



Popular Traditions of the Coptic Language

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POPULAR TRADITIONS OF THE COPTIC LANGUAGE

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1. This paper is intended as a synopsis of the most important and generally interesting results of my study of materials collected within the last two years and a half by Dr. Werner Vycichl in Zēniya and other Coptic communities. The statements will be necessarily brief, and the demonstrations and examples scant or wanting. Vycichl has an article in the long-delayed June, 1936, number of the *Mitteilungen d. deutschen Instituts f. äg. Altertumskunde in Kairo*, and a full publication is under way.

2. For the past eighty years a traditional pronunciation of Coptic has been giving way to a so-called "reformed" pronunciation, instituted by the Patriarch Cyrillus IV (1854-61) and furthered by Claudius Bey Labīb (d. May 5, 1919), which introduced Modern Greek values. This is now being pushed by every available means, and the old pronunciation is characterized as that of ignorant peasants in Upper Egypt. The older tradition is now to be found, so far as we know, only in Upper Egypt. The best locality is Zēniya, near Luxor. Not long ago Asyūṭ and Naqāda were centers; and humble persons from the former region who may still be discovered in Cairo will yield a good tradition.

3. This old tradition, in its purest form even, is far from the original pronunciation but is substantially that of *ca.* A.D. 1000. It is meager, arabicized, and conventionalized, as I have set forth in *Coptic Sounds*. But it is a family tradition carried on in connection with community

and church life, not derived from printed texts. A great many peasants still can read aloud and understand the sacred texts, and their children are still taught Coptic, though the local *kuttābs* have declined, so they say, since the days of ʿAurābī Pasha (ca. 1882). It was once the custom to teach both boys and girls to read and understand, and also to “speak.” This embraced stories and legends, the weather, prices for cattle, deaths, visits, etc., and was practiced particularly after church services. The extent and character are documented in the *Alphabetarion* of Michael, printed as late as A.D. 1886. Most of the phrases are fresh and non-Arabic, some are startlingly so. Words were still coined for “coffee,” “tobacco,” “kerosene,” and “soap”; though there was none for “tea,” “cotton,” and “bedbug.” This would date the latest word-forming period as extending down to 1870 (“kerosene”) or 1886 (“soap”); but the argument is not a strong one, for the words may be artificial. However ΠΟΝ, “coffee,” was coined ca. 1500, when coffee was introduced into Egypt, for it signifies the drink as well as the bean, as does Amharic ቡን. In Arabic بُنْ means the bean only.

4. There is a twilight zone, consisting of (1) Arabic idioms in Coptic (e.g., ΟΥΣΦΙΡ Μ̄ΦΗΕΤΤΑΙΗΟΥΤ < جناب المَحْتَرَمَ), (2) Coptic words inflected as Arabic (e.g., ámrād, “beardless” < ΜΟΡΤ), (3) Coptic words completely arabicized. To the third class belongs a number of literary Arabic words: أُسْفُ < Ε-ΠΙ-ΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ, تَمْسَاح < Τ-ΕΜΣΑϺ, طُوبَى < ΤΩΒΙ, and a very large number of vernacular and semiliterary words, some of which (e.g., فُوطَة < ΦΩ†) are used in Syria.

5. Modern Copts know only Boheiric, never having heard of other dialects. Since there is no external evidence that Boheiric ever became the vernacular of Luxor and vicinity, or even of Asyūt, and since the peasants of Zēnīya know only Boheiric, it follows that their Coptic is derived from, or remodeled by, the church idiom which was introduced in the eleventh century. Nevertheless, they still pronounce O as ū, and occasionally omit the prothetic vowel of Boheiric and Arabic—evidences of a Sahidic or Sahidic-Achmimic tradition.

6. A number of genuine late Coptic words or expressions may be recovered: ΣΙΧΥΡΑ, “sugar”; ΩΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΙ, “live long!” with

the reply **ΟΥΟΣ Ν-ΘΟΚ ΨΟΜΤ ΨΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΙ** used after drinking coffee; **Φ̄Τ̄ ΝΕΜΑΚ, Φ̄Τ̄ ΕΦΕΑΡΕ'Ζ ΕΡΟΚ, Φ̄Τ̄ ΕΦΕΣΜΟΥ ΕΡΟΚ, Ν-ΘΟΚ ΠΑΝΗΒ,** "don't mention it." Perhaps we should exclude **ΝΕΖΩΝΙ,** "kerosene," **ΚΑΨ ΝΕΒΙΩ,** "sugar cane," and **ΨΟΜΙΩΙ,** "soap." **ΟΥΖΟΡ** has become *hōr*, and **ΜΧΟΛ,** *ʃol*, and **ΨΑΛΜΟΣ,** *salmōs* through a misunderstanding of the initial syllables **ΟΥ-**, **Μ-**, and **Π-**, understood as an article or connective. Nouns in the construct state are no longer shortened, e.g., **ΨΟΜΙΩΙ** < **ΨΟΜ** + **ΙΩΙ**.

7. Accent is correct, e.g., in *anāh*, *anā*, **ΕΝΕΖ** (cf. Achmimic **ΑΝΗΖΕ**); *daʃrú*, **ΤΑΧΡΟ**; *awīs*, **ΑΥΙΣ**; but distorted by cantillation or pedantry in all words with unaccented **Ε** between the last two consonants, to distinguish them from similar words without that vowel, e.g., *sulsál*, **ΣΟΛΣΕΛ**; *tōláb*, **Θ-ΦΛΕΒ**; *sōdám*, **ΣΩΤΕΜ**; *mašʃ*, **ΜΑΨΧ**; *doɲk*, **ΤΩΝΚ**; *ʃamf*, **ΧΕΜΦ**. (The accented vowel may be long or short. Note the *t* for **Θ** in the formerly accented syllable and that there is no "murmelvokal" in the second class. In the Chassinat medical text [see *Coptic Sounds*, pp. 123 ff.] the distinction is blurred by one example,¹ **ΧΩΖΕΛ** < **خُزَل**; and the final syllable in **ΣΑΝΤΑΛ** < **صَنْدَل**, **ΠΕΣΕΛ** < **بَسَد**, was certainly not long, though it may have been accented.) False analogy with feminines in **-Ε/-Ι** would explain *dijábe* for **ΨΑΦΕ**, in which the accent is on the ultima, as shown by the **Φ**. Other cases of wrong accent are *bí-ru*, **ΠΙΡΟ**; *árma*, **ΕΡΜΗ**. Vernacular Arabic is responsible for *íʃle*, **ΒΛΗ** (cf. *úskut* for **أُسْكُت**); *ísne*, **ΨΝΗ**; *ébre*, **Φ̄ΡΗ**; *édbæ*, **ΨΦΕ**; alongside of *ismú*, **ΣΜΟΥ**. Arabic word patterns have determined accent, e.g., in *úrḥun*, *ἄρχων*, following **فُعَل**, as against *arkún* of magical texts; *māris*, *μέρος*, following **فَاعِل**; *negāde*, *Νεκατήριον*, following **فَعَالَة**; *hallūs*, **ΧΑΛΟΥΣ**, following **فُعُول**; *tellís*, *φύλακος*, following **فَعِيل**; *maštaba*, **μεσοτόπιον*(?), following **مَفْعَلَة**; *madūru*, **ΜΕΤΟΥΡΟ**, following **مَفْعُولَة**; *bašāra*, ***ΦΕΣΑΡΩ**, following **فَعَالَة**; perhaps *šāra*, *χαίρε*, following **فَاعِل**.

¹ **ΑΡΦΩΛΜ** is not from **البرام** but from *al-furm* for *al-furn* (in Koptos, Kharga, and many other places) and is therefore no exception (Vycichl).

Analogy binds the group: jōsāb, moīsās, ġabrijāl, brofidās (alongside of brófidās); egladijōs, arsanijōs, magariōs, mengariōs, gaṭamarōs (earlier spelled قطمارس); búṭrus, būlus, mǝrgəs.

8. There is no "murmelvokal" in the modern pronunciation of words ending in a double consonance, e.g.: šōlh, **ϣⲟⲗⲗ**; aḡb, **ⲈⲪⲠ**; masf, **ⲙⲀⲤⲒ**; aradf, **ⲈⲠⲀⲢⲒ**; šidk, **ⲃⲒⲦⲕ**; wōšd, **ⲟϣⲟϣⲦ**. (This is also true of the Chassinat text, where **ϣⲟⲗⲗ** = **ⲕⲟϣⲟⲗⲗ**; **ⲕⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟⲩ** = **ⲕⲟϣⲟⲩⲟⲩ**; **ⲙⲏⲣⲗ** = **ⲙⲏⲣⲗ**.) But a "murmelvokal" may appear when there are three final consonants, e.g.: šōlhəs, **ϣⲟⲗⲗⲥ**; krēm̄dis, **ⲕⲠⲈⲙⲦⲥ**. The sharp contrast maintained between sōdām, **ⲥⲟⲩⲈⲙ**, and šōlh supports my contention (*Coptic Sounds*, chap. i) that there is no helping vowel ("murmelvokal") when no vowel **Ⲉ** is written; and opposes Till's contention (*ÄZ*, LXVIII, 121; cf. Polotsky, *ibid.*, LXIX, 128) that a vowel may or may not be written in such words. (Disregard of this fact has led us, Polotsky points out, to the introduction of false forms into dictionary and grammar. Vulgar spellings, **ⲏⲠⲈⲠ**, **ⲏⲠⲏⲠ**, are probably due to drawled pronunciation of a slow scribe.) Nevertheless, the helping vowel in šōlhəs justifies Vycichl's reservation (*OLZ*, 1934, No. 12, Col. 733) that a helping vowel may be pronounced, at least in difficult consonantal combinations.

9. The prothetic vowel, indicated in Boheiric by a dot or grave accent over an initial consonant (there is no prothetic vowel in Sahidic), is pronounced as ϵ except when its consonant is s or š (**ϣ**, **ⲃ**), e.g., ébre, **ⲉ̇ⲠⲠⲏ**; édbæ, **ⲉ̇ⲢⲠⲈ**; ísne, **Ⲓ̇Ⲏⲏⲏ**; íšle, **ⲃ̇ⲗⲏ** (now accented on prothetic vowel, under Arabic influence).

10. Accented vowels seem today to be neither definitely long nor definitely short. This may be partly the effect of cantillation or of pedantic school instruction. But perhaps there was little quantity even in early Coptic times. Vycichl suggests that, in Boheiric, **Ⲉ** and **ⲟ** may have been more open than **ⲏ** and **ⲟ** and not necessarily shorter. Before ḡ, where a-resonance "opens" a vowel, **ⲏ** > **Ⲉ** and **ⲟ** > **ⲟ**; e.g., **ⲙⲈⲗ**, **ⲙⲟⲗ**. (Before ḡ this does not occur: **ⲉ̇ⲏⲏ**, **ⲉ̇ⲟⲏ**.) Before j, where i-resonance "closes" a vowel, **Ⲉ** > **ⲏ** and **ⲟ** > **ⲟ**; e.g., **ⲙⲏⲏⲏ**, **ⲟⲏⲕ**. Before w, whose w-resonance also "closes" a vowel, **ⲟ** > **ⲟ**; e.g., **ⲈⲠⲟⲟϣ**. (But **Ⲉ** does not become **ⲏ**, it becomes **ⲗ**; e.g., **Ⲏⲗϣ**, "time".) If Vycichl is right, then the

situation is the opposite of that in Greek where η and ω are said to be the open vowels and ϵ and o the close ones. I prefer to think that early Boheiric had quantity, and that long vowels were also close vowels, as they should be from physiological considerations; i.e., I think that **Є** and **О** were more open than **Н** and **Ѡ** and were usually short; though they may have been used to represent long vowels in special cases, such as **МЕѠ**, **МОѠ**, where quality seemed more important than quantity. The disregard of quantity in modern pronunciation is probably due to artificial conditions.

11. The outstanding feature of the "old" pronunciation, and the one most condemned (e.g., *Coptic Sounds*, p. 127), is giving **Н** and **Є** the value of \bar{a}/a . Though generally regarded as an Arabic feature, it is as old as the Chassinat text (ca. 1000?) at least. At Luxor and elsewhere $b\bar{e}t > bat$ in $bat \text{ } ^\circ ab\bar{u}ha$. Perhaps this is a Coptic influence. Old transliterations generally make **Н** = \bar{a} , except in the names of persons and places. Many hymns rhyme in \bar{a} , with **Н** = \bar{a} ; e.g., **ТАВ** with **ННВ**. At Ebshawai **Н** is always \bar{a} . The modern name of the letter **Н** is $h\bar{a}da$. In the unaccented ultima of Greek words the a -value of **Н** was preserved by transferring the accent to that syllable; e.g., $brofid\bar{a}s$, $matid\bar{a}s$. But the *Zēnīya*-*Asyūt* tradition antedates the general leveling of **Н** to \bar{a} , in that it distinguishes words in which **Н** = \bar{a} from words in which **Н** = \bar{i} . In the definite assignment of words to the one or the other of these groups, there was complete agreement between Bistauros of *Zēnīya* and Moḥārib the $\text{'}arif$ of el- $\text{'}Araki$. Certain principles are involved, and these may be inherited from Egyptian, if they are not the result of later analogical groupings. E.g., **ВНА** is $b\bar{a}l$; and the qualitative of every biconsonantal verb is pronounced with \bar{a} . **МНР**, "bound," is $m\bar{a}r$, but **МНР**, "beyond," is $m\bar{i}r$. Feminine adjectives ending in **Н** are pronounced with \bar{i} , e.g., **ΧΑМН**, $kam\bar{i}$; **ЃАН**, $ḡa\bar{i}$.

12. In some sixteen cases the **Н**-words in \bar{a} are known, through the researches of Albright (*Vocalization*) or on some other grounds, to have had originally the vowel u . They are **МН**, "urine," **ЃАН**, **МНН**, "truth," **МНТ**, **ТНВ**, **ЄВРНХ**, **ѠБНН**, **ѠРНН**, **ѠРНН**, **ЄВНН**, **ЃНВС** (Albright); **ѠНН** (Assyr. $\text{š}\bar{u}nu$), **АРНВ** (הַרְבֵּי), **ѠБНН** (רִבְּוֹ , $\chi\bar{i}t\bar{o}v$), **КНВН** (Nub. $kube$ [Vycichl]), **ΧНΠ** ($\text{κ}\bar{o}πη$), **НРΠ** (Old Nub. **ОРΠ** [Vycichl]), $Ba\text{'}ir\bar{a}t$, $jurb$, $Beled\text{ } es\text{-}Siy\bar{a}ḡ$, orb , yet Greek $\text{ἔρπ}\bar{i}s$.

ZH, "front," resembles **ZWT** sufficiently to permit a cryptogram (Drioton, *Notes sur le cryptogramme de Montouemhēt*), in spite of the contemporary Assyrian mantimenhē. **OYWH**, **EPMH**, and **TEBNH** have plurals in **-WOYI**; Boheiric **WMHN** corresponds to Sahidic **WMOYN**, and all four words are now pronounced in ā. All this appears to indicate that **H** at the beginning of its use in Coptic stood for a sound derived from ū, though resembling ī. This could only have been ü, ö, or something similar.

13. Of some fifty-five words in which **H** = ī, only four can be controlled by outside sources: **CΘHM**, "eye-paint," = *στίμμμ*, Latin *stimmi*; **MAPHC**, "south," is contained in *مَرِيَسِي*; **BHCA** (proper name) = *ويصا*; **BHNI**, "swallow (bird)," is *mīne* in Nubian (Vycichl). **MIP**, *mīr*, "beyond," appears in Albright (p. 44, No. 20) as *mūru*; but Albright assures me (October 16, 1936) that it may as well be *mīru*. However, there is no doubt of the existence of a large number of words in which **H** = ī. If **H** in early Coptic times stood for ü or ö, or something similar, which by *ca.* A.D. 1000 had become ā, it is also true that **H** stood for another sound, surely very similar to ü, ö, etc., which during the same time had become ī; and that sound was very probably the unrounded counterpart of ü, ö, etc., which is ī, ē, etc. Since **H** is not usually confused in Coptic with **I**, the original value must have been rather ē, etc., than ī. **H** then had two values, one rounded—ö, and the other unrounded—ē. These were probably close rather than open (see sec. 10). Two difficulties here present themselves: Original Egyptian ī becomes classical Coptic ē and modern Coptic ī. Original Egyptian ū becomes classical Coptic ö and modern Coptic ā. The difficulties have not been solved. Perhaps Arabic substitutions are involved.

14. Before or after r the **H** which is ö *sometimes*² is written **I**, as Albright has pointed out (p. 50, ll. 23 f.; ll. 27 f.; pp. 53, bottom, f.). **CPIT** (= **CPHT**, Peyron < Zoëga), **TPIP**, and **HIP** are from forms having ū or u originally. For some reason they have got into the other **H**-class and emerge as modern ī instead of ā. The exact character of r is unknown, but it may be presumed that it modified ö in such a way as to prevent its becoming ā by Arabic substitution. **H** may have been ü.

² Cf., however, **PH†** (*u), **PHC** (*i), **PHT**, **PHHT** (Vycichl).

15. In a very few cases the "old" pronunciation appears to be wrong. If the name Bāwīṭ, ΠΑΥΗΤ (Sahidic; see Maspero-Drioton, *Fouilles exécutées à Baouît*, No. 434), is the qualitative of ʾwd, it should be b-awād (see sec. 11) not b-awīd (Vycichl). Yet Bistauros and Girgis say b-awīd. Clearly ΠΑΥΗΤ is a passive participle (*i), not a qualitative (Vycichl). Similarly, ΕΒΗΛ should be awāl (Girgis) not awīl (Bistauros), if ΒΗΛ is a qualitative. CHQI is usually pronounced sīfi, as it should be (cf. ξίφος, سَيْف, Nub. sibīd [Vycichl]), but sometimes sāfi. The suffix -ΘΗΝΟΥ, if derived from *kunū and not from *kinā (Zimmern, *Vgl. Gr.*, p. 69), should be *tānu and not tinu. But Sahidic Copts had nothing to guide them in the pronunciation of Boheiric ΘΗΝΟΥ for they had merely -TŪN (Vycichl). TH is pronounced dæ, and should be *dī because <dj; CAH is ísle, and should be *ísla (Albright, p. 50, ll. 31 f.—a complicated history); XHMI is given as kēmi and immediately corrected to kāmi; ΦPH is given as ébre (Bistauros) and corrected to ébra (Yassa); CMH is given as ísme. Here H has the value e or æ, and this is due probably to uncertainty as between ā and ī; not due to Modern Greek influence, which would give ī.

16. Like H, the letter Ε (in spite of its name, éje) usually stands for an a-sound, and this is usually short in accented, unaccented, and falsely accented (sec. 7) syllables, e.g., anáh, ΕΝΕΞ; tōláb, ΘΩΛΕΒ. That this is the proper Coptic sound is inferred from the fact that Coptic is distinguished from Greek, e.g., in the phrase taj de da, ΘΑΙ ΛΕ ΤΕ, "this woman however is"; though Greek words are given both values, e.g., teodokīa, dorotáos, bnewma/bnawma. As in the case of H, this value is as old as the Chassinat text; and it may or may not be due to Arabic influence. Unlike H, the Ε does not have two pronunciations; and Coptic words containing Ε do not fall into the expected a-group and i-group. There is but one group—the a-group. The single case of sI, CE, "yes," should, however, be noted.

17. That there were originally two groups, however, is seen from the fact that Albright (p. 17) cites four words in which Ε goes back to a u-sound: ΜΕΡΞ, ΨΝΕ, ΜΕ, and ΧΜΠΕΞ. Also, since māh, ΜΕΞ, "full," is a qualitative, it probably goes back to *mūh (secs. 10 and 11). If Ε is more open than H (sec. 10), perhaps Ε originally stood for ø and ε, the more open varieties of ö and ē (sec. 13).

18. Greek influence accounts for édbæ, **ΤΦΕ**; and σε, **CE**, "yes."

19. **Ω** is generally \bar{o} ; but when final it may become \bar{ow} , as in amaš \bar{ow} , **ΕΜΑΩΩ**. Nevertheless, it is sometimes \bar{U} , e.g., in the interjection, **Ω**. Before two consonants it is o, e.g., a \bar{or} h, **ΕΧΩΡΖ**, doubtless under the influence of Arabic. The name of the letter is \bar{o} .

20. The letter **O** is hardly to be distinguished in pronunciation from **Ω**. Though it has the expected open quality in hadhád, **ḤOTḤET**, it is \bar{ou} (like the name of the letter) when final; it is u when final (both accented and unaccented) and elsewhere; it is \bar{u} in šallūd (*sic!*), **ΒΑΛΟΔ**, and hūde, **ḶTI**. For the u-value of **O** and **Ω** in the Chassinat text see *Coptic Sounds*, p. 127. It has the Greek value in brófidas, lengthened in kaṭamarōs.

21. The combination **ΟΥ** (which has no name) is \bar{u} in hūn, **ḤOYN**, but more often a fluctuating thing that is heard as \bar{U} or \bar{o} , e.g., ebn \bar{U} di ebnōdi (Farshūt); \bar{jam} \bar{U} l, \bar{jam} ōl; sm \bar{o} . For fluctuation between **ΟΥ**, **Ω**, and **O** in Theban documents see *Coptic Sounds*, pp. 104 and 105. In Greek words **Υ** occurs by itself, with the value \bar{i} . Consonantal **ΟΥ**, **Ω**, is treated below (sec. 32).

22. The letter **I** (called jōda) is pronounced \bar{i} and I, e.g., afjīmi, bÍró, **ΠΠO**, never otherwise; though it is clear that, e.g., in **CPIT**, **ΘPIΠ** (Albright, p. 18), the vowel goes back to \bar{u} and is an **H** (\bar{o}), modified by **P** probably into \bar{u} (sec. 14). This may be the value of **I** in words like **CZIMI**, whose plurals have an o—**ZIOMI**.

23. The letter **A** (called alfa) is always a, except before **E** (a), when it becomes ϵ by dissimilation, e.g., bimé áda-, **ΠΙΜΑ ΕΤΕ-**; bimé anára-, **ΠΙΜΑ ΕΝΕΡΕ-**.

24. The unaspirated stops, **Π** and **Τ**, are pronounced (?) sometimes as \bar{b} , \bar{d} , but usually as b, d; and the latter have generally been used in my transcriptions. Vycichl is certain he hears only b, d.

25. The letter **Π** (called bej) is pronounced b/ \bar{b} , as it should be (*Coptic Sounds*, p. 19), and never p; though the lack of p in Arabic would in itself exclude the Coptic sound. **Φ** (called fij) is also pronounced b/ \bar{b} in Coptic words, and not p, the correct value. It is not necessary to see here a Sahidic trait (**Π** for **Φ**), because the absence of p in Arabic is a sufficient explanation; and the corresponding stop, **Θ**, is rendered by t, because that sound *does* occur in Arabic. Occasionally **Φ** is pronounced f, under the influence of Greek words or of modern

style; or because of the effort to produce a lacking voiceless sound like b. Fricative Φ is treated below (sec. 33). Ψ (called ébsi) is simply Π . \mathbf{B} when final is the same as Π . \mathbf{BB} is pronounced buw, e.g., rabuwi, \mathbf{PABBI} , because final \mathbf{B} is b and initial \mathbf{B} is w. Fricative \mathbf{B} is treated below (sec. 31).

26. The letter \mathbf{T} (called dāu) is pronounced d/ḏ, as it should be, and never t, except when final, e.g., in šomt (also šomd), ΨOMT . Θ (called tútte) is t, but occasionally þ, under Modern Greek influence. The precision of distinction between Θ and \mathbf{T} is remarkable. It is observed even in tōlāb, $\Theta\text{WΛEB}$, where the accent has shifted. That this is the inherited result of a once-operative Boheiric rule (Ludwig Stern, *Koptische Grammatik* [Leipzig, 1880], sec. 19) is certain, for \mathbf{T} and Θ , without distinction, are pronounced d/ḏ/ṭ (unaspirated) when unaccented, or originally unaccented, but are pronounced t (aspirated) when accented, however weakly, in Greek words, e.g., teodokīa, θεοτοκία; ḥristós, χριστός; ṭódros, θεόδωρος. \mathbf{A} (called dalda) is nearly always d/ḏ, though the Modern Greek δ is occasionally heard. \dagger (called dij) is simply \mathbf{T} .

27. The letter \mathbf{K} (called kábba) is always pronounced k at the present time. In the seventh century it was still ḡ in Sahidic, for place-names in Upper Egypt have \mathbf{F} (in that dialect of Arabic, g) to represent Coptic \mathbf{K} , e.g., \mathbf{KWC} , \mathbf{KEQT} , $\mathbf{NEKATHPION}$, $\mathbf{KAINHPOLAIC}$, \mathbf{TKWOUY} ; so also early loan words: $\mathbf{PEKPOYP}$, \mathbf{PEKAWA} , $\mathbf{KATAMEPOC}$. Also in Boheiric it was still g, for place-names in Lower Egypt (or imported from there) have \mathbf{C} (in the Cairo dialect of Arabic, g) for Coptic \mathbf{K} , e.g., $\dagger\mathbf{KEBI}$, دقوا / دجوكا / دجوة; $\mathbf{APO-THKH}$, ابو تيج. But as early as the time of Athanasios of Qūs (eleventh century) the letter \mathbf{K} is called kabba, with ك. The apparent change of value from g to k can be observed in Boheiric only, and may be due to the Cairo-Alexandria pronunciation of \mathbf{F} as ' , which invalidated \mathbf{F} as a sign for Coptic \mathbf{K} . The Chassinat text equates Coptic \mathbf{K} with \mathbf{F} , \mathbf{C} , and \mathbf{K} ; that of Carsanova-Sobhy equates it with \mathbf{K} and \mathbf{F} ; the Galtier text equates it with \mathbf{K} only. The change is thus evidently due to graphic causes.

28. The letter **X** is always k in Coptic words. This was the value in the seventh century, for the Arabs heard it as **ك**, e.g., **ΧΩΡΑ**, kūra; **ΑΡΧΩΝ**, arkūn (magical texts). It is never pronounced as h except in Greek words. The letter **Γ** occurs only in Greek or other foreign words, and here it follows the Greek rule: **γ** before a, o, u; **γ** before i, e. Double, **ΓΓ**, it is ηγj or ηγ̄. The pronunciation of **Γ** as j is due to the Cairo **Ϛ** = g, by overcorrection. The letter **Ξ** (called *eksi*) is simply **Κ**.

29. The letter **Χ** (called ján̄ja) is j. When pronounced g, that is due to the Cairo pronunciation of **Ϛ** as g.

30. The letter **δ** is always š, and has no connection with **X** in consciousness.

31. The letter **B** (called bēda, vēda), except when final, is pronounced w, v, and possibly the bilabial β (Vyciehl thinks not). The second and third are non-Arabic; and the second is derived from the third, which is probably the original sound. At the end of a syllable **B** is b.

32. The combination **ΟΥ** (which has no name), when functioning as a consonant, e.g., **ΟΥΩΩ**, **ΩΟΥΝ**, is always w. After o and ō the w is sometimes lost, e.g., hō, hū, **ΕΖΟΥΟΥ**; mō, **ΜΟΥΟΥ**; but it never becomes a separate vowel. **Υ** (called ha, he, possibly because of some forgotten function) occurs in foreign words, received via Greek, as v, e.g., lāvi, Λευι. In the combination **ΑΥ** it is always w in Coptic words; but in Greek words the w is sometimes lost, e.g., εγλάδιος, Κλαύδιος.

33. The letter **Ϝ** (called fāj) is f, possibly the bilabial **ϕ**. The letter **ϕ** is given the same sound at times, either through Greek influence or in an effort to produce the non-Arabic p (see sec. 25); and it always has the value f in Greek words.

34. The letter **C** (called sámma) is usually pronounced s. But it is š at times, before a palatal vowel, e.g., šI, **ϞΕ**; or after š, e.g., bašænš, ***ΠΑΩΑΝC** (Farshūt); šiši, **ϞICI** (Farshūt); or under the influence of Semitic (Arabic?) forms of proper names, e.g., šemeōn, **ϞΥΜΕΩΝ**; aššēr, **ϞCCHP**. The letter **Z** is always z—an Arabic sound, supposedly not Coptic.

35. The letter **Ϡ** (called šaj) is usually š. Before **ⲓ** it may become **š̄**, e.g., maš̄ⲓ, **ⲙⲁⲱⲪ**, a non-Arabic sound.

36. The letter **ⲓ**, when it functions as a consonant, is j, e.g., bajōd, **ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲧ**; fōj, **Ⲓⲱⲓ**; šojs, **ⲔⲐⲒⲐⲐ**. But when followed by a consonant in the same syllable, it may be lost (el-^cAraki, near Farshūt), e.g., ōk, **ⲱⲒⲕ**; šōš, **ⲔⲐⲒⲐⲐ**; wōni, **ⲐⲮⲱⲒⲒⲒ**. It is frequently not heard before **Ⲓ** in **īšōs**, **ⲒⲘⲐⲐⲐⲐ**.

37. The letter **Ⲓ** (called hāj) is always h, never ç. The letter **Ⲓ** in Greek words has the value h before back vowels and before r, otherwise š, even when the vowel has undergone further change, e.g., šāra, **Ⲫⲁⲓⲣⲉ**. The letter **Ⲓ** (called hōri) is simple h, e.g., htōu, **ⲒⲐⲐⲐ**; rarely h, e.g., aⲓorh, **ⲒⲒⲱⲡⲒ**; and it sometimes disappears, e.g., anā, **ⲒⲒⲒⲒ**.

38. The letters **ⲕ** (lōla), **ⲙ** (mēj), **Ⲓ** (ni²), and **ⲡ** (rōw) are pronounced as l, m, n, r (trilled), respectively. Doubled **ⲙ** is sometimes simplified, e.g., mōn, **ⲙⲙⲐⲒ** (el-^cAraki). **Ⲓ** before **ⲡ** is not assimilated. **Ⲓⲕ** is pronounced r̄k, e.g., doṛk, **ⲧⲱⲒⲕ**.

39. From the time when Coptic ceased to be commonly spoken, down almost to the present, there have existed a school language and a Coptic-Arabic jargon. That these are not entirely derived from sacred texts, but have traditional contact with living Coptic, appears from many facts above adduced, chief of which are: differentiation of a-**Ⲓ** from i-**Ⲓ**, of Coptic **Ⲓ** from Greek **Ⲫ**, of aspirated t from un-aspirated t, of words with **Ⲓ** from words without **Ⲓ** between two final consonants, special values for final **Ⲗ** and final **ⲧ**, peculiar consonantal use of **ⲐⲮ** and **ⲓ**, tenth-century accentuation, traces of non-Boheiric phonology and vocabulary, and (possibly) new expressions of seeming genuineness.

40. Zēniya tradition shows that Greek letters were not always taken over with their current Greek values, if indeed we know what those were; that the original values of **Ⲓ** and **Ⲓ** must be reconsidered; that modern peasant tradition is not so corrupt and arbitrary as we have supposed. Otherwise it requires no serious revision of the views set forth in *Coptic Sounds*.