimes that of an actual point; Kasser, 1981, pp. 121–22) are as follows: (1) of vowels, only λ and ϵ when each forms a syllable by itself, in bradysyllabication, as in $\lambda_2\lambda$, treasure; $\epsilon\lambda\pi\epsilon$, trade, craft; $\text{COY}\lambda$, wheat; $\epsilon\pi\lambda$, king; $\text{I}\epsilon\pi\lambda$, river; and $\text{XIOY}\epsilon$, steal; (2) (exactly as in point 2 in classical *B* and preclassical *M*) sonant **M** or **N** forming a syllable by itself, as in $\text{MK}\epsilon_2$, be sad; $\text{N}\epsilon\text{M}\text{I}\text{I}\text{Y}$, the verbal prefix of the preterite of the negative perfect (no cases attested for final **M**); $\text{NK}\lambda\text{T}$, to sleep; $\text{MN}\epsilon\text{CA}$, after; OYN , there is (Kasser, 1981).

The only traces of the *djinkim* that have been found in *V* are at the beginning (Eccl. 1–4) of P. Mich. 3520 (unpublished) and appear, it seems, only over syllabic **M** or **N** (hence exactly and exclusively as in point 2 of classical *B* and preclassical and classical *M*). This would be a vestige of a usage that is elsewhere generalized but whose influence did not succeed in imposing itself in this dialect.

All that precedes gives support to Polotsky (1949, p. 27, speaking especially of the *djinkim* in classical *B*): this sign "relates to some phonetic character common to the vowels and to the nasals: one will think directly of sonority." Each of the graphemes that carry the *djinkim*, in *B* as in *M* (or *V*), forms a syllable by itself, often in tachysyllabication and always in bradysyllabication; they are sometimes graphic and concurrently phonologic vowels, sometimes sonant nasals (consonantal graphemes with vocalic function). And when, as in *M*, it is not just any vowel, it is certainly λ and ϵ , the most open (or voiced) and one of the most open (or voiced) among the vowels, but above all those most used in Coptic, whether each forms a syllable by itself or with another phoneme. Similarly, it is the sonant nasals, the most used among the sonants in Coptic, that carry the *djinkim* (in Coptic the voiced nasals are very frequent too). One may probably see in this the necessity for the use of the *djinkim*, particularly on λ and ϵ among the vowels and on **M** and **N** among the sonants.

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RODOLPHE KASSER

EGYPTIAN ARABIC VOCABULARY, COPTIC INFLUENCE ON.

Coptic loanwords in Egyptian Arabic have been investigated to some extent by several writers, among them G. Sobhy, W. Vycichl, W. H. Worrell, W. B. Bishai, and E. Maher Ishaq.

Worrell included material collected by W. Vycichl and G. Sobhy. In his work, he lists 110 words, of which 83 are Coptic. Bishai collected 205 lexical items, all of which had been suggested by various scholars as Coptic loanwords in Egyptian Arabic. Of these only the 109 items treated in his article were considered by him as valid loanwords. At the end of his article he says, "Turkish, which was never a vernacular of Egypt, left more lexical items in Egyptian Arabic than Coptic did. This is indicated by a partial survey of Turkish loanwords in Egyptian Arabic by E. Littmann (1954, pp. 107–127; cf. Prokosch, 1983), which includes two hundred and sixty-four words." Bishai reached the conclusion that "the limited influence of Coptic on Arabic can only be explained as lack of widespread bilingualism in Egypt during the transition from Coptic to Arabic. . . . Again it may be said that Egyptian Muslims today are right in claiming a predominant Arab ancestry" (Bishai, 1964, p. 47).

E. Maher Ishaq has shown that, contrary to the opinion expressed by Bishai, a very great number of Coptic words have, in fact, survived in the modern colloquial Arabic of Egypt. Some of these items are listed below. Only the most conspicuous etymologies have been chosen (see Ishaq, 1975, for others).

It is to be assumed beyond reasonable doubt that there are many other Coptic words still surviving in