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GREEK LOAN WORDS IN COPTIC

BY

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(In Religion the Br. Rev. Bishop Gregorius)

CONSONANTS

§ 20. a) It is a well-known fact that the explosives in Coptic are neither voiced nor aspirated \( ^{(1)} \). Therefore a Coptic ear was not accustomed to catch the difference between \( \beta \) and \( \pi \), \( \gamma \) and \( \varsigma \), \( \delta \) and \( \tau \) \( ^{(2)} \). We may be certain that, in the general Coptic pronunciation of Greek words, there was no difference between \( \beta \) and \( \pi \), \( \gamma \) and \( \varsigma \), \( \delta \) and \( \tau \). This is why in the writing of Greek words these letters very often replace one another:

\[ \beta \lambda \alpha \tau i \varepsilon \nu \; \text{‘to hinder, to harm’} \Rightarrow \pi \alpha \pi \nu \tau \gamma \varepsilon \ (BMis. \ 531, \ 9 \ \$; \ LMis. \ 85 \ p. \ 1101, \ \ldots) \]

\[ \varphi \rho \alpha \iota \alpha \varepsilon \nu \; \text{‘Lat. praece, crier’} \Rightarrow \varphi \rho \kappa \kappa \omega \nu \; \varphi \rho \kappa \kappa \omega \nu \ (DMen. \ 3, \ a. \ 6 \ \$; \ P.O. \ 9 \ p. \ 69, \ 12 \ B, \ \ldots) \]

\[ \epsilon \rho \gamma \chi \tau \alpha \tau \varepsilon \; \text{‘workman’} \Rightarrow \epsilon \rho \kappa \alpha \tau \gamma \varepsilon \; \epsilon \rho \kappa \alpha \tau \gamma \varepsilon \ (BM. \ 591, \ 5-6. 10-11. F; 598, 4 F; 1230, 9 F; DMen. \ 76, \ 9 \ \$; \ \ldots) \]

\[ \kappa \alpha \rho \pi \delta \; \text{‘fruit’} \Rightarrow \gamma \rho \iota \alpha \iota \varepsilon \ (Thou. \ BR^3 \ p. \ 118, \ 4; \ BR^3 \ p. \ 120, \ 2; 122, \ FR^3, \ 9 \ \$; \ My. \ 116, \ 11 \ \$; \ ICor. \ ix, \ 7 \ F; \ Phil. \ 1, \ 11 \ F \ (Z. \ 154. a, \ 165. b \ F; \ BM. \ 511 \ p. \ 245. \ b. \ 5 \ (f. \ b.) \ F, \ \ldots) \]

\[ \delta \alpha \iota \eta \omega \varepsilon \; \text{‘demon’} \Rightarrow \tau \alpha \iota \mu \omega \iota \iota \ (Wor. \ 323, \ 18, \ F, \ \ldots) \]

\[ \tau \alpha \xi \varepsilon \; \text{‘order’} \Rightarrow \alpha \lambda \alpha \iota \varepsilon \varepsilon \ (Z. \ 298, \ 3 \ f. \ b. \ \$; \ 304, \ 3, \ 1 \ (f. \ b.) \ \$; \ \ldots) \]


\( ^{(2)} \) W. TULI, Das Koptische Heutiger Stand der Forschung, Orbis, t. 3, N° 2 (Louvain 1954) p. 491 ff.
b) A special case may be β or τ preceded by α. In this case α has influenced the pronunciation of the following τ and this was pronounced voiced. So in Modern Greek μτις is used to transcribe 'b' in a foreign word.

καμμιν 'caterpillar' > καιμιν (Jos. 1, 4 (A)); 2, 25 (A), ... and vice versa κρατύς 'cabbage' > κραμιν, γραμιν (UM. 1095 S; 411 S, ...). κρατος 'lash, iron-comb (?)' is always spelled κουμην (if this equation is correct cf. Cenn. Dict. p. 375 a, 509 b) (HM. 1. 95, 12; 36, 15; ib. 2. 32, 1. 4; 107, 5 S, ...). cf. κουμην (BMarr. 36, 12 f. b. §, ...).

§ 21. a) As ε in classical Saitic was pronounced as a palatalized κ [1] it often replaces Greek γ or χ especially when it precedes a vowel pronounced ε or ο:

γανσον 'trace' > γηνοκ (AZ. 1895 p. 133, 19 S; cf. ib. p. 132, 10 (γηνοκ), ...).

συγγραψαν 'deceit, robbery' > συγγραπψι, συγγραψί (J. 76, 9 S); AZ. 1884 p. 145, 5 S, ...).

καντον 'ink' > κεντος, — ουτος, — ουλος, — ολος (Jos. n. 8. 11. 13. 15 (his) 17; iv, 7. 9. 10. 11. 16. 18; vi, 8. 9. 11. 12. 13; ix, 6; xxiv, 33; Judges xx, 27; Dent. x. 1. 2. 3. 5. 8; xxxi, 9. 26; Gen. xii, 18; Ps. 4xxi, 8; Apos. xi, 19; Z. 209, 2 (f. b.) (all S, ...).

κηπνον 'danger' > κηπανοκ (Syr. xiii, 26 S; PS. 98, 23 S; VC. 7, 7; 110, 31 S; Cl. 18, 28 A; 62, 16 A, ...).

σεμπαν, ειπον [2] a derivative from Lat. cera > κηπα 'wax' not found in Greek. In Coptic it means 'candle, lampstand' (CO. 459, 5-4 f. b.; ST. 125, 2; OMII. 183, 4 (all S, ...).

Very instructive is faciale 'tarban' φαγκριαν > φαγκριαν, φαγκριαν, φαγκραν, φαγκρεν (VC. 52, 1 S; Hyl. 238 col. 2, 22; 243, 19; 246, 5 (all S); Z. 282, 14 S; KKS. 53 p. 31 S, ...). which shows clearly the palatal pronunciation of κ.


§ 22. a) The aspirates θ, φ, χ were heard, at least at the time when the Greek alphabet was adopted for the Egyptian language, as: θ = ρ + τ; φ = η + τ; χ = κ + ι. This becomes evident by common spellings like οκ = ογις 'the manner' (26), φαρα = φαραις 'the matter' (260), κακος ναξα 'to be grieved' (Cenn. Dict. p. 163. a) etc. The Coptic pronunciation of ο becomes evident in κατακτα (Gl. p. 37, 6, 17 A) for κασαταιν 'to appoint'.

The sounds ι + τ, η + τ, κ + i occurred in Coptic and therefore the Greek aspirates were caught correctly by the Copts. Nevertheless we find the interchange of φ or τ with θ, η or χ with χ, and δ or τ with θ. But we may be sure that in the examples found in Saitic texts it is either by inaccuracy or ignorance of the writer or even by Bohairic influence. A few examples from Saitic texts are:

βασαφεμία 'blasphemy' > βασαφεμία (Aext. 251, 40, 5 f. b. S; Rec. 5 p. 208, 40, 7 S; BMM. 58, 4-3 (f. b.); 189, 5 f. b. S, ...)

διφεδουν 'disputed point' > κεμικουζον (assimilation?) (UM. p. 237, 8 S, ...).

[1] The letters α, ϕ, χ in Bohairic form a different problem which is outside our field of investigation.
with the special rule for ο, φ, χ replacing τ, π, ρ respectively in Bohairic. Examples are:

τρίας ‘Trinity’ > ὁρισμὸς (WMac. 139 (ode α Απα Σ, 14; WTh. 6, 10. 12. 23; BSG. 146, 3; Quellen und Studien 1 (1935) p. 7, 33; 10, 47; TConst. 31, 1; 57, 13; O’Leary H. V. fol. 3 r° 1; IX r° 9; X v° 11 (all B), ...).

Lat. tribunus > τριβούς ‘tribune’ > ὁρισμὸς (BSG. 5-6. 5; 6. 14; 4; 12; 90, 19-20; 110, 1. 15; Z. 13, 3 (all B))...

κλασσις ‘to mould, form’ > φακίνη (WMac. 198, B, ...).

Lat. praedux > προχέδια ‘spoil’ > φρέτα (Z. 36, 15 f. b.; C. 42 p. 44, 14; LMis. 47 p. 1074 (all B), ...).

χόλιος ‘branch’ > χαλκός (WTh. 7, 9 f. b. B, ...).

χαρία ‘white lily’ > χαρίας (Exod. xxv, 33; HCom. 107, 15-16 (all B), ...).

κάπη ‘vault, covering’ > κάπη (Gen. viii, 13; KKS. 20 p. 160 [192] (B), ...).

c) On the other hand, we find, in Bohairic texts, ἈΠΙΟΣ for Ἀπόσω ‘wrath, anger’ (WTh. 11, 6; LMis. 107 p. 1142 [342]. κοχυμβάρα, κοχυμβάρα for κοχυμέθιρα ‘baptismal font’ (B. 848 p. 357. n. 1.; De Lacy O’Leary II. VII. 224 r° 10) and others of that kind. In these cases the writers considered the spelling with θ as incorrect and tried to write in a correct way (‘over correct’ forms).

§ 23. a) In a later time χ in Greek was no longer pronounced k + h, but as ch. in German. Therefore we find it occasionally transcribed as χ in Bohairic, or as in Sudic texts, e.g. χαρκινίφ ‘mark, picture’ > φαρκινίφ (WMac. 19. a. 11 B, ...); εὐαγγέλιον ‘the least’ > εὐαγγέλιον (abbreviated e. g. AZ. p. 255 p. 71. 1, 3, ...). The ‘i’ sound (as in German ‘ich’) of X was unfamiliar both to the Coptic and the Arabic ears. The consonant nearest to X before an i-sound was in

b) It is quite different with Bohairic where ο, φ or χ replace τ, π or ρ respectively much more often than in Sa’idic. This use corresponds
§ 26. It may be mentioned that sometimes is written instead of ηι, τη, της, δι, δις etc. e. g.

τιμή 'value' > +ΜΗ (BMin. 20, 10 f. b.; 21, 13 S, ...).

νοησία 'fasting' > ΝΗΣΙ (DLeg. 25, 6 S; BMin. 92, 3 (f. b.) S, ...).

δέκαμος 'decan' > +ΑΚΟΝΟΣ (Gudi, Coptic, p. 12, 3 S; AlR. vol. I (1892), p. 492, 3 (f. b. S).

δεικνύει 'to show forth' > +ΚΕΝΩΣ (FR. 4, 4 S, ...).

στρατηγός 'general, commander' > σΤΡΑΤΑΛΤΗΣ (BMar. 235, 17 S; BMin. 233, 1 f. b. S, ...).

§ 27. a) We must come back to β. This letter, as Coptic β, was pronounced which becomes evident from spellings like these: άγγελος (B. I. F. A. O. 54, p. 23, 3-4 f. b. S; Leyd. 462, 1 S, ...). is the common transliteration of άγγελος, the name of the king of Edessa famous for his correspondence with the Christ (cf. Eusebius, The Ecclesiastical History. 1. xii. 21). Lat. velum 'curtain, hanging' > βαννομά ωνίβο, υνίβο, υνιβα, ουνιβα, ουνιβα, υνιβα, υνιβα (B. I. F. A. O. 238, 11 S; 241, 8. 9 S; Ep. 552 S; ST. 200, 11. 17. 19 S; BM. 155 p. 421. f. 2. B. 8 (f. b.) S; ib. 703 p. 311 F, ...). εὐωδές 'pious' > έγοράς (Ac. 10, 2 S; BMin. 428, 4-5 S, ...). and others mark clearly a pronunciation very near to that of Modern Greek.

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

κ was the voiced counter part of η: Μαντάου 'to hinder, to harm' > ουνιβα (Z. 295, 6 (f. b.) perhaps influenced by the preceding ηινόν). άγγελος 'Abram' > καθαρσιά, καθαρσιά (AZ. 1896 p. 87, 30 S; Z. 291 n. 27 S, ...). άκτιτάδος 'exactness' > άκτιτάδος (BMin. 51, 5 S, ...). etc.

§ 28. 8 replacing 8 in Coptic words is in a special feature of the Coptic texts written in Greek script, but is very seldom in other Coptic texts.

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

ἀκρος, σφ 'invalid' > ἀκροή (BM. 1037, 9 Ș.), καρκίνωμα 'cancer noma, cancerous ulcer' > καρκίνωμα, καρκίνωμα, καρκίνωμα (Mas. 65 p. 166 ș., BM. 63, 7; 65, 1 (f. b.) ș.; Z. 337, 4-3 (l. b.) ș.; ...); Lat. curator 'guardian' > κουρατόρ > κούρατορ, κούρατορ, κούρατορ (BM. 307, 4, 5 ș.; BSM. 104, 16; 106, 5; 107, 3; 108, 5; 109, 25 (all B); LMis. 113 p. 1261; KKS. 15 p. 58, ...); τερεβίθος 'terebinth' > τερεβίθος (Pmēd. 302 ș., ...).

ἐξπίπτειν 'to hope for' > σερίνικ (BM. 1119, 15 p. 472. b, ș., ...); Lat. fiminilia, 'trowsers, breeches' > φιμίνιλία > φιμίνιλια, φιμίνιλια, φιμίνιλια (BM. 14, 27 ș.; Hm. 1 43, 14 ș.; LMis. 81 p. 363, 368 ș., ...).

§ 30. In some rare cases Greek λ is replaced by n in a Coptic text:

ο. γ. σμενολαίνω 'to counsel, advise' > σμηνολαίνω (ST. 254, 9 ș., ...).

§ 31. a) κ is sometimes written η before κ, e.g. σφυνδαλ 'prisoner' > σφυνδαλ(γ)λικ, σφυνδαλικ, σφυνδαλικ (P. Lond. 1495, 12; 1499, 5. 8; 1552, 30; 1553, 23; 1563, 19 ș.; VC. 49, 6 ș.; Iad. 187, 6 ș.; Ap. 249, 33. 8 ș.; Rev. 5, p. 207, 3 ș.; W. Marc. 174. a. 5. 19, b, 1. 7-8. 17. 24. 175. a. 6. 13. b. 11 ș., ...), and many others.

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

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

κενύ > Μακάσημ > Μακάς (Gen. xxv, 14 ș.), κενύ > Μακάς > Μακάς (Gen. xxv, 3 ș., ...), κενύ > Μακάς 'Seraphim' > σφυνδαλ(γ)λικ (W. Marc. 154, 16; 241, 3 ș.; BM. 51, 13

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


Prior 'prior, senior' > πριν > πριόν (Ann. 49 p. 73, 21-22; p. 72, 24-25 ș., ...).

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

ζῶν 'pair' > σκίη, — ε (J. 16. 23. 51 ș.; ST. 378, 3 ș., ...), καταλίπτω 'to grant' > καταλίπτω (J. 16. 38 ș., ...).

Σεραφείμ > Σεραφΰμ (Is. 61, 2 ș.; Hm. 1 181, 11 ș.; P. O. 2, p. 190, 3; 158, 9 ș.; Ap. 26, 15; 50, 28 ș.; LMis. 134 p. 496 [466]. ș., ...), Βανδανος 'tormentor' > κανάκιος (BM. 56, 10 f. b., 541, 13; 542, 17-18; 552, 10 ș.; HSG. 3, 1; 5, 26; 13, 25; 77, 27 B; W. Marc.

(1) Also in παντεσχετίκων 'almighty' written occasionally παντο(γ)κατον (Ed. 114, 11 ș.) cf. ib. chapter 8, § 101.
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117. b. 2; 189. a. 19 B, ...); ἀποδιδομένου 'to bid farewell' > ἀποδιδομένου (ST. 54, 3 S; OMH. 76, 5; 91, 7-8 S, ... but ἀποδιδομένου: OMH. 75, 5; 96, 10), ἀποδιδομένος, ἀποδιδομένος (Mk. vi, 40 B; Lk. ix, 61; xiv, 33; Aec. xvi, 18, 21; II Cor. ii, 13; Aug. 45, 14 (all B) ...).

§ 34. a) In some texts, both Saïdic and Bohairic, we find Cynhọλοιον, ζυγιον, ζυγίον (Syr. XXXV, 5 S (Lagardc); CO. 86, 6-7 S; WMac. 47, 14 B, ...). For συμπίστων 'symposium, dining-room'. I do not think that this isolated phenomenon shows a peculiar pronunciation of ἐ. It is rather due to the influence of a common word like ἄποδιδον 'foolproof'. συμπίστως occurs very often in legal documents and is always written correctly there (e. g. J. 35, 28; 42, 20; 76, 31 and often). As Cynhọλοιον occurs also in a good old manuscript (Lagardc's Sirach), it seems impossible that at that early time, the Greek had the pronunciation which it has in Modern Greek and which could have induced a Coptic writer to confound it with ἐ.

b) A similar phenomenon is τοποῖον 'topaz' spelled τοποιοῖον (Ps. cxviii, 127 S; Apoc. xx., 20 S); τοποιοῖον (LAM. 3, 12-13; 43 S, ...); τοποιοῖον (Ps. cxviii, 127 B; Job. xxxix, 19 B; P. O. 19 p. 292, 12 B; Bap. 36, 14 S, ...), τοποιοῖον (BMis. 10, 16 f. b. S), τοποιοῖον (BMis. 10, 8 f. b. S), τοποιοῖον (Z. 610, 7 S), τοποιοῖον (1 Chron. xxix, 2 B, HCons. 109; 9-10 B; Apoc. xxi, 20 B; HCons. 316, 2 B) in some Coptic texts. This spelling seems to me to be an 'overcorrect' form as we can see, that τ before ι in some words was pronounced τι, at least in certain parts of Egypt (cf. the pronunciation of Latin -i before a vowel as tsi in the Middle Ages), e. g.

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

κελίδον 'kadiou (a measure of wine) > κίντησις (BM. 1102, 19 S, ...).

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Lat. linctum 'napkin, towel' > λείτον > ξυρέττος (Ryl. 139, 4 S; Tul. Eheverträge, p. 629 N. 2).

Ἀκοντίος (Ἀκοντίος) ἐκ Λιονίας > λείτον > ξυρέττος (J. 94, 51-52 S; but in its standard form: ξυρέττος, λείτος in J. 6, 36; 21, 91-92; 48, 10; 61, 71; 69, 5; 70, 32; 90, 27. 34. 50).

Ἀκοντίος 'Holokottinos' > ζωλοκόττος (AZ. 60 p. 109, 6), ζωλοκόττος (BM. 544, 22. 23; 594, 9; 670, 1 [All F]), ζωλοκόττος (BM. 660, 10 F), ζωλοκόττος (UM. 290, 3 F), ζωλοκόττος (VC. 116, 3 S; Kr. 22, 4), ζωλοκόττος (VC. 39, 8 S; OMH. 174, 5; 198, 4; 203 ν 3 S) and similar forms ending with -τεος or -τες in very many places mostly Saïdic and Fayumic, while (ζωλοκόττος) and var. with ξι is common in Bohairic and Fayumic e. g. in HL. 100, 15-16 B; WMac. 163 B; BSG. 53, 1; 4; 10. 22 B; Kn. 65, 2; 69, 3 F, ...).

§ 35. I may just mention that γ before η, ξ or χ is very often rendered by η, according to the Greek pronunciation, e. g. ἓκτυρα 'force, constraint' > ἅνακτι, ἅνατε, etc.

ASSIMILATION, DISSIMILATION AND METATHESIS

§ 36. We find among Greek words in Coptic texts, some cases of assimilation. So the words μοναχός 'monk', ἐραμα 'vision', ἐρασις 'appearance, vision' are usually in Saïdic μονάχους, μονάδας and μονάς. ἐκτέον 'to prosecute' appears in a great number of cases as ἐκτίγχ, ἐκχίμχ.

Other words show assimilation only occasionally, as e. g. νικηβόρος 'victorius' (J. 15, 33; 90, 11; 99, 45; 104, 9 S, ...), στέφανοβόρος 'the crown-wearer' > στεφάνωβορος (J. 15, 33 S, ...) (cf. Greek στέφανοβορός and στεφάνωβορός).

In ξυρέττος (BMac. 95, 5-6 f. b.; 96, 1; 147, 2 f. b. (all S)) for ξυρόντας 'to destroy', the verb ξυρόντας 'to smile' > ξυρέττος may have been of some influence. If a writer wrote κατάρας, κατάρας...
(J. 42, 39 S; CO. 412, 4; 415, 8 S; Bab. 240, 5, 6 S) for καταβολή ‘payment’, he may have had in mind the verb καταβάλλω ‘to pay’. In κύναξ (I Chron. xv. 21. 28; xvi, 5; II Chron. v, 12 (all B) for κυνάς ‘kinner, kynara’ the influence of the more common κυνάς ‘lyre’ and perhaps also of κυνάς ‘artichoke’ has played a rôle.

§ 37. a) Also with consonants we find, in some cases, a sort of assimilation or uniformity as e.g. in ληφτορις or ληφτομορις (BSAC. 12 p. 50, 25; 53, ...) for ἱπποκτις ‘ unmixed wine ’; κηναμονις; κηναμονια (Jerem. vi, 20 B; Apoc. xviii, 13 B; KKS. 25 p. 306) for κυναμονις ‘cinnamon’.

b) Comparatively often we find λ and ρ confounded (cf. § 29). In some cases the writer used only one of these two letters in one word, e.g. λιπτοταοθος (Pnmd. 284 S, Tarzn. 108) or αριστοταοθος (Pnmd. 277 S) for ἱφαλαξοια ‘aristolaichen, birthwort’; κυκταξιος (Pn. euult, 8 S; BM. 429, 12 S; Agq. 22, 9 (i. b.) S; KKS. 43 p. 0139 S; LIM. 120 p. 1251) or κυστατος (TT. p. 31 S) for κρασταλλος ‘ice’. Sometimes λ and ρ have changed places: λιπτοταοθος (Tarzn. 108, Pnmd. 289 S) > αριστοταοθος. In other cases the writer seems to have considered Greek words with two or two λ or two ρ in them as incorrect and dissimilated one of the two, e.g. ιλ. veredarius ‘a post, courier’ > βηρθηρος > βελτιμορις (IVM. 1, 47, 10, 18; 48, 5; 170, 21; 171, 8; 172, 1, 7, 9; 207, 12 S; BM. 71, 16, 8 f. b.; 72, 6 S; BM. 147, 6; 155, 11 S; Z. 285, 6 (f. b.) 2 f. b.; BSAC. 10 p. 52, 9 (f. b.) 10 (f. b.) 12 (f. b.) S, ...), δεικτηρος ‘the second officer in a monastery’ > λευφαλιος, λευφαλιος, λευφαλιος (BM. 154, 1; 489 p. 232, a. 1 S; Z. 37, 9, 10 B), ἔνωξ > Βελλαλ ‘Bellar’ > βαλλαρ (J. 69, 25 S; Anth. p. 59, 25 S, ...) and many others.

§ 38. a) Changing of place (metathesis) is found with μ and ν in λιανομις for λιανομις ‘continuance’ (J. 20, 4; 21, 3, 35, 3, 73, 38, 3, 51 S) cf. monogathos for μονογάθως ‘lawgiver’ (C. h 2 p. 227, 7 S, ...).

b) A certain simplification in spelling Greek words as far as letters are concerned the pronunciation of which was either equal or very similar (cf. §§ 2-20), sometimes gives the impression of an assimilation. But this assimilation is only graphic not phonetic. Such spellings are e.g. λοιπος > λοιπος ‘soul’ (Chrm. Sitn. 329, b. 6 S; Ep. 169, 13 S; Cramer. Inschrif. 32 p. 32, 6 S, τριμπος, κινηματος, κινηματος ‘trimps’ (CO. 164, 4; 176, 9; 306 v 2 S; Ep. 520, 8 S; WS. 96, 3 S; OMK. 75, 5 S), προσοπος > προσωπος ‘person’ (Est. xvi, 11 S; CO. Ad. 20, 7-8 S; C. 100, p. 287 b. 21; 336, b. 9 S; UM. p. 21, 9-10 S; Ka. 11, 3-4 S; AZ. 1891 p. 13, 15 S, ...), μεταμος < μεταμος ‘tended’ (CO. 42, 4; 157, 3-4; 166, 6; 311 v 4; OMK. 54, 11, 56, 3; 61, 10; 63, 7; Bal. 102, 15; Ton. 2, 5; 12 S all S, ...), λεγος > λεγευς ‘heretic’ (Z. 29, 15 B; Tit. iii, 10 B; P.O. 11 p. 370, 7; 371, 1-2 B; Agq. 224, 15 (f. b.); 227, 6 f. b.; 228, 6 (f. b.) B, πρεσκετος < πρεσκετος ‘priest’ (Apoc. v. 6, 14; 7, 13; xvi, 16; xiv, 3, 19, 4 all S [Judge]; Debate. 3, 3 S; AZ. 55 p. 70 S), αλως > αλως ‘wholly’ (Degg. 8, 1 S; BM. 35, 4 (f. b.) S, γαλακτοφαγος < γαλακτοφαγος ‘penman, corvus’ (BM. 490 p. 233, b. 3 S), καλαοχλοικος, καλαοχλοικος, καλαοχλοικος < γαλακτοφαγος ‘treasury’ (I. 106, 54 S; Rgl. 454 p. 227, xv B; BM. 248, 6-8 S; BM. 88, 5 (f. b.) 404, 7-8, 11 b. (f. b.) 5 (f. b.) S; Bap. 96, 11 (f. b.) S; BM. 247, 7 S), καλαοχλοικονομος < κατεχόμενος ‘cathedemus’ (C. 100 p. 241, a. 1-2, 13-14 S; Z. 83, 18 B, ...), λαλασομος < λαλασομος ‘Chaleedon’ (Apoc. xx, 19 S; Z. 282, 7; 540, 2-3 S; LIM. 141 p. 921 [507] S; KKS. 53, 20 [486] S, ...), λαλοχλοικος < λαλοχλοικος ‘lord, master’ (DMM. 43, a. 30 S; BM. 504, 18; 532, 20 S; BAP. 68, 15 (f. b.) 126, 9 (f. b.) S; BM. 223, 6 (f. b.) S), βαλλαλα < βαλλαλα ‘Bellasia’ (J. h. v., 2 A; Leyd. 46, 19; 54, 17-18 S), τεταμος < δεκτος ‘second’ (BM. 1060, 6 S; J. 98, 28 S; C.T. 2, 1 S; Ep. 618 obl. 3, 8 S), λαλοτομος < λαλοτομος ‘to hinder’ (BM. 531, 9 S; BM. 3, 5 (f. b.); 21, 3-2 (f. b.); 42, 13 (f. b.) 59, 1; 121, 12 (f. b.) S; LIM. 85 p. 1101 [247] S), καλασομος (Apoc. 11, 10 S; BM. 21, 12 (f. b.) 36, 3 (f. b.);
37, 9 (f. b.) S; Leyd. 36, 20 S) or ἁσάνις (LAp. 136 B, 4 F) for ἄρτανίς, ἁντίς, 'to torment'.

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

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

1. ADDITIONS AND OMISSIONS OF CONSONANTS (1)

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

§ 40. If we find μητακχιστις' rendering μετάκχισις 'participation' in a Sa'idiic text (Bal. 34, 28-29), it is evident that μ in μητ- for μετ- is due to the well known rule that original unstressed met appears as μητ in Sa'idiic.

This rule explains also the added η in (καθιστικος) ἐνεργημικος 'ventriloquist' (I Kgs. xxviii, 3 (bis). 7. 9. 21 S; KKS. 15 p. 47; Tri. 527, 4 S) and perhaps even in χρυσάλαθος 'topaz' (Apol. xxii, 20 S B; LAL. 3. 14; 43 S; L Cypr. 12. a. 27-29 S; BMis. 10. 7 (f. b.) S; HCons. 315, 19 B, ... (2) although here the syllable begins with η not with μ. Unstressed let does not occur in Coptic. Therefore we do not know if it would appear as χαιτ in Sa'idiic. At least it seems very probable (cf. § 49).

§ 41. From the way how we find many Greek words spelled in Coptic texts we gathered that it was difficult for most of the Copts to register the difference in the pronunciation between θ and π, δ and τ, γ and κ because these differences did not exist in their own language (cf. § 20. a). On the other hand there were certainly Copts who not only registered the differences in the pronunciation of the mentioned sounds but endeavoured to mark them in the spelling. e.g.

\[ \text{γραφ} < \gamma ρ \text{ 'for', occurs } 4 \text{ times in Budg.'s Biblical Texts (A. a cent.): Deut. ii, 5; 5, 11. 26; xxxi, 23 (S) and Ryl. 292, 5, 16 (S) (IVth-Vth cent.): ib. 314, 21 (S) (IVth-Vth cent.).} \]

\[ \text{λαγ} < \lambda \varepsilon 'on the other hand'. So in Ryl. 6, 28; 292, 8 (S); (both dated from IVth-Vth cent.): C. 135 p. 34, 14 (Vth cent.); Crum's unpublished fragment of St. John XX (1). In Acta Pauli (L2) \text{λαγ} \text{ occurs } 26 \text{ times, excluding the uncertain and supplied ones, while } \text{γαφ} \text{ occurs } 7 \text{ times only.} \]

\[ \text{ηλαοκτ(ε)τι, ηλαογί} < \delta οκτι 'it seems good, it seems right', is found in } 4 \text{ passages of Budg.'s Biblical Texts (2). Ac. xv, 22. 25, 28. 34 (S):} \]

\[ \text{ακλογί} \text{ for } \text{εκλογί(v).} \]

\[ \text{αλοιμ for the proper name } \text{Διαο (3), occurs as such in AP. p. 21. 30, 9. 11. 20; p. 24. 33, 14. 25 (L2) (but } \text{αλοιμ: ib. p. 21. 30, 2. 14).} \]

\[ \text{μηρογος} < \beta ορογος 'locust': II Chron. 6, 22 B (Oyhm.); III Reg. viii, 37 B (Oyhm.); II Cons. 234, 13; 254, 10 B; \]

\[ \text{κολυμπος} < \alpha λυμπος 'small gold weight', e.g. in Mt. xxii, 12; Mk. xi, 15; Jh. ii, 15; Tri. 651, 4; 665, 4 (all S). \]

\[ \text{κεραρος} < \varepsilon θρός 'cedar', e.g. in Sir. 1, 12 (Lang.) S; Agathonicus p. 23, 22-23 F. \]

\[ \text{λυτοι} < \delta θυνα 'savage, fierce', e.g. in Wob. 217, 22 S; BMis. 320, 17 S.} \]

(2) Certainly γιαμιτιον which is found in UM. p. 211, 6 S, for γιαμματιον 'document' is due to the same phonetic phenomenon.

(5) Panouss, Namembuch. n. v.
(6) In the same way the spelling μηρογος for βορογος (Jos 1, 4 (bis): 2, 25; Nah. iii, 10 (all L) is to be considered as an attempt to denote the voiced pronunciation of : αβρακκαθε.
Cigeli < στυγλίων 'pass' e. g. Kgs. 122, 4. S. 
Cohelaion < ζυθίον 'statuette', e.g. Mon. 30, 52 F (cf. Cym. Dict. p. 215, a).
Lat. quadrans (Roman brass coin) > κυράτσον > κομπαντῆς e. g. Mk. xii, 42 B [Hornet], κομπαντῆς (Mt. v, 26 [Cym. Dict. p. 215, a]); Bllom. 24, 2 S), κομπαντῆς (Tri. 399, 4). S.
All these words and the like may be explained in this way. The voiced pronunciation of β, γ, δ, unknown in Coptic, was heard by the Coptic ear as if η or ι respectively, was articulated before these consonants. And therefore those writers wishing to spell the foreign words very exactly wrote η before γ and δ, ι before β (1). Under these circumstances, we see that it was easy to confound παραβολή 'parable' > παριβολη, παριβολη (Mt. xiv, 32 S [Bmis. 422, 4 f. b.]; Lk. xiv, 7 S [Bmis. 430, 7]) with παραβολή 'camp, encampment' written sometimes παριβολη or παριβολη (Soph. xix, 7 S [Thom.]; Num. x, 34; xi, 1 S [Schleifer]). For the second a in παραβολή, in the unstressed syllable had lost its pronunciation in the Coptic months and so the two words were pronounced nearly equally. 

§ 42. The endeavour to mark the voiced pronunciation of η (2) in ζωή 'girdle' may have caused the spellings ζωήν, ζωῆν, ζωὴν, ζωήν, ζωήν, ζωήν, ζωήν, ζωήν, ζωήν, ζωήν, etc., which are common in Coptic texts. But it is much more difficult to suppose that this really was the reason, because the spellings with an added η mentioned in § 41 occur side by side with the correct Greek spellings, they rather are the exception. It is difficult with ζωή which, in Coptic,

(1) In Demotic Greek ζ was transcribed by η, e. g. στικτιστόμης = στεκτιστόμης, ποντρίνα = ποντρίνα, δικτον = δικτον, etc. (J. H. Hass, "Zur Aussprache des Griechischen" in Indogerman. Forschungen 1896, p. 132, 133). Cf. also Cym. Dict. p. 48 b. (below); Du Roux, "Note sur la transcription des hiéroglyphes" in AZ. 1866, p. 72; K. Zahn, in AZ. 50, p. 98, 99. Greek ζ, also, was transcribed, in Demotic, by ηp, ηκ respectively (Hass, op. cit., p. 132).


§ 43. The inserted η in κυνυγγος < σκυγγος 'yoke-fellow, associate' (PS. 45, 21; 49, 26; 64, 3; Is. 2, 14; 23, 17-18; 40, 10; 215, 26, all S), κυνυγγι < σκυγγι 'union, combination, conjunction' (BG. p. 95, 3), κυνυγγετη < σκυγγετίν 'to discuss, dispute' (E. Chassard, "Un Papirus Medical Copite" (Le Caire 1921), p. 276. 

(1) E. Chassard, "Un Papirus Medical Copite" (Le Caire 1921), p. 276.

(2) For instance Deut. xxiii, 13 in Judge's Biblical Texts, dated from the first half of the IVth century, about three centuries before the Arab invasion took place. O. V. Lamm, "Kleine Kopitische Studien", N. 48, p. 0167, 0169.
with’ (DLocg. 19, 17 S; ST. 250, 11 S) may be explained by the endeavour to mark the voiced pronunciation of ζ. But I think it is more probable that these spellings are adopted from the Greek cf. σώζειν in Phil. iv, 3 (1).

In composition with σώ, this preposition seems to keep always its σ in Coptic spelling, e.g. σωτήριος τῆς ‘help, co-operation’ (ST. 27, 5 S), which certainly is an adopted vulgar pronunciation of Greek.

§ 44. οκτώμβριος for ὀκτώβριος ‘October’ (Tri. 311, 4 S; Stern $ 290) owes its m undoubtedly to the name of other months which surround October: September (σεπτέμβριος), November (νοέμβριος) December (δεκέμβριος), all ending in -έριος.

§ 45. Inserted h before dental or gutturals, or m before labials occur in Greek words used in Coptic texts also when the explosive is unvoiced, e.g.

γαρπάνθης < σταρπάνθης ‘saturp’ (I Kgs. vi, 4; KKS. 15 p. 45; Stern $ 419; Ζ. 210, 2 S, ...).

λιολιασίς < ἅλλοντος ‘Alamanus’ (Ζ. 270, 11 S; CO. 45, 2, v. 6-7 S; J. 7, 5, 27; 14, 89; 39, 82; 43, 76; 68, 105; 90, 26 S; AZ. 1868 p. 64 b).

ακολυφόν (G) ι < ἀκολούθια ‘conformity’ (J. 92, 57; 107, 33 S; AZ. 1891 p. 8, 2 S, ...).

αὐχαρτοῦν < αὐχαρτόν ‘unmixed wine’ (BMAR. 10, 14 d. b. S; BSAC. 12 p. 53 ...).

μιμαρθος < μαράθνος ‘more than’ ... (Mk. iv, 31 S; H Cor. 1, 8 S; Heb. xi, 11 S; Rom. xii, 3 F; Heb. n, 7. 9 F; H Cor. xii, 11 F; HNM. 1. 3).

(1) Cf. Norman Testamentum Graece, ed. Tischendorf p. 3: σώζεις cum κἀντιόν. The form σώζεις is mentioned also in Sophocles; and in J. H. Mau, The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament, London 1952 p. 607 a. σώζετον is also in Mau, ibid.

(2) Cf. ἱκεχαί rendered sometimes ἰκεχαί, ἰκεχαί (S), ἰκεχαί, -ει (F), ἰκεχαί (Aq) etc. (Clem. Dict. p. 285 a. with references); Bal. chap. viii, § 79 A d.

§ 46. In some old texts, we find πολυφισσος apparently for κορφισσο. This is certainly so in Budge’s edition of the Acts (xviii, 1):

κορψον ἐγερθοῦν (3) = ἔδειξαν εἰς κορφισσον ‘he went to Corinth’.

(1) So Greek in Lk. ix, 51 ἀπόλαθος. Cf. also Luke.

(2) Greek σώζεις occurs in Greek, cf. Sophocles.

(3) So also in Greek (cf. Luke).

(4) Homer’s and Thompson’s editions both read κόρφισσο here.
Budge’s text came from an old manuscript (the first half of the fourth century) which have some dialectical peculiarities (1). Its ΝΟΡΙΗΟΟΣ < κόριθος certainly is one of these peculiarities. As much as I see it is not found elsewhere. But in the Achimic version of the First Epistle of Clement (2) p. 29. 1. 4: ἩΓΚΑΝΧΙΑΙ ΚΙΝΝΩΤΕ ΕΤΩΝΖ ΣΗ ΝΟΡΙΗΟΟΣ renders τῇ ἔκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ παρακολούθη κόριθον (3) ‘to the Church of God that is in Corinth’. ΝΟΡΙΗΟΟΣ occurs in two more places of the same text; but there it is equal to οἱ κόριθοι ‘the Corinthians’: ΙΧΝΥ 3-4 ΑΛΤΚΑΝΧΙΑΙ ΝΟΡΙΗΟΟΣ translates τῶν... κόριθων ἐκκλησίαν; and in the title at the end of the text (83, 25) η ΝΟΡΙΗΟΟΣ translates περὶ κόριθων.

The same inconsistency is found in the Subachimnic text of the Acta Pauli (4), xvi, 11 reads ἸΧΝΥ ΟΤΟΟΝ ΣΗ ΝΟΡΙΗΟΟΣ ‘the brethren living in Corinth’. In all other places (xvi, 12, 24; xxvi, 12) κόριθος is rendered by κορινθιος (without a prefixed η) in the Coptic text. But, the same as in I Clement, ονει αποτιμης means κόριθος: ΙΧΝΥ, 16, ΑΛΤΚΑΝΧΙΑ ΝΟΡΙΗΟΟΣ ‘the church of the Corinthians’, although, in l, 19, we read ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΟΣ.

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

(5) Of Schmidt’s text. Not any of the mentioned passages is preserved in the manuscript published by F. Rosen, ‘ichristliche des Ersten Clemensbriefes nach dem Achimnischen Papyrus’, Strassburg (1910).
(6) C. Schaab distinguished κορινθιος = κόριθος; κορινθιος = κόριθος in I Clm., index p. 155, but not in AP index p. 80*.

§ 47. μακάιζε ‘whip, scourge’ is very often written: μακτης, μακτης, μακτης, μακτης, μακτης, μακτης, μακτης, μακτης, μακτης, with inserted r pronounced as in SIR. xii, 6; xiii, 2. 11; xxxix, 35; xvi, 11 (all S): Ps. xxxiv, 15; xxxvii, 32 (B): M.K. vii, 10; r, 29. 34 (SB): Lk. vii, 21 (SB); Joh. vii, 15 (S); Act. xxiii, 24 (SB): Heb. xi, 36 (SB): C. 42 p. 76, 18; 77, 1 (S); P.O. 4 p. 581. 2 (f. b.) S; BMis. 239, 19; 241, 7 f. b.; 296, 3; 298, 12 (S); Cl. xxiv, 15; xxxii, 6 (A).

This, I think, is due partly to the influence of the common σαλις (στιφτης) ‘trumpet’; secondly to the oblique case with the voiced γ: μακτης. That this is so is evident by the fact that λαδες (gen. λαδες-κος) ‘coverlet’ which is very frequent in Coptic texts is usually written without an inserted r(4) e.g. in OMH. 5, 2; 73, 9 S; CO. 100, 3; 242, 6; 459, 10; 465; 466 v. 3 S; ST. 119, 2; 125, 12; 191, 6; 261, 7 S and many others (5).

§ 48. a) ‘Overcorrect’ spellings omitting r before dentals, γ before gutturals or μ before labials show that the insertion of r, μ or γ respectively, corresponds to a vulgar pronunciation of Greek. Some Coptic writers knew that r very often was pronounced in Greek words where it was not written. So, endeavouring to spell the Greek words correctly, they sometimes omitted r (μ or γ respectively) where it was correct, e.g. ΑΡΧΙΜΑΡΘΙΟΣ ‘archimandrite’ > ΑΡΧΙΜΑΡΘΙΟΣ (Z. 302, 4, 5. 10 S, ...), ΑΡΧΙΜΑΡΘΙΟΣ (L. 106, 104 S; Ryd. 124; Rõ. 1, 3 S; C. 100 p. 204. a. 7 S; Dict. v. arch. Chr. 3 (2) col. 284 7 B).

Centenary ‘hundredweights’ > κατσωπερίαν = ΚΑΤΣΩΠΕΡΙΑΝ (BMar. 9, 10-9 f. b. S), ΚΑΤΣΩΠΕΡΙΑΝ (Wor. 160, 9-10 S).

ΠΑΙΩΝΙΟΤΗΡ ‘alminight’ > ΠΑΙΩΝΙΟΤΗΡ (Leyd. 481, 2-3 S; CMSS. p. 62).

ΣΚΑΚΑΛΑΙ ‘stumbling-block’ > ΣΚΑΚΑΛΑΙ (Leyd. 451, 19 S), ΣΚΑΚΑΛΑΙΩΝ ‘to take hold of’. ΚΑΤΑΛΑΚΗΝ (Wor. 158, 14 S; BMis. 307, 7-6 f. b. S; BMar. 62, 13 S).

(4) Quite exceptionally is λαντανα in ST. 315, 9, 13 S.
(5) Cl. also λαντανα in § 6.

GREEK LOAN WORDS IN COPTIC.
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μεσάζων 'parchment' > μεσάζον, μησάζον, μεσάζων or μεσάπθ (BMis. 513, 15 S; BM. 704; Ep. 554, 6 S; CMSS. 44, 8 F; ib. p. 62).

ἀφιλολία 'doubt' > αφιλολία, αφιλολία, αφιλολία (J. 63, 19; 64, 17 S; BM. 1126, 4 F).

ἀφίσαζων 'to compel' > αφίζεσθαι, -αζε (Bulg. 320, 3-4 S; ST. 323, 11 S; OMY. 156, 9 S) or αφιαζε (OMII. 198, 3 S; BMis. 285, 6; 292, 4 f. b. S).

ἐκεράσια 'continence' > εκεράσια (BM. 171, p. 61. a. 5 b. 16 S; LMin. 85 p. 1102) or εκερασία (Sir. xviii, 29 S [LLib. 111]; Wom. 278, 5-6 S; KKS. 10 p. 21 B; 47 p. 0159).

ἐγκατεσθείων 'to exercise self-control' > εγκατεσθείων (BM. 161, 11 S; CL. 88, 23 S; C. 100 p. 273. b. 11, 18 S).

στελάζων 'inward parts' > στελάζων (J. 67, 27 S; C. 42 p. 46, 18 S; DLEg. 26, 17 S; AZ. 1883 p. 143. 111. 6 S; AZ. 46 p. 82, 8 S; Lam. 49 p. 78, 21. 34-35; 79, 3. 20; 80, 7 S, ...)

συσκεφεῖν 'to allow, permit' > συσκεφείκ(VC. 8, 7 S; Ep. 475, 7 S).

στελαζων 'trumpet' > στελαζων (Jud. vi, 8 S; JKP. 52, 11 S).

ἐγγεύσα το 'vessel' > εγγεύσα (OMII. 156, 5 S) or εγγεύς (Bab. 322, 8 S, ...).

γάμισον 'sugarine' > γάμισον (Loc. 5 p. 205, 8 S; TC. 23, 4 B).

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

ἐγγεύσαιριβώσ 'ventriloquist' > καστριμινος (I Kgs. xxviii, 7, 21; KKS. 15 p. 47; TR. 527, 4 S).

ἐγγυφίας 'leaf baked in the ashes' > κρυφίας (Num. xi, 8 S; KKS. 10 p. 2 [3A]; ib. 15 p. 47).

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§ 49. In one Greek word η was inserted before π: χιαμπος < χειμπος 'torrent', which occurs in the Bohairic version of Josh. xxii, 24. This verse is not preserved in the Sa'Idic version. But in the Sa'Idic version of Josh. xvi, 1, this word is spelled as in Greek. The inserted η is found only in Bohairic. This fact gives the clue. We have the same phonetic phenomenon as in Bohairic μεγη-, μεγητ-, μεγητ (derivatives of μη 'to love') with an inserted η before the π in a syllable beginning with η (cf. § 40). This explanation was offered by Ludwig Stern in KG. § 103 and others [20].

§ 50. In § 8 ε. we have shown that the unstressed ending -σων in most of the words was much reduced [20]. But we find it filled up in some words; e. g.

Lat. semicentum 'apron' > σομπενθος > σομπενθος, σομπενθος, σομπενθος (Ad. xix, 12 S B; BMis. 10, 19 S, ...).

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[22] Cf. § 8 d. a. also.

Bull., t. XIX.
ADDITIONS AND OMISSIONS OF VOWELS.

§ 54. Groups of consonants the pronunciation of which offered some difficulties to a Coptic tongue were sometimes made easier to pronounce by adding a vowel. If the Greek word begins with a group of consonants, a vowel may be pronounced before the initial group of consonants. This way of facilitating the pronunciation is the same as in Arabic (e.g. كُبْث) for ukub) and is common also in Coptic words, e.g. δεκό (B) 2κό (S). Examples for Greek words are: ἐραῖον < βραῖον 'prize' (BHom. 6, 15 f. b. ἐραῖον; γνηκόριον, γνηκό 'mnna' (Stenn § 61).

§ 55. In some cases a prothetic vowel is used where it could not have had the purpose of facilitating the pronunciation, e.g. ἄκυμος < κύμος 'sea' (Z. 629, 11; οὐκακύμος); αὔρια < αὔριον 'tomorrow' (Num. iv. 14 B; HCons. 142, 19 B: οὐρια) (kρ at the beginning of Coptic words is quite common); στόμον (Ryl. 409, 7. S), σφυή (BM. 1103, 21. S), σφυή (Rom. 189, 14. 17. 21. 27 S), σφύη (BM. 1116, 7. 14, 1. 3. 5 S, ... all for κόπον 'therefore, now then'; σφύη < σφύρη 'bitterness' (Leyd. 453. B. 11. S); was it thought to begin with the preposition εἰπώ?

In these cases the prothetic vowel is perhaps due to a vulgar way of pronunciation among the Greeks in Egypt, at least in a certain area; cf. γεγονότον οὖσαν = εξεστελευτόν 'being abroad, in exile' (AZ. 40 (1982) p. 23 Nr. 14, 2). ιμμηνή and ιμμηνή = μηνήν, μήνην (AZ. 56 (1982) Nrs. 29. 2; 21. 2). Cf. the modern pronunciation of Arabic in some parts of Egypt: εξηδίπτερον = εξηδίπτερον (Med. 148; 153 S); προσεκτοπος 'priest' > προσεκτοφος (AZ. 55 p. 71. n. 3-4 S); κράπιον 'skull' > κραπίον (AZ. 1883. p. 141, 9. S), although κρ, ν, κρ are quite common at the beginning of Coptic words.
§ 57. Groups of consonants difficult to be pronounced may occur also at the end of a Greek word or in its middle. In these cases too we may see that the pronunciation was facilitated by an inserted vowel, e. g.

σφέξ 'flesh' > σφακές, e. g. in Gen. ix, 15, 16, 17 S [L-Bib. 111]; Heb. n, 14 F [Wessely]; Heb. v, 7 F [Z. 157, a]; Heb. x, 13 F [Z. 162 b]; Heb. z, 20 F [Z. 164 b]; I Cor. viu, 12 F [Z. 152 b]; Phil. i, 22, 25 F [Z. 166, a, b]; I Cor. viii, 2 S; AZ. 1878 p. 28; saraf e. g. Ps. 21, 6 S [Lagarde]; Z. 127, 17 (f. b.) B; Sir. 10, 10; 23, 20 S [Tull in BRL. 34 p. 439, 441].

δεξ 'bear' > ἄραξ (e. g. in AZ. 3 (1865) p. 48, 41, B; Ann. 1. p. 50, 4, B; AKS. XI p. 29 [61], ἄραξ (e. g. Sup. XI, 18 S [Thom., Lagarde]).

§ 58. It is, of course, not a matter of phonetics if the Greek ἀρξ- being the first part of compound words is often written, in Coptic, αρξ-, e. g. ἀρχάγγελος < ἀρχάγγελος 'archangel' (LM. 73, p. 171, 7 B), ἀρχιστράτης < ἀρχιστράτης 'chief-physician' (HM. 1. 161, 14 S).

§ 59. As with nearly all phonetic phenomena also the contrary is found; in this case the omission of a vowel. Perhaps some of such spellings might be explained as 'over-correct' forms, but I am inclined to think that most of them show the actual pronunciation. This is quite certain with κολλοῦς < κολλοῦσαν 'collyrium' (Mia 64 p. 71, 42, S; Tat. 20. 2. 2), κούπαρακούς, κούπακαρικός, κούπαγκος καριός < κούπακολόφερ 'cubicarius, the emperor's chamberlain'.

§ 60. I think εύ- was omitted in the verbs οὐνι < εὐθεῖν 'to flourish' (M. 4, 27, B) and αὐγοῦς < αὐγούσθαν 'to announce good tidings of' (C. xvi, 9-10, A) because the writer took it for the verbal prefix εὔ- (or ευ-), 3rd pers. plur. (or 3rd pers. sing. masc.) of the second present tense or circumstantial.

§ 61. a) If we find in Coptic texts, Greek words spelled with a double consonant where, in correct spelling, there is only one, as ξίκων < ξίκων 'image' (e. g. Sup. xiv, 15, 17; xvi, 5; xvm, 20 S [Thompson]) or vice versa: γκάκια < γκάκια 'Church' (e. g. Guna, Copticia)

1) Cf. κολλάν (Prüssigke).
2) A monk's cowl, that covers his head and goes down to the neck till his shoulders (cf. Mia 57 (1944) p. 103, n. 100) Arabic alqila waRas al-bris (AZ. 23, 1885, p. 61).
p. 13, 15-16 S; J. 48, 65; 66, 83 S; WTh. 56, 2 f. b. B; C. 135 p. 32, 30 F (‡); Kn. 159, 3 F; CMSS. 28, 3; 30, 5. 8 F, ...), this, of course, is due to the fact that the correct spelling was not familiar to the writer. Such spellings do not show anything about the actual pronunciation of the words. This is different with rr (cf. § 41).

b) Doubled vowels, on the other hand, show a special pronunciation in a certain area of Egypt. In all Coptic dialects except Bohairic, the stressed vowel is written twice if an 'Aleph or 'Ajin is pronounced after it. Texts coming from Esna have very often a doubled vowel where there is neither 'Aleph nor 'Ajin. Such spellings certainly show a particular feature of the local pronunciation. The same is found also in Greek words, e. g. καλὴ < καλό 'even if' (e. g. Wör. 274, 19. S), κερασί < κερασί 'vessels' (e. g. Ryl. 239, 1 §), εἰμὶ ἱππος < εἰμὶ ἱππος 'except' (e. g. Wör. 319, 13. S), and even in unstressed syllables, e. g. καραγγύς < κάραγγυς 'to order, command' (e. g. BMar. 2, 4 S; BM 238, 6 f. b.; 239, 17 §), κήθισι < κήθισα 'to believe' (BM. 308, 5 S); μοιχαλος < μοιχὸς 'monk' (AZ. 1878 p. 13, 5. S).

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**LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

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

**ALR** : Accademia dei Lincei, Rendiconti.
**AMJACE** : AMALÈME (E.), Histoire du Patriarche Copte Isaac, Paris, 1890.
**Anns** : Amos.
**BThes** : BATSMAN (Ch. A.), 'A Coptic Gnostic Treatise contained in the Codex Bruciensis'.
**BRL** : Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester.
**BIFAO** : Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale.
**Cambyses** : JANSSEN (H. L.), The Coptic Story of Cambyses, Invasion of Egypt. Oslo, 1950.
**Chron.** : The Chronicles.
**CHSym** : CHALINE (M.), La Vie et les Miracles de St. Simon Styliée l'Ancien, Le Caire, 1948.
**Casca** : CASCA (P. A.), Sacrum Bibliorum Fragmenta Copto-Sabidea. Musei Borgianis, Romanus.
**Colli** : Codex Borgianus.
**Col** : The Epistle of St. Paul the Apostle to the Colossians.
**CS** : WORNELL (H. W.), Coptic Sources. Ann Arbor, 1934.
**Dent.** : The Fifth Book of Moses, commonly called Deuteronomy.
**De V. de Vies** : HOMELLES COPTES DE LA VATICAN. I (Hauniac 1922); II. (H. 1929).
**Consilio et impensis** Instituti Rysk-Operstidiansi.
**Ede** : The Wisdom of Jesus The Son of Sirach, or Ecclesiasticus.
**Eph** : The Epistle of St. Paul the Apostle to the Ephesians.
**Exod.** : The Second Book of Moses, commonly called Exodus.
**Gal** : The Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians.
**Gen.** : The First Book of Moses, commonly called Genesis.
**Geosp. J.** : SCHMIDT (C.), 'Gesproche Jesus mit seinen Jüngern nach der Auferstehung'.

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(0) W. TELL, 'Altes 'Aleph and 'Ajin im Koptischen' in WZKM. 36 (1929) p. 186-196.
(0) P. E. KARLE, Hal'izah, I, chap. viii, § 11, 19. a., 36 c, 45, 63. a.
SOCIÉTÉ D’ARCHÉOLOGIE COPTE.


Ill: Amélineau (E.), De Historia Lusiana quaenam sit hujus ad monachorum Aegyptiorum historiam scribendum utilitas. Parisius, 1887.

Hos. : Hosea.
James : The General Epistle of James.
Job : The Book of Job.
Joel : Joel.
Josh. : The Book of Joshua.
Kgs : The First Book of Samuel
The Second Book of Samuel
The First Book of the Kings
The Second Book of the Kings

Lev. : The Third Book of Moses commonly called Leviticus.

Leyl : Manuscripta coptica du Musée .. à Leide, 1897.


Mic. : Micah.
Mich. : A series of vellum leaves at Michigan University, independently numbered thus.

Mk. : The Gospel according to St. Mark.

Mtr. : MSS. belonging to Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, New York, as reproduced & numbered in 56 vols. of photographs, according to numbers and pages of these volumes (not identical with those of Check List, 1919).

Nah. : Nahum.

Obd. : Obadiah.

Pet. : The Epistle General of Peter.

Phil. : The Epistle of St. Paul the Apostle to the Philippian.

Phl. : The Epistle of St. Paul to Philemon.

PS : Schmir (C.), Patris Sophia. Copticus consilìo et impensis institutìi Rask-Oerstedianì edita II. Haaniae, 1925.

Quellen u. Studien : Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten und des Mittelalters. Heidelberg.

Roc. : Heres de l’Orient Christien, according to volume.

Rossi : Rossi (F.), I. Papiri Copti ... di Torino, according to volume, fascicle and page.

RAI : Rossi (F.), Aluni MSS. Copti ... di Torino (= Mémoires ... Torino, Ser. II tome XLIII), according to pages of separate publication.

Sir. : The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach, or Ecclesiasticus.

Stern : Stern (L.), Koptische Grammatik, Leipzig, 1880.