VI. POPULAR TRADITIONS OF THE
COPTIC LANGUAGE

BY

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1. On January 11, 1936, Dr. Werner Vycichl wrote to me from Luxor about the dialect studies which he had been pursuing in that region, in particular his investigation of the popular traditions of the Coptic language preserved at the village of Zeniya. I spent the month of February with him at Luxor, studying and discussing his materials and findings and interviewing his Zeniya peasants. At that time he prepared an article, " Pi-Solsel, ein Dorf mit koptischer Uberlieferung," which appeared in Mitteilungen des deutschen Instituts für ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo (Bd. 6, 1936, Heft 2) almost a year later. Since then he has devoted himself to the investigation of Coptic traditions, both in language and folklore, not merely in and around Luxor, but in the Fayyum, in Middle Egypt, and in extreme Upper Egypt. The folklore he is publishing by himself. The speech materials he has very kindly placed at my disposal. The meaning and significance of these materials have so often been discussed between us that it would be very difficult now to distinguish between his views and mine (though I have done so on occasion), and the present publication may therefore properly bear both our names. Nevertheless, I have used these materials freely and often without consultation with him, and the final responsibility is therefore mine. An article, covering briefly the material, was published by me in AJS L (54 [1937], 1-11). Dr. George Sobhy and Mr. Yassa 'Abd al-Masih have furnished me with comments and examples which I here gratefully acknowledge and which I have in each case marked with their names. The Institute of Archaeological Research, of the University of Michigan, very generously gave the subvention which made my visit to Egypt possible, and thereafter contributed
to the expenses of Dr. Vycichl while he collected more material in the season of 1936-37.

2. For the past eighty years a traditional pronunciation of Coptic has been giving way to a so-called reform pronunciation, instituted by the Patriarch Cyrillus IV (1854-61) and furthered by the late lamented Claudius Labib (died May 5, 1919), various clubs, and many individuals. The traditional pronunciation had fallen into confusion, particularly in Cairo and Alexandria, partly because of the introduction of current Greek values and of conceits arising from mechanical equations with Arabic letters, but broadly because of estrangement from Coptic village life and because of the contempt in which an Arabized Copt holds the peasantry of Upper Egypt. Reform should have been in the direction of the peasant tradition, but that was too much to expect. Instead, Modern Greek values were introduced systematically, and these values are unfortunately being taught by those who are backing the very creditable enterprise of reviving the Coptic language in Egypt. The old tradition is now to be found, so far as I know, only in Upper Egypt, or among those who have come from there and who have not yielded to the pressure of the cities. Not long ago Asyut and Nagada were strong centers, but now we must seek smaller communities, such as Zeniya. I am told that even a third pronunciation, the “European” (Mallon?), is not unknown among a very small number who as Uniates have studied under French teachers. Modern Copts, writing on Coptic grammar, attach little importance to pronunciation, and so present a mixture of “old,” “reformed,” and “European.”

3. Bohairic is the only dialect known to present-day Copts. Their Coptic is Bohairic with occasional features from Sahidic. Very few of them know even of the existence of other dialects; and even they regard Sahidic as a corrupt, ungrammatical, and unimportant form of “Coptic,” i.e., Bohairic. Some Copts who read French will tell you that Coptic was once divided into three dialects, Bohairic, Sahidic, and Bashmiric, a statement to be found in early European works on Coptic. The term “Sahidic” (ṣaʿīḍi) nowadays is reserved exclusively for the despised “old” pronunciation of Bohairic, as heard particularly among the peasantry of Upper Egypt.
4. The extent to which Copts still employ a pure "old" pronunciation is not exactly known. In the vicinity of Luxor, out of a possible three hundred who "read" Coptic without understanding it, there may be six who understand what they read and two who follow the "old" pronunciation (Vycichl). The "old" pronunciation is still known by a few old monks at the church of Mari Girgis near Farshut, but is no longer taught. It was not found in Farshut or in Madinat al-Fayyum, or in Agamiyyin (one peasant, mixed), or Ibshawai. At Qasr as-Sayyad "new" pronunciation was being taught by Matta, their best 'arif, though presumably he knew better, for he comes from Nagada, like others in the community who know Coptic well, the Managra, descended from a certain Mangura.

5. Like all simple folk, Coptic peasants are easily embarrassed when asked too much. They are shy and suspicious of strangers. They must be constantly praised, and never instructed, especially by Europeans, whom they regard as children having a limited command of vernacular Arabic (the only medium of communication), an insufferable attitude of superiority, and missionary or other realistic motives. They make mistakes because they are ashamed of their "old," peasant, pronunciation. When they are given free rein, with no text in sight, they do well. When they read from a book their tradition is impaired. Even our best subject, from Zeniya, Bistauros (from whom most of the materials are taken), will at times say eb'uru (ĬΟΥΡΟ), eb'ai (ΪΗ), with careful reproduction of printed forms; while, left to himself, he will say bēru and bāi. They are being ruined by the textbooks from Cairo, in which ΝΟΟΚ is ensok, ΟΜΑΥ is smaw, and ΚΟΟΥΝ is sō'un. If they do not succumb to "reform" they will be spoiled by European ideas, gleaned from European and Egyptian scholars who interview them. Even Bistauros wrote ΟΥΣΙΡ ΜΠΙΟΥ-ΤΑΙΟΠ ΜΠΑΜΠΟ (= جناب الحترم الوجيه); and I have heard—though it may have been a joke—that a Copt wrote ΠΙΕΥΜΑ ΦΟΥΗ (rūh ja baʿid), "Go away, stranger!"; ΛΑΜΠΑΣ ΝΑΓΑΘΟΝ (ṣabāh al-ḥār, with ṣabāḥ for miṣbāḥ), "Good morning." One cannot safely ask them to translate anything into Coptic; one must take what they give. Bistauros wrote a dictionary, compiled from the Bible and from hearsay, which is quite useless. The
Coptic tradition is no longer equal to such a task. And yet Bistauros, and other peasants, know that Coptic $\mathbf{x}$ is to be pronounced as $\mathbf{k}$, while Greek $\chi$ is to be pronounced as $\mathbf{h}$ or $\mathbf{s}$. They know that Coptic $\mathbf{e}$ is a while Greek $\varepsilon$ is $\varepsilon$, e.g. in the phrase κε φαι λε τε, na dâj de da, “but this woman was . . . .”

6. Even so remarkable a Coptic peasant as Bistauros knows few books. Whatever he has heard in church, from childhood up, he doubtless understands and, to a large extent, knows by heart. He seems to be ignorant of other Coptic literature. He says that he has Coptic books in his house; but he cannot be induced to bring them out, nor to copy them. He did transcribe for us a volume containing قلادة التحرير في علم التفسير, probably by Athanasius of Qus, and the 25th (last) section of كتاب السلم, dated and signed Ibn al-Qasim. He writes a beautiful manuscript hand, like Stegemann, Taf. 25 (XII-XIV cent.). He makes his own ink, after an ancient recipe which he dictated to us in Arabic, some of it being twenty years old. His colored inks employ modern ingredients.

7. Some six kilometers north of Luxor, on the same side of the Nile, is a locality called az-Zeniyaât, consisting of two villages, Zênîya Bahari and Zênîya Qibli, i.e., Zênîya-North and Zênîya-South. The word zênîya, if not derived from some proper name, like zên ad-dîn, in the manner of 'abbâsîja or ibrahîmîja, is plainly a feminine abstract from zên, “ornament,” like šamsîja, from šams, meaning “ornamentation,” and then concretely “ornament.” The Copts of Zênîya-South (which for short we shall hereafter often call simply Zeniya) call their village bisulsâl also. This is simply Bohairic πιολακεα, meaning “the ornamentation.” Since the word is not Sahidic (caca-only late), it is probably a translation of the Arabic and not the pre-Arabic name of the place. Zênîya-North they call bisulsâl banhîd, πιολακεα πῆμπτ, and Zênîya-South bisulsâl efrîs, πιολακεα φρῆς. In the latter the Bohairic φρῆς is used, and is pronounced in the “reformed” manner, as though it were a Greek word; Sahidic would be πρῆς, and would be pronounced brîs. This does not necessarily mean that it is late or artificial. The connective η- is omitted in the Coptic, and the congruence (*bahartja, *qiblîja) is neglected in the Arabic. The Coptic is abnormal, the Arabic perfectly normal in Egypt; and the Coptic would seem to be sec-
ondary. There is no record of a *πικοάζηλα* in this region in Coptic times. But for the Fayyum we have (Preisigke; Crum *Coptic Dict.*): *Σελορ* (qualitative *ελαζμα* + Fayyumic over-correction α > ρ), *Σελοσελορ* and *Σελοτιλ* (the same?), *Σελοσελορος*.

8. The Zênïyât are now strongly Muslim communities in which as a whole no Coptic tradition lingers. Compare for instance the oasis of Kharga, in which Muslims still have Coptic names such as Shonûda, Bakhûm, and Ilyâs (Vycinch). Zениa-South has some twenty male Copts with their families. Zениa-North has a Coptic priest (Ermanyôs), and so presumably some Coptic families, though none were visible. According to the local Copts, the Sharîfs, who settled in Zениa-South a generation ago, greatly increased Muslim intolerance. Christians had to take the left side when meeting Muslims. Many were killed. “In 1934 three of the richest Copts of Luxor were murdered, and no one was apprehended.” Local government discriminates against them. Conversions to Islam continue. Under King Fu’âd Egypt became reactionary. Up to 1933 Copts had to keep to their houses during the feast of Mûlid an-Nâbi, getting fodder for their cattle beforehand. The Copts of Zениa-South live in one large house complex, built about a courtyard and guarded by a strong door. Within are dwellings, a well, a mill, the office (diwân) of Wîṣa, the community head, and a subterranean distillery, secretly used at night.

9. About three hundred years ago a certain Ishâq (Isaac), a carpenter of Asyût, came to al-‘Ashshi at the invitation of local Muslims, who had no workmen. From him are descended the Isiacids of al-‘Ashshi, Madamûd, Khuzâm, Luxor, and Zениa, all on the east bank of the Nile. They are often carpenters and silk weavers. It was this Ishâq who brought the family tradition of Coptic to Zениa. To be sure, a certain Ṭanyôs (Danyôs) came to Zениa from Nagada, and died in 1886 (?) at the age of a hundred. Also a certain Muḥârib, who “spoke Coptic with his wife,” came to Zениa from Nagada at the age of eighty years, and is now long dead. These men did not bring the Coptic tradition to Zениa; they merely taught school there. The Zениa children already had the Coptic tradition from their parents. The Nagada people, on the other hand, say that it is they who have the Coptic tradition and who first brought the tradition to Zениa. There was, for
instance, the case of Khalil abu Bsáde (Sahidic τικάτε), who learned Coptic from his father and mother in Zeniya and who, upon the death of his father while he was still a child, learned to write Coptic from Ṭanyós and Muḥārib, and continued to live in Zeniya till his death in 1910 or thereabouts, teaching Coptic. Then a certain Mityās came from Nagada to Zeniya to teach Coptic. He is still living, in Nagada, where he was seen by Dr. Vycichl. Khalil abu Bsáde taught his son, Andarāos ibn Khalil ibn Bsáde ibn Gadállah, who is still living in Zeniya; and Khalil abu Bsáde and Mityās both taught Bistauros (πικταύρος) ibn Wagım (κιδάκι) ibn Balamon ibn Batris (παρρίς?), who is still living in Zeniya. Bistauros was descended on his father’s side from the Luxor family of the Khāranīs, whose ancestor was a certain Kharnūs, and on his mother’s side from a Zeniya family. He grew up in Zeniya in contact with his father, Wagım, who "spoke Coptic fluently." Nevertheless, at the age of seven or eight he "learned Coptic," as we have said, from Khalil abu Bsáde and Mityās: at any rate he was monitor in the school of Mityās for three years. Since that time he has been the schoolmaster of Zeniya. He is now about fifty years old, intelligent, talkative, didactic, enthusiastic, the source of most of our material. Another pupil of Mityās is Wīsa (βίκα) ibn Khalil ibn Girgis ibn Ṭatállah ibn Brēs (φφές), who had, however, previously learned Coptic from his parents. He is now about sixty years old, likewise intelligent, but quiet and uncommunicative. The priest Ermanyós ibn Šāliḥ ibn Šālib ibn Na’mān is often spoken of by the others, but nothing definite is known about him. He now lives apparently alone in Zeniya-North. The repeated importation of teachers from Nagada indicated that formal or literary instruction in Coptic was not to be had in Zeniya. Nevertheless, it is possible that a non-literary tradition existed at Zeniya, as its people vigorously maintain.

10. For the region of Farshut we have the report that a certain ārīf Muḥārib of ṬArāki, son of a weaver, who had learned Coptic from the priest Yoḥanna in Farshut, was celebrated for being able to speak Coptic, and wrote letters to Claudius Labīb correcting things in the latter’s dictionary. He died twenty-five years ago. Girgis al-Falaki in Farshut, now ninety-five years old, says that he remembers being sent as a boy to buy šrombi (σρόμπι),
mulukija (*ΜΩΛΟΧΙΑ, μολόχη), manmon (Crum, Coptic Dict., from Kircher and Montpelier scalae only, MANYMON), “oranges,” wakinón (unexplained), “bania,” “okra,” siktira (unexplained), “sugar.” The ‘arif Gīrgis of Košh, near Balyana, learned Coptic at the Dēr Inţaniyōs (Vycichl). He is now living at Košh, at the church of Mārī Gīrgis, near Farshut. We have often cited him as “Gīrgis,” along with “Bistauros.”

11. After Coptic had ceased to be the vernacular of everyday life and of the street, it no doubt continued to exist as the more or less artificial secondary language of religion and of the home. Priests came and went freely in all sorts of social gatherings. Everybody went to church on Sunday and feast days, remaining for hours in church or outside near by. Their contact with Coptic in the mass, supposing that they understood it, must have given them some vocabulary and grammar. In the hēkāl (sanctuary) of the church the priest used nothing but Coptic up to fifty years ago in Farshut (according to the qummūs Arsaniyōs). After service the priests and the ‘arifs drank coffee and “spoke Coptic.” Children were greatly impressed with the secret language, and they desired to learn it. This they did by conversation with the ‘arif and his three or four best pupils. The curriculum in Farshut used to be reading (pronunciation), understanding, and recitation of texts; but the children also had to learn to speak. Speaking was a tradition and custom in the families of ‘arifs and priests, and included the women. The subject matter of this speaking was the weather, prices of cattle, weddings, deaths, visits, stories, and legends. The mother of Khalīl abu Bāde (she died about 1886) “spoke Coptic.” The grandfather of Yassa ‘abd al-Maṣih told him that his father and people conversed together in the Church in Coptic. The Zeniya people say that their parents learned Coptic “in the house and not from books.” This legend of “speaking Coptic” a relatively short time ago cannot of course be taken to mean that Coptic was then a living language. Yet one must consider the enormous decrease in knowledge between Bistauros and the younger generation. Bistauros needs only someone to correct his errors in grammar. Khalīl himself could not do this. Well-attested statements that men and women “spoke Coptic” some forty to sixty years ago, while no one claims to speak Coptic
now, may well be merely due to glorification of the past in contrast with the present. But perhaps half a century ago there were more interest and more attention, more fluency if not more correctness, and a less attenuated family tradition. Before this recent sharp decline Coptic had been kept artificially alive at a very low level for centuries. Bistauros knows a legend that Coptic was forbidden and the kuttâbs (schools) closed because the Copts made use of their secret language to insult the uninitiated. A Coptic barber used to greet his royal patron every morning with šomd ša entöwi hi'än da'k'apa ō būro, “Three hundred kicks on your head, O King!” The kuttâbs were indeed closed for once about 1880, at the time of 'Aurâbi Pasha; but they still exist in Hau, Dabba, and Zeniya (Vycichl). In Zeniya the poorest peasant can still learn to read Coptic and to translate it into Arabic. But Bistauros seems to have no successor in sight. His death will be a great loss to the tradition in that village.

12. We may form some idea of the character of this “speaking in Coptic” from a manuscript in the possession of the qummuṣ Arsaniyōs: ἀλφαβήταριον ἱκυπτικὸς ἔγγραφόν της Ναχίηπφης (meaning?) Ἑξηγεῖον αὐτοῦ Μιχαήλ. (This may have been printed by the al-Waṭan press in A.M. 1603, A.D. 1886.) Most of its contents are fresh and un-Arabic, some of them are startlingly so:

נקה περεξοού, “Good day!” Apparently a question, “Is your day good?,” since it is answered by

ΝΑΝΕΞ ΝΑΚ ΖΩΚ, “It is good. (The same) to you.” The Arabic nahārak sa'id, on the contrary, is a wish.

ΑΦ ΠΕ ΠΕΡΕΧΤ, “How are you?,” answered by

ΤΟΥΟΧ ΠΑΚΡΑΤΙΤΧΕ, “I am well, good Sir.”

ΦΙΝΗ ΕΠΕΚΚΟΝ, “Give my greetings to your brother,” on the model of Arabic sallim 'ala 'aḥîk. But, considering the usage of Coptic letters of all periods, it is possible that the expression is an abbreviation for ΤΦΙΝΗ ΕΠΕΚΚΟΝ, “I inquire after (or greet) your brother.”

ΠΑΝΑΣΕ ΝΗΙ ΕΠΕΧΟΛΗ, “I am going to school.”

ΜΑΤΑΜΟΙ ΕΠΕΚΜΕΛΗΝ, “Show me your lesson.” In papyrus Greek μελετή is not “lesson,” but “contract to teach” (Preisigke).
"Read (before) me."
"Shut your mouths." Not Arabic.
"Thus far you have been asleep, you loafer."
"Begin from the beginning."
"Answer me."
"Come here."
"Sit down there."
"Someone is knocking at the door."
"Tell me, Who is this?"
"It is I."
"Why have you come?"
"What do you want?"
"Come with me."
"Where is your house?"
"It is near the school."
"Open the door."
"Close the door."
"Pay what you owe."
"Let's go home."
"Where have you come from?"
"Show me."
"Speak louder."
"Lower your voice."
"Don't be angry."
"What time is it?"
"Stand here."
"Wash your hands."
"Get up first" (i.e., before you recite or speak)."
"Go up."
"Bravo!"
"I am going to market."
"Cheer up!"
"Do me the kindness."
"This is impossible."
"I'm your man."

13. When did Coptic cease to be spoken? The medical text of Chassinat and the alchemistic text of Stern indicate that Sahidic
was still spoken in Upper Egypt in the ninth or the tenth century; the text of Casanova-Sobhy, that Bohairic was giving way to Arabic in the Wadi Natroun between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries, the text of Galtier, that Bohairic was as dead in the fourteenth century (or later?) as it is in modern times (Worrell, *Coptic Sounds*, pp. 122 ff.; 134 ff.). There remains the possibility that Sahidic of a sort lingered on, beyond the tenth century, in Upper Egyptian villages, though Bohairic was imported there in the eleventh century. The traveler Vansleb reported finding living Coptic in Upper Egypt in the sixteenth century; but, as he also reported finding Greek, his peasants may have known no more than modern Zeniya people. Quibell (*AZ*, 39 [1901] 87) says: “The Revd. David Strang of the American Mission at Beni Suef informs me that when he first came to this country, 30 years ago, Coptic had been spoken in Upper Egypt within the memory of men then living. In particular, a certain Jam Estephanios, an old man of Qus, remembered hearing as a boy his parents and a few other old people in Qus and Naqada converse together in Coptic. And this district of Qus and Naqada Jam believed to have been the very last in which Coptic survived.” In a footnote he adds: “I have also heard an independent statement that there is a village near Qus where broken Coptic is still spoken. This is very doubtful. I am trying to check it.” I cannot find that Quibell ever wrote anything further on the subject. Steindorff (p. 1) seems to have believed Vansleb, but not the rumor reported by Quibell, equally credible or incredible. No doubt Stern (p. 2) is right in observing that Coptic must have been imperfectly understood in the tenth and eleventh centuries, since the Copts then began to compose treatises on Coptic in Arabic. These treatises embraced both dialects, and could hardly have been intended for any but Copts.

14. The extreme limit of the ability and habit of the Coptic community to form new words in Coptic can be established by the Coptic names for commodities the dates of whose introduction among the Copts are certainly known. The Copts borrowed or coined words for “coffee,” “tobacco,” “kerosene,” and “soap,” but not for “cotton,” “tea,” and “bedbug” (which they say is of recent introduction). Coffee came to Egypt toward the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century (Lane, Chap.
XV; *Encycl. Islam*, II, 631 ff.) from Arabia via Cairo. The Zeniya word for it is bôn, *)&&(>, Arabic bunn, Amharic bunn. But, while the Arabic means the bean only, the Coptic and Amharic mean the bean and the drink. Did the Copts of Upper Egypt receive coffee directly from Abyssinia? Tobacco was introduced into Egypt shortly before the beginning of the seventeenth century, a hundred years later than coffee (Lane, Chap. XV). The Zeniya word for it is *kramds*, *Xpmtc*, the same as Arabic *dughâh*, “smoke.” Kerosene was introduced into Upper Egypt about 1875, as I am informed by Aḥmad Yaḥya of Luxor. (It had been distilled shortly after 1846, and patented in 1854.) The Zeniya word for it is *nahōni*, *NEG OMN*, the same as Arabic *zēt ḫagar*, “rock oil.” Soap was introduced from Europe into Upper Egypt about two generations ago, as I am informed by Aḥmad Yaḥya. The Zeniya word for it is *šōm jōj*, *gwmt iwd*, “(clothes-) wash + (body-) wash,” a strange compound, neither Arabic nor good Coptic. The old word for “soap,” *ANXIP* (Spiegelberg), if equivalent to Arabic *dâlûk*, meant “salve.” Modern Arabic *sâban* is from the Italian. Zeniya Copts say they coin no new words. At first the Zeniya Copts said that there was no word for “sugar cane,” but later they said there was one: *KAWJ NERIJD*. It may be genuine or not. The words for “tobacco,” “kerosene,” and “soap,” as well as “sugar cane,” might be inventions of the moment; but, if so, why no words for “cotton,” “tea,” and “bedbug”? Are they harder to invent? Did they simply happen not to have been borrowed or coined in the past? The bedbug, so far from being recently introduced into Egypt from the west, is mentioned by Lane (Intro. and Chap. V) for about the year 1835; and, if *kopûs* and “cimex” mean “bedbug,” it was common enough in Greece and Italy, and therefore probably in Egypt, in classical antiquity (Keller, II, 399 ff.), and Egyptians and Copts must have had a name for it. Cotton is mentioned by Lane (Intro., footnote) as an important Egyptian product in 1835. Originating in India, China, and Peru, it has apparently had a long history, though I cannot ascertain when it reached Egypt. Tea is not mentioned by Lane, and I cannot find out when it was introduced into Egypt, though tea addiction in Upper Egypt is recent, according to a local American physician. Leaving unexplained the absence of words
for “bedbug” and “cotton,” we can say that Coptic was able to make words for new things by the usual methods of borrowing (πον) and translation (κρεντς, ΝΕΓ ΗΝΙ) as recently as the sixteenth, seventeenth, and late nineteenth centuries, just as though it were a living language.

15. Coptic words and phrases today in use by Zeniya and other Copts are sometimes suspiciously like corresponding Arabic words and phrases. This is especially true of written Coptic, as we have said above. nofrī 'ahów and nofrī 'aJów (attested by the qummus Arsaniyós and the arīf Girgis Mīnā, who learned at Dēr İnțiāniyós) seem to be simply the Arabic nahārak sa'īd and lētak sa'īd; but they might conceivably have been shortened from *ΟΥΝΟΨΡΙ ΝΕ ΝΖΩΟΥ and *ΟΥΝΟΨΡΙ ΝΕ ΝΖΩΟΥ, in the manner of English “good day” and “good evening.” ū bṣirī 'embi'uhór is like Arabic ja 'ibn el-kelb, with the article on ΟΥΣΟΡ, where we might expect (?) *ΠΨΙΕΝΟΨΟΡ, arūru nīm taj, baj arūru 'arós, baj arūru 'arók, baj arūru 'ambasón, etc., etc., “whose is this?,” “this is hers,” “this is yours,” “this is my brother’s,” seem to be ΕΡ plus ΟΥΡΟ, “king,” Arabic malík, confused with Arabic milk, “possession.”

16. Claudius Labīb may be presumed to have drawn upon peasant sources for his dictionary (ΠΑΕΣΙΚΟΝ ΝΤΑΚΙΝ ΝΤΕ ΝΙΡΕΝΝΗΜΙ), and we need not be surprised to find in it some of the words and expressions in use by the peasants of Upper Egypt, such as lūkōhī, lukūhī (Yassa, Arabicized), λούκοκι, “piastre,” “money”; dīnār (passed into Arabic, now obsolete), “pound” (coin); ebnū 'afarāh (for afaārah) arōk, ΦΙΕΚΑΡΕΥΕΡΟ; while we fail to find many others: ebnū di namāk, ΦΙ ΝΕΜΑΚ; ebnū di 'afasmū arōk, ΦΙ ΕΚΕΧΟΥΕΡΟ; sa 'enrombi, ΟΥ ΝΙΡΟΜΠΙ, “long live!” (said after drinking coffee); woh entōk šomd sa 'enrombi (reply thereto). Nevertheless one may fairly ask whether peasants like Bistauros may not have derived their Coptic, in part at least, from Labīb’s dictionary. When Bistauros was first asked about words for “cotton,” “tea,” “bedbug,” and “sugar cane,” he said there were none, but only after some hesitation, during which others said that there were such words and they would find them out and bring them. Also, later on they brought ΚΑΥ ΝΕΒΙΩ as the equivalent of “sugar cane.” Now it
is precisely ṫwḏ nēวา that I find in Labīb, and none of the others. It is thus easy to suspect that the Zeniya Copts went and consulted the dictionary. Nevertheless I consider this very unlikely, because the dictionary costs about fifteen dollars and the peasants are very poor, and because in no other case did they pretend or attempt to deceive, so far as we know. On the other hand, in matters of source and proprietorship we cannot impute too high a standard of honesty or exactness to Egyptian peasants, knowing what we do of the habits of scholars in all ages. Any book is authoritative to a simple man, and Claudius Labīb is revered as a great one. It would never occur to Bistauros that Labīb knew nothing except what he had learned from peasants like himself (Bistauros), as supplementary to texts and books which all may read. The important thing is that, while we find the words for “sugar cane” and “kerosene” in Labīb, we do not discover there the words for “coffee,” “tobacco,” and “soap,” the three most significant test words. They were not derived from Labīb, and, since that is so, we need not suspect the word for “kerosene,” though Labīb has it.

17. Some of the colloquial expressions are correct and normal, and might have been derived equally well from books or from tradition: mašānaḵ, mašānaḵ, karōk, ka puḵ, ekwōk atōn, ka puḵ eōwēn; hūn, boyn, “inside of a boat.” But others are irregular, unknown, or unusual, and would seem to be independent of church and school:

šāb ’ehmōd, (†)wēn ẓmōt, “(I) thank you,” with the subject omitted, as in English, and in German “Danke sehr.”
entāk banīb, riqūk tānīb, “Don’t mention it.”
affīmī ḥan bi’aj, axqīmī ǰemī tiṇī, “He was present in the house,” with xīmī in passive sense.
ebnūdī ʿafāṣidk, ʃiʃeqeqistk, “May God take (i.e. punish) you!”
bašnuqqa, “a child’s garment with hood”; cf. modern Nubian bahnūqa (Vycichl after Massenbach), heard at Bahgura. Modern?
katamtūrōs, katamtūropos (“in parts,” then “lectionary”), “dictionary.” The ɛ is pronounced a, as in Coptic
(non-Greek) words, as though it had long been in the vernacular.
kūji, KÖYXI, “juicy” (meat).
manmôn, HANHON, “oranges.” Found only in Crum, *Coptic Dict.*, following the scalae of Kircher and Montpellier. Bistauros had a manuscript copy of the last section of a scala, and Girgis al-Falaki of Farshut, who gave this word, may have had scalae.
mūlukjîa, *MOLÓXIA, MOLÓXH,* “mallow.” Here Girgis has given the colloquial Arabic form of the classical mulûkîa, which seems to have been derived from Greek through Coptic; but it would be more correct to say that the classical Arabic has been made from the colloquial form.
raﬁsamî, PEQJÉHJYI, “(house) servant.” Though the word means any servant, we should expect to find it now only in an ecclesiastical sense.
sikîra, CİXYPA, “sugar” (by Girgis, at Farshut). This does not seem to be derived from the Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, or Malay forms of the international word, all of which have a.
šômjoj, Q 达D 111,“(clothes-)wash + (body-)wash.” I do not know of any Coptic compound of two coördinate verbs, with or without shortening of the first element.
ûrjûn, APXÓN, “teacher.” The old meaning, “ruler,” “chief,” has passed into the new one by a process the reverse of Arabic mu’allûm, “teacher,” then “master,” and may come from equating the two words.
wakînôn, “bámîa,” “okra” (by Girgis, at Farshut) remains unexplained.
wurwâr, BOPBEP (with regular change of accent), “reeds thrown down” (bûs marmî), meaning sugar cane lying in a confused heap.

18. Was Bohairic the dialect last spoken at Zeniya? There is no evidence that it was ever the living speech of Upper Egypt. According to the earlier version of Athanasius of Qus (eleventh century), Sahidic was “used” in his day from Old Cairo (Miṣr) to the borders of Assuan; according to a later redaction, from Minya to Assuan (Stern in *AZ*, 16 (1878) 23; *MER*, V. II, pp. 48 ff.). This use may have been merely ecclesiastical and
official, but it could hardly have failed to influence the dying Sahidic. The tradition of Luxor and vicinity therefore is derived from an imported dialect and not from the original local one. Nevertheless, traces of the local dialect remain at Luxor and in other places. The prothetic vowel of Bohairic, even though supported by Arabic, is often omitted, e.g. snəf for snəf. Sahidic koʒi is sometimes heard instead of Bohairic koʒi; šalid, ḍeənt, instead of ḍeəent; tūt, evidently Sahidic ọ-ọ, is regularly heard instead of ọ-ọyt; kjāh kįaŋk, instead of xoiak.¹ In the vicinity of Farshut: Sahidic hō, hū (pupils of the 'arif Muḥārib of al-Arāki), ọọy instead of Bohairic ọọy; Achmimic or sub-Achmimic bağānis (heard at Bahgūra), *παμ-λανς instead of πακχων, and similarly bṣāj instead of *πιβοι. In the Fayyum: Arabic al-lāgil for ar-rāgil; taut, Fayyumic ọọyọ-ọ instead of ọ-ọyt; kjāk, Fayyumic kįaŋk instead of xoiak.

19. Coptic words that continued to be used in speaking Arabic sometimes show changes in form that are not due to Arabic influence: hōr, oyıp, “dog;” jōl, hξ αλα, “onions;” sálmos, ḍalālāc, have lost the first syllable because it was in each case mistaken for the article (Farshut). This must have happened in pre-Arabic or early Arabic times, because ṕεπικοτοιος became in Arabic ʿusqāf through mistaking ṕi- for Coptic ep- “to the.” Shortening occurs in place names: Arabic géna, KAINHTOUC, nagāda, NΕΚΑΤΗΡΙΟΝ. Whether shortening has occurred in words having λ, ε, or ου in the “unaccented,” open, initial syllable (Stern, §§ 154-156), such as šalid, ḍeənt, is uncertain. Only one such word in modern Coptic appears to have a doubled middle radical: śalūs (at Helwan, šallū; thence south to Kena, šallūd, with dissimilation of second š, š), šalodos, “foot.” That single Coptic letters are sometimes to be understood as doubled was demonstrated by Kuentz (BIF, 13 (1917), 1 ff.). In Bohairic ṣ-ealha (Semitic tillēl, Spiegelberg, discredited) the first syllable must also have been accented, since ṣ cannot appear immediately before a vowel unless it is accented; and the first syllable must have been a closed one, since a short accented vowel cannot nor-

¹ The true forms seem to be Bohairic, kojjā, Achmimic ġəjjā (both ending in ġ); Sahidic, ġojjjā > ġjah (ending in ġ); Fayyumic, ġaŋj (ending in ġh).
mally appear in any but shut syllables; and the α must have been doubled. Then the middle consonant may have been doubled in ἘΧΗΝ, ΜΕΩΗΑ. In ΒΑΡΟΤ doubling is indicated by the etymology, b³(?)-rwāl, and may be suspected in ΒΑΛΟΤ, ΒΑΡΟΣ, ΒΑΨΟΡ, ΧΑΛΟ, ΧΑΝΟ. In ΛΑΝΗ doubling is indicated by the etymology hilet, and in ΛΑΝΗΠ by the Bohairic ΛΗΠ, and may be suspected in ΧΑΝΗ. ΒΑΨΟΥΡ, related to Hebrew massōr, Arabic minšār, and ΧΑΛΟΥΣC taken into Arabic (?) as hallūs, plainly have doubling, and so probably ΚΑΡΟΥΣC. ΧΑΜΟΥΛ, related to Hebrew gāmāl, may have been assimilated to the group. Other cases are ΛΑΡΟ< <lābī; possibly ΜΑΣΟΙ, since Syriac has maddai (though Hebrew mādai). ΛΑΧΙΝ, ΛΑΧΙΧ, ΚΑΡΙΝ, ΚΑΡΙΚ, ΛΑΧΙΝ, ΚΟΥΛΗ, ΣΕΡΜΟΜ may possibly be included, and even ΤΑΡΙΠ (though Hebrew dābīr), ΧΑΛΑ (though Hebrew gālīl), ΚΕΛΑΙ, ΜΕΛΑΙΤ (cf. Syriac mlātē, Arabic mlāt).

20. Accent is correct in ismū, ΧΟΥΘ, δαάρυ, ΤΑΧΡΟ (but dārū, Yassa), awīs, ΛΗΠ, “bring it here” (awjīs, Yassa), ša 'anāh, ša anā, ΣΑ ΣΗΕΖ (Achmimic, sub-Achmimic ΛΗΠ). It is apparently incorrect in dijābe, ΤΙΑΦΕ (Fayyumic ΤΙΑΠΗ), since the Bohairic form has an aspirated p, and the Fayyumic form, a long vowel in the second syllable. Perhaps the shift is due to analogy with feminines ending in ε. Proper names with Η in the last syllable form an analogical group: jōsāb, ΙΟΗΦ, moīsās, ΗΟΙΗΣ, ḡubrijāl, ΓΑΡΙΗH, then brōfīdās, ΦΡΩΦΗΤΗΣ (Yassa, but brōfidas, Bīstauros). Names ending in ΟC, if dissyllabic, are accented on the first syllable, otherwise, on the last: būtrus, ΠΕΤΡΟC, būlus, ΠΑΧΟC, mārgōs, ΜΑΡΚΟC; ēglādījōs, ΚΑΛΗ-ΛΙΟC, magarijōs, mengarijōs, ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟC; then gaţamārōs (earlier spelled قطمارس, ΚΑΤΑΜΕΡΟC). The accent is certainly incorrect, but for no apparent reason, in: ārma, ΕΡΗH, “tear,” biru, ΤΗΡΟ, “the door.” The remaining cases of incorrect accent are due to Arabic influence or to an attempt to exaggerate necessary distinction between similar forms, or to cantillation in the church service. The following are due to Arabic influence: ēbre, ΦΡΗH, ēdābē, ΤΦΕ, ēsānē, ēsmē, ΣΝΗ, īšē, ΔΗH, on the analogy of colloquial ʿuskut (classical uskūt). The accent was still correct when the spellings DĂN, ΤΙΟΝΗ were established. ʿūrēn, ΑΡΧΟC, follows the measure fūʿul, māris, μέρος, follows fāʿl, šāra,
χαρές, follows fa'āl, bašara, *φες-ἀρω, “cooking of beans” (a native dish) and negāde, ηεκαθηπιον, follow fa'āla. madūru, μέτογρο, is influenced by fa'āla.

21. Words having originally unaccented e between the last two consonants are now accented on the last syllable, the vowel being a or ā—it is often difficult to say which. Since the vowel is often short, this phenomenon, so characteristic of the much-despised “old” pronunciation, is probably not due to the influence of Arabic fu'āl, but rather to an effort to distinguish two similar classes of words: (1) those having e between the last two consonants, (2) those having no vowel between the last two consonants (so-called “murmelvokal”). Examples:

afarāh, ἐγκαρέζ : mažā, μαφθξ, masf, μακφ, arādf, ἐπατψ, : ajb, ἐπι, jābd, εἰεβτ, Ἰαμψ, ἕμενψ, : ἱδκ, ιτκ,
sulsāl, κολεκα, wurwarz, ἰορπξ, ἱοτψ, ἱδορδάρ, ἰοκορνς : ἱδάδ, ζίτοτψ,
tolāb, ἐωας, sōdām, κωτεμ, nōdān, νωτεν, sōlām, ἐωκεμ : ὀγψ, kωνκ, δωνψ, τωνψ, sōlψ, ἐωας, wōsδ, ὀψκψ, ὀψκψ.

Though the tone shifted in ἐωας, the aspirated t remained. Chassinat’s magical text (Worrell, Coptic Sounds, pp. 123 ff.) shows that in the tenth century (?) the second syllable was not always accented (πεκέλα = Arabic básad, καντέλα = šándal, μάφηλα = kūh(a)), but, when accented, was long (καυλέν = ḫaulān). The difference between the two classes is confused by ἀρκωάλα = al-burām, unless ἀρκωλα is a mistake for ἀρκωλα. The examples are too few to serve as a basis for argument.

22. The so-called “murmelvokal” is heard when three consonants come together, as in šōlhς, μωας, krēmdis, κρεμτς; it does not exist in such words as μαφθξ, τωνκ, above mentioned, any more than it does in the Sahidic words kουετ, κουψτ, φεςκ, μηρςκ, κικκκς, γκςψ of Chassinat’s magical text, except only καὶτψ (= Arabic šābir) and νοψλατς (= Arabic nūsā-dir), where the r gives the effect at least of such. The “murmelvokal” has been recently discussed, pro and con, by the present writer (Worrell, Coptic Sounds, Chap. I; AZ, 69 [1933], 130),
by Till (AŻ, 68 [1932], 121 ff.), and by Polotsky (AŻ, 69 [1933], 125 ff.). The Bohairic prothetic vowel, represented by a dot or a grave accent above an initial consonant, is now heard invariably as e except before s, š (w, š), where it is i.

23. Full vowels today are of uncertain quantity, as may be seen in examples throughout the present article. Nevertheless they are correctly used (except the o of COLOMBOH) in the verses sōlomôn bširī ndawīd, kāda brādī ādāfās, awšāsu mnōw ndibār-
tenōs (Vycichl). Vycichl suggests that in Bohairic e and o represented more open sounds than h and w, whether or not there was always a difference in quantity, since e and o appear before Egyptian h in MEG (for *MNH) and MOG (for *MOY) under the influence of the a-resonance of h; and that similarly h and w appear before Egyptian j and w in MHN (for *MHN) and MHOY (for *MOY) under the influence of the i-resonance of j and the u-resonance of w. The h “opens,” the j and w “close” the resonance of preceding vowels. This is physiologically sound, though contradicted by long-accepted views among classical scholars, who hold that e and o are more open than η and ω.

24. The letter h is called hāda, never hida (Stern) or hīda (Steindorff), though either form with the long vowel might be correct, since h is pronounced both as ā and as ī in Coptic words, according to the Zeniya tradition. When h is pronounced as e in Coptic words we may be sure that the speaker is uncertain or afraid, and is trying to compromise. Coptic words fall into two classes, those in which h is pronounced ā and those in which it is pronounced ī. There is no option in this matter; and Bistauros and the ‘arif Muḥārib agreed perfectly in the case of all words which both of them were heard to pronounce naturally. A number of the ā-words are descended from Egyptian or foreign words with u, as we shall see below, and so perhaps are all of them; the ī words are descended from words with i. It is easy to understand how h may thus have stood for ū or ō on the one hand and for ī or ē on the other; but it is not easy to understand how ā/ō became ā while ī/ē became ī. I imagine that h in early classical Coptic stood for two very open sounds like ō and e, one rounded, the other not rounded, and both of them long, if quantity existed. In the spoken Arabic of Luxor the Arabic ē has become shortened to a: bat
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abūha, šaṭān, for bēt abūha, šēṭān; but that is because a long vowel is shortened in a shut syllable in status constructus (cf. the phonetical analogy, tin iswid for tin iswid), and before an accented syllable (e.g., fāgāni for fōgāni); and that is entirely different from long accented a. It is interesting to note that ārmā, ērmī, plural ērmwīyī, and usā, ōyī, plural ōywōyi, are pronounced with H = a/ā, though the root ends in j. Bohairic ḫmīn, Sahidic ḫmōyn is pronounced ešmān in Zeniya and al-ʿAraki. Was the Bohairic form *išmōn?

25. In many cases the reason for the a-pronunciation of H can be seen. In all of the ten cases where Zeniya or al-ʿAraki values turned up for words which Albright has shown to have had u (Albright), H was pronounced as a or a. They are: ššān, ḫmīn (p. 17, line 8 ab inf.), dāb, ṭhr, māj, hī n (p. 18, lines 5-6), mad, hmt (p. 18, line 7), awjān, abjān, ḫmīn (p. 18, line 8), brāj, ēbhrīx (p. 39, line 15), mā, hī n (p. 44, No. 19), ehrā, zēhrī (p. 50, No. 14), hāb, ḫhr (p. 53, line 6 ab inf.), ešlā, ḫān (p. 50, line 10 ab inf.). None of these was ever pronounced with an i. To the list of Albright may be added: arāb, ḫhrīb, “pledge,” fr. Semitic *arūb, Hebrew ḥrub; ištān, ḫ-w-ān, “garment,” cf. Hebrew kuttōnet, Greek χίτων; šān, ḫīn, “tree,” cf. cuneiform šunu; kābi, ḫīnī, fr. Greek κόπη, γέμη; kāwi, ḫībi, kābi, “vessel,” cf. Nubian kūb (Vycichl); arāb (Zeniya), arāb (Farshut), jūrb (Baʿrāt), ʿrb (Beled es-Siyāq), ḫrtī, “wine,” cf. Old Nubian ṧptī (Vycichl), though Greek has ῥῆσ (from open ὅ); hā, ḫh, “front,” cf. the confusion between ʿw and ṣw, sufficient to permit a rebus, though ḫh is ḫe in contemporary cuneiform (Drioton in AIP, 3 [1935], 133 ff.). On the negative side we must list: dē (indecisive?), ṭh, “there,” from Egyptian dj; tinū, ʾ-ḥnōyī, “your,” which should perhaps be ṣtānū, cf. cuneiform kunū, unless the i arises from the Sahidic form ʾṭīn; satārī, ṣā-ḥrī / ṣā-ḥrī, “denarius,” cf. σταρίο, unless from later Greek; sāfi, sīnī, ṣḥīlī, “sword,” cf. Nubian sībdī (Vycichl), Greek ἤφος, Arabic saif, sēf. The presence of ḥ explains a in rā ṣhr (Yassa sāyb, Bistauros says ṣbre, ḫhr) and wāb, ōyhr (Bistauros, Girgis, though someone said wīb). The qualitative of the biconsonantal verb, whether because of an original u in all cases or because of analogy from a few cases, invariably has H =
ā: bāl, ḫḫa, mār, ṵḥp (contrasted with mīr, ṵḥp, “beyond,”
mān, ṣḥnā, kā, xi, awāl (Girgis), awīl (Bistauros), ĝhra, and
awīt (Bistauros, Girgis), ḥbīt, ṣḥynt, ṣḥyntt seem to be
uncertain or wrong. The place name ḫhyn, modern Bāwīt,
should be *b-awād, *b-awāt if it is the qualitative from the root
wād, “to separate,” meaning “claustrum” (Vycichl). But ḷōy
ṅḥbit occurs in BMC, No. 872, note 1. Following is a list of
words in which H = ā or a, whether rightly or wrongly:

Jā, xi, “dish”
māš, ṣḥnq, “crowd”
sāj, ṣḥlū, “donkey colt”
ḥabbu, ṣḥntnq, “behold”
brāš, ṣḥṇq, “coverlet,” Arabic
firāš (see AI, 2 [1935], part
1, 67. Coptic and Arabic
equally plausible)
kāmi (Bistauros, Girgis), ṣχmī,
“Egypt”
mānt, ṣḥnī, “daily”
mān, ṣḥnq, “interest”
māḏi (Bistauros, Girgis), ṣḥntq,
“midst”
nāwī, ṣḥhī, “swim”
nājī, ṣḥlū, “uterus”
rādī, ṣḥntq, “kind”
sāwī, ṣχhī, “reed”
sābī, ṣḥntq, “remainder”
dārū, ṣḥṇqy, “all of them”
hāwī, ṣḥhī, “mourning”

hākī, ṣḥhī, “poor”
ṣābī, ṣḥntq, “cloud”
sājī, ṣḥnq, “purple”
esbārī, ṣḥṇq, “wonder”
āj, hi, “house”
rāj, ṣḥnq, a kind of fish
ṣhrāj, ṣḥnq, “upward”
majnī, ṣḥnī, “sign”
sajnī, ṣḥnī, “physician”
mjā, ṣḥn, “lioness”
hjāb, jāb, ṣḥhī, ṣḥh, “sewing”
enḥāḏ, ṣḥntq, “in him”
enḥādū, ṣḥntq, “in them”
atwāḏ, ṣḥnq, “on my ac-
count”
atwāḏf, ṣḥntq, “on his ac-
count”
ṣḥbāḏf, ṣḥntq, “change
him”
akās (Bistauros and Girgis),
ḥknc, “belt”

26. An entirely different case is H = ā in Greek words and
proper names (see above under “accent,” § 20). Probably a pre-
ponderance of the value H = ā in Coptic words led to its use in
Greek words ending in ḥc, mostly accented. Then to keep it in
Arabic they had to lengthen and accent it in all cases, leaving the
other vowels of the word long if they happened to be so. Examples:
broṣīdās, broṣīdās, προφήτης, matidās, matidās, ṭαθήτης;
cf. jōsāb, Ṽṣh-f.
27. The equation of $\mathbf{H}$ with Arabic $\ddot{a}$ occurs as early as the Chassinaf medical text. That it is only once so used, while the equation with $\ddot{i}$ is more common, may be due to chance, for the material is scanty. That $\mathbf{H}$ is never $\ddot{a}$ in Stern's alchemic text (Worrell, *Coptic Sounds*, p. 133) may also be due to chance. Many church hymns rhyme throughout in $\ddot{a}$, though the words may be, for example, $\text{TAB}$, $\text{NHH}$, $\text{TCAHA}$. In Ebshawai at the present time $\mathbf{H}$ is always $\ddot{a}$. The distinction between $\mathbf{H}=\ddot{a}$ and $\mathbf{H}=\ddot{i}$ long ago vanished, and gave rise to the bad "old" pronunciation which preceded the "reform." Yet the distinction is still preserved in Zeniya and Farshut.

28. In some cases the reason for the $\dddot{i}$ pronunciation of $\mathbf{H}$ can be seen: nib (Zeniya, al-'Araki), $\text{NHH}$, "master," supported by cuneiform nimmoaria (Vycichl); stim, $\text{C-OH}$, "eye paint," Greek $\sigma\tau\iota\mu\nu\rho$, Latin stimmi; šamšîh, $\text{QEMOHXI}$, "to hiss," Demotic šmške (Spiegelberg); wîni, $\text{BHNI}$, "swallow," Nubian mîne (Vycichl); îššîr, $\text{QOH}$, "to sail," Libyan zgêr (Vycichl, after Möller); wişa, $\text{BHC}$, Arabic loan wiṣa; marîs, $\text{MAPHC}$, "south," Arabic loan marîsi, "south wind"; amîri, $\text{AMHIP}$, "inundation," Arabic loan damîre (with article $\mathbf{T}$-). mîr (Zeniya, Nagade, Dēr Amba Antoni), $\text{MHP}$, "beyond," seems to be contradicted by Albright, p. 44, No. 20; but Albright writes that mîrû is as possible as murû. Feminines ending in $\mathbf{H}$ are pronounced with $\mathbf{H}=\ddot{i}$: kâmi, $\text{XAMH}$, "black"; ħa'î, $\text{BAH}$, "last"; šamî, $\text{XAMH}$, "quiet"; ūnî, $\text{XANH}$, "box"; ūxî, $\text{XLH}$, left hand"; wannî, $\text{BENH}$, "post"; amî, $\text{AMH}$, "come" (fem.). Apparently incorrect are: išnâ, $\text{QNA}$, "garden," Arabic loan déšne (with article $\mathbf{T}$-); sawâ, $\text{CBH}$, "wise." The following words are pronounced with $\mathbf{H}=\ddot{i}$, whether properly or not:

- bî, tî, nî (Bistauros, Girgis), $\text{FHI}$, $\text{OHH}$, $\text{NN}$, "that," "those"
- wid, $\text{BHR}$, "cave"
- wiḏ, $\text{BHDX}$, "hawk"
- lîs, $\text{LHC}$, "end"
- sîd, $\text{CHT}$, meaning?
- tîn, $\text{OHH}$, "sulphur"
- wîr, $\text{OH}$, "how many?"

- samâhir, $\text{CAMAPHP}$, "fennel" (Sahidic only)
- hîd (Zeniya, al-'Araki), $\text{GHT}$, "heart"
- enehtîf, $\text{H2-OH}$, "of his heart"
- masdanhid, $\text{MECTENIGHT}$, "breast"
- hîd, $\text{JHT}$, "north" (cf. šubra hît [sic!], place name)
iši, ᵛἹ, “garlic”
biši, ᶠἹ, “quail”
risi, rophe, “dust”
širi (Zeniya, al-’Araki), ṣopi, “son”
šiši, ṣopi, “blows” (but cf. sing. รวย)
himi, ᶠ HIM, “fare”
širi, ᶠ HIP, meaning?
ibs, ᶠ HIP, “number”
birš, ṣopi, meaning?
etni, ᵛ HIP, “there”
ēbrīs, ṣopi, “the south”
ēbrīs, ṣopi, “yellow”
twīl, ᶠ BHA, “sheep pen”
ēšīl, ᶠ HIP, “to pray”
šir, ṣopi, “friend”
ši ššim, ᵇI ṣopi, “to prophesy”
išriši, ṣopi, “dowry”
andīf, ᶠ ENTH, “weeds”
abasīd (Zeniya, al-’Araki), ṣepes, “to the ground”
šalid, ṣepes, “bride” (Sahidic form)
Jerīf, ṣepes, “hunter”
halīd, ᶠ LAHT, “bird”
atīf, ᶠ HIP, “hammer”
awīr, ṣopsh, “how much?”
wasnīd, ᶠ RNTH, “blacksmith”
anzīb, ᶠ NHR, “school”
amalīf, ᶠ LAH, “embrace”
samanīf, ᶠ AMENH, “behind him”
wahsahndīf, ᶠ ṣepes, “to supply it”
aowīf, ṣopi, “his end”
šišīnī, ᶠ NHR, “contend”

29. The letter ṣ is called ṣe, as given by Stern, not ṣ, as given by Steindorff. Nevertheless, in Coptic words it is always pronounced a/a, whether accented or unaccented:

hāmsī, ᶠ EMCHI ṣa ṣanāh, ᶠ WA EMN
nanāf, ᶠ ENN ṣab ehmōd, ᶠ EN PHOT
dašāri, ᶠ ṣ ṣEPI afa- ᶠ E-
tōlāb (shifted accent), ᶠ ṣ ALER bōk ba, ᶠ AQ /terms
nāh, ᶠ EN

This value is as old as the Chassinat text (Worrell, Coptic Sounds, p. 127). In two words some hesitation was noted: sa, se, šir (sic!), ᶠ CE; ēdbax, ᶠ TFE. In Greek words ṣ is pronounced both a and ṣ, without any apparent reason, such as difference of age as loan words in Coptic:

dorotáos, ᶠ ṣ ṣ thōtos
bnawma, bnēwma, ᶠ ν θ υ θ α

teodokia, ᶠ θ θ ο θ ο ι θ ι θ ο

And yet Coptic is distinguished from Greek in the phrase taj de da, ᶠ ṣA AL ᶠ TE, “this woman however is.” Unlike the ᵇ-words, ṣ-words are not now divided into two classes. In some
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words ε undoubtedly goes back to u, as in ἘΠΩ < *μυρχα, as Albright (p. 44) has pointed out. We may suppose this to be true of māh, ὨΩ, for *ΜΗΩ, the qualitative of ΝΟΥΩ. In such cases ε may have stood for a rounded vowel corresponding to ε and have been more open than the o which was sometimes represented by H.

30. The letter ω is called Ὠ, not o (Stern) nor o (Steindorff); the letter ο is called ὸω, not o (Stern, Steindorff); ΟΥ is not recognized as a letter, and so has no name, though it may be regarded as a letter in this discussion. (For consonantal ΟΥ see discussion § 47.) Both the names and the values of these letters are greatly confused; and I have been unable to discover any principles involved. Neither the phonetic situation in a given case nor the difference between Coptic and Greek words seems to govern the values. The tendency toward u/ϋ is not so marked as in the Chassidat text (Worrell, Coptic Sounds, p. 127). ω in an open syllable is ὸω/ϋυ or U. ο in an open syllable is o, ὸω, u (even when now unaccented), and Ὠ. ΟΥ in an open syllable is Ὠ, υ (unaccented), and Ὠ. ο in a shut syllable is ὸ (doubly shut) and ω. ο in a shut syllable is o (now unaccented), Ὠ, υ (now unaccented), and Ὠ. ΟΥ in a shut syllable is υ or Ὠ. For convenience these statements are tabulated:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Open Syllable</th>
<th>Shut Syllable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ω</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>ο</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>ο</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

- amašōw, ἀμασώ
- o bēri, ο βηρι
- brōfidas, φροφίδης
- bī-hōw, πρό-ο
- daḫu, ταχρο
- bī-ru, προ
- hūde, ḍte
- ebnūdī (Farshut), ἐβνοῦ
t+1
- nōf (Farshut), ΝΟΥΩ
- Uhór, ΟΥΣΩΡ

EBNÜDI, ΦΝΟΥ†
AFTER, ΕΧΩΡΩ
EKVÖK, ΚΡΩΚ
HODHAD, ΗΟΤΒΕΤ
KATAMAROS, ΚΑΤΑΜΕΡΟΣ
WURWÁR, ΒΟΡΒΕΡ
SALLUD, ΣΛΟΔ
JAMUL, ΙΧΜΟΥΑ
HUN, ΗΟΥΝ
31. The letter ι in Greek words is pronounced ἴ: nín, νῦ, φίλη.

32. The letter i is called jōda (so also Steindorff), not joda (Stern). (For consonantal i see discussion under consonants, § 55). It is pronounced i in accented open syllables, otherwise ι, which for convenience we have for the most part represented by i. Examples: αφὶ, άξι; αφίμι, άξιμι; διμί, ἵμι; ρίμι, πίμι; σίμι, άμι. βί-, δί-, ι-, τί-, ι-, ήί; ήρίμι, ζιπήμι, ελπήμι: φίδκ, δίτκ. Exceptions: hidan, 2ίτεν (because once pronounced *hidán?); biru, ΠΠΟ (because properly and usually pronounced birū); τεοδοκία, ἑορτοκία (unexplained); ίς, ΊC (because of strong accent). Albright has shown (pp. 18, 50) that original *ū became i instead of H in ΚΠΙΤ, ΟΠΠ, and ΠΠ, which contain Π. Since ι must have represented a closer vowel than H, if H < *ū was ō (see above, § 24), then perhaps I < *ū was ū. ἱμί, ΙΗΙΙ ( < *ήμι < *ήματ; plural, ΙΗΙΟΙ < *ήμωι < *ήμωιάτ [Vycichl]) seems to have such an I < *u. Cf. ΑΛΒΙΤΟΥ, in this volume, “Letters and Documents on Papyrus,” No. 1526r, note 9. I have no examples of the Zeniya pronunciation of ΚΠΙΤ, ΟΠΠ, and ΠΠ, but it is certain that there is no special class of I-words as there is a special class of H-words.

33. The letter ο is called alfa (so Steindorff, Stern), and is always pronounced a, and, I believe, never ă: αφίμι, άξιμι. To be sure, I have heard ΒΙΜΑ, ΕΤΣ, βι-με anara-, ΒΙΜΑ, ΕΗΕΡΕ-, where the series of epsilons with value a has led to dissimilation of ο to epsilon with a Greek (?) value.

34. The letters which at present are given the value of stop consonants are Π, Φ, Β, Τ, Τ, Α, Τ, Θ, Κ, Ξ, Χ, and Χ. Of these Τ, Τ, and Ξ are monograms for ΤΙΣ, ΤΙ, and ΚΧ, respectively: Α has the same value as Τ; and Β when final has the same value as Π; so there remain but seven stops: Π, Φ, Τ, Θ, Κ, Χ, and Χ. (Γ and Σ are no longer stops but fricatives.) Π, Φ, Τ, and Χ are voiced: b, d, ñ. We have thought that at times that these were half-voiced (voiceless but unaspirated): β, d, ñ; but Vycichl is now of the opinion that this is a mistake, and accordingly I have everywhere written b, d, ñ.
35. The letter Π is called bej (Stern, bēi; Steindorff, bi); the letter ϕ is called fij (Stern, féi; Steindorff, fii). Both have the value b, doubtless because there is no p in Arabic: baj be, ϕαί πη. (Cf. taj de, ΦΑΙ ΤΕ, in which the t has been preserved because there is a t in Arabic.) It is therefore unnecessary to suppose that baj is a survival of Sahidic παί. ἐδβαι, ἐβραι, δι-άβε are Bohairic forms, ΦΕ, ΦΗ, ΦΑΦΕ. The wrong pronunciation of ϕ as f may be due to an attempt to pronounce p and knowledge that ϕ should not be pronounced b. When final the letter b (see below, § 45) is pronounced b, though its usual value is w: wab, ΟΥΑΒ: ῥάβσπι, πάββι.

36. The letter ⱥ is called ébsi (Stern, bséi, ebsi; Steindorff, epsi), and is pronounced bs.

37. The letter Τ is called daũ (Stern, dau; Steindorff, daũ). It has the value d in Coptic words. However, ωομτ is heard as ἄομτ and ἄομδ, if not ἀομδ. The letter Θ is called títte (Stern, thida, deida; Steindorff, tida). It has the value t in Coptic words. (The value τ is Greek.) Examples: eton, ΘΟΜΝ, “whither”; htou, ΤΟΟΥ, entok, ΘΘΟΚ; taj, ΘΑΙ. The precision of distinction between Τ and Θ is remarkable, being observed even in tōláb, ΘΟΛΑΘ, where the accent has shifted. In Greek words both Θ and Τ are t in accented syllables, following the Bohairic rule (Stern, § 19), but otherwise d. Examples: dorotáos, Δορωθεός; ἡριστός, Χριστός; τέοδοκια, Θεοτοκία; ταδόρεσ, τάδρος, τάδρος, Θεόδορος.

38. The letter Λ is called dalda (so Stern, Steindorff), and is pronounced d in Greek words, where alone it properly appears. (The value δ is Greek.) When it appears (wrongly) in a Coptic word, it is merely the equivalent of Τ.

39. The letter ⱥ is called dij, di, di (Stern, dei; Steindorff, di).

40. The letter Κ is called kabbα (so Stern, but kappa, Steindorff), and is always pronounced k at the present time: bōk, ΚΙΟΚ, “yours”; entōk, ΚΟΚ. When the invading Arabs in the seventh century established the Arabic spellings of place names in Upper Egypt, presumably they heard the Sahidic pronunciation of Κ and rendered what they heard by Arabic letters in accordance with
their dialectic pronunciation. If their Arabic dialect was like the present one in Upper Egypt,  ز was k and  ج was g. They use  ج (g) and not  ز (k) as the equivalent of ك: قومي = كودك; قنا = كجن; قا = كاهن. The same thing happens in the case of early loan words from Coptic in Arabic, which must have been heard in Upper Egypt, since they have the Sahidic article, ك، before a double consonance: بقرر = كروكرو; كانون = كانون; كارا = كارا. To this early period and region belongs doubtless كاراموس. It seems certain, therefore, that ك was g in Upper Egypt in the seventh century. When these Arabs established the spellings of place names in Lower Egypt, presumably they heard the Bohairic pronunciation of ك and rendered it according to their dialectic pronunciation of Arabic letters. If their dialect was like the present dialect of Cairo,  ز was k and  ج was g. They do in fact use  ج (g) and not  ز (k) for ك in كدووة, كودك (Amélineau, p. 145); nevertheless I find it impossible to cite other examples, perhaps because of our uncertainty of either the Coptic or the Arabic form in the names at our disposal. It is likely that a number of Delta place names have  ج for ك, either because of Upper Egyptian influence or because the Delta Arabs in question spoke a different dialect than the Cairene. Examples: كوان (if this is the same place as that just mentioned); كوارك, كوارك, كوارك, كوارك, Kαρηκ (؟); كوسة, كورس; كورس; كورس. In corroboration of this we find  ج used as equivalent to ك for  ك, ك, ك, Kαρηκ. On the other hand, we find in Upper Egypt ك for ك, ك, ك (توبت), following the Arabic dialect of Cairo. In spite of the fact that ك could be either  ج or  ج in Lower Egypt, it is certain that ك was g and not k at the time these names were first spelled in Arabic letters. But as early as the time of Athanasius of كوس (eleventh century) the letter ك was called кабба, as it is today, with the Arabic letter  ز, which can be nothing but k. The conclusion is that the pronunciation of Coptic ك (regardless of its etymological origin) had changed from g to k. This change seems to be due to the circumstance that  ج was doubtless  ج, as it now is, in Cairo and Alexandria, which invalidated it as a sign for Coptic ك; and  ج was doubtless  ج in Alexandria, which invalidated that letter also as a sign for Coptic ك. There remained only the possi-
bility of using ꞌ for K. Another way of saying it is that there was
go in the Alexandrine Arabic dialect. It is interesting to note
that the Chassinat text (Worrell, *Coptic Sounds*, pp. 130 ff.)
equates K with all three, ḫ, ḫ and ꞌ; the Casanova-Sobhy text,
with two, ḫ and ꞌ; the Galtier text, with ꞌ only. The k-value of K
seems therefore to be due to an Alexandrine spelling, and to have
affected Bohairic only, though Bohairic was afterwards imported
into Upper Egypt.

41. The letter ꞉ is called γamma (so also Stern and Steindorff).

42. The letter ꞅ is called eksí (Stern and Steindorff, exi).

43. The letter ꞇ is called kij (Stern, schëi; Steindorff, kii), is
always pronounced k in Coptic words, and very often in Greek
words also: χωρα, kô; χημι, kâmi; χριμα, krîma; εγγα, áuka;
γγα, bsîka; χορα, kôra. But in some Greek words the Greek
value is given: ἀρξη, árši; χρικτος, ἅσις. Greek value in a
Coptic word is very unusual and may be regarded as due to influence
of the “reform” school, or to ignorance of the tradition in
regard to that word. In the literary Arabic, accepted in Syria as
well as Egypt, there is an old stratum of Greek words in which
χ is represented by ꞌ: χώρα, ἱππος; χημία, κυπη; χωλός, ἱππος;
χόνδρος, ἅρμ; ἀρχων, ἢρκων (magical texts). These could not have
been taken over from Greek into Arabic directly, as late as the
seventh century, for by that time certainly χ was ꞌ. They were,
then, taken over into Arabic from some other language, such as
Coptic or Syriac, in which they had previously been lodged, at a
time when χ was still k. Such words, of which there are many in
the Syriac lexicon, are usually written with a letter which may be
read as either k or ꞌ, and this should be indicated by pointing; but,
unfortunately, the pointing is usually omitted, and, where it is
given, it is not always the same, so that we cannot be sure of the
Syriac value.

44. The letter ꞇ is called ḫa (Stern, Steindorff, dschand-
scha), and is pronounced ꞉. In the “reform” pronunciation it is
called ganga (in French spelling, guangua), and is pronounced ꞉;
but this is plainly the result of Cairene pronunciation of ꞉ as ꞉.
All genuine tradition has been lost, the Coptic letter has been
mechanically equated with the Arabic letter, and both are pronounced in the elegant Cairene fashion, in circles which despire the villages, the peasants, and Upper Egypt. In Luxor Arabic \( \check{z} > d \) before \( \check{s} \): dës for Jëš; dahs for Jahs; dûs < *Jûs < *gûs = Kuros; and this may have been carried over from Coptic.

45. The letters which at present are given the value of fricatives are \( \mathbf{b} \) (when not final), \( \mathbf{y} \) (in combination, \( \mathbf{y} \)), \( \mathbf{q} \), \( \mathbf{f} \) (properly in Greek words only), \( \mathbf{c} \), \( \mathbf{q} \), \( \delta \), \( \chi \) (properly in Greek words only), \( \mathbf{z} \), \( \mathbf{i} \), \( \Gamma \) (properly in Greek words only), \( \mathbf{b} \), and \( \mathbf{z} \).

46. The letter \( \mathbf{b} \) is called bëda or vëda (Stern, vida, vëda; Steindorff, vida), and is pronounced \( w \), possibly \( \beta \), \( v \), and \( b \). The most common pronunciation is \( w \), instead of which I think I have heard \( \beta \), though Vycichl thinks not. \( v \) undoubtedly occurs, e.g. in ekvök, \( \underline{\text{brdk}} \). Bilabial fricatives are as foreign to Arabic as the dentilarbial \( v \). Arabic influence would change \( \beta \) to \( w \) and not to \( v \). Though the \( v \) remains unexplained, it is more probably derived from \( \beta \) than from \( w \), and \( \beta \) is probably the original sound. Example: wurwar, \( \underline{\text{boprep}} \). At the end of a syllable \( \mathbf{b} \) is always \( \beta \), as has long been observed (Stern, § 30).

47. The letter \( \mathbf{y} \) is called ha or he (Stern, \( ê \), he; Steindorff, he), with an \( h \) derived from the use of this sign, or a similar one, to represent \( \text{h} \) in Old Coptic (Vycichl). The combination \( \mathbf{y} \) has no name. It functions as a consonant with a following vowel, and both \( \mathbf{y} \) and \( \mathbf{y} \) function as a consonant with a preceding vowel; and they have in all cases the value of \( w \): wos, \( \mathbf{y} \omega \); ahow, \( \underline{\text{goyo}} \); bawma, \( \underline{\text{nygma}} \). But some, \( \underline{\text{goyh}} \), sometimes sounds like soun, and even, with shift of accent, sœ\( \mathbf{u} \). The third is regarded as bad, though it is common in the "reform" pronunciation. The second is probably due to the difficulty of the combination, and leads to the third through too much emphasis. \( \underline{\text{goyo}} \) is also heard as ahûwâ, possibly under the influence of Arabic words like \( \text{ziw} \). After \( o \) or \( ð \) the \( w \) is sometimes lost: hô, hû, \( \underline{\text{goyo}} \); mô, \( \underline{\text{godoy}} \). In the Greek-Latin name Klaudios the \( w \) is lost after \( \alpha \) just as it is lost in Luxor Arabic: fagâni, \( \text{faw} \). \( \mathbf{y} \) is \( v \) in the Greek-Hebrew name lävi, \( \Delta \nu \), "Levy." The difficult combination \( \mathbf{v} \) is pronounced \( \mathbf{ij} \).
48. The letter Ϝ is called ḥāj (Stern, fa); Steindorff, fāi), and is pronounced f, not φ, though at times I have thought I heard φ. The original sound was probably φ, since Ϝ is often confused with θ in Coptic texts (Worrell, Coptic Sounds, p. 99); and there are traces of this as late as the Chassinat text (ibid., p. 131), but no later. Under Arabic influence θ became w and Ϝ became f. Examples are given above, passim.

49. The letter φ has been discussed above (§ 35) as a stop in Coptic words. As a fricative, f, it can properly occur in Greek words only: file, φυλή; eftalim, εφταλιμ (proper name, Heb.?).

50. The letter Ϫ is called ṣaj (Stern, schai; Steindorff, shāi), and is pronounced ʂ. It is assimilated to a following x, becoming ş, in maṣḥ, μαςχ. It is assimilated to a following c in basēns, παςχάνε (Fayyum).

51. The letter ś is called sāmma (Stern, sima, same; Steindorff, sīma), and is pronounced s in all but a very few cases. It is palatalized to š, without any reason other than the presence of a front vowel, in the one word ši, σε, "yes." It is assimilated to a preceding Ϫ in the word bašānś, παςχάνε (Cairo), and to a preceding ʃ (š) in šoš, δος; ʃiši, δίς; adšōši, κτζόκι (Parshut). It is pronounced s in certain proper names in which š is the sound in the Hebrew original: šemeôn, κυμηθν, ṣeṣ; aššēr, ἀκηπ, ὣς.

52. The letter ʃ is called sīma (Stern, Steindorff, schima), and is pronounced š: ši, ʃi; ʃōš, δος. This value is not yet developed in the Chassinat text, where ʃ is still c or f, and is represented by Arabic ʃ (Worrell, Coptic Sounds, p. 130). The Casanova-Sobhy text does not contain ʃ. In the Galtier text ʃ is already š (ibid., p. 137). The change from c/f to š is doubtless due to Arabic influence; cf. Turkish cakuc > Arabic šākūš.

53. ʃ before i and ῥ < ai in Greek words is pronounced š: aršiāŋjelοs, ἀρχιαγγελος; šāra, χαῖρε.

54. The letter z is called zāda (Stern, zida, zade; Steindorff, sita, i.e. zita) and is pronounced z, both in Greek words, where it often occurs, and in the word αινζβ, where its occurrence is unexplained, since z vanished in Middle Egyptian. Z sometimes occurs barbarously in other Coptic words. In the Theban mis-
spellings (Worrell, *Coptic Sounds*, p. 114) Greek ζ is represented by the letter C. In the Chassinat text (ibid., p. 130) Arabic z is represented by the letter C only; in the Casanova-Sobhy text (ibid., p. 136), by the letter Z as well as C. Clearly both Z and C were in early Coptic texts to be pronounced s, except perhaps when and where the reader or the writer could pronounce the sound z. But the Greek sound ζ finally came into use, and the letter Z was finally equated with the Arabic letter z.

55. I before a more sonorous vowel in the same syllable becomes a consonant, j: βαγόν, ΠΑΙΩΤ; μή, ΜΗ; ह्जे, जह्ब, जनह. After a more sonorous vowel, even a long one, in the same syllable, it is a consonant: δαννόй, ΤΑΝΝΟΙ; σός, ΣΟΪ; ού, ΟΙ; ΚΩΥ; θράγ, ΘΡΗ; majni, ΜΗΝΙΝ. But in this position it may disappear when followed by another consonant, especially when the consonant is in the same syllable: ωνι, ΟΥΙΝΙ; ὄ, ΟΙΚ; शो, शोइ (pupils of the ‘arif Muḥārib, in al-Askari, about four miles south of Farshut). Consonantal I is frequently not heard before H in इस्, इहस.".

56. I occurs in Greek words only, or in other foreign words, through Greek, and not in Coptic words or elements, such as are found in Sahidic (Stern, §§ 21, 389, 441); and it then follows the Greek rule, ĝ before back vowels, gj before front vowels, so far as observed. A preceding I, in either case, is pronouncedῇ, as in Greek. à is treated as a back vowel when it represents Α, but as a front vowel when it represents Ε, showing that the tradition is Greek, unmodified by the Coptic pronunciation of E as a. Possibly gj is really ĝ. Examples: ἀγατός, ἀγάθος; θαλάσσως, θαλάσσω; ἱβρικός, ΧΑΡΘΗ; awangjalisdas, εὐαγγελιστής; ἄρσιαγγέλεος, ἄρχαγγελος. The pronunciation of I as J is due to Cairene pronunciation of Τ as g: Ἰάδ, ΓΑΑ, proper name.

57. The letter ḫ is called ḫάj (Stern, chai; Steindorff, chāi), and is pronounced ḫ, never ç: ἤνθαρ, ἤντη; ḫαν, ḫούν.

58. X before back vowels or before r in Greek words is pronounced ḥ: ὑρθον, ἀρχων; ἅριστος, χριστός.

59. The letter γ is called hori (Stern, huri; Steindorff, hori), and is pronounced h: ἡτον, ἡρο. Rarely it is ḥ: ἀγο inh, ἐκχωργ. It disappears in the word anā, ἐκεν.
60. The letter Λ is called lōla (so Steindorff, Stern, lola), and is pronounced l, with no noted peculiarities.

61. The letter Μ is called mēj (Stern, méi; Steindorff, mî), and is pronounced m. Initial doubled Μ with prothetic vowel, i.e. ΜΜ is pronounced as m by the pupils of the ʿarīf Muḥārib in al-ʿAraki: mon, ʿMON. See Worrell, Coptic Sounds, p. 111, ΜΟ, ΜΟΚ, ΜΟQ.

62. The letter Ν is called niʾ (Stern, néi; Steindorff, ni), and is pronounced n. Before b (v) it is not assimilated (m): ʿan biʾaj, ʿEN MIH. Before k (K) it is assimilated (ŋ): dojk, ƬGTK. Both of these occurrences are seemingly contrary to rule; but the first is fairly common in manuscripts and documents, and the second is probably concealed by the spelling (ibid., pp. 79, 80 on ΝΓ = n).

63. Γ before d (Λ) is pronounced n; smarandōs, σμάρανδος.

64. The letter Π is called rōw (Stern, ro; Steindorff, rōu), and is pronounced r (tip-tongue trill).

65. From the time when Coptic ceased to be commonly spoken down almost, if not quite, to the present day, there has existed a sort of artificial Coptic, propagated in the school and affected in the occasional ambitious household, as well as a limited Coptic-Arabic jargon, more or less known to all Copts. The school and house Coptic, though closely related to sacred texts, is not entirely derived from them, nor entirely artificial, but to a considerable extent reveals an unbroken tradition from the days of living Coptic. This is evident from many facts that appear in the foregoing paragraphs; but the most striking are: (1) traces of non-Bohairic phonology and vocabulary; (2) distinction between two varieties of Η; (3) distinction between Coptic and Greek χ; (4) distinction between aspirated and unaspirated t; (5) distinction between words with and without β between the last two consonants; (6) special values for final Β and Τ; (7) tenth-century accentuation. All of these agree with known facts, or at least are not contradicted by known facts, in regard to the pronunciation of Coptic; and none of them appear to be due to Arabic influence.

66. The theory of early Coptic pronunciation outlined in Worrell, Coptic Sounds, is corroborated by the modern evidence except for the following points: (1) modern pronunciation of
Coptic, when it follows the "old" school, is not nearly so much Arabicized and not nearly so arbitrary as was supposed; (2) the "reform" pronunciation has introduced errors and confusion; (3) certain radical changes go back at least to the tenth century; (4) certain of the Greek letters were originally taken over with values other than what we have supposed them to have had in the Greek of that time; (5) the values of all the Coptic vowel letters are doubtful, with the exception of Α; (6) Η, and possibly Ι, had two sounds, one rounded, the other unrounded.

67. A considerable number of Coptic words, including Greek loans words in Coptic, have passed over into Egyptian Arabic. Some have gained currency outside Egypt, in another vernacular, or in the classical language; and occasionally one has passed into a European tongue. The extent of this vocabulary has never been determined. From time to time some writer has called attention to it in a paragraph or a footnote (Stern, p. 5; Spitta-Bey, p. x). Dr. George Sobhy has published several articles (AE, 1921, pp. 70-75; ibid., 1922-23, pp. 47-49; JEA, 16 [1930], 4), and has very kindly sent me additional material in manuscript. No one has attempted to list all the cult words occurring in religious texts. On the other hand, many of the words listed must be reconsidered or rejected. Some are quite plainly Arabic, others are related to Coptic through Egyptian, still others are imitative. Frequently the Coptic or Arabic word, given without reference or source or the meaning of the word, cannot be found elsewhere. Misprints and lack of vocalization add to the difficulty. In one list the following Coptic words and meanings are given: ΧΩΡ, ΧΑΡΧΕΩ (i.e. ΧΩΡΧΕΩ, "to burn," etc.), "cold"; ΛΗΘ, ΛΗΘΕ (ΕΜΗΘ, "anvil"? ΛΗΘΕ, "carpenter"?), "whip"; ΕΛΩ, ΕΛΕΩ, ΕΛΕΘΑΘΕΩ, (i.e. ΕΛΘΩ, "loosen," etc.?, ΕΟΥΕΘΟΥΘΩ, "beaten," etc.?), "to be wet, wetted"; ΟΥΩΘΙΝΩ ("light," "harp"), "big date palm." Egyptian or Coptic origin is supposed for ΣΟΔΑ, "headache" (nomen morbi of ṣaḍa’a, "to split"); ΜΙΣΑΝΝΑ, "basket" (nomen instrumenti of ṣanna, "to scatter"); ΜΕΔΗΜΑΣ, a kind of baked beans (Lane, Chap. V; II participle passive of damasa, "to bury"); BARRA, "outside" (adverbial accusative of bar, "open country"); without munation, like marhaba, qabella); MA’DIJ, "ferryboat" (from some such form as ma’då, "passage").
like ḏahabija, ḥsqīja, ḥṣnafija, ẓamsija, etc.). Great labor is involved in working through these lists, but it is justified by the hope of finding valuable material. No good, however, can come of publishing the rejected items, or the reasons for rejecting them, when these reasons are perfectly plain. When there is reasonable doubt they should be discussed. Accordingly I have included in the following list, along with items noted by Vycichl, such other published items as seemed to me interesting and valid. In general, only Coptic or Greek-Coptic words have been included, not Egyptian words without known Coptic form. Some words have been included which can hardly be said to have passed over into Arabic, for they occur only in songs or sayings, and are not freely employed, although their meaning is known.

68. This list is indexed according to the Arabic word and the order of letters in the Arabic alphabet. The necessities of the case have led in some instances to the use of Arabic type, in others, to the use of phonetic transcription. At the end of each item there stand in parenthesis the names of those who have suggested the identification in some way; though often the suggestion could be used only by modifying the Coptic, or the Arabic, or the definition, or the explanation.

COPTIC AND GREEK LOAN WORDS IN ARABIC


abīb, ابن, “name of a month,” in Egypt only, well known, from ἐπιθη (Boh.; Sah.), not from ἐπιθή, ἐπιθή. (Many)

al-ʿimāra, “cry of boatman on the Nile when their boat sticks in the mud,” in Egypt only, not cited by dictionaries, from ἀλείμα, “the mud,” ἀλατις (fem.), “mud,” with prefixed and suffixed Arabic ā, “alas” (Spitta-Bey, § 30, 10). (Sobhy)

aḥbija, ḥebija, جبية, “book of prayers according to hours,” in Egypt only, not cited by dictionaries, from ἀχτή- (Boh.), “hour” so-and-so, interpreted as ḥebija, “pocket prayer book,”
from Jēb, "pocket," or as wāžibija, "necessarium," from wāžib, "incumbent upon." (Sobhy, Vycichl)

úrḥun, plural arāḫna, "choir leader," in Egypt only, not cited by dictionaries, from ḫrpwy, "leader," a late loan because χ > ḫ, not necessarily through Coptic. (Vycichl)

aklet al-luhūm, "weasel," literally: "she who eats meats," in Egypt only, not cited by dictionaries, from AKAH (Boh.), "weasel." (Vycichl)

úṣguf, استَغْفُ, "bishop," classical and general vernacular, well known, from *E-T-I-I CΚΩΠΙ < *EΠΙΚΩΠΙΣ < επίσκοπος, "bishop," the E-TI understood as preposition and article (like stambūl < ek πλην πόλις), the vocative Ε discharged as feminine, the final ι > ı because there is no p in Arabic. (Vycichl)

iṣṭūm, "dam," in Egypt only, not cited by dictionaries, from WΟ-ΟΗ, "a thing shutting or shut," confused with στόμα, "mouth," as we see from the name Ishtūm Hadawi, an opening between Lake Manzala and the sea. (Sobhy, Vycichl)

الرضاعين, "prescriptions," Egypt only, cited by Elias as meaning "pharmacology," from γραφίδων, "stylus," "registry office," apparently not in papyrus Greek (Preisigke), early loan because - Tuν > - Har (if so pronounced), through Coptic because Φ > b, and ι > *H > ą, through Upper Egypt because r > ą. On the other hand, δ > ą is late and shows direct contact with Greek. (Sobhy)

labet al-āl, "a game with pebbles," in Egypt only, not cited by dictionaries, from ΑΑ, "pebbles." (Sobhy)

amba, ṡl, "a title of the clergy," in Egypt only, well known but cited only by Spiro, from ARBA (Boh.) or ΑΠΑ (Sah.) if the ι was doubled in pronunciation (see § 19). On the analogy of ṣl, ambā, from ṣl, and all Arabic words spelled with nb and pronounced with mb (Wahrmund), this word was written ṣl, though doubtless pronounced as *amba. Now Coptic *amba for Aramaic abba is analogous to Greek (LXX) ἀμβακοῦμα for Hebrew *ḥab-bāqāq. But in the Sahidic of Ṣene (Worrell, Freer Collection, p. 149) we have ΛΑΚΟΥΗ for *ΑΒΡΑΚΟΥΗ; and in modern Upper Egyptian pronunciation of Bohairic we have rāwi for PARBI (§ 35), showing that BB in Upper Egypt was not mb. Therefore the mb in *amba may have arisen from the doubled (?) b in Sahidic ΑΠΑ, or from Bohairic BB as heard in Lower Egypt. (Many)
TRADITIONS OF THE COPTIC LANGUAGE

“pulpit,” in Egypt only, not cited by dictionaries, from ἀμπόν, “pulpit,” not found in papyrus Greek (Presigke). (Sobhy)

ἐμήρ, mār, ἐμήρ, “name of a month,” in Egypt only, well known, from Ἑμήρ, not from Ἐμήρ (both are Sah., Boh.), nor from μεχίρ. The other Sahidic form, Ἐμήρ, and the modern Coptic form, Ἐχίρ, are derived from the Greek form, which is derived from Egyptian mār. A violent storm which occurs in this month (February) is called by the peasants of Luxor ἐρ mār, “the wedding of Ἐμήρ,” perhaps thought of as a demon (Vycichl). (Many)

ἀμαντί, “the underworld,” in Egypt only, not cited by the dictionaries, from ἀμαντί, “the underworld.” The expression is rare. (Sobhy)

ἐμνῖτ, mānīt, “sexton,” in Egypt only, not cited by the dictionaries, from Ἐνούτ, “porter,” thought of as derived from Arabic امتن، “because the sexton must be trustworthy.” (Vycichl)

ἀμάτ, bamät (Vycichl: Luxor, Ἑνηφαία), ἐματ (Spino), “a kind of date” (Vycichl), “soft black dates” (Spino), in Egypt only, cited by Spino, apparently from Π-Ἀμάτ, which, however, is known only in the sense of “white clay” (ΟΜΕ + ΤΑ), not impossible, considering the fanciful character of trade names. (Vycichl)

ἀντίτ, bantāt, “part of a plough,” in Egypt only, not cited by dictionaries, apparently from Π-Ἀνόωτ (form given by peasant), otherwise unknown. See Winkler, p. 156: In Bilbeis bantāt means “Querflock in der Grindelverlängerung (Grindel).” (Vycichl)

αὐσίζα, “versicle,” “prayer,” in Egypt only, not cited by dictionaries, from αὐσίζα, “prayer,” late loan because χ > š. (Sobhy, Vycichl)

ἄολογος, “bread for blessing,” in Egypt only, not cited by dictionaries, from άολογος, “bread of blessing” (BMC, p. 347a, note), from αὐλογία, “blessing” (N. T.). (Sobhy)

ἀόομα, heard only in the song: “Oni, oni! O mill of the hand mill!,” from ένει, “mill.” (Sobhy)

βαβέ, βαβέ (Edfu, Kom Ombo), βαβέ (Ababde), “name of a month,” in Egypt only, well known. βαβέ is from some Upper Egyptian form like ΠΑΠΕ rather than from Sahidic ΠΑΠΕ
or Bohairic 

or the Greek form 

bâg, bâ, bâ, "land used for clover or beans," in Egypt only, not cited by dictionaries, from 

(Many)

bêrûm, "name of a pole, part of a plough," in Egypt only, not cited by dictionaries, possibly from Sahidic 

bêrûm, "the staff." See Winkler, p. 155: In Nazlet 'Abdilhe badrûm, in Mellawi baFrûm, means "Griessâule." (Vycichl)

birbe (Dozy, Stern), "temple ruin," in Egypt only, well known, cited by Dozy, Hava, Spiro, from 

(Many)

birûm (Dozy, Wahrmund, Elias), barsûm (Hava, Spiro), 

clover," "clover seed" (Wahrmund), "alfalfa field" (Dozy), in Egypt only, well known, from 

in Egypt only, well known, from 

burš (Upper Egypt: Vycichl; Dozy, Spiro, Sobhy), birš (Fayyum: Vycichl), "palm mat," cited by Dozy, Elias, Spiro), from 

from 

baramhât, birehmât (Luxor, Ababde), "name of a month," in Egypt only, well known, from 

(Many)

barmûda, baramûde, barhamûda (Luxor), barhamûde, "name of a month," in Egypt only, well known, from 

(Many)
bărūbiya, بروية, vulgar (plural) bărā'īb, برائ, "land used for grain," in Egypt only, not cited in the dictionaries, except labīb, from ṭī-phaltwī, "the stubble," not a mere transcription by Labīb (Crum, Coptic Dict., p. 306), for there is a broken plural. (Stern < Wüstenfeld)

bsārīja (Vycichl), bsārija, absārija (Dozy), bsārja (Spiro), 
 Ethiopian, "fish" (Vycichl), "several sorts of fish" (Dozy), "small fish" (Spiro), in Egypt only, cited by Dozy and Spiro, from *ṭī-čari < ḍāma, "relishes," "salt fish," in papyrus Greek (Preisigke). (Vycichl)

bīša, "part of a plow" (Vycichl), "handle or edge of a plow" (Sobhy), in Egypt only, not cited by the dictionaries, from ṭī-cji (Boh.), "plow handle" (Crum, Coptic Dict.), "iron implement" (Spiegelberg). See Winkler, p. 155: In Manārīsh and other places bīša, in Fidimin bišhe (always with s, not s) means "Sohle." (Vycichl)

bašrōš (Vycichl), bašarōs (Spiro), بشارش, "flamingo," in Egypt only, cited by Spiro, possibly from *baššarōs < *badšarōs < *badrašrōs < *badtrašrōs, -pagination- < *badtrašrōs, -pagination- (Boh., qual.), "he who has grown red." (Vycichl; cf. Crum, Coptic Dict., p. 432)

bașēns (Luxor, Esne, Edfu, Aswān, Cairo), بسنس, basēns (Fayyum), basēms (Minya, Sohag, Asyut), bašēns (Qena)—the form in each case corresponding to the local form of sun, "name of a month," in Egypt only, well known, from some Upper Egyptian form like *pawma rather than from Sahidic or Bohairic pawmnc, or the Greek form παράν, which is from the Egyptian ṭm-ḥnw. (Many)

būtrūš (Vycichl), bāṭrah (Dozy), بقره, "roe," "caviar," in Syria as well as Egypt, passed into Italian and Provençal, cited by Dozy, Hava, Elias, and Spiro, from ṭī- and ταπίχων, "little preserved fish." The word has passed through Coptic because it has the article ṭī-. χ is ḫ, not because the word is a late loan, but because ḫ (k) is followed by l. (Many)

bišāra (Vycichl: Fayyum), bašāra (Sobhy), بسارة, "a dish made of beans," "pure of beans," not cited by any of the dictionaries, from *pēc-arp < pēce, "to cook," and ṣarp (Sah.), "beans," assimilated to the measures fiʿala and faʿala. The concoction contains mallow in the Fayyum and peas in Minya. From
bişāra is derived the expression jibajšar, "he eats bişāra." (Sobhy Vycichl)

ba'tūr (Cairo), "frog," probably in Egypt only, cited by Dozy < Fleischer (in AZ, 2 [1864], p. 84), from πέρπορφ (Sah.), "the frog." (Fleischer, Dozy, Vycichl)

bugsumāt, ḥṣāsus, ḥṣāsus (Dozy), "toast," "Zwieback," "biscuit," probably in Egypt only, cited by Dozy, Wahrmund, from παξαμάδιον (Dozy), "a little biscuit," but not found in papyrus Greek (Preisigke). Coptic mediation uncertain, but indicated by δ > δ, which implies δ > τ > ʿ. (Dozy, Vycichl)

ba'lula (Vycichl: Delta, Fayyum), "pot," cited by Elias only, and then with the strange meanings "air cell," "bell," "bubble"; from πεῖραλα (Boh.), "pitcher," "jar," rather than from ΚΕΛΩΑ, ΚΩΓΑΛΑ (Sah., Boh.), ΚΟΛΩΑ (Sah.), ΚΕΛΩΑ, ΧΛΩΑ (Boh.), or ΚΕΛΩΑ (Boh.). But ΚΕΛΩΑ may be the source of ΚΕΛΩΑ and then of the singular, δι; and ΠΕΔΡΩΑ may be the source of ΠΕΔΡΩΑ. But ΠΕΔΡΩΑ is apparently from βανδίαν (Dozy). Vycichl's man described the pot as bottle-shaped, with two handles. (Spiegelberg Griffith; Vycichl)

balṣūm, balṣūn (Dozy), balṣūm, balṣūn (Wahrmund), balṣūn (Hava, Elias; Vycichl: Delta), "heron," probably confined to Egypt, from ΠΕΔΡΩΒ (Sah.), "the heron," not from ΗΛΡΩΒ (Boh.), because Χ does not become š. (Dozy < AZ, 6 [1868], 56, 84; Crum, Coptic Dict., Vycichl)

bulṭi, ḫulṭi, "brill," "turbot," "Chromys nilotica" (Dozy < various sources), "pond fish," "river fish" (Elias), "trout" (Spiro), in Egypt only, cited by Dozy and Elias, not of Arabic origin, probably Coptic, but not to be found. Cf. ʿουδ (below) < ΚΕΡΠΕ (Sah.), ΚΟΠΙ (Boh.), in which -ẹ/-ı > Arabic ī instead of the usual ā, and ẹ/-č > Arabic b instead of the usual w/f. (Vycichl)

baḥāl, "to speak jargon," "to bluff," "to lie" (Sobhy), "to speak fast," "to speak much" (Vycichl), especially in the form jibalhem (Vycichl), in Egypt only, not cited by the dictionaries, from ΒΑΛΜΟΥ (Sah.), "Blemmye." Cf. the personal name felhem (below). (Sobhy, Vycichl)

bammāt, see amhāt (above).

behmāt, ḫemāt, "the middle finger," current among old people
in Karnak, not cited by the dictionaries, not Arabic, probably Coptic, but not to be found. Vycichl suggests that it is derived from Egyptian pẖm.t nw, “the third.” The ḫ in this word ḫmt appears, however, as š in ṣwmt. (Vycichl)

būrī, بوري, “fish in general” (Dozy, “fish, the eggs of which are used as caviar (Mugil cephalus)” (Wahrmund), “mullet,” “gudgeon,” “whiting” (Hava), “mullet,” “gray mullet” (Elias), “whiting” (Spiro), “a kind of fish named after Būra, a town of Egypt, between Tanis and Damietta, of which there is now no trace” (Shartūni), well known, found in dictionaries generally, not confined to Egypt, appears as a loan word in Persian, possibly from ṣwmp (Sah.), ṣwpt, *swpt (Boh.), “Mugil cephalus” (Stern, Sobhy, Vycichl, Crum, Coptic Dict.).

būš, بيش, “porridge” (?), mentioned to Vycichl (Delta?), but without definition, in Egypt only, not cited by any of the dictionaries, from ɴ-ʊʊʊ warranties (Boh.) or ɴ-ʊʊʊ (Sah.), “gruel,” (Vycichl, Crum, Coptic Dict.).

ba'ōna (Upper Egypt), ba'ōna (Spiro), ba'awna (Fayyum), بونة, “name of a month,” in Egypt only, well known, from ɴs iş (Sah.) or ɴs (Boh.), not from ɴwati, which was derived from the Bohairic form at a time when w was still ū. (Many)

taff, تف, “to spit,” in Syria as well as Egypt (Hava), but not a literary word, cited by Dozy, Hava, Wahrmund, Elias, Spiro. Though an imitative word, it is apparently derived from <stdlib (Boh.), “spittle.” (Sobhy)

تلل, in the phrase: ana mutaltal, “my nose is running” (Sobhy) or dimāği mutaltila, “I have a cold in the head ” (Spiro), evidently with the meaning “to drip,” though Spiro concludes from his one example (?) that it means “to fill up.” Not given in this meaning by any dictionary except Spiro. تللة in Arabic means “to shake,” “to drive.” The Egyptian colloquial word, therefore, seems to be derived from teṭe (Boh.), ta (Sah.), “to drip,” “to let drop.” (Sobhy)

tōt (Farshut), tūt (Luxor), tawt (Fayyum; cf. Fay. form below), ت (name of a month,” in Egypt only, well known, from ʊʊʊ (Sah.), ʊʊʊ (Boh.), ʊʊʊ (Fay.). The final t in the Arabic form may be due to assimilation, or to the influence
of the Greek form θωάθ (cf. Fay. form above). The Greek form was derived from the Bohairic form at a time when Ṽ was still ū. (Many)

Jarār, جراير, “to frolic,” has nothing to do with Arabic جرجر, “to gurgle,” “to scream” (Wahrmund), “to make a gargling noise” (Elias), “to babble” (Dozy), from (?) ḥẹpery, “to live luxuriously,” “to be voluptuous.” (Vycichl)

ḥālūm (Vycichl: Cairo; Elias, Spiro), ḥālūm (Vycichl, Sobhy, Dozy, Hava), حالوم, حلوم (often preceded by جن, “cheese”), “fresh cheese” (Vycichl: Cairo), “salt cheese” (Dozy, Hava), in Egypt only, from ζάλομ (Sah., not Boh., ζάλομ), “cheese.” (Spitta-Bey, Sobhy, Vycichl)

demīra, دميرة, “inundation,” in Egypt only, cited by Dozy, Hava, Elias, Spiro, from τέμπε (Sah.), “the inundation.” (Sobhy, Vycichl, Spitta-Bey, Crum, Coptic Dict.).
dijāgin, دييكان, “deacon,” in Egypt only, not cited by dictionaries, from θιακονος, διάκωνος. (Vycichl)

rāi, راه, “a kind of fish” (Vycichl: Fayyum), “sardine,” “pilchard” (Hava), in Egypt only, cited by Hava, from ΦΗ, “Alesies dentes.” (Sobhy, Vycichl, Crum, Coptic Dict.).

īmtaz, دماطوس, plural of ḍuma, “a half kēle of grain, which is a quarter wēba, called rubṭija in Fayyum,” in Egypt only, from Asyut to Aswan, not cited by dictionaries, from ṭeq-tay (A, As), “a fourth.” The wēba, not the ardebb and kēle of today, was the basis.
sās, “oakum,” in Egypt only, cited by Dozy, from ζαας (Sah. only), “tow.” (Stern, Crum, Coptic Dict., Dozy: all from De Sacy)

sibāṭa, “pistil of the male palm” (Vycichl), “bunch of dates” (Sobhy), زبالة, “bunch of dates” (Dozy, Elias), in Egypt only, cited by Dozy and Elias, from σιβάθη (Σιβαθ, Σιβαθ, Labib), "palm-leaf stem," "flower sheath," not in the Greek papyri (Pretigke) with this meaning. Rendering of θ by τ (unaspirated τ), and of ε by a, indicated passage through Sahidic Coptic. (Sobhy, Vycichl)

ṣṭaka, "plowing," in Egypt only, not cited by dictionaries, from άκαλ, άκαλ, "to plow." (Sobhy)

samīṯ, "white baked stuff, often strewn with sesame seed" (Vycichl), سيميد, "flour" (Dozy), "white flour" (Elias), سيميد,
"white flour" (Hava), "white bread," "finest flour" (Wahrmund), current outside Egypt, even in Persia. Spiegelberg marks it as foreign, and Wahrmund and Hava mark it as Persian, and Crum, Coptic Dict., equates it with σεμιδάλις. Possibly it may be from ᵐᵉᵈⁱᵗ, "fine flour." (Vycichl, Crum, Coptic Dict.)

ṣāra, "song of praise," in Egypt only, not in the dictionaries, from χερε, χατρε, "hail," by way of Coptic, because of ṣ, which could arise from ε but not from α. On the other hand, ŝ for χ indicates Greek pronunciation. (Vycichl)

išbār, in the phrase išbār alajja, "alas for me," in Egypt only, not cited by dictionaries, without Arabic etymology, possibly from ζεύπη, "wonder." (Sobhy)

šāragi, šārāgī, "not rising" (Nile), "unwatered land," broken plural from šāraqija, in Egypt only, cited by Dozy, Hava, Spiro, from ζαράγκ, "lack of water." (Many)

šgiligl, šgiliql, "bell," not cited by dictionaries, from ζελακλία, "bell." (Vycichl)

šallūṭ (s. of Kena), šallūd (n. of Kena, Farshut), šallūt (Beni Suef), sallūṭ (Luxor, Erment, Esne, Edfu, Kom Ombo, Aswan), šallūṭ (Spiro), "a kick," "turning somersaults in shallow water of Nile," hence the verb šallat (Elías), šallit (Spiro), šalat (Hava), from ᵉάλλοτ, "foot." If Hava is right, this non-Arabic verbal noun has become a Syrian vernacular verb of the form fa'āl, not fa'al. (Sobhy, Vycichl)

šmār (Hava, Elias), šmēr (Spiro, Elias), šmēr (Dozy), "fennel," "caraway" (Vycichl), distribution uncertain, from (?) ζαμαρ or καμαχύπ, "fennel." (Vycichl, Crum, Coptic Dict.)

şammūs, šmūs, "a kind of fish," not cited by dictionaries, said by Coptic peasant to be from ζύμος, apparently a Greek word or form, not cited by dictionaries, not necessarily through Coptic. (Vycichl)

šinfa (Spiro), šanîf (Hava), "measure for hay or straw," "net for straw" (Sobhy), "net sack" (Spiro), "net sack for straw" (Hava), in Egypt only, from ροχνή, "to join." (Sobhy)

šūba (Luxor), šūma (Farshut), šûma (Winkler), šûm (Dozy, Spiro), "stick used by donkey drivers," in Egypt only, no Arabic etymology, may be Coptic. (Vycichl)
šūra, šūrja (Vycichl), šūrja (Sobhy), “censer,” in Egypt only, cited by Dozy, Hava, Spiro, from ḥupyr, “censer.” (Sobhy, Vycichl)

शूरा (वेलान), “epidemic,” in Egypt only, cited by Elias, from (?) ḥupyr, “want,” “need,” “deprivation.” (Sobhy)

šūna (all Egypt), šūnija (Luxor), šōna (Fayyum), शून, “granary” (an enclosed yard in which grain is stored in heaps in the open air), supposedly limited to Egypt, though Hava marks it as Syrian vernacular, cited by Dozy, Wahrmund, Hava, Spiro, from ḥynje, “granary.” In šūna and šūnija ḥn > *iw > ū; in šōna ḥn > *aw > ō. German scheme (≪ OHG scugina) has nothing to do with ḥynje (Eg. śn. t.) (Many)

طلس, “boundary,” said to be current in the district of Deshna, not cited by the dictionaries, has been derived from ο-ου, “boundary,” though the change of a to ō would be most unlikely. (Sobhy)

طيبات, “prayers,” not cited by the dictionaries, from ṭwbr, “to ask.” (Sobhy)

طهامة, “invitation,” “gogaille” (Dozy), in Egypt only, cited only by Dozy, from ṭwbr, “to invite.” (Sobhy)

ṭūba, तूफ़, “name of a month,” in Egypt only, well known, from ṭwbr. The Greek form, τοβα, is derived from Bohairic ṭwbr. (Many)

ṭūrja (Fayyum), ṭūrja (Upper Egypt), तूफ़, “mattock,” “hoe” (Sobhy), “bat” (Dozy), in Egypt only, cited by Dozy, Hava, Elias, from ṭwrb (Sah., because ṭ < ṭ), “spade,” “pick.” Has nothing to do with Latin taurea, Greek ταυρέα, “bull’s-hide whip” (Dozy). (Stern, Sobhy, Vycichl, Crum, Coptic Dict.)

ṭomj (Fayyum), domj (Abydos), tami (Sobhy), “black Nile mud,” not cited by the dictionaries, without Arabic etymology, perhaps connected with ṭomj, “to join,” “to stick to” (Sobhy, Vycichl).

gāšu, “a fish,” not cited by the dictionaries, given by Crum, Coptic Dict., as गोश, from ḋaṣu, “among fish,” given by Coptic peasant as ḍaṣu. (Vycichl, Crum, Coptic Dict.)

gatamāros, gatamāris, Cape, “dictionary,” but also “song book divided into sections,” not cited by the dictionaries, from καταμερος, κατάμερος, “in parts,” “in pieces.” (Vycichl)
gulla, gulleh, ‘ulla, ‘ulle, गूल्ला, see ba’lūla.
gūmμμus, "chief priest," in Egypt only, cited by dictionaries generally, from ΘΡΟΥΜΕΝΟς, ἤρωμενος, "chief." The Greek word was understood as ζι-, "in the presence of" (Crum, Coptic Dict.) + *ΘΡΟΥΜΕΝΟς (though one would expect the article η- between) > gūmμμus, the ε being dropped, and the n assimilated to the following m. Another form, ἑγὼμάνυς, exists. It is taken directly from the Greek form, with ἐ = ἴ.

gūna, قوم, "image," "medal," "eikon," in Syrian vernacular also, cited by Dozy, Wahrmund, Hava, from ζΙΚΩΝ, ΕΙΚΩΝ, < εἰκών, "image." The Greek word was understood as ζι + *κων (without article, as above), and an Arabic feminine ending was added. The borrowing was early, for Κ > ق. (Sobhy, Vycichl)

gēl, قل, "a kind of fish," in Egypt only, cited by Dozy, from ΚΕΛ, ΚΗΛ (plural), "among fish." (Sobhy, Vycichl, Crum, Coptic Dict.)

kalūj, "a kind of fish," not cited by the dictionaries, said by the Coptic peasant to be derived from *ΚΕΛΟΥΧ, which is otherwise unknown. (Vycichl)

klunJ, "bent," "curved," a non-Arabic form, not cited by the dictionaries, evidently related to ΚΩΛΑΧ, "to be bent." ar-rāgil-di bjulduj, "this man limps" (Yassa 'Abd al-Masiḥ). The expression is used by Muslims as well as Copts. (Vycichl)

kjāh (Cairo), kjāh (Kena, Luxor, Esne, Aswan), kijāk (Fayyum), كِيَك, "name of a month," in Egypt only, well known, from ΚΙΛΑΧ (Boh.), ΚΙΛΑΧ (Sah.), ΚΙΛΑΧ (Fay.), ΚΙΛΑΧ (A), given by a Coptic peasant as *ΚΙΛΑΧ. The Cairene and Upper Egyptian forms are derived from Sahidic, the Fayyumic Arabic form, from Fayyumic Coptic. The literary Arabic form is to be understood as *كيك. The Greek form, χοῦκ, is from Bohairic. See footnote to § 18, above. (Many)

libān, "a rope on a boat," "tow rope," in Egypt only, cited by Dozy, Hava, Elias, from ΛΕΒΑΗ, "hauling cable." (Vycichl, Crum, Coptic Dict.)

libsān, labsān (Dozy), "a plant," "mustard seed," cited by Dozy, distribution uncertain, from λάβανη, "mustard," not necessarily through Coptic ΛΑΒΑΗ. (Vycichl)

lebis, ليس, "a Nile fish," "a kind of carp" (Dozy), distribution uncertain, cited by Dozy, from ΑΛΑΒΗ, probably through
ΛΑΒΗC (Sah.), given by a Coptic peasant as ΛΑΒΗC. (Vycichl, Crum, Coptic Dict.)

libṣa, "in talking of sugar cane, it is always counted by the libṣa" (Sobhy); libṣa, plural libaṣ, "a bundle of 25-50 sticks of wood" (Vycichl); "bundle of sugar cane" (Spiro); from λεβής, "fuel," "twigs," etc. The Fayyumic form ΛΑΒΗC is probably the source. It was taken as an Arabic plural, libaṣ, and the Arabic singular, libṣa, was then formed from it. ليبس, "to protect banks with reeds" (Spiro), is derived from the noun. (Sobhy, Vycichl)

libāṣ, "a kind of prayer," in Egypt only, not cited by the dictionaries, from ΛΑΒΗC, "crown," "title of final stanza in certain hymns." (Vycichl)

legān, لقن, قان (Dozy), "stone vessel for washing feet," in Egypt only, cited by Dozy, from ΛΑΚΑΝΗ < λακάνη, "dish," "pot," "pan," possibly via Coptic as an early loan word from Upper Egypt, for Δ > ق. The Arabic dictionaries, including Dozy, cite another word, لقن, "brass basin," evidently derived from λακάνη; and Spiegelberg gives ΛΑΚΗΤ as the form of the Coptic word. (Vycichl)

māris, "portion of land," in Egypt only, not cited by the dictionaries, from ΜΕΠΟC < μέπος, by way of Coptic, since ε > å.

marīsī, "south wind," in Egypt only, cited by the dictionaries generally, from ΜΑΠΙC, "south," with an added Arabic ending. (Many)

misra, "name of a month," in Egypt only, well known, from ΜΕΚΟΦ (Boh., Sah.), "name of a month." The classical Arabic form, مسيرة, was probably at first pronounced *مسيرة. The Greek form is identical with the Bohairic and Sahidic. (Many)

*τῆς, "from here," *τῆς, "from there," not cited by the dictionaries, apparently from ΤΗΝΑI, "here," "to here," ΤΗΝΗ, "there," "to there" (Boh.). But the Arabic preposition مِن is imagined to be a part of the words, and so the meanings are limited to "from here," "from there." (Sobhy)

*mihjās, مهاس, "full of quickness," "busybody" (Sobhy), "bragadocio" (Spiro), in Egypt only; cited by Spiro only, though Elias gives حجمة, "tumult," and وحاس, "to revel," apparently derived from it. mihjās appears to be derived from *ΜΗΘΙΟC, "full of hurry," though the expression is not found. (Sobhy)
nábari (Sobhy), nabári, نابري (Dozy): “We cultivate our field
nabary,’ meaning any of the grains . . .”, “cultivation by irri-
gation,” “maize or herbage so produced” (Dozy), in Egypt only,
cited by Dozy, from ṣafṣati, “grain,” “seed.” (Sobhy)

nōb, “gold,” in the verse: ja hōb ja hōb ja zar en-nōb “Oh
work, oh work, oh golden grain,” from ṣawēk, “gold.” The form
would have been nūb, if it had not been assimilated to hōb. (Sobhy,
Vycichl)

nōš, nūš (Deshna, Girga), نويش, “something very big,” as in
the phrases: ʾadd ennōš, zē en-nōš, in Egypt only, well known but
not cited by the dictionaries, from ṣawē (Sah.). (Spitta-Bey,
Sobhy, Vycichl)

nōša, nūša, نويشة, “fever and convulsions,” “typhoid” (Elias),
in Egypt only, cited by Hava, Elias, Spiero, from ṣawēj, meaning
unknown, but parallel with “stinking,” of disease. (Sobhy)

hatūr, حتور, “name of a month,” in Egypt only, well known,
from ṣawāṣ (Sah., which is the form given by the Coptic peasant),
“name of a month.” The Greek form, ḍhōp was derived from
the Bohairic, ḍhōp, at a time when ṣ was ū. (Many)

hallūs (Dozy), halūs (Wahrmund), “spider’s web” (Dozy),
“spider” (Wahrmund), possibly the source of literary Arabic
نئش, “to waste away,” “to be thin,” and certainly derived from,
or assimilated to, ḍalūc (rare in Boh.), “spider’s web.” The
form hallūs is heard in Cairo (Vycichl). (Spiegelberg, Sobhy,
Vycichl)

hāmmas, hēmmis (Bahgura), “he sat,” “he sat down,” in
Egypt only, not cited by the dictionaries, from ṣawēci (Boh.) or
ṣawēc (Sah.). (Vycichl)

hōjal, “puller of the harrow” (Vycichl), “bolt” (Dozy),
“wooden or iron rake” (Crum, Coptic Dict. from Winkler),
“anchor” (Sobhy), distribution uncertain, cited by Dozy and
Hava, from ḍalāl (Sah.), “anchor,” “hook.” Stern (§ 22)
derives it from ḍakwra. (Sobhy, Vycichl)

hōb, “work,” in the verse: hōb hōb ʿatalni š-sōb, “work, work,
the heat has killed me,” and in the verse cited above under nōb, in
Egypt only, not cited by the dictionaries, from ṣawēb, “work.” The
former verse was heard in the Fayyum; the latter, in Farshut.
(Sobhy, Vycichl)
hōs, "song of praise," in Egypt only, not cited by the dictionaries, from ṭwēc, "to sing," "to make music." (Vycichl)

วาด (Elias), "oasis," in Egypt only, cited by Dozy, Hava, Elias, Spiro, from ʿawāṣ (Sah.), "oasis." (Vycichl, Crum, Coptic Dict.)

วิธี arabic text(66,75),(916,815)

probably *ḥēlehōb, an interjection, not cited by the dictionaries, from ʿawāb, "work," with prefixed Arabic interjection ḥājja and preposition ʿi-, "to." Sobhy's ʿawāb is unattested. (Sobhy)

warṣūr, "saw," in Egypt only, not in the dictionaries, from ʿawāṣyr, "saw," related to Hebrew māṣōr and Arabic minšār. (Sobhy)

wāṭos, "a hymn," "a melody," in Egypt only, not cited by the dictionaries, from ṭaṭoṣ (White, I, 120 ff., 137), from ʿaṭās, "bush," referring to the burning bush of Exodus iii., 2; cf. Ethiopic bāṭos in Dillmann, though not necessarily via Coptic. (Vycichl)

wēba, ṭā'bā, "a grain measure," literary Arabic, well known, probably from ʿawāṭīb (Sah.), pronounced *u-ḏjibe, which gave *u-ḏībā and later *u-ḏībā, not from ʿawāṭīb (Sah.), which would have given *u-ḏībā. Hebrew ʿēfā or Greek ὀdives would have given *aʾībā. Perhaps the initial w is due, not to the Coptic indefinite article, ʿaw-, but to the absence of a glottal stop before the vowel in Coptic. (Stern, Spitta-Bey, Vycichl)