The Coptic Encyclopedia

Aziz S. Atiya
EDITOR IN CHIEF

Volume VIII

The Coptic Encyclopedia

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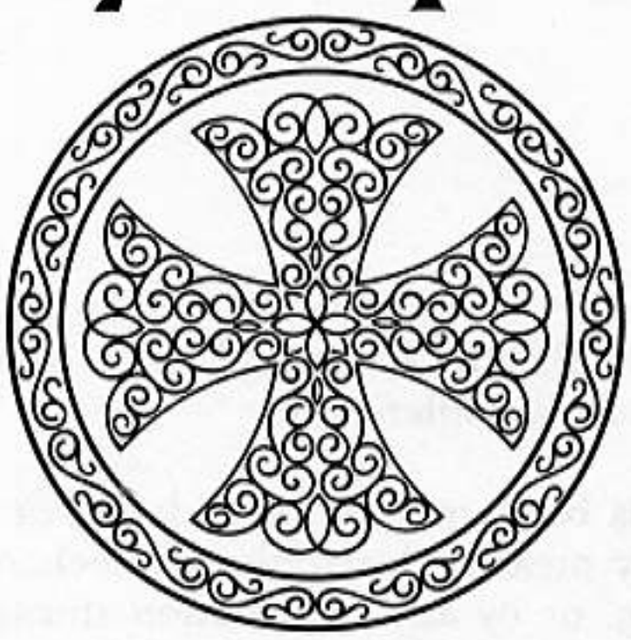
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The Coptic Encyclopedia



Aziz S. Atiya

EDITOR IN CHIEF

Volume 8

Macmillan Publishing Company
NEW YORK

Collier Macmillan Canada
TORONTO

·Maxwell Macmillan International
NEW YORK·OXFORD·SINGAPORE·SYDNEY

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Macmillan Publishing Company
866 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10022

Collier Macmillan Canada, Inc.
1200 Eglinton Avenue East, Suite 200, Don Mills, Ontario M3C 3N1

Library of Congress Catalog Card No.: 90-23448

Printed in the United States of America

printing number
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The Coptic encyclopedia / Aziz S. Atiya, editor-in-chief.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0-02-897025-X (set)
1. Coptic Church—Dictionaries. 2. Copts—Dictionaries.
I. Atiya, Aziz S., 1898–
BX130.5.C66 1991 90-23448
281'.7'03—dc20 CIP

The preparation of this volume was made possible in part by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, an independent federal agency.

Photographs on pages 567, 736, 754, 755, 790, 791, 876–878, 1284, 1311, and 2168 are reproduced courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Photography by the Egyptian Expedition.

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Errata

Volume 1, page XXXIV:
In the List of Articles, Mounir Megally should be listed as the author of "Numerical System, Coptic."

Volume 1, page LIII:
In the List of Contributors, the following articles should be listed under the name of Mounir Megally: "Accounts and Accounting, History of Coptic"; "Bashmuric Revolts"; "Numerical System, Coptic"; "Toponymy, Coptic"; "Waqʿat al-Kanā'īs"; "Waqʿat al-Naṣārā."

Volume 2, page 409:
The signature appearing with the article "Bookbinding" is incorrect. The author of the article is Jane Greenfield.

Volume 6, page 1822:
The signature appearing with the article "Numerical System, Coptic" is incorrect. The author of the article is Mounir Megally.

Further Acknowledgments

The editors wish to thank Nabil Selim Atalla, who graciously offered his services in taking photographs of objects in the Coptic Museum, Cairo. Thanks also to Charles Smith, Sirarpi Feredjian-Aivazian, Philip Friedman, Elly Dickason, Sylvia Kanwischer Miller, Jonathan Wiener, and others at Macmillan for their efforts on behalf of this encyclopedia.

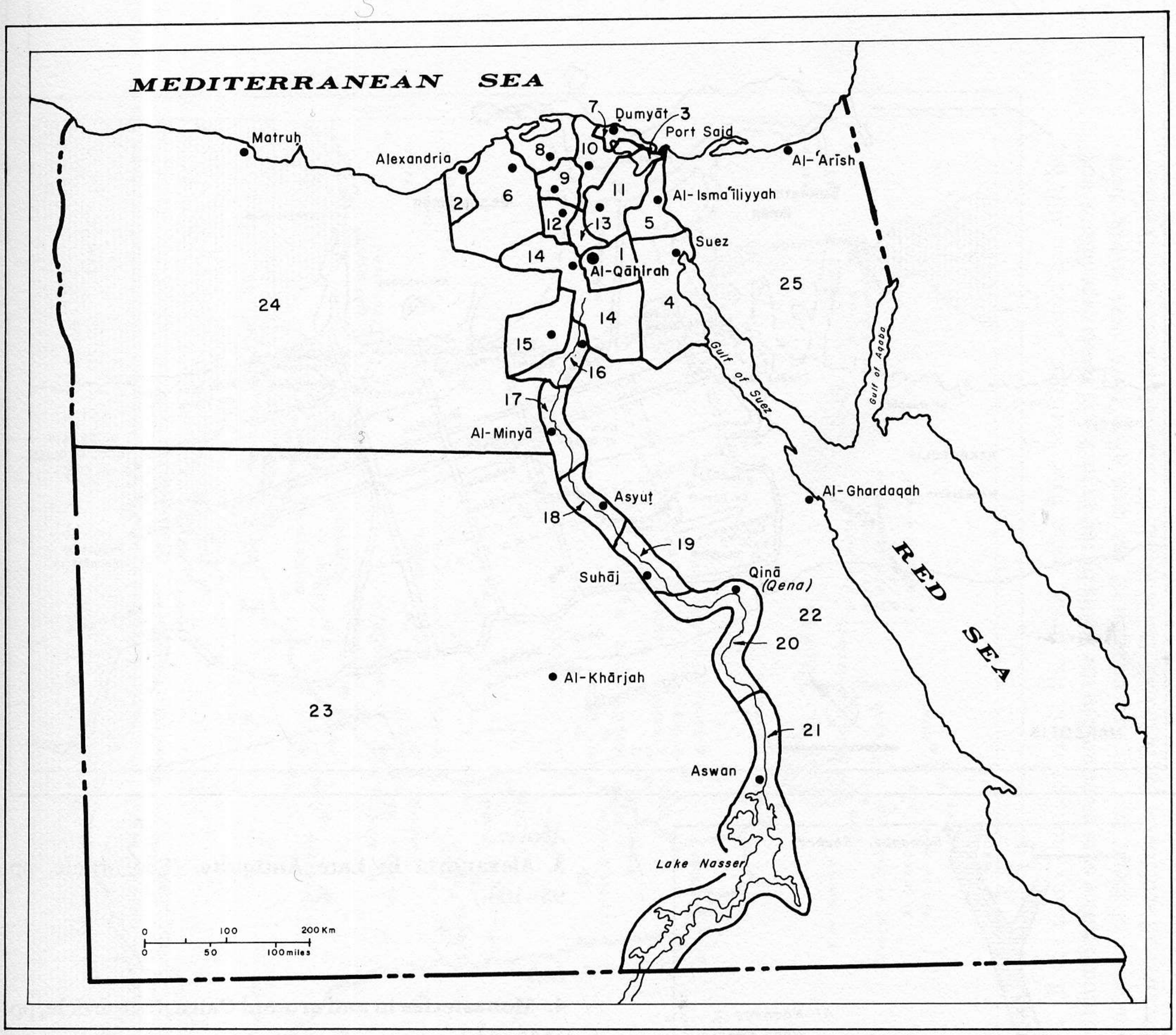
Maps

1. Egypt: General Map
2. Egypt: Provinces
3. Alexandria in Late Antiquity
4. Monasteries in and around Cairo
5. Monasteries of the Delta
6. Monasteries of the Fayyūm
7. Monasteries of the Lower Ṣaʿīd
8. Monasteries of the Middle Ṣaʿīd
9. Monasteries of the Upper Ṣaʿīd
10. Nubia
11. Oases
12. Pentapolis

Our thanks to Pierre Laferrière of the Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, and to Mark Hafey of Salt Lake City, for their work on the maps that follow.



1. Egypt: General Map.



2. Egypt: Provinces.

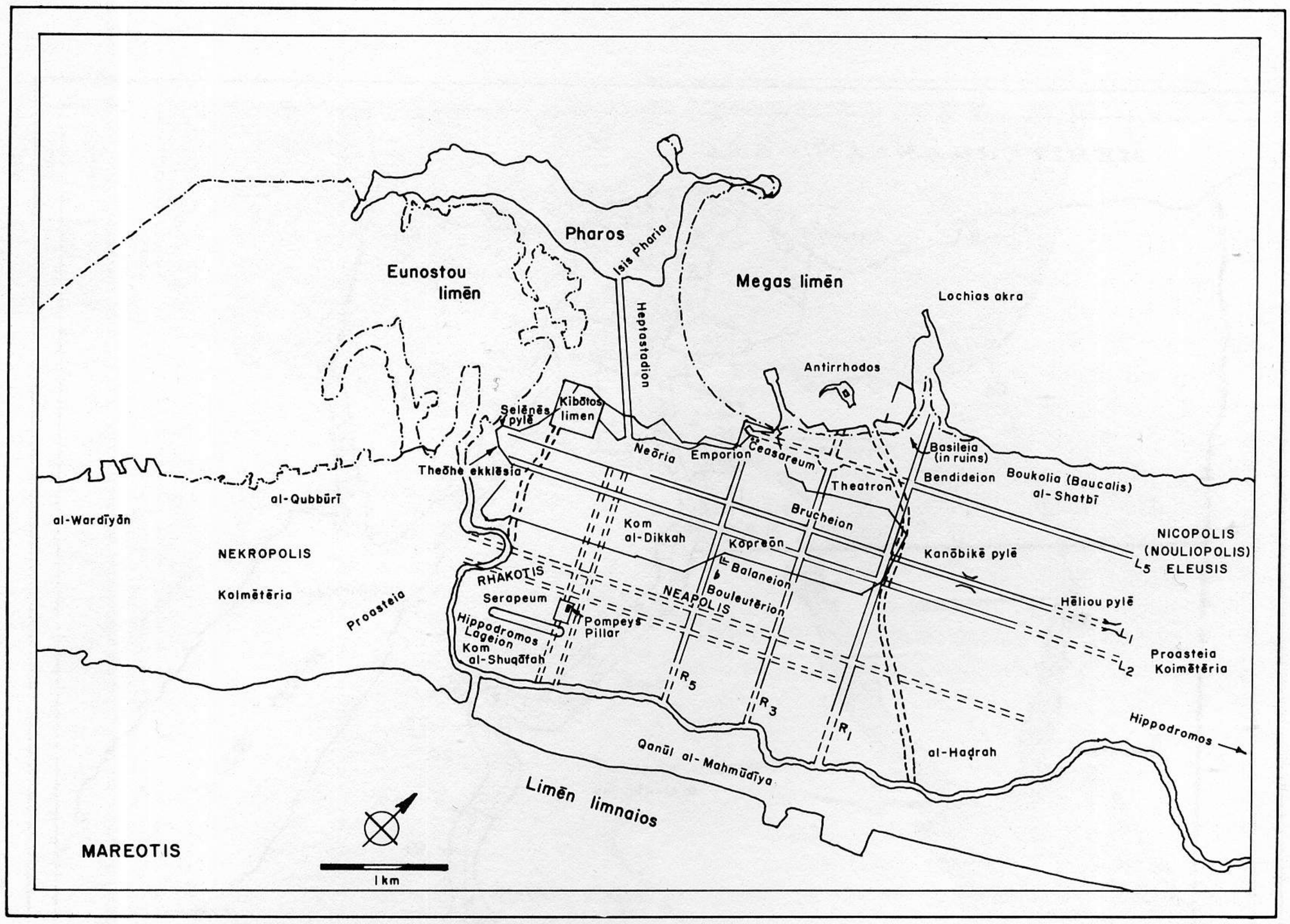
City provinces: (1) Cairo (al-Qāhirah). (2) Alexandria (al-Iskandariyyah). (3) Port Said. (4) Suez (al-Suways).

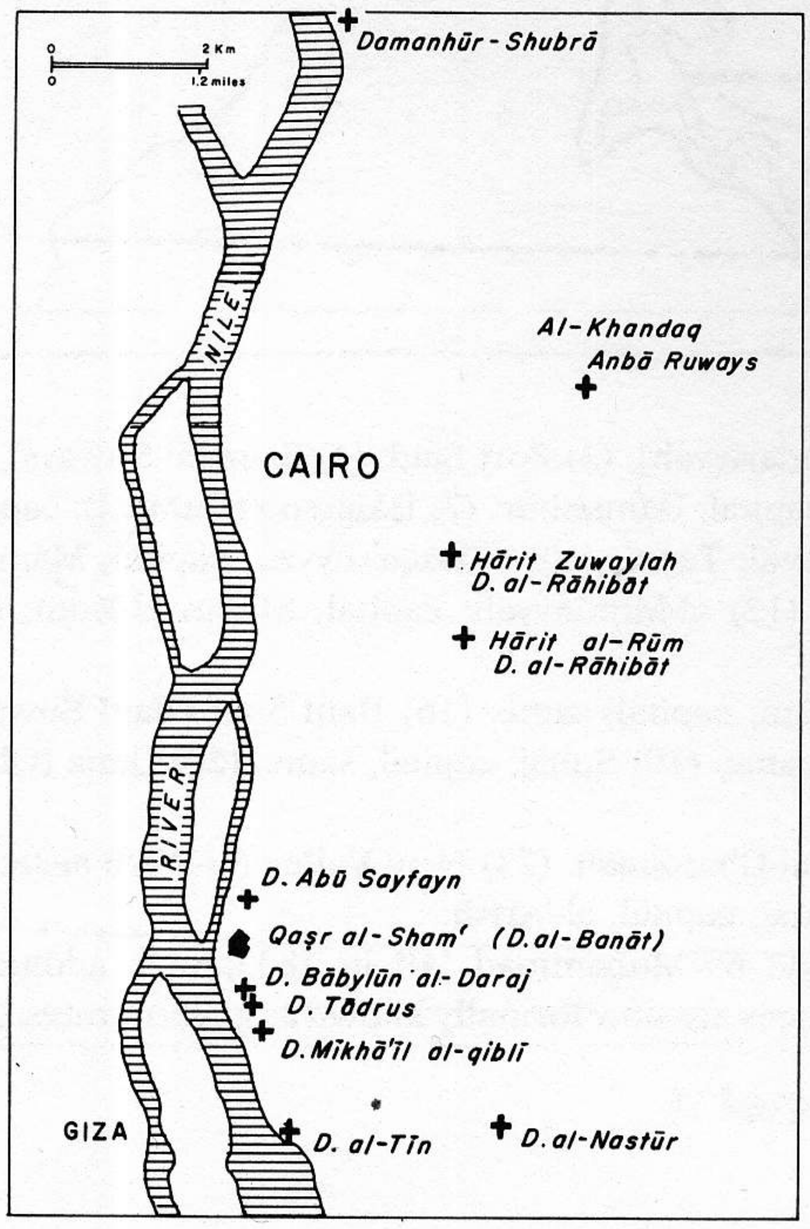
Lower Egypt: (5) al-Ismāʿiliyyah; capital, same. (6) Beheirah; capital, Damanhūr. (7) Damietta (Dumyāṭ); capital, same. (8) Kafr al-Shaykh; capital, same. (9) al-Gharbiyyah; capital, Ṭanṭā. (10) al-Daqahliyyah; capital, Mansura (al-Manṣūrah). (11) al-Sharqiyyah, capital, Zagazig (Zaqāzīq). (12) al-Minūfiyyah; capital, Shibīn al-Kom. (13) al-Qalyūbiyyah; capital, Banhā.

Upper Egypt: (14) Giza (al-Jizah); capital, same. (15) al-Fayyūm; capital, same. (16) Banī Suef (Banī Suwayf); capital, same. (17) al-Minyā; capital, same. (18) Asyūṭ; capital, same. (19) Suhāj; capital, same. (20) Qena (Qinā); capital, same. (21) Aswan; capital, same.

Frontier provinces: (22) Red Sea (al-Baḥr al-Aḥmar); capital, al-Ghardaqāh. (23) New Valley (al-Wādī al-Jadīd); capital, al-Khārjah. (24) Marsā Matrūḥ; capital, Matrūḥ. (25) Sinai; capital, al-ʿArīsh.

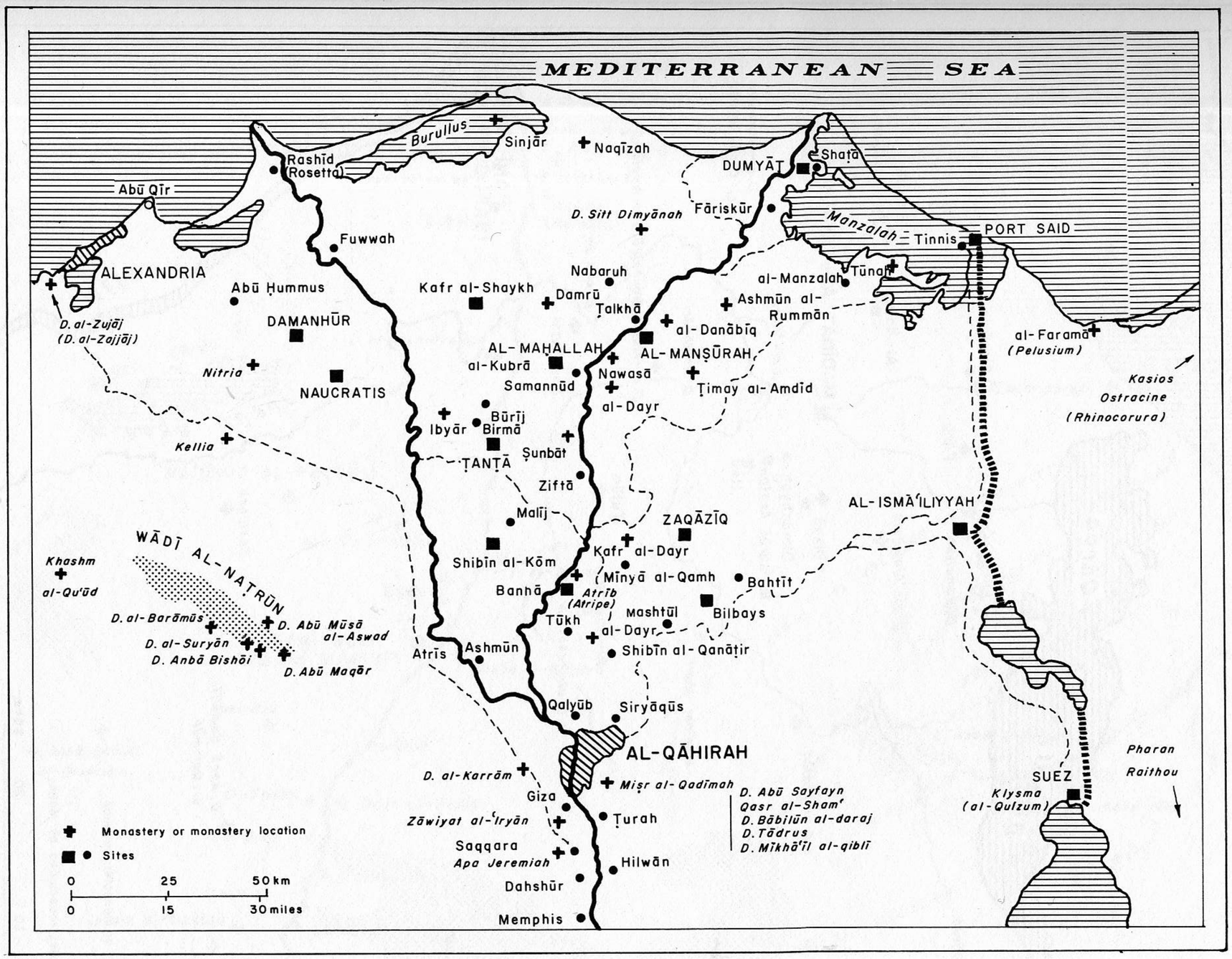
The provincial boundaries shown reflect the divisions made by Muḥammad ʿAlī in 1833, with additional provinces created after the Nasser revolution in 1953. The provinces are now formally known as governorates. (See also EGYPT, ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION OF.)



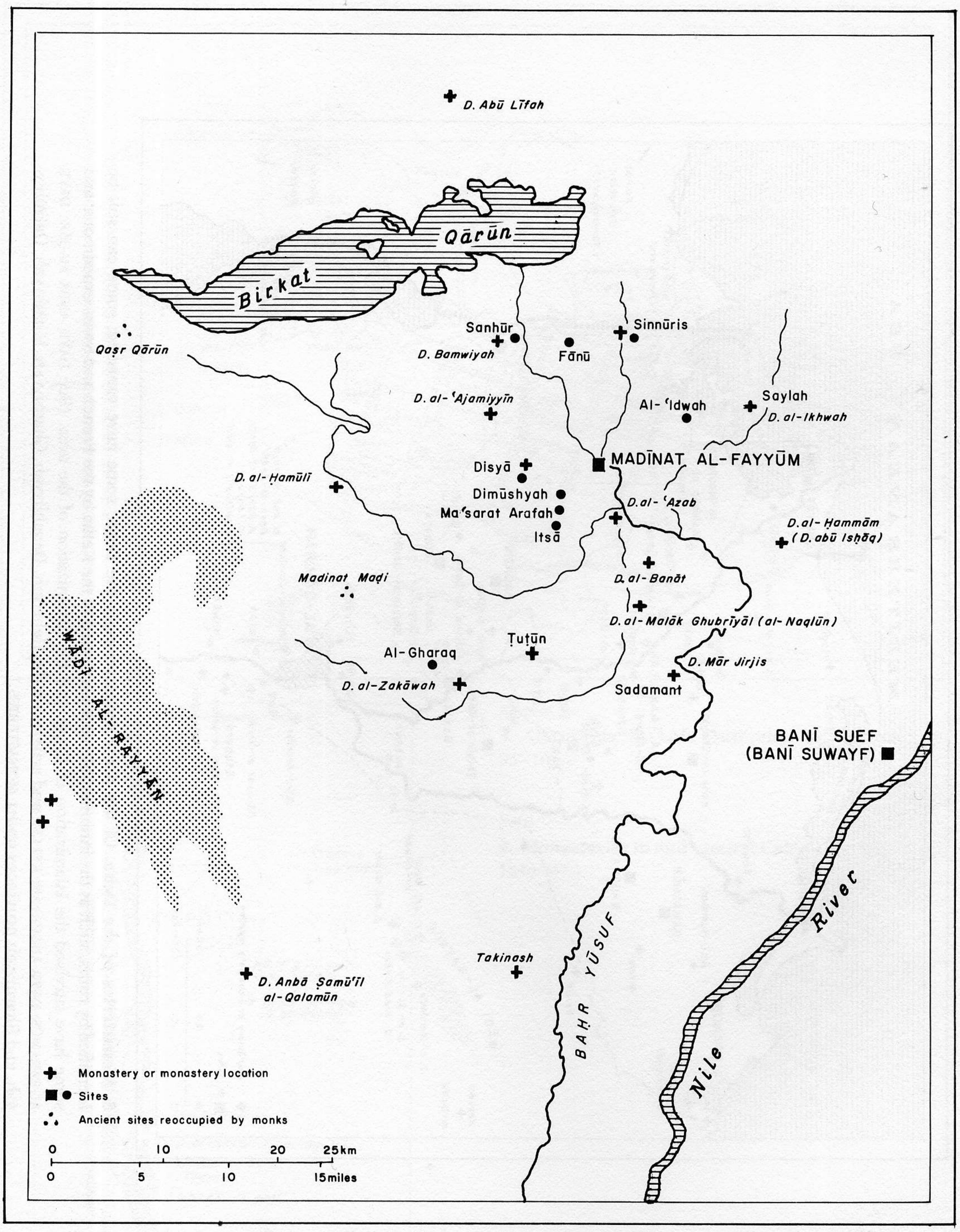


Above:
3. Alexandria in Late Antiquity. (See article, pp. 95–103.)

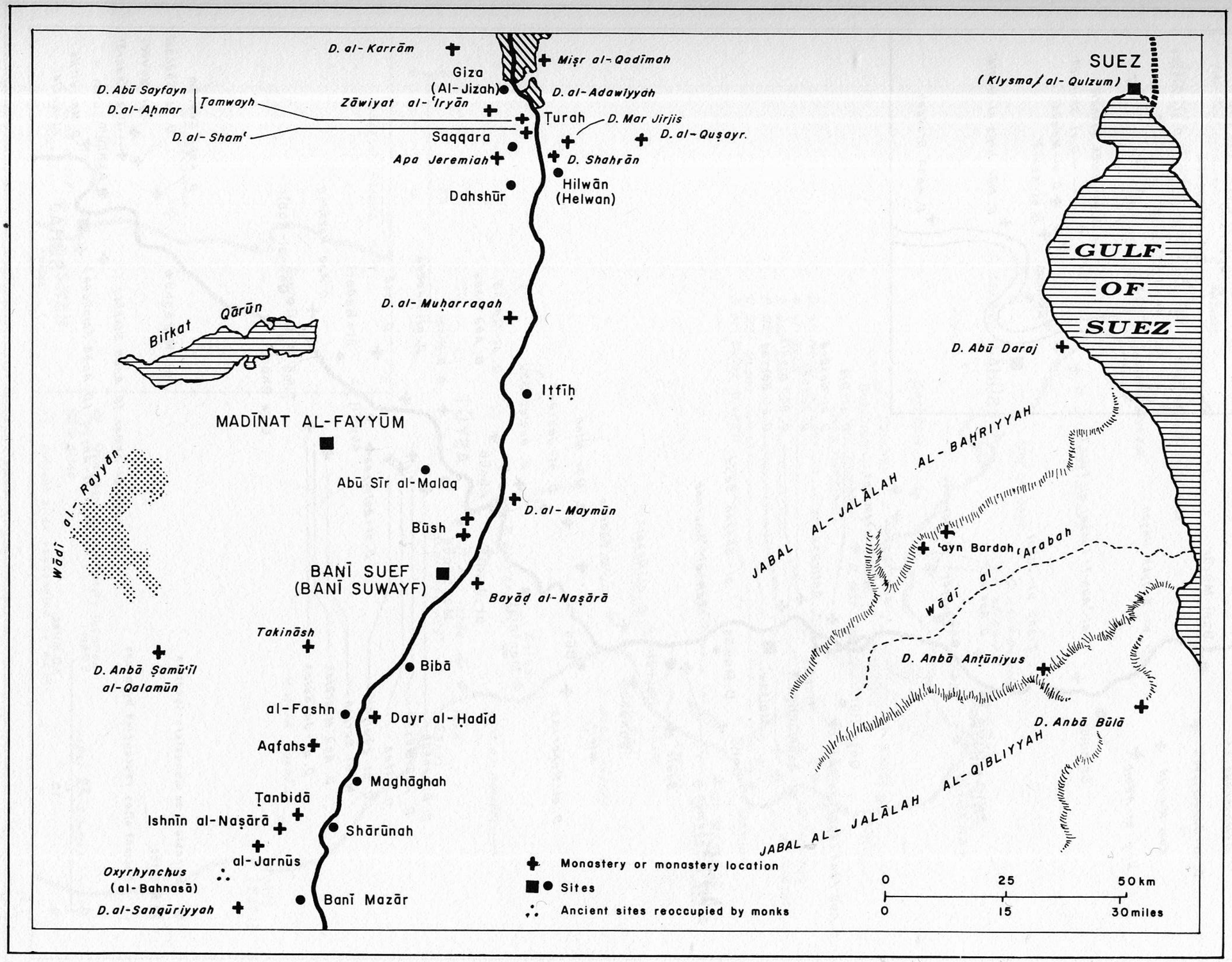
Left:
4. Monasteries in and around Cairo. (See article, pp. 1646–47.)



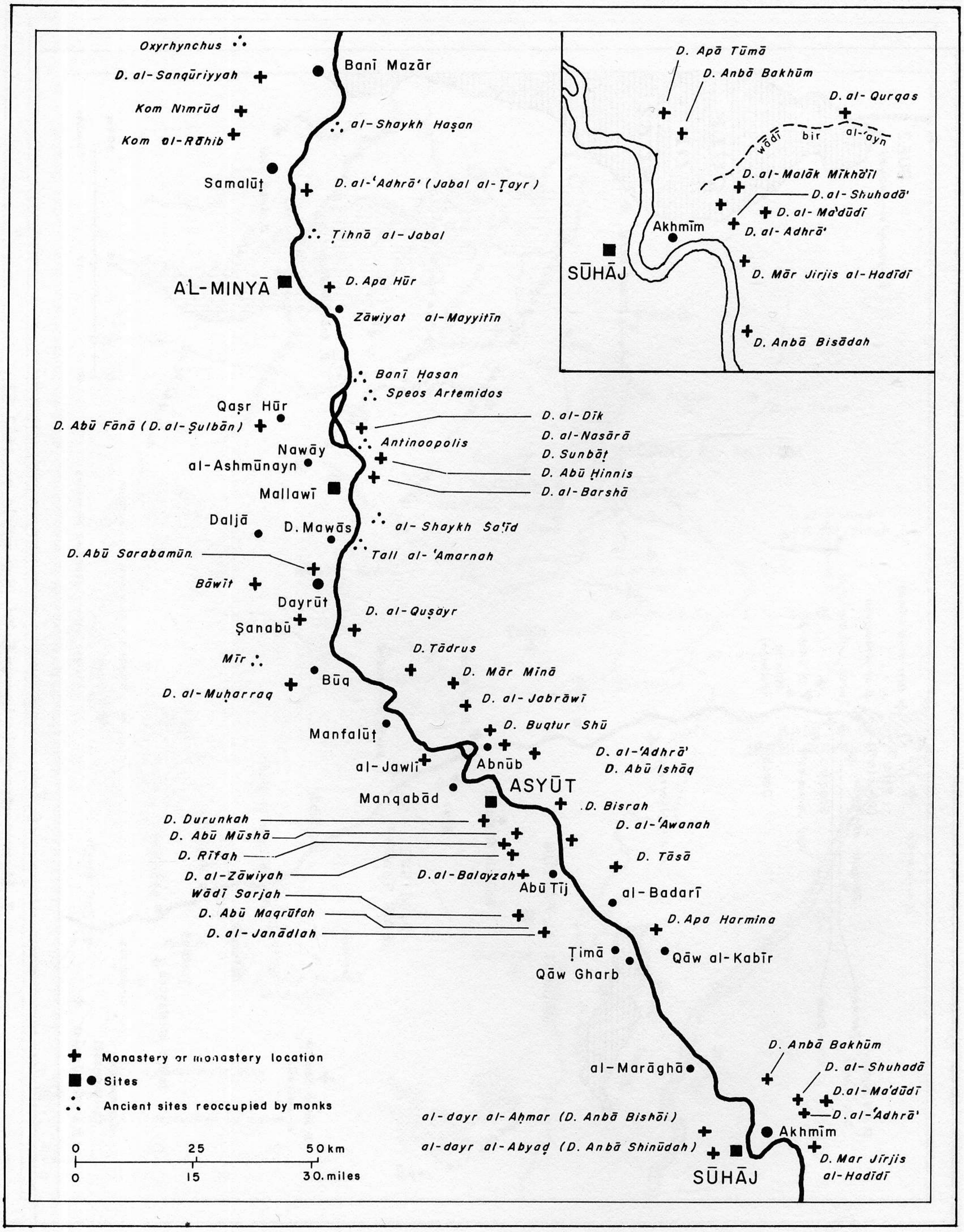
5. Monasteries of the Delta. Of the many monasteries in the Delta, some have vanished; some can still be identified by ruins, such as the innumerable sites excavated in the Kellia by the French and Swiss expeditions; and some have survived the Islamization of Egypt and the urbanization of the area. (See DAYR ANBĀ MAQĀR; DAYR AL-BARAMŪS; DAYR AL-SURYĀN; KELLIA; and articles on the Beheirah, Daqahliyyah, Gharbiyyah, Minūfiyyah, Qalyūbiyyah, and Sharqiyyah provinces under MONASTERIES.)



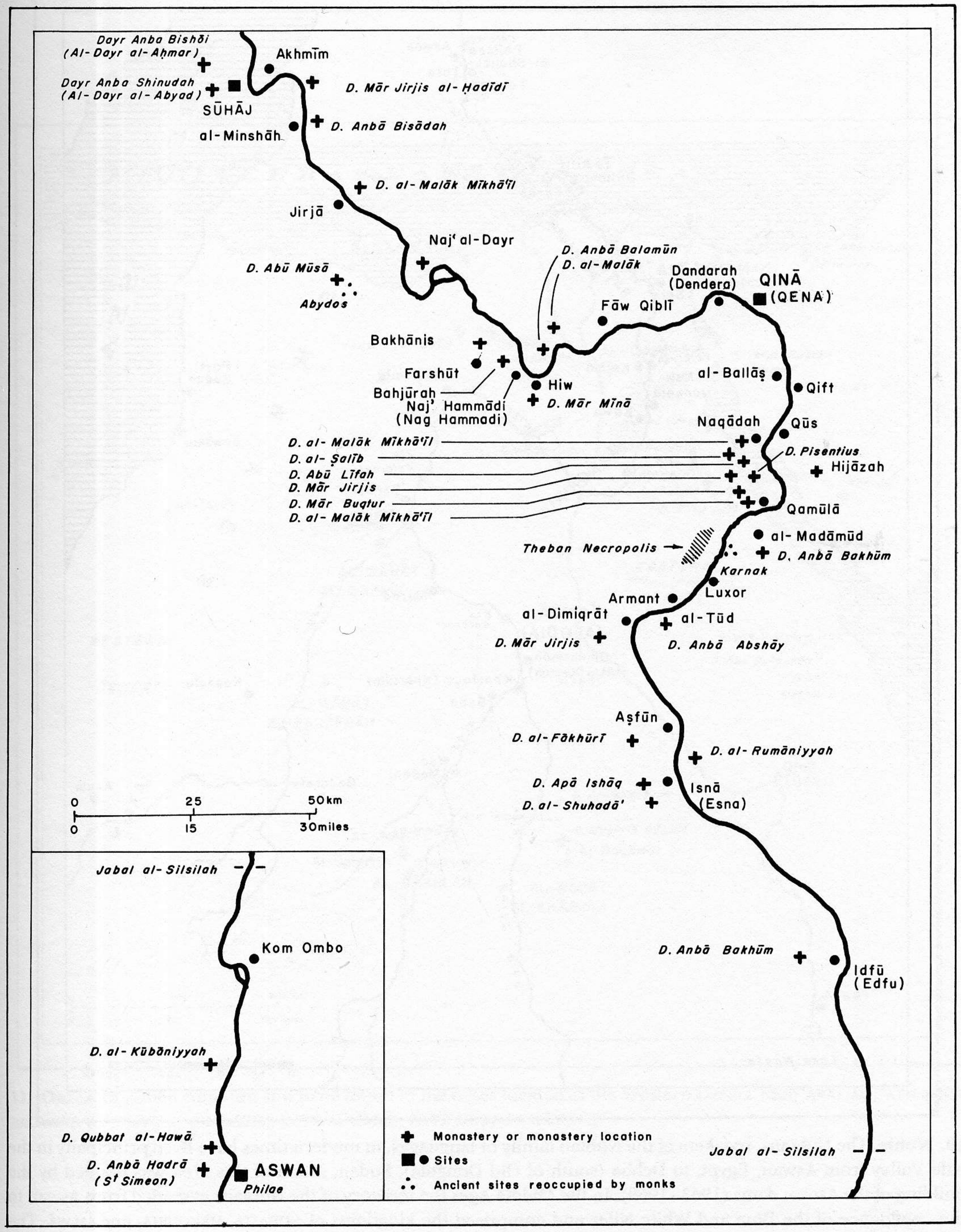
6. Monasteries of the Fayyūm. (See article, pp. 1650–51.)



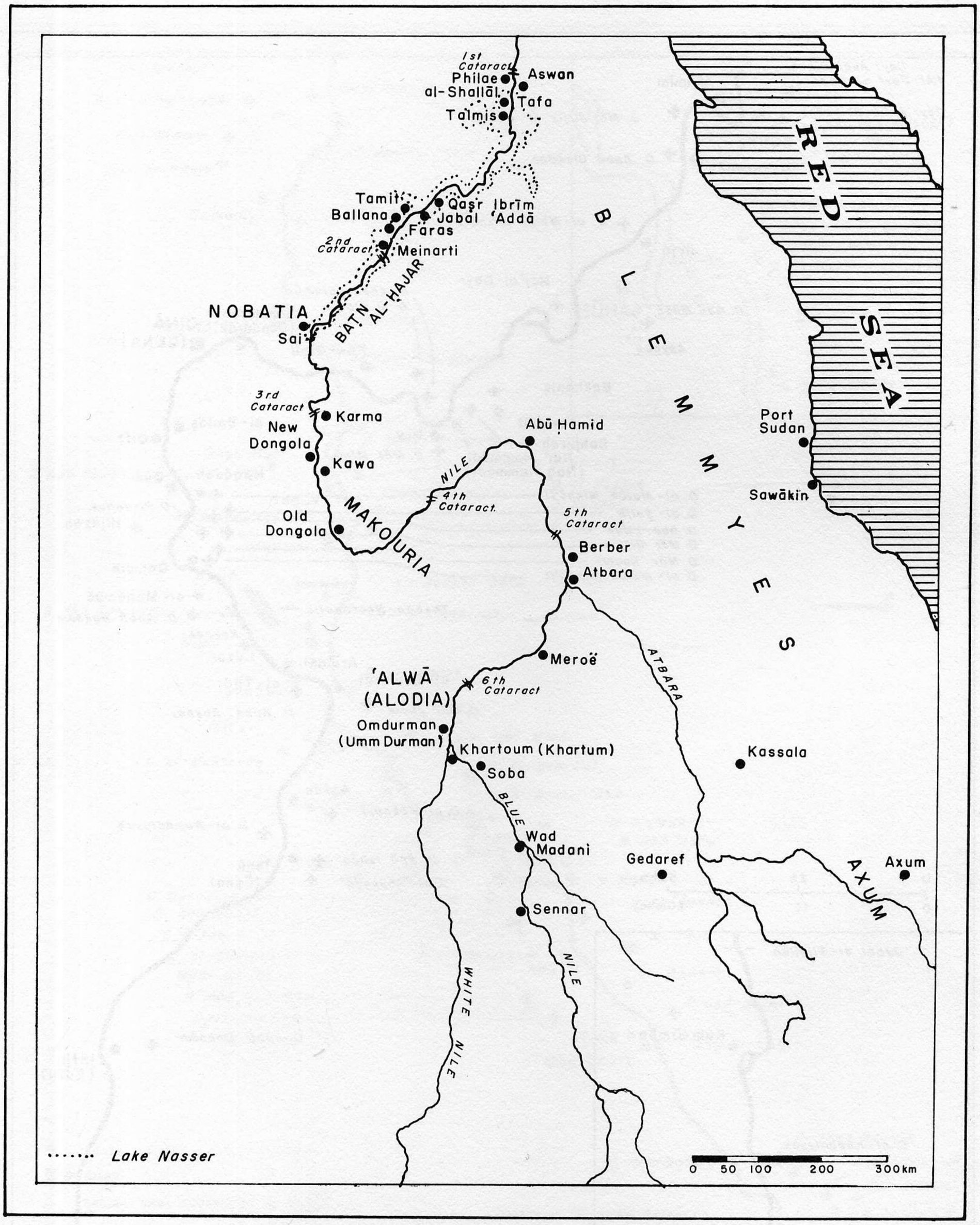
7. Monasteries of the Lower Ṣa'īd. (See article, pp. 1652–53.)



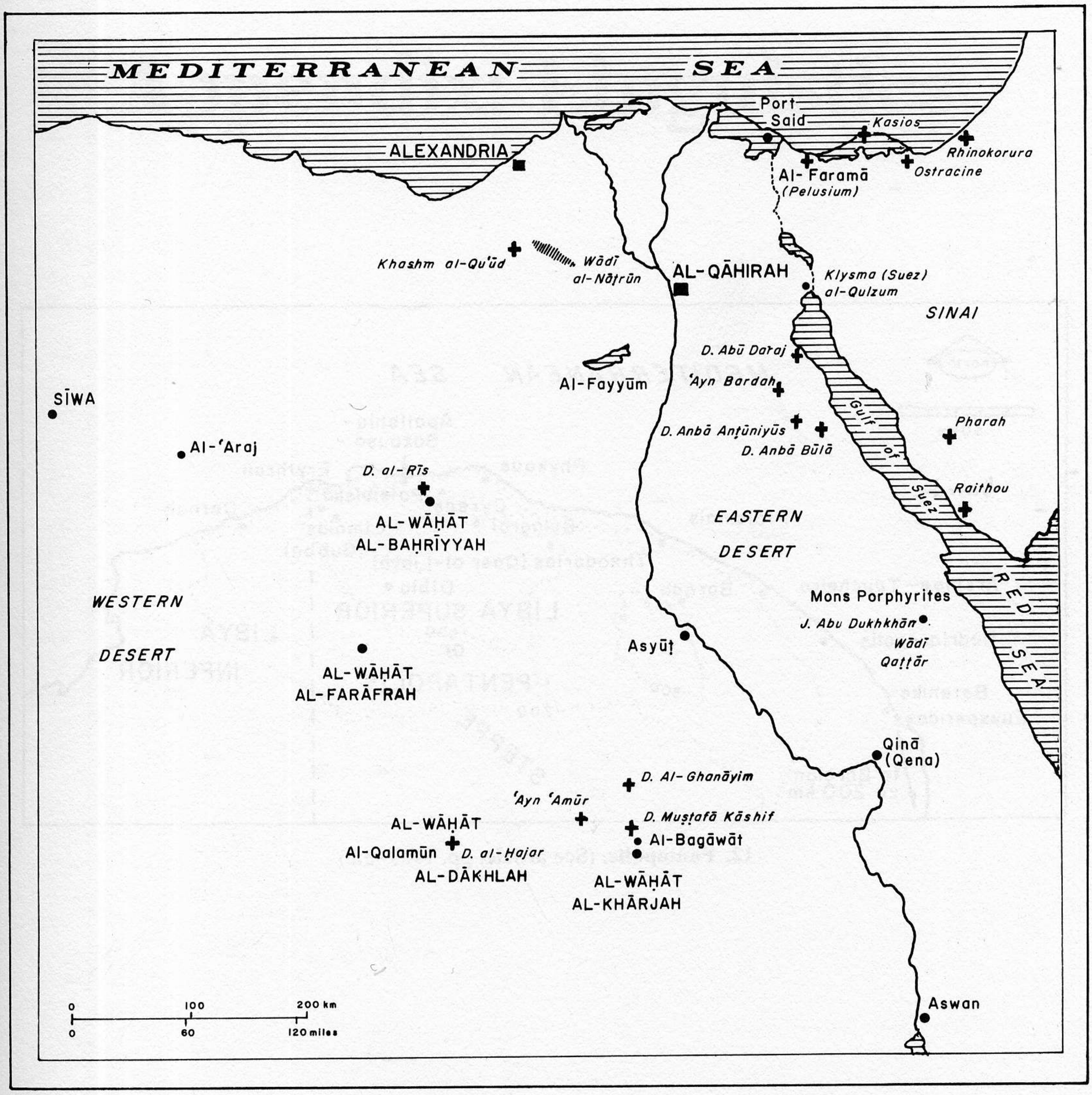
8. Monasteries of the Middle Ṣa'īd. (See article, pp. 1654–55.)



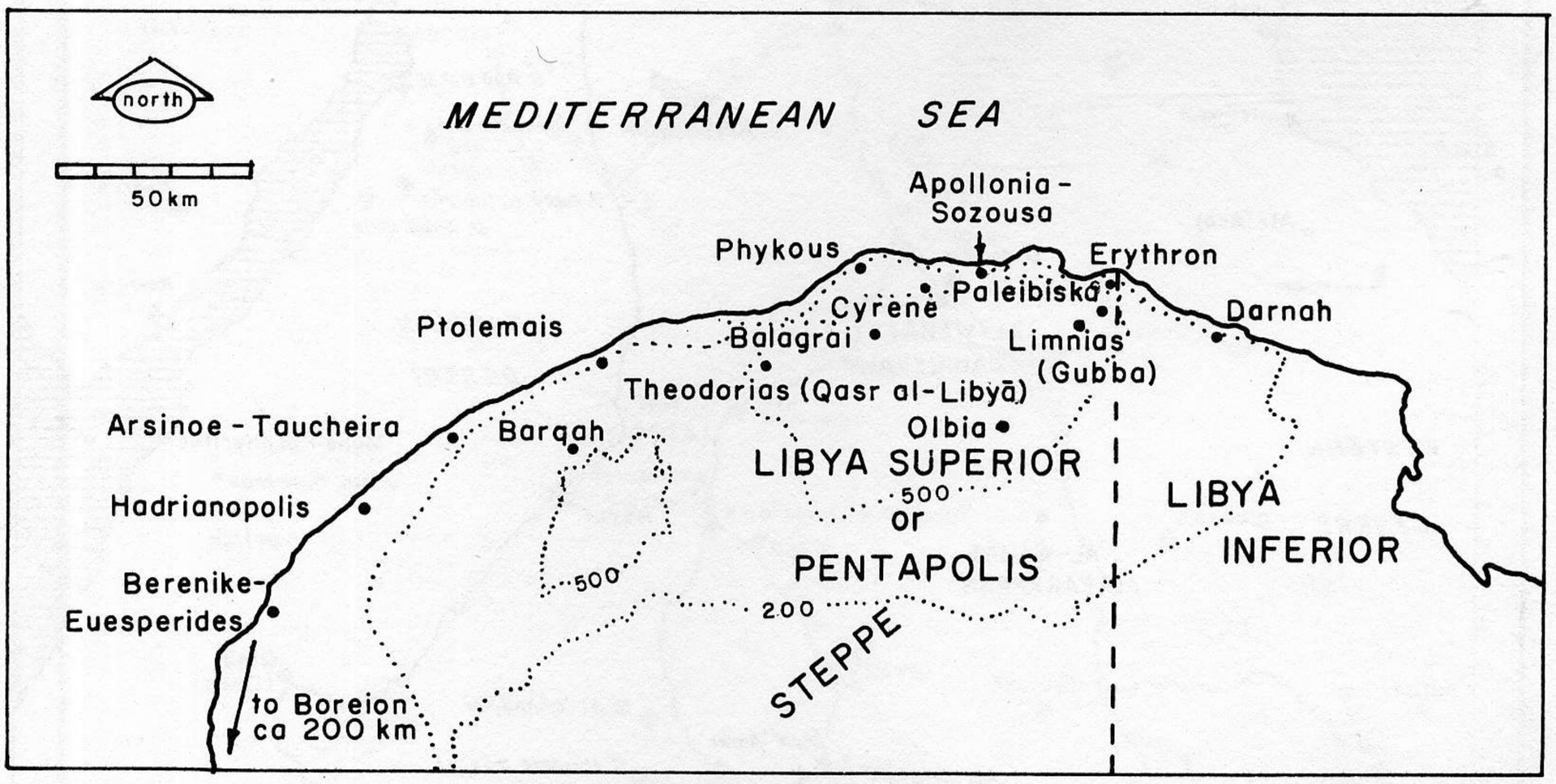
9. Monasteries of the Upper Ṣaʿīd. (See article, pp. 1656–58.)



10. Nubia. The Nubians, speakers of the Nubian family of languages, in modern times have lived principally in the Nile Valley from Aswan, Egypt, to Debba (south of Old Dongola), Sudan. Much of this area was flooded by the building of the Aswan dams (1963–1969). In the Middle Ages the territory of the Nubians extended from Aswan to the confluence of the Blue and White Niles and comprised the kingdoms of NOBATIA, MAKOURIA, and 'ALWĀ. The Blemmye or BEJA TRIBES have occupied the Red Sea hills since pharaonic times. Area shown includes parts of modern-day Egypt, Sudan, and Ethiopia. (See NUBIA and related articles, pp. 1800–1820.)



11. Oases. Christian ruins are still to be found in the oases located in the Western Desert. (See 'ARAJ, AL-; 'AYN AMŪR; BAGAWĀT, AL-; DAYR AL-GHANĀYIM; DAYR AL-ḤĀJAR; DAYR MUṢṬAFĀ KĀSHIF.)



12. Pentapolis. (See article, pp. 1933–35.)

Appendix: Linguistics

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Vocabulary, Copto-Greek
Vocabulary, Cuneiform Transcriptions of Prototypes of Autochthonous Coptic
Vocabulary of Egyptian Origin, Autochthonous Coptic
Vocabulary of Semitic Origin, Autochthonous Coptic

Foreword

The greatest, but also the most fragile and delicate treasure of any highly developed civilization is its thought.

This is also true of the Egyptian pharaonic civilization, the most ancient among all exceptionally cultured civilizations.

The majority of today's tourists admire the Egyptian monuments covered with figures artistically drawn, carved, or painted, without really understanding them. Yet it is through these figures that the eternal soul of the Egyptians is expressed. These figures are a writing, or the essential illustrations to texts—texts written in the genuine Egyptian language, which hands down to us through the ages the mystery and profound essence of Egyptian thinking —through which humanity in its evolution completed a decisive stage in its history.

In the same way we can speak of the Egyptian Coptic civilization, direct descendant of the Egyptian pharaonic civilization. Its thinking, especially religious and Christian, but also Gnostic, Hermetic, and Manichaean, has come down to us through a rich literature. That literature is expressed in the different variations of the Coptic language, a language that is also a direct descendant of the Egyptian pharaonic language even if it is written in an alphabetical form (a writing for the most part renovated and simplified).

That is why the presentation of the Coptic language—with all its regional variations, orthographical, phonological, morphological, syntactic—is essential in an encyclopedia entirely devoted to all aspects of the splendid Coptic civilization, a living civilization that still remains flourishing today in Egypt.

Naturally in presenting the Coptic language—in its multiplicity—one cannot avoid some technical terminology without which it would have been difficult to treat correctly the subject in question. It is hoped that those readers who need such linguistic knowledge will make the effort necessary to understand this terminology. Other readers will consider the linguistics as useful tools ready to be used, perhaps rarely, but to hand whenever necessary.

Moreover, how could the Coptic language be omitted from the first Coptic encyclopedia when this language—more than 1500 years old, musically among the most beautiful, and rich in amazing subtleties (like those of the Egyptian Pharaonic language)—still resounds in the Coptic churches of today each time the holy liturgy is sung or recited there? This language goes on living through the adoration that human beings address to their eternal God, unique and permanent in its many forms and under its many names, multiple and various as it was revealed to humanity.

RODOLPHE KASSER

AKHMIMIC. The Akhmimic dialect (siglum *A*), along with the Sahidic (*S*) and the various vernaculars of the Lycopolitan dialect group (*L*), is one of the Upper Egyptian DIALECTS of Coptic. Its range of distribution extends from Aswan to Akhmīm (Coptic, ϣMIN or ⲭMIN; Arabic, *'Aḫmîm;* Greek, Panos or Panopolis). Thebes is considered the point of origin as well as the center of the Akhmimic-speaking region (Kahle, 1954, pp. 197–203; Vergote, 1973, Vol. la, p. 4). However, according to the former view of Kasser (1982a), the proto-Sahidic dialect (a reconstructed entity, symbol **pS*, very like DIALECT P) also began to develop in Thebes after having infiltrated from the north as early as the second half of the third century A.D. As a result, in the fourth century *A* and *S* were in concurrent use in the Upper Thebaid. While Akhmimic had not been uniformly standardized, it became a medium of writing as early as the fourth century and reached its zenith in the fourth and fifth centuries. Beginning in the fifth century, it was gradually displaced by the Upper Egyptian koine (*S*), although for its part *A* (besides *L?*) both influenced *S*—as seen in the Nag Hammadi texts and Shenute —in the fourth and fifth centuries and left traces in nonliterary texts from Thebes dating from the seventh and eighth centuries. These observations imply that even after being displaced by *S*, *A* was still in use as a spoken language.

1. General Characteristics

The dialectical features typical of *A* may be summarized in contradistinction to *S* (if necessary also to *P;* cf. Kasser, 1960) and to the group of dialects included under *L* (i.e., *L4* = Manichaean texts; *L5* = London Gospel of John, ed. Thompson, 1924, as well as the Dublin fragment of the Gospel of John and the Geneva fragment of the Acta Pauli, the latter two being unpublished; *L6* = Nag Hammadi texts of codices I, X, and XI, as well as the Heidelberg Acta Pauli, ed. Carl Schmidt, 1904 and 1909).

The textual citations below refer to editions and studies of the documents noted in the bibliography as follows: ApocSoph. = Steindorff, 1899; I Clem. = Schmidt, 1908; I Clem.(R) = Rösch, 1910 (pp. 1–87); Elias = Steindorff, 1899; EpAp. = Schmidt, 1919; Ex. = Lacau, 1911 (pp. 45–64); Herm. = Lefort, 1952 (pp. 1–18); Jn. = Rösch, 1910 (pp. 119–60); MinProph. (Minor Prophets) = Till, 1927b (for Obadiah 1–13; Amos 1:1–2:11; 6:3–10; 7:10–16; Habakkuk 1:7–2:2, 2:11–3:19; Haggai; Hosea; Joel 1:1–14, 2:19–3:21; Jonah 4:2–11; Malachi 1:1–7; 2:9–3:24; Micah 2:11–5:8; 6:1–7:20; Nahum 1:1–3:8, 3:14–19; Zephaniah; Zechariah 1:6–4:5, 7:14–14:21); MinProph. (Minor Prophets) = Malinine, 1950 (for Obadiah 13–21; Amos 8:11–9:15; Habakkuk 1:1–7, 2:2–17 (sic); Joel 1:14–2:19; Jonah 1:1–42; Micah 1:1–2:11, 5:8–6:1; Nahum 3:8–14; Zechariah 1:1–6, 4:6–7:14); Luke = Lefort, 1953; Ost. = Till, 1931 (text A); Prv. = Böhlig, 1958; Sir. = Lacau, 1911 (pp. 64–67); *P* (Papyrus Bodmer VI) = Kasser, 1960.

1.1 Grapheme Inventory. Beyond *S* and *L*, *A* adds the alphabetic symbol ⲉ, the postpalatal spirant /x/ (or h̲, [x₂] from the Egyptian *ḫ* or *h̲*); in *P*, the symbol for this is ϧ.

1.2 Phonetic Characteristics.

1.2.1. A, L /a/, *S* /o/ in a closed stressed syllable before a nonlaryngeal sound, e.g., *A, L* ⲥⲁⲛ, *S* ⲥⲟⲛ, brother.

1.2.2. A, L /e/, *S* /a/ in a closed stressed syllable, e.g., *A, L* ⲣⲉⲛ; *S* ⲣⲁⲛ, name.

1.2.3. A /i:/; *S* /ē/ before a laryngeal in the medial and final position, e.g., *A* ⲙⲓⲉⲓϣⲉ, ⲙⲓϣⲉ, *S* ⲙⲏⲏϣⲉ, *L* ⲙⲏϣⲉ, crowd; *A* ⲟⲩⲓⲉⲓⲃⲉ, *S, L* ⲟⲩⲏⲏⲃ, priest; *A* ⲣⲓ, *S, L* ⲣⲏ, sun; *A* ⲟⲩⲁⲓ, *S, L* ⲟⲩϣⲏ, night.

1.2.4. A, (L5) /u:/, *S, L* /o:/ in a long final position or before a laryngeal, e.g., *A, (L5)* ⲕⲟⲩ, *S, L4, (L5)* ⲕⲱ, *L6* ⲕⲱⲉ, to place (< Egyptian *ḫ3'*); *A, (L5)* ⲃⲟⲩ, *S, L4 (L5)* ⲃⲱ, to remain (< demotic *g3, g'* < *gr*); *A* ⲡⲣⲟⲩ, *S, L4, L5* ⲡⲣⲱ, winter; *A, (L5), L6* ⲭⲟⲩ: *S, L4, L5* ⲭⲱ, to say.

1.2.5. */ew/ in stressed final syllables: *A* /o/, *L* /eu̯/, *S* /au̯/, e.g., *A, L4* (ManiH=Manichaean Homilies) ⲛⲟ, *L* ⲛⲉⲩ, *S* ⲛⲁⲩ, to see; *A, L4* (ManiH) ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲟ, *L* ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ, *S* ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ, that (*literally,* which is there).

1.2.6.1. Typical of certain *A* texts (but not orthographically standardized throughout in *A*), insertion

of a nasal before /t/ following /u:/ in open stressed syllables: *A* in I Clem., Herm., Prov. (minority), Jn. (minority) ⲙⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ, *S*, *L*, etc., and elsewhere in *A* ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ, to call; *A* in I Clem., Herm., Prov. (majority) ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ, *S*, *L*, etc., and elsewhere in *A* ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ, God.

1.2.6.2. In contrast, the inserted nasal (sonant) is missing in *A*, *L4*, *L5* (*L6* oscillating) in the posttonic syllable: /mt/, *A* ϩⲁⲙⲧ, *L4*, *L5* ϣⲁⲙⲧ, *L6* ϣⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧ, *S* ϣⲟⲙⲛ̄ⲧ, three; *A*, *L4*, *L5* ϩⲁⲙⲧ, *L6* ϩⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧ, *S* ϩⲟⲙⲛ̄ⲧ, copper; *A*, *L4*, *L6* ⲥⲁⲙⲧ†, *S* ⲥⲟⲙⲛ̄ⲧ†, to be stretched.

1.2.7. Anaptyctic vowel [ə] as well as /e/ is written as ⲉ at the end of a word following a closed syllable of the pattern */voiceless consonant + voiced consonant or son(or)ant/*, by which *A* and *L4* form a group distinct from *L5*, *L6*, e.g., *A*, *L4* ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ, *S*, *(L4)*, *L5*, *L6* ⲥⲱⲧⲛ̄, to hear; *A*, *L4* ⲧⲁϩⲙⲉ†, *S* ⲧⲁϩⲙ†, to be invited (versus *S*, *A*, *L* ⲧⲁϩⲙⲉ, to invite you [f.]), *A* ϩⲧⲁⲣⲧⲣⲉ, *L* ϣⲧⲁⲣⲧⲣ̄, *S* ϣⲧⲟⲣⲧⲣ̄, to be amazed. Naturally, the consonant can also be /'/, e.g., *A* ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃⲉ†, *L4* ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ†, *S*, *L5*, *L6* ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ†, to be holy (< *w'b*). Note that while the representation in spelling of the anaptyctic vowel ⲉ in the configuration */consonant + son(or)ant/*—not */laryngeal + son(or)ant/*—is not standardized in *L4*, the spelling with ⲉ predominates by far. Consistent spelling occurs only in ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ, to know (also *P* ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛⲉ). The anaptyctic vowel noted here by /ə/ is phonemically relevant according to Hintze (1980).

1.3 Morphological Features.

1.3.1. Second present tense in *A*, *B*(!) ⲁⲕ-, *S*, *L* ⲉⲕ- (in affirmative sentences, it is homophonic with the circumstantial verbal prefix).

1.3.2. Imperfect: *A*, *B*(!) ⲛⲁⲕ- (ⲡⲉ), *S*, *L* ⲛⲉⲕ- (ⲡⲉ).

1.3.3. Second perfect: *A* ⲛⲁⲕ-, *S*, *L* ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ-.

1.3.4. In the "ⲉⲧⲁϩ group" (see 3.2.1.1), the relative morpheme of the perfect remains invariably ⲉⲧⲁϩ- if the subject of the relative clause is identical to the antecedent in the main clause.

1.3.5. Homophony exists between the subject pronoun of the conjunctive tense and that of the first present, except the form of the first-person singular: first present *S*, *A*, *L* ⲓ-; conjunctive *A* ⲧⲁ-, *S*, *L* (ⲛ̄)ⲧⲁ-.

1.3.6. Causative prefix *A* ⲧⲉ-, *S*, *L5*, *L6* ⲧⲣⲉ- (in *L4* the prefix is not standardized, ⲧⲉ- occurring alongside ⲧⲣⲉ-).

1.3.7. The qualitative form of ⲧ- causative verbs in *A* almost entirely ends in -ⲁⲥⲓⲧ.

1.3.8. The negation of the nominal sentence and the bipartite conjugation pattern in *A* is realized without ⲛ, i.e., only with ⲉⲛ (*S* ⲛ . . . ⲁⲛ): *A (L)* ⲉⲕⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲉⲛ, *S* ⲉⲛⲧⲥⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲛ, while he does not hear; *A* ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲉⲛ, *S* ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲛ, who does not hear.

1.3.9. Definite articles in *A*, including those preceding double consonants and expressions of time, are ⲡ-, ⲧ-, and ⲛ- (without ⲉ).

1.3.10. The second-person feminine singular possessive articles in *A*, *B* are ⲛⲉ-, ⲧⲉ-, ⲛⲉ-, *S* ⲛⲟⲩ-, ⲧⲟⲩ-, ⲛⲟⲩ-.

1.3.11. The third-person plural possessive articles in *A*, *B* are ⲛⲟⲩ-, ⲧⲟⲩ-, ⲛⲟⲩ-, *S* ⲛⲉⲩ-, ⲧⲉⲩ-, ⲛⲉⲩ-.

1.4 Lexical Features (Akhmimic Isoglosses).

1.4.1. Significant function words:

1.4.1.1. A ⲁⲟⲩ, *S*, *L* ⲁⲩⲱ, and.

1.4.1.2. Directional preposition to or toward (< Egyptian *r*) *A*, *L* ⲁ-, *S* ⲉ-, including the adverbs containing the formative ⲁ/ⲉ, *A*, *L* ⲁⲃⲁⲗ, *P* ⲁⲃⲟⲗ, *S* ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, out of; *A* ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ, *L* ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ, *P* ⲁϧⲟⲩⲛ, *S* ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ, *B* ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ, into.

1.4.1.3. Negative imperative *A* ⲙⲛ̄-, *S (L)* ⲙⲡⲣ̄-.

1.4.1.4. Lexical and functional distinction between conditional particles formed from -ⲛⲉ and -ⲭⲉ: *A* ⲉⲓϩⲛⲉ, ϩⲛⲉ, if (in the sense "supposing it is true that") is to be differentiated from ⲉⲓϩⲭⲉ, ϩⲭⲉ, if (in the sense "as if it were"), the equivalent of ⲉⲱⲭⲉ in *S*. This distinction is found only in *L6* of those texts belonging to the *L* group: ⲉⲓⲱⲛⲉ as opposed to ⲉⲓⲱⲭⲉ (Funk, 1985).

1.4.2. A number of nominal and verbal lexemes specific for *A* (cf. Till, 1928, pp. 276–78; Kasser, 1979a). While the vocabulary of Akhmimic has been treated throughout in Crum (1939), Kasser (1964), and Westendorf (1977), a fully documented lexicon of Akhmimic has not yet been compiled.

1.5 Syntactic Features.

1.5.1. Connecting objects.

1.5.1.1. Nonreduction of the stressed vowel of the infinitive occurs also when the object is attached directly to it. In such cases, the infinitive retains the form of the *status absolutus*. In the bipartite conjugation pattern this construction is possible only with objects not modified by a determinative (Shisha-Halevy, 1976).

1.5.1.2. There is a tendency toward placing a pronominal indirect object (dative) before the direct object (accusative) without an accusative particle, in the case of ⲓ, to give; ⲕⲧⲟ, to bring back; and ⲭⲡⲟ, to bring forth, which then take the respective forms ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉ〃 accusative, ⲕⲧⲉ ⲛⲉ〃 accusative, and ⲭⲡⲉ ⲛⲉ〃 accusative.

1.5.2. As in *L*, the affirmative final clause following ⲭⲉ is almost always the second future (*S* third future, or *futurum energicum*).

As is apparent in sections 1–5 above, not all of the described features are exclusively characteristic of *A*. Further, it is the totality of all features (or, if not all features appear in a given text, the combination of sufficient individual features within a text) that assigns a document to the Akhmimic dialect.

The following sections will include a discussion of the phonemic inventory (2) and the conjugation system (3) of *A*, out of which the criteria for group classification (4) of Akhmimic texts will be derived. At the end (5), problems associated with a number of texts traditionally assigned to *A* will be treated.

2. The Phonemic Inventory of Akhmimic

As is traditional, consonants and vowels will be treated separately in this inventory.

2.1 Consonants.

2.1.1. Consonantal phonemes and graphemes are as shown in Table 1. The eighteen consonantal phonemes of *A* correspond to seventeen graphemes. The laryngeal stop /'/ does not have its own sign but is expressed, or may be recognized, by the following:

- graphic vowel doubling (or "breaking" of vowels) (e.g., ⲕⲁⲁ⸗ⲫ, to place him)
- syllabic structure */voiceless consonant + voiced consonant + ə/* (cf. 1.2.7: ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃⲉ†, ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ†, i.e., /wa'b(ə)/)
- vowel narrowing /ē/ > /i:/ (ⲣⲏ, ⲣⲓ; cf. 1.2.3), /ō/ > /u:/ (ⲕⲱ, ⲕⲟⲩ; cf. 1.2.4)
- the postconsonantal first-person singular suffix pronoun (ⲕⲁⲁ⸗ⲧ, to place me, i.e., /ka't/)

The phonetic articulation of /b̄/ ⲃ is disputed; Vergote assigns it to the bilabial category, but see his *Grammaire copte* (1973, Vol. 1a, sec. 28).

ⲅ and ⲇ appear only in Greek loanwords. The replacement of ⲕ by ⲅ in the unstressed syllable ⲛⲧ (e.g., *S* ⲙⲟⲩⲛⲕ, ⲙⲟⲩⲛⲧ, to form) is foreign to *A*. Except in Greek loanwords, ⲍ is not represented in *A*, since ⲁⲛⲍⲏⲃⲉ (or variously ⲁⲛⲥⲏⲃⲉ), school, is not attested in Akhmimic.

ⲫ, ⲑ, and ⲭ are, as in *S* and *L*, monographic characters of the phoneme combinations /p + h/, /t + h/, and /k + h/. Only in Bohairic do aspirants corresponding to /p/, /t/, /k/ occur. The symbols ⲯ and ⲝ represent the phonemic combinations /p + s/ and /k + s/, e.g., ⲯⲓⲥ, nine, and ⲧⲉⲝⲉ (*S* ⲧⲁⲃⲥⲉ, ⲧⲁⲕⲥⲉ), footprint. The graphemes (ⲟ)ⲩ and (ⲉ)ⲓ also serve to indicate those vowels, [u:] and [i:], which are homorganic with the voiced spirants.

Note that in causative verbs such as ⲭⲡⲟ, to cause to be ashamed (< *dj-špj*), ⲭ may be interpreted in *A* as biphonemic /t + š/; compare *S*, *L* ⲭⲡⲟ, *A* ⲧⲉⲡⲟ, *P* ⲧⲫⲡⲟ, to bring forth (< *dj-ḫpr*).

2.1.2. Phonetic alterations of consonants.

2.1.2.1. Assimilation: *n* before *p* > *mp* is not standardized, e.g., *n-p* appears side by side with *m-p* (ϩⲛ ⲡⲏⲓ as well as ϩⲙ ⲡⲏⲓ [not in EpAp.], ⲉⲛ ⲡⲉ side by side with ⲉⲙ ⲡⲉ [rare, I Clem.]); *n* before *m* > *mm* (rare), ⲧⲙⲙⲟⲩϩ, and we fill (Prov. 13:1); *s* before *š* > *šš*, ⲥⲱⲉ appears side by side with ⲱⲱⲉ, it is fitting.

2.1.2.2. Dissimilation: *mm* > *nm*, ⲙⲙⲁ⸗ (*status pronominalis* of ⲛ-) *A* (standard) versus ⲛⲙⲁ⸗ (EpAp.); *mp* > *np:* ⲛⲡⲉ- (negative first perfect) *A* (standard) versus ⲛⲛⲉ- (EpAp.).

2.1.2.3. Partial depalatalization: *k'* /c/ before *s* > *ks*, *S*, *L* ⲛⲟⲩⲅⲥ, *A* ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲥ, to be wroth; *S* ϥⲟⲅⲧ, *A* ϥⲁⲕⲧ, leap; *S* ⲧⲟⲅⲧ, *A* ⲧⲁⲕⲧ, seat.

2.1.2.4. Metathesis: ⲡⲱϩⲧ side by side with ⲡⲱⲥϩ, to bite; ⲱϩⲧ side by side with ⲱⲥϩ, to reap.

2.2 Vowels.

2.2.1 The vocalic phoneme inventory. A new and comprehensive system of Coptic vowel phonemes, especially modified for the separate dialects, has been proposed by Vergote (1973, Vol. 1a, sec. 60–65, *A* sec. 62). According to the phonemic system developed by Satzinger (1979), vocalic phonemes appear always as carriers of the stressed syllable. "All vocalic articulation outside of the stressed syllable may be explained as consonantal phonemes or as anaptyctic vowels which emerge according to specific rules" (ibid. p. 344). While Satzinger's system has

TABLE 1. *Consonants of Akhmimic*

	BILABIAL	LABIO-DENTAL	DENTAL	PRE-PALATAL	POST-PALATAL	LARYNGEAL
Voiceless stops	/p/ ⲡ		/t/ⲧ	/č/,/c/ ⲭ, ϭ	/k/ ⲕ	/'/ e.g., ⲁⲁ
Voiceless spirants		/f/ ⲫ	/s/ⲥ	/š/ ⲯ	/x/ ⲋ	/h/ ϩ
Voiced spirants	/w/ (ⲟ)ⲩ	/b̄/ ⲃ		/j/ (ⲉ)ⲓ		
Nasals	/m/ ⲙ		/n/ ⲛ			
Laterals/vibrants			/l/ ⲗ,/r/ⲣ			

BASED ON: Vergote, 1973, Vol. 1a, pp. 13, 15.

the advantage of greater clarity, it ignores morpho-phonological connections. The result is that all morphemes that in the co-text do not function as the main stressed syllables remain unconsidered. The following summary relies on Vergote's analysis but does not treat all possible phonetic articulations. [ə] as an anaptyctic vowel in closed syllables, with or without a sonorant, is not considered a phoneme (otherwise Hintze, 1980; cf. 1.2.7).

2.2.1.1. Short vowels:

/a/ ⲁ: ⲃⲁⲧⲉ, abomination; ⲥⲁⲛ, brother. Articulated before laryngeals and in stressed final position as [ȯ] (ⲟ), as in ϩⲟ, thousand; ⲧⲉⲕⲟ, to destroy; ϩⲟⲟⲡ†, to be; ⲟⲟϩ, moon; but ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃⲉ†, to be holy.

/e/ ⲉ: ⲛⲉⲫⲉ, half; ⲣⲉⲛ, name. Articulated as [ə] before a sonorant concluding a syllable or before continuants, as in ⲃⲭⲭⲉ, shard, pottery; ⲥⲃⲃⲉ, to circumcise; ⲧⲥⲧⲟ, to bring back.

/ə/ ⲉ: in unstressed initial, medial, and final sounds, but not as an anaptyctic vowel: ⲉⲁⲩ, glory; ⲉⲉⲥϭⲉ, hunter; ⲣⲱⲙⲉ, man, as opposed to ϩⲱⲧⲃⲉ /xōtḇ(ə)/, to kill; ⲧⲁϩⲙⲉ /tahmə/, to call you (fem. sing.), as opposed to ⲧⲁϩⲙⲉ† /tahm̩(ə)/ to be invited.

2.2.1.2. Long vowels:

/ī/ ⲓ, ⲉⲓ: ⲉⲓⲛⲉ, to bring; ⲙⲓⲥⲉ, to bear; ϫⲓ, to receive.

/ē/ ⲏ: ⲕⲏⲙⲉ, Egypt; ⲃⲏⲕ†, going; ⲛⲏⲧⲛⲉ, to you (pl.); ⲏⲣⲡ̄, wine. Articulated before laryngeals and at the ends of words as [i:]: ⲙⲓⲉ, truth; ⲟⲩϩⲓ, night; /hēp/ ϩⲏⲡ†, to be hidden, as opposed to /kē'/ ⲕⲉⲓ†, to be laid.

Note that according to Vergote, ⲏ [ė:] is an allophone of [i:] before and after sonorants (ⲉⲉⲣⲏⲉ, ⲛⲏⲧⲛⲉ).

/ō/ ⲱ: ⲕⲱⲧ, to build; ⲡⲱⲧ, to run; ⲣⲱⲕϩ̄, to burn; thereto the allophone [u:] (ⲟⲩ) after /m/ and /n/ before laryngeals and when final, as in ⲙⲟⲩ(ⲛ)ⲧⲉ, to call; ⲛⲟⲩ(ⲛ)ⲧⲉ, God; ⲕⲟⲩ, to place; ⲡⲣⲟⲩ, winter; but ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲛⲉ.

/ū/ ⲟⲩ: ϩⲟⲩⲛ, interior; ⲥⲟⲩⲣⲉ, thorn; ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲉⲓⲉⲧ〃 (ⲁⲃⲁⲗ), to reveal (this last is different in Vergote, 1973, Vol. 1a, sec. 56).

2.2.1.3. Contraction vowel:

/ew/ ⲟ, ⲱ only in final sounds after /m/ and /n/: ⲙⲟ, ⲙⲱ mother; ⲛⲟ, to see; ⲙ̄ⲙⲟ, there. The written variations ⲙⲟ, ⲙⲱ do not indicate the neutralization of a supposed opposition *o versus ō, since in the *A* vocalic system [o] does not appear as a phoneme, but exists only as an allophone of /a/.

Note that ⲱ for ⲟ occurs occasionally as the final sound /-a'/ of the causative verb ⲧⲁϥⲱ, to increase (I Clem. 59:3, p. 77,9; Elias 33:9).

2.2.2. Vocalic opposition dependent upon syllabic structure (long-short opposition).

/ō/, /a/: /kōt/ ⲕⲱⲧ, to build, /katf/ ⲕⲁⲧϥ, to build it (masc.). /pōrx/ ⲡⲱⲣϩ̄, to spread out, /parxf/ ⲡⲁⲣϩⲉϥ, to spread it (masc.) out. /mōnk/ ⲙⲟⲩⲛⲕ̄, to form, /mankf/ ⲙⲁⲛⲕⲉϥ, to form it (masc.). /mōr/ ⲙⲟⲩⲣ, to bind, /marf/ ⲙⲁⲣϥ, to bind it (masc.). Before laryngeals: /xōpə/ ϩⲱⲡⲉ, to become, /xo'p/ ϩⲟⲟⲡ†, to be.

Note that in the *status nominalis*, /a/ before a sonorant is reduced to [ə]: ⲙϯ, to bind someone/something; ⲛϯϩⲉ-, to spread out someone/something.

/ū/, /a/: /nhūt=/ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲧ〃, to trust, /nhat/ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲧ†, trusting (there are no further examples).

/ē/, /e/: /nētn̩(ə)/ ⲛⲏⲧⲛⲉ, to you (pl.), /nek/ ⲛⲉⲕ, to you (sing. masc.). /cərēc/ ⲥⲉⲣⲏⲥ, hunter, /cərecə/ ⲥⲉⲣⲉⲥⲉ, hunters.

/ī/, /e/: /mərit/ ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ, beloved (one), /mərətə/ ⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ, beloved (ones). /mīsə/ ⲙⲓⲥⲉ, to bear, /mestf/ ⲙⲉⲥⲧϥ, to bear him. Before a sonorant, /ī/ disappears and the sonorant becomes sonant and syllabic: /cīnə/ ⲥⲓⲛⲉ, to find, /cn̩təf/ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥ, to find him.

Vocalic opposition is summarized in Table 2.

3. The Conjugation System

The summary of the system is based on Polotsky (1960) and Funk (1981). Except in special instances (e.g., conjunctive), the form cited here is only the third-person masculine singular and the corresponding prenominal form (nom. = before nominal subject). The entire paradigm is not attested in all conjugations.

Unless specifically mentioned, the form is affirmative (neg. = negative). Every basic tense (abbreviated hereafter to "basic") is followed (if attested) by its satellites, after "And": circ. = circumstantial, rel. = relative, pret. = preterite, II = second tense. Forms

TABLE 2. *Summary of Vocalic Opposition*

LONG	SHORT	LONG
CLOSED/DARK	OPEN/CLEAR	OPEN/CLEAR
/ō/ⲱ /ū/ⲟⲩ	/a/ⲁ /e/ⲉ	/ī/ⲉⲓ, ⲓ /ē/ⲏ

between brackets [. . .] are reconstituted from very similar forms (zero = no verbal prefix, no particle, etc.).

3.1 Bipartite Pattern.

3.1.1. *Present* (basic) ϥ-, nom. zero. And circ. ⲉϥ-, nom. ⲉ- or ⲉⲣⲉ- (cf. Polotsky, 1960, sec. 55); rel. ⲉⲧ- or ⲉⲧϥ- resp., nom. ⲉⲧⲉ- or ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ-; pret. ⲛⲁϥ- . . . (ⲛⲉ; also ⲛⲉϥ-, Ex. 1:5, by influence of *S* ?), nom. ⲛⲁ- (Jn. 12,2; ⲛⲁ- see also second perfect) or ⲛⲁⲣⲉ- . . . (ⲛⲉ); II ⲁϥ- (with ϫⲉ, ϫⲁⲓⲛⲏⲩ, I Clem. 48:2), nom. ⲁ- or ⲁⲣ- or ⲁⲣⲉ- (cf. Polotsky, 1960, sec. 55).

3.1.2. Future (basic) ϥⲛⲁ-, nom. zero . . . ⲛⲁ-. And circ. ⲉϥⲛⲁ-, nom. ⲉ- . . . ⲛⲁ-; rel. ⲉⲧⲛⲁ- or ⲉⲧϥⲛⲁ-, nom. ⲉⲧⲉ- . . . ⲛⲁ-; pret. ⲛⲁϥⲛⲁ- . . . ⲛⲉ (in the apodosis of the hypothetical form = *Irrealis*); II ⲁϥⲛⲁ-, nom. ⲁ- . . . ⲛⲁ- or ⲁⲣⲉ- . . . ⲛⲁ- (second feminine singular ⲁⲣⲁ-, I Clem. 20:7, cf. Polotsky, 1960, sec. 59; second masculine singular also ⲉⲕⲛⲁ-, EpAp. 23,4; with ϫⲉ, ϫⲁϥⲛⲁ-, first plural ϫⲁⲛⲛⲁ-, I Clem. 58:1; second masculine singular also ϫⲉⲕⲛⲁ-, Prv. 5:2; nom. ϫⲁ- . . . ⲛⲁ-, Prv. 3:22, but ϫⲉ ⲁ- . . . ⲛⲁ-, Prv. 3:10; nom. ⲁ(ⲣⲉ)- . . . ⲛⲁ-; cf. Polotsky, 1960, sec. 55).

3.2 Tripartite Pattern.

3.2.1 Tenses with special negations (if not II). Independent (sentence) conjugations.

3.2.1.1. *Perfect* (basic) ⲁϥ- (second feminine singular ⲁⲣ-), nom. ⲁ-; neg. ⲙⲡϥ-, nom. ⲙⲡⲉ- (in EpAp. a dissimilative ⲛⲡϥ-, nom. ⲛⲡⲉ-). And circ. ⲉⲁϥ-, nom. ⲉⲁ-; neg. ⲉⲙⲡϥ-; rel. ⲉⲧⲁϥ- or ⲉⲧⲁ2-, nom. ⲉⲧⲁ- (to the ⲉⲧⲁ2-group belong EpAp.; Elias; Ex. 2:14, 4:11; I Clem.; Jn.; and Ost.; nevertheless, the inflected form ⲉⲧⲁ⁄ also appears in these texts under identical syntactic conditions; ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁϥ-, Prv. 18:22, and ⲛⲧⲁϥ-, Elias 22:11, are to be considered as influenced by *S*); II ⲛⲁϥ-, nom. ⲛⲁ- (Polotsky [1937 and 1944] is to be credited with the discovery of the Akhmimic second perfect; it is found with a derivative of the second degree only in the protasis of the hypothetical form = *Irrealis,* ⲉⲛⲁⲩⲙⲁ2ⲉ, if they had gone, Prv. 2:20), also ⲉⲁϥ- (I Clem. 31:3), [ⲉⲧⲁϥ-] (I Clem. 32:3, ⲛⲉⲓ ⲉⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲓ ⲉⲁⲩ ⲁⲟⲩ ⲁⲩϫⲓⲥⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ2ⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ2ⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩ2ⲃⲏⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲩⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛ2ⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲛ2ⲉ, "Now all of these are glorified and elevated, not through themselves nor through their works of righteousness which they did, but through his will"; cf. second perfect of *B*).

3.2.1.2. *Completive* (basic) (it is unknown whether the expected affirmative substitute *ⲁϥⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲉϥ- is simply not attested or actually does not exist in *A;* the passage cited in Crum, 1937, 373b, Hos. 13:2, is not pertinent: ⲁⲩ⟨ⲟⲩ⟩ⲟⲩ, they perished, is a finite verb form in the first perfect; on the completive as a formal category, affirmative substitute *S* ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱ ⲉϥ-, has already . . . , neg. ⲙⲡⲁⲧϥ-, has not yet . . . , see Funk, 1981, pp. 191–94); neg. ⲙⲡⲁⲧϥ- (in EpAp. a dissimilative [ⲛⲡⲁⲧϥ-], third plural ⲛⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩ-), nom. ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ- (EpAp. [ⲛⲡⲁⲧⲉ-] not attested). And circ. neg. ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧϥ-, nom. ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ-.

3.2.1.3. *Aorist* (basic) ⲉⲁⲣⲉϥ- (second plural) ⲉⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄-, Hg. 2:16), nom. ⲉⲁⲣⲉ-; neg. ⲙⲁϥ-, nom. ⲙⲁⲣⲉ- or ⲙⲁ- (cf. Polotsky, 1960, sec. 55). And circ. ⲉⲉⲁⲣⲉϥ-, nom. ⲉⲉⲁⲣⲉ-; neg. ⲉⲙⲁϥ-; rel. ⲉⲧⲉⲁⲣⲉϥ-, nom. ⲉⲧⲉⲁⲣⲉ-; neg. ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲁϥ- (Prv. 14:23); pret. [ⲛⲉⲉⲁⲣⲉϥ-] third plural ⲛⲉⲉⲁⲣⲟⲩ-; II ⲁⲉⲁⲣⲉϥ- (Elias 38:13), nom. ⲁⲉⲁⲣⲉ- (Prv. 11:10, 19:14, also ⲉⲉⲁⲣⲉ-, Prv. 19:15 by influence of *S*?).

3.2.1.4. *Futurum energicum* (or third future) (basic) ⲁϥⲁ-, nom. ⲁ-; neg. ⲛⲉϥ- (also ⲉⲛⲉϥ-, Sir. 22,19), nom. ⲛⲉ-; with ϫⲉ, ϫⲁϥⲁ-, nom. ϫⲁ-; neg. [ϫⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥ-] (e.g., third feminine singular ϫⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲥ-, Lk. 18:5), nom. ϫⲛ̄ⲛⲉ- (Elias, I Clem.).

3.2.1.5. *Imperative,* e.g., ⲉⲛⲟ, see! (Ex. 4:13; for imperative with preformatives, see Till, 1928, sec. 147d); or infinitive; or ⲙⲁ + ⲧ-causative (no attestation among ⲧ-causative verbs of an imperative constructed simply from an infinitive); neg. ⲙⲛ̄- + infinitive; also ⲙⲡⲱⲣ ⲁ-, ApocSoph. 10,6. (this form is also common in *L4* and *L6* [Nag Hammadi]; ⲙⲡⲱⲣ ⲥⲓⲛⲏⲃ, do not sleep (pl.), *A* Ost. A 10, is highly questionable, probably an erroneous writing of ⲙⲡⲱⲣ ⲁ-).

3.2.1.6. *Causative imperative* ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥ-, nom. ⲙⲁⲣⲉ-, absolute ⲙⲁⲣⲁⲛ (Mi. 4:2); neg. ⲙⲛ̄ⲧϥ-, nom. ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ-.

3.2.2 Tenses with neg. ⲧⲙ̄(ⲛ̄)-. Subordinate (clause) conjugations.

3.2.2.1. *Conjunctive* (singular first, second masc./fem., third masc./fem., plural first, second, third) ⲧⲁ-, ⲕ-, ⲧⲉ-, ϥ- (also ⲛ̄ⲧϥ-, EpAp. 2,14), ⲥ-, ⲧⲛ̄-, ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄-, ⲥⲉ- (or ⲥⲟⲩ-, EpAp. 6,7), nom. ⲧⲉ-.

3.2.2.2. *Future conjunctive* ⲧⲁⲣⲉϥ- (second plural ⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄-), nom. ⲧⲁⲣⲉ-.

3.2.2.3. *Temporal:* Group I ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉϥ-, nom. ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉ- (Jn.; Herm.; Prv.; ApocSoph. 11,2; Elias; EpAp. 3,14, 19,10); Group II ⲧⲁⲣⲉϥ-, nom. ⲧⲁⲣⲉ- (I Clem., Ex., EpAp., MinProph.).

3.2.2.4. *Limitative* ("until . . .") ⲱⲁⲧϥ- (first singular ⲱⲁ†-), nom. ⲱⲁⲧⲉ- (also ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉ-, ApocSoph. 18,5).

3.2.2.5. *First conditional* ⲁϥⲱⲁ- (also ⲉϥⲱⲁ-, I Clem.; second plural ⲁⲱⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄-, also I Clem., but once ⲉⲱⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄-, I Clem. 63:2), nom. ⲁⲱⲁ- (also ⲉⲱⲁ-, I Clem.).

3.2.2.6. *Second conditional* [ⲁϥ-] (only second plural ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄-, Zec. 6:15. The conjugation here referred to as second conditional is that termed "simple"

conditional by Funk [1981, p. 197], in contrast to his "expanded" conditional constructed with ϥⲁ (*S* ϥⲁⲛ). That the "protatic" ⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ belongs to the tripartite conjugation was discovered by Shisha-Halevy, 1974. Affirmative forms are notoriously rare in literary texts. The protatic ⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ does not occur in clauses beginning with ⲉⲓϩⲛⲉ and is only to be distinguished from the second present when it may be defined by its syntactic behavior as a (tripartite) subordinate conjugation. Neg. first singular ⲁⲓⲧⲙ̄-, Mi. 3:8; second masculine singular ⲁⲕⲧⲙ̄ⲛ-, EpAp. 40,12,14; third plural ⲁⲩⲧⲙ̄-, Ex. 4:8).

3.2.2.7. *Causative infinitive* -ⲧϥ̄-, nom. -ⲧⲉ- (second plural -ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄-, Mal. 1,7, or -ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄-, Mal. 2:17; ⲁⲡⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄-, Prv. 24:23; also -ⲧⲣⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄-; concerning the second plural, see Polotsky, 1960, sec. 56; unique in *A* third masculine singular ⲁⲧⲣⲉ[ϥ-], Lk. 12:49, influenced by *L*).

4. Categorization Within Standard Akhmimic

The Akhmimic literary texts exhibit a high degree of standardization. Disregarding sporadic deviations which may occur within the same texts, four criteria may be taken for an attempt at classification:

1. dissimilation *m/m* and *m/p* → *n/m* and *n/p:* (1.1.1) ⲙ̄ⲙⲟ, there → ⲛ̄ⲙⲟ, EpAp. 12:13, 28:14, 29:7; (1.1.2) ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ〃 → ⲛ̄ⲙⲁ〃, EpAp. 1:5, 13; 19:1, 12; 17:7; 29:12; (1.2.1) ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ-, neg. perf. → ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ-, EpAp. (ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩ-, 25:3); (1.2.2) ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲧⲉ-, neg. completive → *ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲉ-, EpAp. (ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲟⲩ-, 36:4)
2. the uninflected relative form of the perfect ⲉⲧⲁϩ- (as opposed to ⲉⲧⲁ〃)
3. the temporal conjugation ⲧⲁⲣⲉ- (as opposed to ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉ-)
4. the variant lexical appearance of the conditional particle "if (it happens that . . .)" ϩⲛⲉ, ⲉⲓϩⲛⲉ

The criterion noted first pertains only to EpAp. This phonetic feature is supplemented by the fact that the assimilation *n/p→m/p* very rarely occurs at morpheme junctures in this text, the standard for a morpheme juncture in EpAp. being the unassimilated form (ϩⲛ̄ ⲡⲏⲉⲓ, etc.).

The distribution of the remaining distinctive forms may be represented in Table 3. Where ⲉⲧⲁϩ- and ⲉⲧⲁ〃, ⲧⲁⲣⲉ- and ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉ-, occur simultaneously, the second form is to be considered as unmarked.

A special group is constituted by I Clem., Ex., EpAp., and Elias, which possess three common features. EpAp., moreover, is distinguished by dissimilation in its labial features. In I Clem., a distinction is still to be made between the conditional particle in Old Testament quotations and its form outside of such quotations (see footnote to Table 3). At the opposite end of the spectrum is Proverbs, which is the one Akhmimic text characterized only by the conditional particle ϩⲛⲉ while lacking ⲉⲧⲁϩ-, ⲧⲁⲣⲉ-, and ⲉⲓϩⲛⲉ. John and the Minor Prophets assume a middle position: ⲉⲓϩⲛⲉ occurs in both, but John also

TABLE 3.

	ⲉⲧⲁϩ-	ⲧⲁⲣⲉ-	ⲉⲓϩⲛⲉ	ϩⲛⲉ
I Clem.(R)	−	−	+	−
I Clem.	+	+	+[a]	+[a]
Ex.	+	+	+	−
EpAp.	+	+	+	−
Elias	+	+	+	−
Jn.	+	−	+	−
Prv.	−	−	−	+
MinProph.	−	+	+	−
Ost.	+	Temporal not attested	+	−

[a]The attestations of ⲉⲓϩⲛⲉ and ϩⲛⲉ are distributed in the *Berliner Handschrift* for I Clem. as follows:
ⲉⲓϩⲛⲉ: p. 36, 18 (I Clem. 27:7); p. 69, 8 (I Clem. 54:2).
ϩⲛⲉ: p. 11, 18 (I Clem. 8:4 = Is. 1:18); 13, 29 (I Clem. 10:5 = Gn. 13:16); p. 14, 5 (I Clem. 10:6 = Gn. 15:5); p. 23, 12 (I Clem. 16:16 = Ps. 21:9 LXX); p. 23, 14 (I Clem. 16:17).
The form ϩⲛⲉ is used in four out of five passages that cite the Old Testament, whereas ⲉⲓϩⲛⲉ occurs only outside of such quotations. The remaining form ϩⲛⲉ on p. 23,14 may have been attracted to the identical form on p. 23,12. In I Clem., therefore, two levels of language can be recognized in the case of the conditional particle.

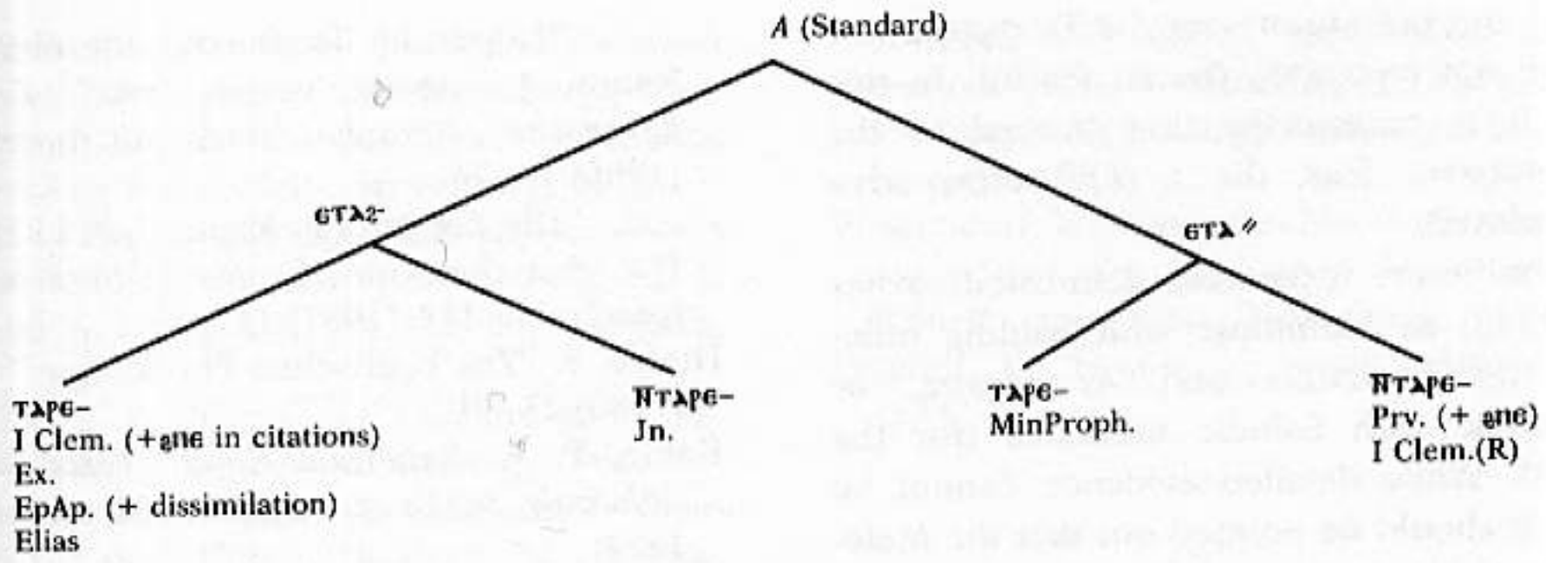


FIGURE 1. ϬΤΛ2, ϬΤΛ//.

employs ϬΤΛ2- and ΝΤΛΡϬ-, while the text of the Minor Prophets uses ϬΤΛ// and ΤΛΡϬ-. The position of Ost., which employs ϬΤΛ2- and Ϭⲓϩⲛϭ, remains uncertain because of the lack of a form of the temporal. The most strongly neutralized document is I Clem. (R) in which no distinctive form (ϬΤΛ2-, ΤΛΡϬ-, or ϩⲛϭ) appears.

A summary by morphological characteristics appears in Figures 1 and 2. Both types of morphological classification lead to the same "extreme" groups: I Clem., EpAp., Ex., and Elias, on the one hand, and I Clem.(R) and Prv., on the other. Jn. and MinProph. have no distinguishing features in common with the other main groups, but form a class of their own.

5. Akhmimoid Texts

5.1. A number of literary and nonliterary texts (e.g., letters, magical texts) have traditionally been designated Akhmimic:

5.1.1 Literary texts. The Ascension of Isaiah (AscIs.) = Lacau, 1946. The Berlin Genesis fragment, P. 8773 (Gn. 1:18–2:5, fragmentary) = Leipoldt, 1904. Gal. 5:11–6:1 = Browne, 1979 (pp. 19–21). The Hymn [of Hierakas] = Lefort, 1939. Ps. 46:3–10 LXX, a pupil's exercise on a wood tablet = Crum, 1934.

5.1.2 Letters. Listed by Simon, 1940, p. 201, with footnotes 30–31.

5.1.3 Magical texts. Same as above, with footnote 32; Ernštedt, 1959, no. 70.

5.2. The literary texts AscIs., Berlin Genesis, and the Hymn were previously described by Kahle (1954, pp. 203–205) as "Akhmimic with Subakhmimic [that is, *L*] influence," with AscIs. and Genesis forming a group of their own. The latter texts were shown by Kasser to be early forms of the dialect *L* (see especially Kasser, 1979b and 1982b, in which AscIs. and Genesis are referred to as *İ* and *İ7*, respectively; see also Funk, 1987). AscIs. and the Berlin Genesis have definitely to be eliminated from the body of Akhmimic texts, as does the Hymn of Hierakas, which corresponds more closely to *İ7* (and *L*) than to *A* (*ẖ* > /š/ ϥϣⲡϩ : *h* > /x/ ϩⲚ-, without an anaptyctic vowel in the syllable /CR/ [= *voiceless consonant + voiced consonant or son(or)ant*], second perfect ⲚⲀϒ-; vocalization of the stressed syllable as in *L*) or to Galatians (see Kasser and Satzinger, 1982).

5.3. Akhmimic Psalm 46, which is characterized by irregular orthography, is to be considered an early form of *L* rather than *A*, since none of the dialectical features of Akhmimic are distinctly marked: e.g., ⲁϒⲱ, and not ⲁⲟϒ (see 1.4.1.1); ϬⲀⲀϬ[†], to be holy

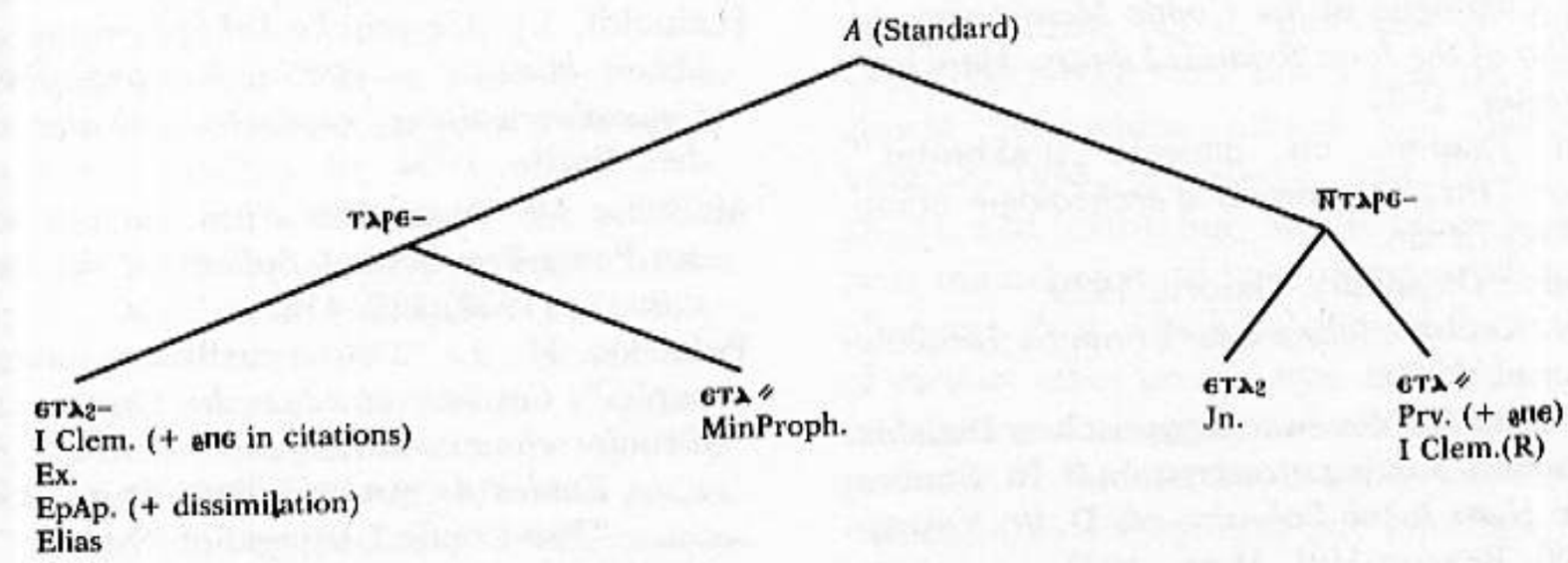


FIGURE 2. ΤΛΡϬ, ΝΤΛΡϬ.

(for *ⲟⲩⲗⲗⲃ†) and not ⲃⲗⲗⲃⲉ† (see 1.2.7); ⲟⲩⲟⲧⲉ (for *ⲟⲩϩⲟⲧⲉ) and not ⲟⲩ(ϩ)ⲗⲧⲉ, (he is) fearful. In this connection, it is noteworthy that instead of the Akhmimic ϩⲛⲱ(ⲱ)ϩⲉ, fear, the *S (L)* lexeme ϩⲟⲧⲉ (ϩⲗⲧⲉ) is employed.

5.4. The nonliterary texts were delineated earlier by Simon (1940) as Akhmimic with Sahidic influence, or *As* (for the letters) and *"As vulgaire,"* or vulgar Akhmimic with Sahidic influence (for the magical texts). While detailed evidence cannot be offered here, it should be pointed out that the Meletian letter Pap. 1921 (between 330 and 340 A.D.; ed. Crum, in Bell, 1924) clearly belongs to *L*, as does the letter from the John Rylands Library, no. 396, which was claimed by Crum (1909, p. viii) as an example of "a practically pure Akhmimic" text.

5.5. It may be concluded that the more or less Akhmimoid texts should no longer be counted with the corpus of texts written in the Akhmimic dialect, not even with the mitigating addition of a small *s*, which is to indicate Sahidic influence. This means, furthermore, that the *A* dialect is only represented by literary texts (i.e., biblical, apocryphal, and patristic) and that, finally, "Akhmimic" is identical to "standard Akhmimic." The Akhmimic texts are exclusively documents translated from Greek or Sahidic. Just for the most comprehensive texts (MinProph., Prv.) it has been shown that they represent interlinear versions of Sahidic (Till, 1927b, p. xxx; Böhlig, 1936, p. 35).

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ALEPH. Not only in Coptic but in other languages also, aleph (= /'/) is a consonant of a very special kind: it is certainly a laryngeal occlusive, but is it really unvoiced? For some, it clearly is (e.g., Vergote, 1973, Vol. 1a, pp. 12–13), while others hesitate to place it either among the unvoiced or among the voiced sounds, or resign themselves to putting it somewhere between the two (e.g., Dieth, 1950, p. 98; Dubois et al., 1973, p. 25; Kasser, 1981a). It is best thought of as a stop followed by an abrupt emission of sound, especially a stop separating two adjacent vowels, for instance at the beginning of a syllable after a hiatus (e.g., in "reenter" or in French "la haine" [la 'ɛn]), or as a "glottal stop" replacing a consonant hurried over in pronunciation (e.g., "wa'er" for "water"; cf. the Arabic hamza).

In Coptic, so far as it is really preserved, it is in every case a CRYPTOPHONEME (that is, a phoneme not rendered by any written letter of its own), and it is no doubt for this reason that its existence in this language has long been ignored or disputed; even today it is not universally accepted. For this reason, it occupies a very special place in the Coptic phonological inventory.

It is true that pharaonic Egyptian, down to its last full manifestation prior to Coptic (i.e. demotic), possessed both the phoneme aleph = *3* and the corresponding grapheme (the "Egyptian vulture" of Gardiner, 1957, p. 27, a hieroglyph that, among other things, became 𐤀 in demotic; cf. du Bourguet, 1976, pp. 3, 75). Now this *3* was, on the one hand, almost everywhere muted and disappeared (cf. Vergote, 1945, pp. 80–98, and 1973, Vol. 1b, pp. 28–33; and 'AYIN); but, on the other hand, the aleph does indeed seem to have reappeared in Coptic as a phoneme /'/ and as a product of the transformation of various other consonants. It is appropriate in this connection to examine above all what can be observed in P. Bodmer VI, the sole witness to DIALECT P (which in its orthography and phonology often looks like what can be known about a primitive proto-

Sahidic, **ppS*, that became a more evolved proto-Sahidic, **pS*, a reconstructed proto-Sahidic, however, not situated in its region of origin but probably immigrant into the Theban region, where it was superimposed on *A* and probably also on some variety of *L;* cf. Vergote, 1973b, and Kasser, 1982). One can there see the scribe rendering what seems indeed to be /'/ by a quite particular grapheme ⲗ, but only sporadically, for in the same or similar cases he also, through confusion, uses - (normally equivalent to /n̥/̇); or again, as in *S* properly so called, he practices graphic vocalic gemination; or finally he omits any graphic proceeding that might render /'/ and presents an orthography without vocalic gemination, in the manner of *M*, for example (where it is admitted that the phonological system has lost its primitive /'/). Here are these unique vestiges of ⲗ (Kasser, 1981c, p. 35): ⲥⲁⲗ〃 (to put) one case, but ⲥⲁ〃 one case; ⲫⲁⲗⲧ† (deficient) one case, but ⲫⲁⲁⲧ† two cases, ⲫⲁⲧ† one case; ϩⲟⲗⲛ† (being) two cases, but ϩⲟⲛ† one case; ϫⲟⲗ〃 (to say) three cases, but ϫⲟⲟ〃 one case, ϫⲟ〃 one case; also ⲥⲉⲉⲗⲥ (sic) (bone) one case, but ⲥⲉⲉⲥ four cases. However, apart from these relatively weak and evanescent remains of an ancient usage (and those still more rare, vaguely similar, but, despite that, very uncertain, which one may eventually think to discover in rare Old Coptic texts; Kasser, 1980, pp. 258–59), one no longer finds any specific grapheme for /'/ in the other Coptic DIALECTS and PROTODIALECTS at present known.

One notices, however, in some of them—especially in *A*, *pL* (= *İ*), *L4*, *L5*, *L6*, *V5*, *F5*, *S*, but not in *M*, *W*, *V4*, *F4*, *F7*, *B* and its subdialects, *G*—a graphic vocalic gemination (succession of two identical vowel graphemes; cf. GEMINATION, VOCALIC), of which the first element is, in phonology, an authentic tonic vowel, but the second seems manifestly to render a consonantal phoneme, to define, and itself replace, a vanished consonant such as *i̯*, *ʿ*, *r*, or *ɩ*.

This substitute phoneme is consonantal for two reasons difficult to contest. First, in *A*, every final sonant placed after a consonant becomes a rising voiced consonantal phoneme: thus *S* ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ† (holy) = *A* ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃⲉ†, just as *S* ⲥⲱⲧⲙ (to hear) = *A* ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ, which proves that in ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ† or ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃⲉ† the second vowel grapheme ⲁ phonologically renders a consonant, not a vowel. On the other hand, it is known that if the pronominal suffix of the first-person singular is always 〃ⲓ after a single vowel, it is always 〃ⲧ after a consonant and, likewise, after a succession of two identical vowel graphemes, of which the first and tonic element is, in phonology, manifestly a vowel, but the second element, although a vowel grapheme, is nevertheless phonologically clearly a consonant; thus, for example, *S* ϫⲁⲁ〃ⲧ, to leave me, like ⲫⲟⲛ〃ⲧ, to receive me, and not like ⲧⲁϩⲟ〃ⲓ, to reach me. It is true that one finds likewise 〃ⲧ and not 〃ⲓ in similar cases in the dialects that do not have graphic vocalic gemination and for that reason are considered as having lost even this substitute /'/ (e.g., *B* ϫⲁ〃ⲧ, to leave me, I Tm. 1:12; *M* ϫⲉ〃ⲧ, Mt. 27:46); but this shows only that these dialects also possessed this substitute consonant in an earlier stage of the language and that they subsequently lost it, this phenomenon having come about before the time at which their orthographic system was fixed.

In a general way, it is admitted (Vergote, 1945, p. 71, etc.) that this substitute phoneme is /'/ clearly and in all cases, and not now /'/, now /ʿ/, as Till (1955, p. 46) expresses it, not without reservations and ambiguity: "'Aleph and 'Ayin are still present in Coptic, although no separate letters exist for them. Both may have been pronounced alike (probably '), even though ' in some circumstances exercises a different effect on the neighbouring vowel than *3*." Certainly, /ʿ/ is a voiced fricative, as are the glides /j/ and /w/, and like them, in Till's hypothesis, this fricative, although a consonant in phonology, would have been rendered by a vowel grapheme, while /'/, on the contrary, is an occlusive considered as unvoiced (according to Vergote, 1973, Vol. 1a, pp. 12–13) and even as belonging to the category of the most unvoiced phonemes; from this point of view /'/ rather than /'/ would appear to be the more capable of playing the role of substitute consonant. (Stern also may have thought this; see Stern, 1880, pp. 29–30, 54–55.)

In spite of that, it is for various reasons proper to set aside this solution. First, 'ayin seems to have disappeared from Late Egyptian before the formation of literary Coptic and even PRE-COPTIC (Vergote, 1945, pp. 122–23, and 1973, Vol. 1b, pp. 31–32: after the sixth century A.D.). Second, as a consonant replacing *i*, *ʿ*, *r*, or *ɩ* (or even *j* or *w;* see below), it is manifestly /'/ rather than /ʿ/ that is the better suited to assume this manifold function: for example, *bi̯n* becomes in Coptic /bo̯'n/ ⲃⲱⲛ, bad; *ḥf'* becomes (with metathesis) /ko̯'fə/ ⲕⲱⲱⲫⲉ (or ⲕⲱⲱⲃⲉ), to constrain; *dr.t.f.* becomes /to̯'tf/ ⲧⲟⲟⲧ〃ϥ, his hand (cf. ibid., p. 35: "The tendency which contributed, in numerous words, to change proto-Semitic *r* and *l* into Egyptian *3* . . . continued to exercise a certain influence during the historical period"); *mútrat* becomes *mú'ra*, then /me̯'rə/ ⲙⲉⲉⲣⲉ, midday; *si̯f*, to soil, qualitative *sáyfu* becomes *sá'fu* and then /so̯'f/

ϲⲟⲟϥ†, soiled; and *wâgiwat* becomes *wágwat*, then *wáwga*, then *wa'ga*, and finally /wȯ'cə/ ⲟⲩⲟⲟ6ⲉ, jaw, cheek (Vergote, 1973, Vol. 1b, pp. 36–37). In Dieth (1950, pp. 99–100) some similar modern examples will be found in which ['] replaces even occlusives other than /t/. The final and probably decisive argument is that the grapheme ⊥ in *P*, which seems to render /'/, resembles the demotic 𓂝 = *3* in a rather striking manner (with eventual influence from 𓂋 = *i*), much more in any case than it does the 𓄡 (or 𓄤, 𓄥, 𓄦, 𓄧, 𓄨) = demotic ʿ.

The graphic vocalic gemination attesting /'/ in Coptic occurs only within a word—that is, either within a final syllable where this /'/ is followed by another consonant (cf. ⲃⲱⲱⲛ above) or at the end of a penultimate syllable where this /'/ is followed by another consonant beginning the final syllable (cf. ⲕⲱⲱϥⲉ above). It is true that some ancient *S* manuscripts present spellings such as ⲛⲁⲁ /nȧ'/ (and not ⲛⲁ /nȧ[']/, pity) or ⲙⲉⲉ /mė'/ (and not ⲙⲉ /mė[']/, truth) and so on (cf. Polotsky, 1957a, p. 231, and 1957b, pp. 348–49); but this is always before the copula ⲛⲉ (masc.), ⲧⲉ (fem.), or ⲛⲉ (pl.) in such a way that one may suppose that the (atonic) copula was felt as forming part of the "word" that it immediately follows and that bears the tonic accent on the vowel of its last syllable, a vowel that is normally and graphically the last letter of the "word"; it is thus entirely legitimate to put, for example, ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲉ ⲧⲉ /umė'tə/, that is true, in parallel with ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧⲉ /wȯ'tə/, to separate. Vergote (1973, Vol. 1a, p. 12) further considers that *A* and *L* "present an /'/ at the end of certain monosyllabic words, where it is marked by the hiatus *a–e:* ⲃⲁⲉ palm-tree; ⲛⲁⲉ to have pity; *A* ⲍⲁⲉ to appear (of stars). In *B* [and] *F* it is transformed into /j/: *B* ⲃⲁⲓ, ⲛⲁⲓ, ⲫⲁⲓ or *F* ⲃⲉⲓ, ϫⲉⲓ, ⲫⲉⲓ" (cf. ibid. Vol. 1b, p. 31). However, even if it may find support in etymology, this phonological interpretation of the final letter of the *A* and *L* lexemes mentioned above seems likely to raise numerous questions; orthography, it must be remembered, expresses above all not the profound or semiprofound phonological structure of the word, but its most superficial structure (cf. Hintze, 1980, p. 49). Thus, one might ask how there can be hiatus if these lexemes are monosyllabic. Would they be monosyllabic in Pre-Coptic and polysyllabic, through their hiatus, in Coptic? Another question is, why must one in this case envisage the presence of a hiatus if the final ⲉ = /'/ and not /e/ or /ə/? Are there reasons based on etymology, and must these reasons be considered compelling? Finally, with regard to the *B* and *F* parallel forms, apparently also monosyllabic (by analogy with other Coptic finals of identical spelling, and whatever the conditions linked with etymology), would they not make the hiatus equally unlikely in *A* and *L*, even if the final there is /e/ or /ə/ and not /'/? The solution of this delicate problem will without doubt still require some supplementary investigations (cf. in particular Kasser, 1981b, p. 37).

[*See also:* Syllabication.]

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ALPHABET IN COPTIC, GREEK. The Greek alphabet is much in evidence in Coptic; in fact, among the various Coptic alphabets (cf. ALPHABETS, COPTIC), all have a considerable majority of Greek graphemes, or letters (cf. ALPHABETS, COPTIC, especially the synoptic table; Kasser, 1980b, pt. II, pp. 280–81). This majority varies from one dialectal alphabet to another. In the following calculation of the percentages, ⲱ and ⲱ̈, and ⲋ and ⲋ̈, have been considered, respectively, as one and the same grapheme, whether or not provided with a diacritical sign: *G* and *F9*, 100 percent; *J*, 92 percent; *F7*, *F8*, and *H*, 83 percent; *S* etc. (i.e., *S*, *K*, *K7*, *F4*, *F5*, *V4*, *V5*, *W*, *M*, *L4*, *L5*, and *L6*, together with their subdialects if there are any), with *B7*, *A*, *İ* (= *pL*), and *İ7* (= *p'L*), 80 percent; *B* etc. (i.e., *B4* and *B5*), 77 percent; *P*, 71 percent.

To this strong presence of the Greek alphabet, one may add that Coptic graphemes of demotic origin are assimilated to those of Greek origin, such as ⲱ formed like ⲱ with a tail, ⲭ like ⲣ reversed and open at the top, and ϫ like ⲁ with two horns or ϫ resting on a long horizontal bar underneath. This assimilation and this predominance are indeed such that a superficial observer might very well take an ancient Coptic manuscript for a contemporary Greek one, especially if it was a copy without any superlinear strokes (which may occur even in the dialects in which the use of such strokes is habitual).

Even if one recalls that Coptic is the final stage of the Egyptian language, which does not belong to the same family as Greek, this indisputable supremacy of the Greek alphabet in the Coptic ought not to occasion any undue surprise. When the first varieties of the Coptic alphabet were created in the course of the third (?) century A.D., Egypt had been wholly within the Hellenic sphere of influence for more than half a millennium, since the conquest of the country by Alexander the Great in 332 B.C. (Müller, 1969). This fact explains not only the presence of so many Greek graphemes (most frequently the entire Greek alphabet) in the Coptic alphabets but also the abundance of various Greek lexemes (words) used in Coptic. Some lexemes were used exceptionally or rarely in the texts that have survived, because they constituted a vocabulary of specialists and were scarcely employed outside their specialty; others were used more or less currently (even very currently) almost everywhere in Coptic literature, because they constituted a vocabulary so completely assimilated (mentally) by the mass of the autochthonous Copts that they considered it wholly Coptic as well as wholly Greek (cf. VOCABULARY, COPTO-GREEK).

Moreover, as can be seen from the texts, the Greek graphemes of the Coptic alphabet were in principle sufficient for transcribing into Coptic those lexemes which came from the Hellenic world. It is only rarely that one sometimes finds in addition, at the beginning of a word or replacing one of the two elements of a double ⲣ, a ⲋ of demotic origin which seems to render normally the Greek rough breathing; it is also found occasionally in place of the smooth breathing of standard Greek orthography, which has been variously interpreted as a neutralizing of the contrast in pronunciation between the rough and smooth breathings in the Greek of contemporary Egypt (Böhlig, 1958, p. 111), a "hyperurbanism" (Vergote, 1973, p. 15), and a "secondary" or "vulgar" aspiration (Weiss, 1966, p. 204). Moreover, in the *L6* documents (and a group of *S* documents probably deriving from a region of Upper Egypt where *L6* was the autochthonous dialect; cf. Kasser, 1980a) there is ⲱ, also of demotic origin, where one would expect to find an initial ⲋ, in Copto-Greek words corresponding to Greek words beginning with *ἰ* or *εἰ*. It is not without interest to note further that several Greek graphemes of the Coptic alphabets are used exclusively, or nearly so, for the transcription of Copto-Greek words (e.g., ⲅ, ⲗ, ⲍ; cf. Vergote, 1973, p. 10). All these factors combined produce the result that in an average Coptic page about nine graphemes out of ten are of Greek origin (against one from demotic)—hence the "Greek" appearance, broadly speaking, of these Coptic copies.

The creators of these varieties of Coptic alphabets were by no means strictly "phonologists" in the modern sense of the term. Of course, like their mod-

ern counterparts, they seem to have striven to apply as strictly as possible the fundamental and general law according to which every phoneme should be rendered exclusively by a single grapheme, and this, just as exclusively, should render this one phoneme and no other. But, on the other hand, the means they employed and the criteria they applied evidently remained empirical. Above all, they were not always in a position to decide with complete freedom whether this sound or that deserved to be treated graphically as a distinct phoneme, in precise contrast to some other established phoneme; they could not in fact fail to take account of the work of their predecessors. No Coptic alphabet emerged completely new and original from an earlier vacuum.

The very fact that the greater part of the Coptic graphemes are Greek graphemes shows very well where lay the principal model that had to be taken into account, whence sprang the first source whose influence would make itself felt, more or less strongly, in the work of the inventors of Coptic alphabets —all the more because they, though coming from a native Egyptian milieu and carrying on their activity there, were always close to the Hellenic milieu of Egypt and found themselves forced, in reading or in writing, to practice frequently the Greek graphicophonemic system. It is worthy of note that the PRE-OLD COPTIC alphabet is the Greek alphabet, no more and no less, which was already used according to certain closely related rules for the transcription into Greek of the proper names of autochthonous Egyptians (cf. GREEK TRANSCRIPTIONS).

The OLD COPTIC alphabets, though still based on the Greek alphabet for the most part, admit a strong minority of graphemes of demotic origin. The Coptic alphabets eliminate several of these, above all for motives of simplification, and by that very fact the Greek alphabetic majority in them is reinforced. Hence, one may see that if the Coptic alphabets were created according to the principle of the fundamental law stated above, the strict application of this principle was limited in various ways, first by the empiricism of the methods employed by the creators, and later and above all by the Hellenic phonological heritage for which these alphabets were the vehicle and which they transmitted from one to the other.

In this process there intervened also a law of "economy," of which it will be necessary to speak again later. In a general way, one may say that the evolution and succession of these alphabets constitute a process of simplification: the number of the graphemes (and of the phonemes) diminishes rather than increases. It is true that this assertion appears at first to be in flat contradiction with the fact that the most ancient of these alphabets, the Pre-Old Coptic, is more simple than its immediate successors, the Old Coptic and Coptic alphabets. But the Pre-Old Coptic alphabet is only very imperfectly adapted to the transcription of Egyptian; certainly it could satisfy the Hellenic milieus of Egypt, not only in the Ptolemaic era but even down to the Byzantine epoch, because throughout this period it was an alphabet of this nature that sufficed for the transcription, in Greek documents, of autochthonous proper names. Going occasionally beyond its original frame, this type of alphabetic usage could even be applied (before the present era) to the transcription of some isolated Egyptian words (cf. Bilabel, 1938), and attempts were made (also before the present era), with some difficulty, to use it for a very brief and rudimentary text (cf. Lacau, 1934). It emerged anew in the Byzantine epoch in the nonliterary texts (above all private letters), which constitute the dossier for DIALECT G; but that alphabet, too exclusively Hellenic, always remained marginal so far as Coptic and its autochthonous antecedents are concerned.

To the mind of non-Greek Egyptians and possibly of some Greeks in Egypt who were "cross-bred" and strongly assimilated, a merely Greek alphabet would not suffice for the transcription of the language of the country, with its fundamental phonemic originalities; one could not make extensive and systematic use of it, first of all in Old Coptic texts (almost all of them magical texts, in which the correct pronunciation of the formulas played an essential role) and later in Coptic texts (where a vast and varied literary production makes its appearance). When they sought to effect a real transition to the literary stage for their language, the autochthonous men of letters engaged in this task of necessity had recourse to an autochthonous form of writing, that of demotic, and the Old Coptic alphabets that they created ought properly be considered not as successors to the Pre-Old Coptic alphabet (i.e., Greek) but as the results of a radical reform of the demotic "alphabet," with a massive infusion of Greek graphemes (Pre-Old Coptic), results that were eminently "economical," since demotic had many more graphemes than Old Coptic. It is thus, to say the least, a case of a "compromise" between the Greek system in Egypt and the autochthonous system, but one that, being alone fitted like the latter for rendering the idiom of the country, did so at much less cost (in terms of graphemes and soon of phonemes). The economizing process was continued in the proto-Coptic (cf.

PROTODIALECT) and then in the Coptic alphabets, in which (save for the exception in DIALECT H; cf. below) the total of graphemes of Greek origin remained stable, but the number of graphemes of autochthonous origin was gradually reduced: *S*, the most neutral Coptic idiom, has only six (ϣ, ϥ, ϩ, ϫ, ϭ, ϯ), and *H*, the most economical METADIALECT of all (probably twenty-three graphemes altogether; cf. *S*, with thirty, and *P*, with as many as thirty-five), has no more than four signs derived from demotic, ϣ, ϩ, ϫ, and ϭ, dispensing with the two autochthonous graphemes ϥ (> ϐ) and ϯ (> ⲧⲓ), as it also does in principle with no fewer than three Greek graphemes, ⲅ (> ⲕ), ⲝ (> ⲕⲥ), and ⲯ (> ⲡⲥ), not to speak of two others whose use is considerably restricted, ⲟ (> ⲱ) and ⲩ (> ⲓ), both excluded except in the combination (ⲟ)ⲩ for /u/ and /w/.

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RODOLPHE KASSER

ALPHABETS, COPTIC. Attentive study of the alphabet used in each of the various Coptic DIALECTS and subdialects obliges one to recognize that there was not a single Coptic alphabet, as is often believed, but several Coptic alphabets (or, to put it in a slightly different way, several varieties of the Coptic alphabet). Certainly, if one examines the Coptic texts themselves in their manifold variety, one finds that one of these alphabets, that of *S* etc., is employed almost everywhere (it is that of almost 92 percent of

the total); it is therefore comprehensible enough that the alphabet of *S* should practically always be called "the Coptic alphabet," without further explanation, while the alphabetic variety of *B* etc. (almost 7 percent) is only very seldom mentioned, the existence of the twelve other varieties (about 1 percent only) being entirely neglected. However, all these fourteen alphabets, major and minor, will be accorded the place to which they have a right herein.

It will be convenient to recall in the first place that each type of Coptic dialect—whether a dialect in the narrow sense of the term or a PROTODIALECT, a MESODIALECT, a METADIALECT, or even a subdialect—is defined first and foremost as a phonological system, while morpho(phono)logy and morphosyntax intervene only secondarily in its definition (for want of evidence sufficiently frequently attested).

Coptic has been a dead language for several centuries, and its demise preceded the beginnings of Coptology as a modern discipline. Hence, Coptic PHONOLOGY can only be known today through the orthography of the Coptic texts that have survived, a very small number in comparison with the immense quantity of those that perished in the tempestuous and painful course of Coptic history; through their regular and systematic orthography only (that which we find in the texts of "good" quality), and not through the irregular and disordered graphical manifestations that may be observed in all sorts of careless and orthographically undisciplined copies.

Prudence certainly obliges one to remember that the analysis of a Coptic orthographic system is not automatically the analysis of a Coptic phonological system. One must always reckon with the possibility, however weak it may be, that the difference between the various Coptic alphabets may be not only a difference of quantity (phonemes and graphemes in more or less large numbers) but also, on some particular point, a difference of quality (a given grapheme rendering a given phoneme in one idiom, and the same grapheme rendering another phoneme in another idiom; or a given phoneme being rendered by a given grapheme in one idiom and by another grapheme in another idiom). However that may be, if one may sometimes doubt that such an original alphabetic system really attests a particular Coptic dialect, it nonetheless remains that each particular Coptic alphabetic system is a piece of evidence; and this reality, although superficial in relation to phonology, deserves to be recognized as such on its own (the alphabetic) level; this recognition, in fact, is not bound to the phonological interpretation, sometimes uncertain, of the graphemes that compose the alphabets.

The uncertainty of this interpretation at any given point often derives from a question of principle and from a methodological alternative of which one must be very conscious. In fact, the investigator who strives to rediscover and analyze the phonological systems of the Coptic dialects and subdialects through their orthographical systems is soon constrained to choose between two preliminary working hypotheses: each of these presents substantial advantages, but even in the better hypothesis, they remain limited and weakened by important disadvantages.

The first hypothesis consists in postulating a priori a phonological unity of the Coptic language, a unity practically absolute. In pushing this hypothesis to its extreme consequences, one would have to admit that despite the orthographical appearances, this language is by no means divided into a plurality of dialects. The differences that orthography seems to manifest would be only superficial, or to put it simply, the various schools of scribes would make use, in certain cases, of different graphemes to express the same phonemes. One should then observe in Coptic not various dialects but various "orthographic codes" applying to a language that is "one" and not divided on the phonological level.

This hypothesis is very seductive because, over against the various earlier stages of the Egyptian language (apparently homogeneous because dialectal multiplicity does not appear in it, or practically not), it sets not a group of Coptic phonological systems but a single Coptic phonological system (or, at the very most, a group of systems that differ among themselves only very rarely and on details that are truly exceptional). It seems to be confirmed by the fact that, if one compares with one another the different orthographical forms of the same autochthonous Coptic words, it appears evident that the ⲕ of the majority of dialects and the ⲣ of *P* render /k/; the ⲫ of the majority and the ϭ of *G* render /š/; the ⲫ of the majority and the ⲫ of *G* likewise render /f/; the ⲭ of *P* and *B*, the ⲉ of *A* and *İ*, and finally even the ⲭ of *B7* and *G* (see below) render /x/; the ϭ of the majority and the ⲕ of *P* render /c/; and so on.

However, the limits of the efficacy of this explanation are reached when one is faced with problems such as these: when ⲗ in *F* corresponds to ⲣ in *S*, the phoneme cannot be either /l/ or /r/ uniformly for ⲗ and ⲣ at the same time; and likewise, when ⲉ in *A* corresponds to ⲫ in *S* etc., the phoneme cannot be either /x/ or /š/ uniformly for ⲉ and ⲫ at the same time. By themselves alone, these exceptions prove that there is in Coptic a dialectal plurality.

The second hypothesis consists in postulating that in Coptic, according to the unanimous intention of

the creators of its alphabet, there is for each phoneme (or each combination of phonemes, should occasion arise; cf. /th/ etc. below) a single corresponding grapheme that can never serve to express another phoneme. This "law of exclusiveness" thus does not allow of any plurality of Coptic alphabets based on a difference of phonological "quality"; this plurality can only exist as a consequence of the "quantity" of the indissoluble phoneme-grapheme unities: certain Coptic idioms would make use of the Coptic series to the full (or nearly so), while other idioms would content themselves with a very diminished series (loss of /x/ or even /š/, /h/, or /c/, for example).

However, if this hypothesis gives very satisfactory results in regard to *F* ⲗ versus *S* etc. ⲣ or *A* ⲉ versus *S* etc. ⲫ, for example, it seems to fail in other cases already mentioned above: in comparing the different orthographical forms of the same Coptic word, it is difficult to see what phoneme *P* ⲕ could render if not /k/ (/q/ seems excluded for solid reasons; cf. Kasser, 1980b, pp. 244–48); in the same way, it seems unlikely that, corresponding regularly to ⲫ /š/ in *B* etc., the combination of graphemes ⲥⲍ in *G* should render /sz/ rather than /š/; and when the ϕ of *G* corresponds to ⲫ /f/ in *B* etc., would it be equivalent to /ph/ rather than to /f/? The rigid application of the law of exclusiveness would entail other phonological solutions that would be bizarre and difficult to accept. One must then resign oneself to some compromise between these two extreme hypotheses, a compromise to be negotiated and determined from case to case.

One particularly troublesome alphabetic fact (above all, in consequence of the second hypothesis and its law of "exclusiveness") is the use of (apparently) the same grapheme to express two different phonemes. When this phenomenon coincides with the opposition of two Coptic idioms, as with *S* ϭ /c/ versus *B* ϭ /čh/, one may attempt to explain it by referring to the divergent principles applied by two schools of scribes belonging to two different cultural ambiences. But what is one to say of this ambiguity when it appears within one and the same Coptic orthographical system (and probably idiom)?

Thus, in *P* (compared to *S* etc. in the orthography of their common vocabulary) ⲕ is assuredly /k/ in the Copto-Greek words, but it is /c/ in the autochthonous Coptic words. (It is difficult to imagine that *P*, by some palatalization, or "damping," applied to the Greek words, should have systematically replaced by /c/ all the /k/ in its Copto-Greek vocabulary.) One sees the same ambiguity in *G*, where one finds ϕ both in the Copto-Greek words (for /ph/) and in the autochthonous Coptic words (for /f/, which could, however, at least locally, have become the articulation of ϕ even in Copto-Greek). The same confusion is manifest in the Dublin *L5* (cf. below), *J* (sporadically), and *F9*, where ϫ appears both in the Copto-Greek words (for /kh/) and in the autochthonous Coptic vocabulary (for /č/); there is furthermore the problem of the use of ϫ even for /x/ or that of the inverse use of ϭ for ϫ /kh/ in some Copto-Greek words in *L5*. (The relation of ϭ /č/ and ϫ /kh/ or /x/ is probably of another order, or at least too subtle and complex to be summarily expounded here.) Finally, a similar ambiguity appears in *F7* and in some *L6* texts (cf. Kasser, 1984–1985), where the grapheme ϯ is both the "normal" Coptic ⲯ /ps/ and the "normal" Coptic ϯ /ti/. These are texts attested by manuscripts nearly all particularly ancient: *F7* is the language of the bilingual Papyrus No. 1 of Hamburg (Coptic and Greek, end of third century). *F9* is the language of Coptic glosses in a manuscript in the Chester Beatty collection (third century; cf. Kasser, 1981a, pp. 101–102). *J* is the language of a Coptic schoolboy's tablet (end [?] of third century; cf. ibid., pp. 113–15). An unpublished papyrus in Dublin (cf. Kasser, 1984, p. 274) seems to be contemporary with the preceding two or scarcely much later; it contains John 10:18–11:43 and 12:14–39 in a variety of *L5* with very particular orthographicophonological characteristics (Kasser 1981b, pp. 27–29).

The following hypothetical explanation could, however, to some extent resolve these diverse enigmas, except for the ambiguity of ϕ in *G*. One should have in each instance, for two phonemes undoubtedly different, not a single grapheme considered (except for ϯ) as of Greek origin but two graphemes to be distinguished from one another, the one of Greek origin, the other of demotic—two graphemes distinct in their origin but in which the autochthonous Egyptian sign has gradually been so strongly influenced in its form by the Greek grapheme that it has become practically identical to the latter (whence the confusions that ensue). In what follows, except for special mention, references are made to du Bourguet (1976, p. 75), where the demotic signs are presented in their "usual" form on the left and then in certain of their "variants" on the right.

In *P*, the autochthonous ⲕ /c/ could be derived from a sign for *g*, the first of the variants, resembling a very "flattened" ⲕ; this ambiguous usage, alongside ⲕ /k/ in the Copto-Greek words, will have led to the usage in *S* of ⲕ (no longer ⲕ) for /k/ throughout, and ϭ (no longer ⲕ) for /c/.

In the Dublin *L5*, with *J* and *F9*, the autochthonous ϫ /č/ could be descended from a sign for *d̲*, the

first of the variants (it has the look of a slightly upturned ⲭ, of which the first stroke, which in Greek goes from top left to bottom right, is near the vertical and the second stroke is consequently near the horizontal); confusions between the ⲭ /kh/ and this ⲭ /č/ will have led to the grapheme ϫ being soon preferred to it; this is also descended from a sign for *d*, either the first usual sign (vaguely resembling an *α* the loop of which has been completely flattened) or the last of the variants (resembling a bulging *α* with the rounded part at the bottom and the two horns at the top).

In *F7* and some *L6* texts, the ⲯ /ps/ is exactly identical with this grapheme as one sees it in the contemporary Greek manuscripts, which also makes it unfortunately almost identical with the autochthonous ⲧ /ti/, habitually considered as derived from a demotic sign (cf., e.g., Steindorff, 1951, p. 12; but see also Kasser, 1984–1985); this ambiguity will have incited the Coptic scribes to modify into ⲯ the grapheme for /ps/ borrowed from the Greek alphabet.

With regard to the two ⲍ (the *S* one for /c/ and the *B* etc. one for /čh/), one remains within the autochthonous Egyptian zone, without interference from the Greek alphabet. It is admitted that the ⲍ /c/ derives from a demotic sign for *k*, the first usual one (which has the appearance of a ⲍ the circle of which is very small, the stroke that escapes from it leaving at the summit and stretching horizontally at length to the right). The ⲍ /čh/ could be descended from the demotic sign for *d*, the last of the variants (the one that resembles a bulging *α* of which the rounded part would be at the bottom and the two horns at the top; cf. above with regard to ⲭ and ϫ for /č/; the suppression of the left horn could well yield a kind of ⲍ).

As can be seen, this compromise obliges one to renounce the thesis of the "absolute phonological unity" of the Coptic language; there are then several Coptic dialects, a fact that is incontestable. But this compromise probably also obliges one to consent to some detractions from the law of exclusiveness, which flows from the second hypothesis: if (admitting the duality of ⲕ, ϫ, ⲧ, and ⲍ, above) one is to see each grapheme always rendering the same phoneme, it may come about that a phoneme is rendered, according to the idiom, by two or even three different graphemes, as with ⲓ and ⲕ 2° for /k/; – and ⲛ for /n/; ⲫ and ϕ for /f/; ϫ and ⲭ 1° for /č/; ⲕ 1° and ⲍ 1° for /c/; ⲋ and ϯ for /ç/; ⲥ, ⲩ, and ⲭ 2° for /x/. In this last case, one might think of the influence of a local Greek articulation ⲭ /x/ rather than ⲭ /kh/ and extending to the pronunciation of the Copto-Greek words in *B7* and *F9* (cf. also the eventuality of ϕ /f/ in *G* above). There are then in Coptic not only several Coptic dialects but also several Coptic alphabets employed to render these various dialects, the limits of the field of application of these alphabets not always coinciding with the phonological interdialectal limits.

From this perspective, a search through the most diverse Coptic texts finally ends in the identification of at least fourteen different Coptic alphabets. As was underlined at the beginning of this article, they vary considerably in their relative importance if one takes account of the number and the extent of the texts that employ each of them. One of these alphabets is supported by *S*, the vehicular language of the whole of the valley of the Egyptian Nile (the Delta excepted); it was also utilized by a large number of dialects and subdialects in the valley and even in the Fayyūm. Another alphabet is supported by *B*, the vehicular language of the Egyptian Delta. These are, one might say, the "classic alphabets" of the Coptic language. The other alphabets are supported only by a small number (on occasion even by a trifling number) of texts slight in extent and variety or even by a single small text, the sole representative of an idiom whose original character, on the level of the dialect and not simply on that of the IDIOLECT, remains open to discussion: hence, one may call them, respectively, "marginal" and "very marginal" alphabets.

An alphabet could be marginal for various reasons. It could be situated in the "preliminary historical margin" of Coptic literary life; this would be one of the various alphabets created by way of essays at the time when the pioneers of literary Coptic were attempting, as individuals or in small isolated groups, to forge the instruments indispensable for the realization of their enterprise; some of these alphabets would not have obtained the adhesion of a social or cultural group, so that they would very quickly have been abandoned, even by their few partisans. Or again, an alphabet could be marginal because it was descended from the inventive spirit of an individual or a small group living somewhat on the margin of the society that was contemporary with them, and this at least on the cultural or eventually the religious level; this alphabet would have known only an extremely restricted diffusion and an existence probably all too short. But whether "classic" or more or less "marginal," all the Coptic alphabets thus attested by the texts of this language will be of interest for the researcher.

A synoptic view of the fourteen Coptic alphabets mentioned above will be found in Table 1. Each of the alphabets is indicated either by the unique dia-

lect or subdialect that attests it or by the principal idiom (language or dialect) that attests it. These are as follows:

(I) *P* (= a PROTODIALECT remarkably similar to **pS*, the latter being the tentatively reconstructed proto-Sahidic idiom; cf. DIALECT P), 0.1 percent of the whole Coptic textual surface.

(II) *İ* (= *pL*, proto-Lycopolitan dialect; cf. PROTODIALECT and DIALECT İ), 0.01 percent.

(III) *A* etc. (= *A*, Akhmimic dialect, with *İ7* = *p'L*, an evolved proto-Lycopolitan dialect; cf. AKHMIMIC and PROTODIALECT with DIALECT İ), 0.6 percent.

(IV) *B* etc. (= *B5*, the "classic" and relatively late BOHAIRIC language, commonly designated by *B*, with *B4*, the Bohairic dialect of "ancient" attestation, cf. Kasser, 1981a, pp. 92–93; *B4* texts published in Husselman, 1947; Quecke, 1974; Kasser, 1958, only p. 53 of Papyrus Bodmer III), in all, more than 6.5 percent (cf. LANGUAGE(S), COPTIC).

(V) *S* etc. (= *S* properly so called, the SAHIDIC language, with [a] the variety of the Fayyumic dialect showing lambdacism most recently attested, *F5* [cf. FAYYUMIC]; [b] *V5*, the least widely attested of the two mesodialectal varieties of the Fayyumic dialect without lambdacism (cf. FAYYUMIC); and [c] the three subdialectal varieties [or even dialects entirely apart, according to Funk, 1985] of *L*, the LYCOPOLITAN or LYCO-DIOSPOLITAN dialect), as a whole nearly 92 percent.

(VI) *M* etc. (= *M* properly so called, the MESOKEMIC dialect, with [a] the crypto-Mesokemic mesodialect called dialect *W* [published in Husselman, 1962]; [b] *V4*, the most widely attested of the two mesodialectal varieties of the Fayyumic dialect without lambdacism; [c] *F4*, one of the two varieties of the Fayyumic dialect with lambdacism and of ancient attestation [*F4* and *F7*]; and [d] the two very small mesodialects *K* and *K7(1)* [cf. Kasser and Satzinger, 1982]), in all 0.7 percent.

(VII) *B7* (cf. Kasser, 1981a, p. 93; subdialect), a little less than 0.001 percent.

(VIII) *L5* (Dub.) (= the particular subdialect of the Johannine fragment *L5* in Dublin), 0.015 percent (cf. LYCOPOLITAN or LYCO-DIOSPOLITAN).

(IX) *F7*(the FAYYUMIC subdialect *F7*, of ancient attestation; cf. Kasser, 1981a, pp. 97–100), 0.05 percent.

(X) *F8* (a very small subdialect; cf. Kasser, 1981a, p. 101), a little less than 0.001 percent.

(XI) *J* (very small subdialect; cf. Kasser, 1981a, pp. 113–15), 0.001 percent.

(XII) *G* (= DIALECT G or mesodialect [?]; cf. Crum, 1939; Kasser, 1975, and 1981a, pp. 102–103), 0.005 percent.

(XIII) *F9* (very small subdialect; cf. Kasser, 1981a, pp. 101–102), a little more than 0.0005 percent.

(XIV) *H* (= DIALECT H or metadialect; cf. Kasser, 1966; 1975–1976; and 1981a, pp. 104–112), 0.03 percent.

In the synoptic table (Table 1), everything has been grouped around *S* etc., the attestation of which, in relation to the other Coptic idioms, is very amply preponderant (92 percent). This is why (always with the exception of *P* ⲕ /k/ and – /n̥/; see below) the order of the phonemes (or combinations of phonemes, should occasion arise), along with the alphabetic order corresponding to them, is first of all the one habitually found in the Coptic grammars and lexicons (or dictionary elements) limited to Sahidic, *S:* (1) First come letters of Greek origin. (2) Next come letters of demotic origin (to the extent that they are in use in *S;* with regard to the debated origin of ϯ, see below; for details on the origin of these non-Greek graphemes, see ALPHABETS, OLD COPTIC). As regards the alphabetical order of the Coptic letters of demotic origin, it should be mentioned here that in some ancient documents showing that part of the Coptic alphabet, ϭ is placed before ϫ (e.g., Hall, 1905, pp. 35–36; Krall, 1888, pp. 129–30; question raised in di Bitonto Kasser, 1988). (3) Last come various "supplementary" phonemes (or combinations of phonemes), almost all descended from demotic (on their precise origins, see ALPHABETS, OLD COPTIC): deriving from pre-Coptic Egyptian, ALEPH = /'/ is a CRYPTOPHONEME in *S*, as elsewhere in Coptic (except in *P*), and is therefore not rendered by any grapheme exclusively its own; also of autochthonous origin and pre-Coptic, /ç/, /x/, and eventually also /cə/ were abandoned in *S* etc., but have been preserved in other dialects or protodialects; /čh/ is specific to the Bohairic domain (*B* etc. and probably also *B7*); /v/ is the characteristic of a tendency that results in various manifestations of Coptic metadialects. In regard to the particularly varied graphemes that correspond to these supplementary phonemes, several will be noted in *P* that can be described as Old Coptic (so ⊥ /'/, ϸ /ç/, in addition to the ⲕ /k/ and – /n̥/, already mentioned above, which respectively in *P* alone replace the ϰ and ϩ of Greek origin); others (ⳁ and ϭ, or ⲫ and ⲉ with their diacritical signs, which, respectively, mark them off from, and oppose them to, ⲫ and ⲉ, which themselves belong in group 2) are simply of demotic origin; others finally (ϧ and ϫ) are, or seem to be, Greek graphemes, but here play an unaccustomed role.

As regards the correspondence between the phonemes and the graphemes of the various Coptic al-

phabets, it will be noted that in this area the situation in Coptic is very similar to that in Greek. Thus, broadly speaking, for each Coptic alphabet there is a corresponding phonemic series made up of either (most frequently) isolated phonemes (e.g., /a/, /ƀ/, /g/, etc., the affricate /č/ = [tš] also being considered as a "single" phoneme) or of combinations of phonemes (/th/, /ks/, /ph/, /kh/, /ps/, /ti/).

Taking into account the total phonemic series resulting from the addition of all the particular phonemic series, each of which corresponds to one of the fourteen individual Coptic alphabets, one may establish, from case to case, the existence of one or another of the five following possibilities:

(1) In a given Coptic alphabet, a given phoneme (or combination of phonemes) is rendered by a grapheme that, according to a system of correspondence usual to this alphabet as well as to (almost) the whole of the Coptic dialects and subdialects, is peculiar to it and serves for its exclusive use: thus, for example, in *S* etc., ⲁ for /a/, ⲃ for /b/ etc., ⲑ for /th/ etc., ⲕ for /k/ etc. (It will be noted in this regard that, according to rules which cannot be set out here [cf. Kasser, 1983], /i/ may be rendered either by the grapheme ⲓ or by the combination ⲉⲓ, although the same ⲓ or ⲉⲓ may equally render /j/; and if /u/ is almost always rendered by the combination ⲟⲩ, nevertheless /w/, normally rendered by the same combination, often sees its initial ⲟ disappear in orthography after ⲁ, ⲉ, or ⲏ, which conveys the illusion of a correspondence ⲩ = /w/). This type of peculiar and exclusive phoneme-grapheme relationship is in the Coptic alphabets the most normal and widely favored possibility; every grapheme that attaches to it—and likewise the eventual combinations (ⲉ)ⲓ or (ⲟ)ⲩ—is then noted, just as it is in the synoptic table herein.

(2) In a given Coptic alphabet, a given phoneme is rendered by a given grapheme that, according to a system of correspondence usual to this alphabet, although not to the other Coptic dialects and subdialects, is peculiar to it and serves for its exclusive use: thus, for example, ⲕ for /c/ in *P*, although everywhere else ⲕ = /k/; ⲍ for /čh/ in *B*, although everywhere else ⲍ = /c/ (but see earlier discussion of law of exclusiveness). This possibility is not the most normal, but it remains very widely favored; this grapheme is then also noted, just as it is in the synoptic table.

(3) In a given alphabet, a given combination of phonemes, instead of being rendered by the grapheme usually peculiar to it, is rendered by each of the graphemes that habitually render each of the components of this combination: thus ⲧⲓ, and not ⲇ, for /ti/ (one could likewise imagine ⲧ₂, and not ⲑ, for /th/, etc.). This possibility, scarcely less widely favored than the preceding ones, is marked by the symbol = in the synoptic table, the complementary explanations being found in the commentary following the table.

(4) In a given alphabet, a frankly more problematic case, the proper and exclusive grapheme for a given phoneme is missing; the phoneme, however, is reputed to be present despite this and is then said to be a CRYPTOPHONEME. This is, by definition, rendered by a grapheme or combination of graphemes each of which is normally appropriated to the proper and exclusive use of another phoneme: for example, in *S* ⲟ = /o/ in normal usage, and yet one may note the second element of ⲟⲟ (not ⲟⲗ) = /o'/ in graphic vocalic gemination (cf. ALEPH); or again in *G*, ⲥ = /s/ and ⲍ = /z/ in normal usage, and yet ⲥⲍ (not ⲯ) = /š/. This possibility is indicated by the symbol =/= in the corresponding box in the synoptic table, the complementary explanations being found in the commentary following the table.

(5) Finally, in a given alphabet the absence of the usual grapheme (cf. point 1) signifies the absence of the phoneme concerned; this possibility, the only one that is really and fully negative, is marked by an empty shaded cell in the synoptic table.

In this table, any grapheme between parentheses is of considerably reduced usage (because it corresponds to a phoneme that is itself also of greatly reduced usage) in all of the dialect, subdialect, or group of idioms concerned (thus, e.g., the sonants /l̥/, /m̥/, /n̥/, /r̥/ in *B* etc.). This obviously does not apply to (ⲉ) in (ⲉ)ⲓ or to (ⲟ) in (ⲟ)ⲩ, which signify, respectively, the simultaneous existence of spellings in ⲉⲓ and in ⲓ, in ⲟⲩ and in ⲩ. Any grapheme between square brackets has had to be restored, taking account of the probabilities (the textual base being too narrow, there has been no occasion for this grapheme to appear). In line 31, "gem." signifies graphic vocalic gemination (see GEMINATION, VOCALIC), a way of rendering /'/ in writing as a cryptophoneme and not a phoneme in the ordinary sense.

For convenience, *S* has been assigned the function of a norm or standard; in relation to it the following phonemic and alphabetic differences will be noted (transformations and simplifications):

Lines 2a and 32: *J*, *G*, *F9*, *H* ⲃ /ƀ/ > /v/ (cf. l. 26): *B7* also has ⲃ /v/, but could well have preserved ⲃ /ƀ/ simultaneously.

Line 3: *H* ⲅ /g/ > ⲕ /k/.

Line 4: *H* ⲇ /d/ > ⲧ /t/.

Line 5a: *H* ⲉ /e/ > ⲏ /ē/.

Line 6: *H* ⲍ /z/ > ⲥ /s/.

Line 10: *P* ⲕ /k/ > *S* etc. (and all the other Coptic dialects etc.) ⲕ /k/ (cf. l. 29).

Line 15: *H* ⲟ/o/ > ⲱ /ō/.

Line 20a: *H* ⲩ /y/ > ⲏ /ē/.

Line 21: See line 26.

Line 22: See lines 28 and 35.

Line 25: *F9* ⲫ /š/ > ⲥ /s/.

Line 26: *J, F9, H* ⲫ /f/ > ⲃ /v/ (cf. l. 2a); *G* ⲫ probably /f/ rather than /ph/ (cf. l. 21).

Line 28: With regard to ⲭ (*L5* Dub. and *J, F9*) for ⲍ, see discussion above.

Line 29: *P* ⲕ /c/ > *S* etc. (and all the other dialects, etc., which have this phoneme) ϭ /c/ (cf. l. 10); note, however, that in *J* and *F9* ϭ /c/ > ⲕ /k/; *F7* ϭ /c/ > ⲍ /č/.

Line 32: See line 2a.

Line 34: *P* ⲋ /ç/ and also *İ* ⲫ /ç/ > *S* etc. (and *L* and all the other Coptic dialects, etc.) ⲫ /š/.

Line 35: *P* (cf. *B*) ⲭ /x/ and also *İ* (cf. *A*) with *J* ⲁ /x/ > *S* etc. (and *L* and all the other Coptic dialects, etc., except *A* etc. and *B* etc. with *B7* and *G*) ⲁ /h/; note *B7, G* ⲭ probably /x/ rather than /kh/.

It is difficult to know with any precision the names of the letters of the various Coptic alphabets. Those proposed by modern or semimodern grammarians all rest upon relatively late traditions and represent not the primitive forms but forms already somewhat modified (Stern, 1880, p. 7; Mallon, 1907, p. 7; Steindorff, 1930, pp. 6–7, and 1951, p. 11; Plumley, 1948, p. 1; Worrell, 1942, pp. 314–27, taken up in Till, 1955, p. 40). To provide a useful,

TABLE 1. *Synoptic Table of Coptic Alphabets, with Commentary*

		P	*İ*	*A* etc.	*B* etc.	*S* etc.	*M* etc.	*B7*	*L5* (Dub.)	*F7*	*F8*	*J*	*G*	*F9*	*H*
1	/a/	ⲁ	ⲁ	ⲁ	ⲁ	ⲁ	ⲁ	ⲁ	ⲁ	ⲁ	ⲁ	ⲁ	ⲁ	ⲁ	ⲁ
2a	/ƀ	ⲃ	ⲃ	ⲃ	ⲃ	ⲃ	ⲃ	?	ⲃ	ⲃ	ⲃ				
2b	/ƀ̣/	ⲃ	ⲃ	ⲃ		ⲃ	ⲃ	[?]	ⲃ		[?]				
3	/g/	ⲅ	ⲅ	ⲅ	ⲅ	ⲅ	ⲅ	[ⲅ]	ⲅ	ⲅ	ⲅ	ⲅ	ⲅ	[ⲅ]	
4	/d/	ⲇ	ⲇ	ⲇ	ⲇ	ⲇ	ⲇ	[ⲇ]	ⲇ	ⲇ	[ⲇ]	[ⲇ]	ⲇ	[ⲇ]	
5a	/e/	ⲉ	ⲉ	ⲉ	ⲉ	ⲉ	ⲉ	[ⲉ]	ⲉ	ⲉ	ⲉ	ⲉ	ⲉ	ⲉ	
5b	/ə/	ⲉ	ⲉ	ⲉ	ⲉ	ⲉ	ⲉ	ⲉ	ⲉ	ⲉ	ⲉ	[ⲉ]	ⲉ	ⲉ	(ⲉ)
6	/z/	ⲍ	ⲍ	ⲍ	ⲍ	ⲍ	ⲍ	[ⲍ]	ⲍ	ⲍ	[ⲍ]	[ⲍ]	ⲍ	[ⲍ]	
7	/ē/	ⲏ	ⲏ	ⲏ	ⲏ	ⲏ	ⲏ	ⲏ	ⲏ	ⲏ	ⲏ	ⲏ	ⲏ	ⲏ	ⲏ
8	/th/	ⲑ	ⲑ	ⲑ	ⲑ	ⲑ	ⲑ	ⲑ	ⲑ	ⲑ	ⲑ	ⲑ	ⲑ	[ⲑ]	ⲑ
9a	/i/	(ⲓ)ⲓ	(ⲓ)ⲓ	(ⲓ)ⲓ	ⲓ	(ⲓ)ⲓ	(ⲓ)ⲓ	ⲓ	(ⲓ)ⲓ	ⲓ	ⲓ	(ⲓ)ⲓ	ⲓ	ⲓ	(ⲓ)ⲓ
9b	/j/	(ⲓ)ⲓ	ⲓⲓ	(ⲓ)ⲓ	ⲓ	(ⲓ)ⲓ	(ⲓ)ⲓ	ⲓ	(ⲓ)ⲓ	ⲓ	ⲓ	(ⲓ)ⲓ	ⲓ	ⲓⲓ	(ⲓ)ⲓ
10	/k/	ⲕ	ⲕ	ⲕ	ⲕ	ⲕ	ⲕ	ⲕ	ⲕ	ⲕ	ⲕ	ⲕ	ⲕ	ⲕ	ⲕ
11a	/l/	ⲗ	ⲗ	ⲗ	ⲗ	ⲗ	ⲗ	ⲗ	ⲗ	ⲗ	ⲗ	ⲗ	ⲗ	ⲗ	ⲗ
11b	/ḷ/	ⲗ	ⲗ	ⲗ	(ⲗ)	ⲗ	ⲗ	[(ⲗ)]	ⲗ		?	?	?	ⲗ	
12a	/m/	ⲙ	ⲙ	ⲙ	ⲙ	ⲙ	ⲙ	ⲙ	ⲙ	ⲙ	ⲙ	ⲙ	ⲙ	ⲙ	ⲙ
12b	/ṃ/	ⲙ	ⲙ	ⲙ	(ⲙ)	ⲙ	ⲙ	(ⲙ)	ⲙ	(ⲙ)	?	?	?	[ⲙ?]	
13a	/n/	ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ
13b	/ṇ/	ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ	(ⲛ)	ⲛ	ⲛ	(ⲛ)	ⲛ	(ⲛ)	?	?	?	[ⲛ?]	
13c	/ṇ/	ⲝ	ⲛ	ⲛ	(ⲛ)	ⲛ	ⲛ	(ⲛ)	ⲛ	(ⲛ)	?	?	?	[ⲛ?]	
14	/ks/	ⲝ	ⲝ	ⲝ	ⲝ	ⲝ	ⲝ	[ⲝ]	ⲝ	[ⲝ]	[ⲝ]	[ⲝ]	[ⲝ]	[ⲝ]	(ⲝ)
15	/o/	ⲟ	ⲟ	ⲟ	ⲟ	ⲟ	ⲟ	ⲟ	ⲟ	ⲟ	ⲟ	ⲟ	ⲟ	ⲟ	
16	/p/	ⲡ	ⲡ	ⲡ	ⲡ	ⲡ	ⲡ	ⲡ	ⲡ	ⲡ	ⲡ	ⲡ	ⲡ	ⲡ	ⲡ
17a	/r/	ⲣ	ⲣ	ⲣ	ⲣ	ⲣ	ⲣ	ⲣ	ⲣ	ⲣ	ⲣ	ⲣ	ⲣ	ⲣ	ⲣ
17b	/ṛ/	ⲣ	ⲣ	ⲣ	(ⲣ)	ⲣ	ⲣ	(ⲣ)	ⲣ	?	?	?	?	[ⲣ?]	
18	/s/	ⲥ	ⲥ	ⲥ	ⲥ	ⲥ	ⲥ	ⲥ	ⲥ	ⲥ	ⲥ	ⲥ	ⲥ	ⲥ	ⲥ
19	/t/	ⲧ	ⲧ	ⲧ	ⲧ	ⲧ	ⲧ	ⲧ	ⲧ	ⲧ	ⲧ	ⲧ	ⲧ	ⲧ	ⲧ
20a?	/y/	ⲩ	ⲩ	ⲩ	ⲩ	ⲩ	ⲩ	[ⲩ]	ⲩ	ⲩ	[ⲩ]	ⲩ	ⲩ	[ⲩ]	
20b	/u/	ⲟⲩ	ⲟⲩ	ⲟⲩ	ⲟⲩ	ⲟⲩ	ⲟⲩ	ⲟⲩ	ⲟⲩ	ⲟⲩ	ⲟⲩ	ⲟⲩ	ⲟⲩ	ⲟⲩ	ⲟⲩ

TABLE 1. *Synoptic Table of Coptic Alphabets, with Commentary (continued)*

		P	*İ*	*A* etc.	*B* etc.	*S* etc.	*M* etc.	*B7*	*L5* (Dub.)	*F7*	*F8*	*J*	*G*	*F9*	*H*
20c	/w/	(ⲟ)ⲩ	(ⲟ)ⲩ	(ⲟ)ⲩ	(ⲟ)ⲩ	(ⲟ)ⲩ	(ⲟ)ⲩ	[(ⲟ)ⲩ]	(ⲟ)ⲩ	(ⲟ)ⲩ	(ⲟ)ⲩ	(ⲟ)ⲩ	ⲟⲩ	(ⲟ)ⲩ	(ⲟ)ⲩ
21	/ph/	ⲫ	ⲫ	ⲫ	ⲫ	ⲫ	ⲫ	ⲫ	ⲫ	ⲫ	ⲫ	[ⲫ]	?	[ⲫ]	ⲫ
22	/kh/	ⲭ	ⲭ	ⲭ	ⲭ	ⲭ	ⲭ	[ⲭ?]	ⲭ?	ⲭ	ⲭ	ⲭ?	?	ⲭ?	ⲭ
23	/ps/	ⲯ	[ⲯ]	ⲯ	ⲯ	†/ⲯ	ⲯ	[ⲯ]	ⲯ	†/ⲯ	[ⲯ]	ⲯ	[ⲯ]	ⲯ	(ⲯ)
24	/ō/	ⲱ	ⲱ	ⲱ	ⲱ	ⲱ	ⲱ	ⲱ	ⲱ	ⲱ	ⲱ	ⲱ	ⲱ	ⲱ	ⲱ
25	/š/	ϣ	ϣ	ϣ	ϣ	ϣ	ϣ	ϣ	ϣ	ϣ	ϣ	[ϣ?]	=/=		ϣ
26	/f/	ⳇ	ⳇ	ⳇ	ⳇ	ⳇ	ⳇ	ⳇ	ⳇ	ⳇ	.ⳇ		ⲫ		
27	/h/	ϩ	ϩ	ϩ	ϩ	ϩ	ϩ	ϩ	ϩ	ϩ	ϩ				ϩ
28	/č/	ⲭ	ⲭ	ⲭ	ⲭ	ⲭ	ⲭ	ⲭ	ⲭ	ⲭ	ⲭ	ⲭ	=/=	ⲭ	ⲭ
29	/c/	ⲕ	ⳋ	ⳋ		ⳋ	ⳋ		ⳋ		ⳋ				ⳋ
30	/ti/	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	=	[=?]	=	=	=
31	/'/	⊥	gem.	gem.		gem.			gem.			gem.		gem.	
32	/v/							ϐ				ϐ	ϐ	ϐ	ϐ
33	/ce/	ⲕ	[=]	=		=	=					[=?]		=	=
34	/ç/	ⲋ	ⲯ												
35	/x/	ⲝ	ⲹ	ⲹ	ⲝ			ⲭ				ⲹ	ⲭ		
36	/čh/				ⳋ			[ⳋ]					?		
Total		35	32	31	31	30	30	30	29	29	29	26	24	24	25

Lines 2a–2b: In phonology, /b̄/ has the value of a consonant (voiced), and /b̥/ of a vowel (sonant) (cf. Kasser, 1981c). In *B* etc. (and also in *F5*, *F4*, here included in *S* etc. and *M* etc., respectively) /b̄/ > /əb̄/ (*F5*, *F4* also /yb̄/ in specific cases); in *F7* /b̥/ > /əb̄/, /ib̄/, /ob̄/ or /yb̄/, each in specific cases.

Lines 5a–5b: /e/ tonic, /ə/ atonic.

Lines 9a–9b: In phonology, /i/ has the value of a vowel and /j/ of a consonant (glide). With regard to the rules of dialectal or subdialectal orthography that cause the writing of ⲉⲓ or ⲓ for /i/ or /j/, cf. Kasser (1983) and, more detailed and less systematic, Quecke (1984).

Lines 11a–11b: In phonology, /l/ has the value of a consonant (voiced), /l̥/ of a vowel (sonant), (cf. Kasser, 1981c). *H* /l̥/ > /ēl/. Almost always in *B* etc. (and also everywhere in *F5* and *F4*, here included in *S* etc. and *M* etc., respectively), /l̥/ > /əl/. In *F7* /l̥/ > /əl/ or /il/, each in specific cases (there is no possibility of /ol/); but in *F9* /l̥/ in ⲥⲧⲁⲧⲟⲗ† (= [ⲫⲧⲉⲗⲧⲱⲗ†]), troubled.

Lines 12a–12b: In phonology, /m/ has the value of a consonant (voiced), and /m̥/ of a vowel (sonant) (cf. Kasser, 1981c). *H* /m̥/ > /ĕm/. In *B* etc. (and also *F5* and *F4*, here included in *S* etc. and *M* etc., respectively), /m̥/ most often > /əm/; in *F7* /m̥/ most frequently > /əm/, /im/, or /om/, each in specific cases.

Lines 13a–13c: In phonology, /n/ has the value of a consonant (voiced), and /n̥/ and /n̥ˀ/ of a vowel (sonant, /n̥ˀ/ being at the beginning of a syllable and forming a syllable with the consonant that follows it; cf. Kasser, 1981c). *H* /n̥/ > /ēn/. In *B* etc. (and in *F5* and *F4*, here included in *S* etc. and *M* etc., respectively), /n/ most often > /ən/; in *F7* /n/ most frequently > /ən/ or /in/, each in specific cases (not /on/ apparently; cf. l. 31).

Line 14: *H* very often ϫ /ks/ > ⲕⲥ /ks/.

Lines 17a–17b: In phonology, /r/ has the value of a consonant (voiced), and /r̥/ of a vowel (sonant). *H* /r̥/ > /ĕr/. In *B* etc. (and in *F5* and *F4*, here included in *S* etc. and *M* etc., respectively), /r̥/ most often > /ər/; in *F7* /r̥/ most frequently > /ər/ or /ir/, each in specific cases (there is no possibility of /or/). Would *F9* have had ⲣ /r̥/ there as it has ⲗ /l̥/?

Lines 20b–20c: In phonology, /u/ has the value of a vowel, and /w/ of a consonant (glide): ⲟⲩ or ⲩ for /w/.

Line 22 (cf. l. 28): *L5* (Johannine fragments in Dublin), *J*, and *F9* regularly replace ⲭ by a ⲝ that is very probably equivalent to /č/ and not /kh/; however, there is in various Copto-Greek words a ⲝ that is probably equivalent to /kh/. These two types of ⲝ may not be in origin the same grapheme (demotic ⲝ ≠ Greek *χ*).

Line 23: *F7* (not *B74*) and also some *L6* texts (under *S* etc.) write † for ⲯ; *H* very often ⲯ /ps/ > ⲡⲥ /ps/.

Line 25: *G* ⲥⲍ very probably equivalent to /š/.

Line 28: *G* ⲧⲍ very probably equivalent to /č/.

Line 30: *F8*, [*J*?], *G*, *F9*, *H* ⲧⲓ /ti/; † is generally considered a grapheme of demotic origin (cf., e.g., Mallon, 1907; Steindorff, p. 12); but other interpretations remain possible (cf. Kasser, 1984–1985).

Line 31: Gem. signifies that /'/ is rendered not by a grapheme of its own but by the second element of a graphic vocalic gemination (see ALEPH); in fact, in Papyrus Bodmer VI, the sole witness of *P*, ⊥ /'/ aleph tends to be replaced by gem. (although at the same time – /n̥ˀ/ tends to be replaced by ⊥!).

Line 33: The compendium P ⲕ /cə/ (? Coptic autochthonous words *P* ⲕ = *S* ⲅⲉ, then; *P* ⲛⲕ = *S* ⲛⲅⲓ, the proleptic particle) also appears in some Copto-Greek words, in which it is almost always equivalent to ⲕⲁⲓ as in the Greek manuscripts (thus *P* ⲁⲓⲕⲟⲥ *δίκαιος*, just, 85 percent of the cases; ⲁⲓⲕⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ *δικαιοσύνη*, justice, 86 percent of the cases; ⲛⲕⲁⲓⲣ *καίπερ*, although, one case; ⲕⲣⲉⲁ *κειρία*, bandage, one case).

rather standardized example, even if its value may be open to debate, here are presented first the names of the Coptic letters as in Plumley (1948), with some adaptation: while Plumley writes the names in Coptic letters, they are here transliterated, generally in accordance with Plumley's system of phonetic equivalents (e = short e; ē = long e; o = short o; ō = long o; ch = guttural ch as in German *Wehrmacht*, army; g′ = hard g): ⲁ = alpha, ⲃ = bēta, ⲅ = gamma, ⲇ = dalda, ⲉ = ey (or ei), ⲍ = zēta, ⲏ = hēta, ⲑ = thēta, ⲓ = yōta, ⲕ = kappa, ⲗ = lauda (or lawda), ⲙ = mē, ⲛ = ne, ⲝ = ksi, ⲟ = ow, ⲡ = pi, ⲣ = rō, ⲥ = sēmma, ⲧ = tau (or taw), ⲩ = he, ⲫ = phi, ⲭ = khi, ⲯ = psi, ⲱ = ō, ⲱⲩ = shai, ϥ = fai, ⳑ = chai, ⳓ = hori, ⳝ = janjia (or janjya), ⳋ = g(y)ima, ⲧ = ti.

Coming closer to the testimony of the texts in their (quite confusing) manifold witness, see also, from various periods and in Coptic, the names of graphemes noted by Crum (1939), a list completed here by that of the names of autochthonous Coptic letters that appears at the end of the (unpublished) Bodmer papyrus of the Acta Pauli (fourth–fifth centuries, *L5*, siglum hereafter Bod.): ⲁ = ⲁⲗⲫⲁ, ⲃ = ⲃⲏⲧⲁ (or ⲃⲓⲇⲁ), ⲅ = ⲅⲁⲙⲙⲁ, ⲇ = ⲇⲁⲗⲇⲁ (or ⲇⲁⲗⲧⲁ), ⲉ = ⲉⲓ (or ⲉⲓⲉ), ⲍ = ⲍⲏⲧⲁ (or ⲍⲓⲧⲁ, ⲍⲁⲧⲁ), ⲏ = (ⳓ)ⲏⲧⲁ (or ⲏⲓⲧⲁ, ⳓⲁⲧⲉ), ⲑ = ⲑⲏⲧⲁ (or ⲑⲓⲧⲁ, ⲑⲉⲧⲉ), ⲓ = ⲓⲱⲧⲁ (or ⲓⲟⲧⲁ, ⲓⲁⲩⲁⲁ), ⲕ = ⲕⲁⲡⲡⲁ (or ⲕⲁⲡⲁ), ⲗ = ⲗⲁⲩⲁⲁ (probably for ⲗⲁⲃⲁⲁ, or ⲗⲁⲩⲗⲁ, ⲗⲟⲗⲉ), ⲙ = ⲙⲏ (or ⲙⲉ, ⲙⲓ), ⲛ = ⲛⲉ (or ⲛⲓ), ⲝ = ⲝⲓ, ⲟ = ⲟⲩ (or ⲟ), ⲡ = ⲡⲓ, ⲣ = ⲣⲱ (or ⳓⲣⲟ), ⲥ = ⲥⲏⲙⲙⲁ (or ⲥⲩⲙⲙⲁ, ⲥⲓⲙⲁ, ⲥⲙ̄ⲙⲁ), ⲧ = ⲧⲁⲩ, ⲩ = ⳓⲉ (or ⲩⲉ, ⲩⲁ), ⲫ = ⲫⲓ, ⲭ = ⲭⲓ, ⲯ = ⲯⲓ, ⲱ = ⲱ (or ⲁⲩ, ⲱⲟⲩ); then ⲱⲩ = ⲱⲁⲓ (or ⲱⲉⲓ; Bod. ⲱⲏⲉ[ⲓ]); ϥ = ϥⲁⲓ (or ϥⲉⲓ; Bod. ϥⲏⲉⲓ); ⳑ = ⳑⲁⲓ (or ⳑⲉⲓ); ⳓ = ⳓⲟⲣⲓ (Bod. ⳓⲱⲣⲉⲓ); ⳝ = ⳝⲁⲛⳝⲓⲁ (or ⳝⲉⲛⳝⲉ; Bod. probably ⳝⲁⲛⳝⲛ̄, but ⳝⲁⲛⳝⲓⲁ not excluded); ⳋ = ⳋⲓⲙⲁ (Bod. ⳋⲉⲓⲙⲉ very uncertain); ⲧ = Bod. ⲧⲉⲓ.

(1) So far as the Coptic graphemes of Greek origin are concerned, one will probably be closer to their primitive names if one names them in the Greek fashion: ⲁ = alpha, ⲃ = beta, ⲅ = gamma, ⲇ = delta, ⲉ = epsilon, ⲍ = zeta, ⲏ = eta, ⲑ = theta, ⲓ = iota, ⲕ = kappa, ⲗ = lambda, ⲙ = mu, ⲛ = nu, ⲝ = xi, ⲟ = omicron, ⲡ = pi, ⲣ = rho, ⲥ = sigma, ⲧ = tau, ⲩ = upsilon, ⲫ = phi, ⲭ = chi, ⲯ = psi, ⲱ = omega.

(2) For the Coptic graphemes of demotic origin in *S*, the preference here is for the following forms (in the *S* vocalism): ⲱⲩ = shai, ϥ = fai, ⳓ = hori, ⳝ = janja, ⳋ = gima (easier to pronounce than the more exact k(y)ima), ⲧ = ti.

(3) For the supplementary graphemes, apart from ⳑ, their names are unknown, so that it was necessary to create them (if possible in relation with their written form, which is certain because it can be observed, rather than with their phonological value, which is sometimes less certain): ⳍ /k/ = zetoid kappa; ⸗ /n̩/ = hyphen-shaped nu; ⳟ /č/ (for ⳝ) = chioid janja; ⲯ /ʾ/ = reversed-tau-shaped aleph; ⲕⲁⲓ = kai compendium; Ⳑ = 9-spiraled grapheme; ⲱ̈ = crossed shai; ⳑ = khai or ḥai; Ⳓ = barred hori; ⳋ /čh/ in *B* etc. = aspirated janja.

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RODOLPHE KASSER

ALPHABETS, OLD COPTIC. The group of texts designated OLD COPTIC does not represent a linguistic unity, but on the contrary a motley collection of essays spaced out between the first and fourth centuries A.D. Chronologically they most frequently predate literary Coptic, but sometimes, though rarely, are contemporary with its beginnings. However that may be, through their character as isolated essays tentatively made, not very systematic or even practically unsystematic, and through their language, in which one observes a significant proportion of pre-Coptic features, they all logically represent a stage prior to that of literary Coptic, including proto-Coptic. The latter is already systematic and makes its appearance in the form of PROTODIALECTS, many of which have disappeared without leaving any traces, but two of which are nevertheless attested by Coptic documents that have survived the vicissitudes of the tormented history of the Copts: DIALECT i (proto-Lycopolitan) and DIALECT P (an alphabetically and phonologically archaic idiom that often looks like what can be known about a proto-Sahidic, tentatively reconstructed and considered immigrant into the Theban region).

In these circumstances, it is scarcely surprising that each of the Old Coptic texts attests a particular Coptic alphabet (or if one prefers, a particular variety of Coptic alphabet). It is reasonable to suppose that all these alphabets included all the Coptic letters of Greek origin—a supposition and not a certainty, because these very ancient texts are generally too short for each to attest all these Greek graphemes. But there is no reason to suspect that one or more of these Greek letters was systematically eliminated in one or another of these alphabets, as is the case in the Coptic alphabet of a late text like that which attests DIALECT H (cf. ALPHABETS, COPTIC, synoptic table), which lacks the ⲣ, ⲥ, and ⲍ of Greek origin. All these Old Coptic alphabets included letters of demotic origin, generally in larger numbers than the Coptic alphabet properly so called, especially since the varieties of Old Coptic have at the same time a number of phonemes more significant than that of the Coptic idioms (the evolution proceeding logically toward phonological and graphical simplification and hence toward a reduction in the number of phonemes and graphemes). The synoptic table of Old Coptic alphabets (Table 1), which includes all the Old Coptic texts that are available and makes use of letters of demotic origin, will make this evident.

The sigla for the texts used in this table are as follows: Schm. = the Schmidt Papyrus (first–second century); Hor. = the London Horoscope Papyrus (first–second century); Mich. = the Michigan Horoscope Papyrus (second century); Mun. = the Munich Papyrus ([schoolbook?] second century); Ox. = the Egyptian Oxyrhynchus Papyrus (second century); Mum. = the two mummy labels in Berlin (second century); Mim. = the Mimaut Papyrus (third century); DMP = the Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden (third–fourth century); Par. 1 = first non-Greek section of the Paris Magical Papyrus (fourth century); Par. 2 = second non-Greek section (but not the third and last) of the Paris Magical Papyrus (fourth century).

To the alphabets of these ten texts properly designated Old Coptic are added here, by way of comparison, those of the only two protodialects surviving in Coptic, *P* and *İ*, because both have preserved certain phonemes of Old Coptic that later disappeared in

TABLE 1. *Synoptic Table of Old Coptic Alphabets, with Commentary*

		Schm.	Hor.	Mich.	Mun.	Ox.	Mum.	Mim.	DMP.	Par.1	Par.2	*P*	*j*
1	/k/	ⲕ	ⲋ	ⲕ?	?	ⲕ	?	ⲕ	ⲋ	ⲕ	ⲕ	ⲋ	ⲕ
2	/n̩/	ⲛ	–	ⲛ	?	ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ	–	ⲛ
3	/š/	ⳇ	ϫ	ⲯ	?	ⲯ	ϫ	ⳋ	ϫ	ⲯ?	ⳋ	ⲯ	ⲯ
4	/f/	ⲫ	ⲫ	ⲫ	?	ⲫ	?	ⲫ	ⲫ	ⲫ	ⲫ	ⲫ	ⲫ
5	/h/	ⲭ	ⲟ	ⲥ	?	ⲭ	?	ϫ	?	ϫ	ⳁ	ⲥ	ⲥ
6	/č/	ⲱ	ⲱ	ⲱ	?	ⲱ	?	ⳆⳆ	ⲱ	ⲱ?	?	ⲝ	ⲝ
7	/c/	ⳋ	ⲕ	?	?	ⳋ	?	?	ⲕ	?	?	ⲕ	ⳋ
8	/ti/	=	=	=	?	=	?	=	=	=	=	†	†
9	/ʾ/		(⊥)?			?	?	?	?		gem.	⊥	gem.
10	/ç/		ⳋ	(ⳉ)?	ⳋ	ⳋ	?		ⳋ	ⳋ		ⲟ	ⲯ̇
11	/x/	?	ⲯ	ⲯ	?	ⲯ	?		?? ? ⲯ/ⲟ/ⲭ		(ⲭ)	ⲯ	ⳉ
12	/čh/									(ⲱ)			
13	/ḥ/	ϫ			ⲓ	ⲓⳁ	?		ⲢⲨ?				
Total		31?	35	31	32?	33?	?	28?	34?	30?	27?	35	32

(In the following, "A.C. table" refers to the synoptic table in ALPHABETS, COPTIC.)

Line 1 (A.C. table, l. 10): Hor. generally has ⲋ /k/ and ⲕ /c/, but this text tends to confuse these two phonemes, since one also finds several ⲕ for /k/ and (more rarely) ⲋ for /c/. Mich. is so fragmentary that one cannot be sure here of its witness. Did Mim. also use, alongside ⲕ, a kind of ⲋ for /k/ (cf. Kasser, 1980, p. 265)? DMP generally has ⲋ /k/ and ⲕ /c/, but one also finds some ⲕ /k/ (confusion of the two phonemes).

Line 2 (A.C. table, ll. 13b–13c): Hor. has – for /n̩/, while *P* has it rather for /n̩ʾ/.

Line 3 (A.C. table, l. 25): In Schm. the choice of ϫ for /s/ is strange (in demotic ϫ renders /r/ and also /f/; du Bourguet, 1976, p. 82). One of the texts of Mum. is written from right to left, with all but three of its letters equally turned from right to left, but 3 remains without inversion; the second text is written from left to right, with its 3 just as it is. In Mim., in one case, the editor of the text indicates the presence of an ⲟ (as in *P*) in place of ⳋ, but it is preferable to take no account of this reading (at this point the text is almost entirely erased, and the photo shows no trace to allow us to confirm this assumption, however weakly). Par. 1, a single example, has perhaps the clumsy draft of a ⲯ (rather than a 3, or still less a ⳋ, Kasser, 1980, p. 267).

Line 4 (A.C. table, l. 26): Nothing.

Line 5 (A.C. table, l. 27): In Schm. generally, the ancient *h* is rendered by a ⲭ (of a very particular form; Kasser, 1980, p. 257), and the ancient *ḥ* by 3. In Ox., the ancient *h* is generally ⲭ, and the ancient *ḥ* is ⲓ or ⲥ. In DMP, for want of certain examples deriving from an ancient *h*, it is difficult to say whether there the ancient *ḥ* and *h* have reconciled their opposition to converge in a uniform /h/, rendered now by ⲭ, now by ⲩ, or whether eventually only the ancient *ḥ* is rendered by ⲭ or ⲩ, the ancient *h* having completely disappeared; this strange ⲩ of DMP is only there at the beginning of a word (but some other beginnings of words, more rare, also have ⲭ) and for preference before a vowel (supplementary details in Kasser, 1980, p. 268). In Par. 2, ⳁ is placed only rarely "before" the vowel that phonologically follows it; most often it is placed above it (like the Greek epigraphic rough breathing, which it much resembles and of which it might eventually be a variant); it also happens that the scribe replaces this ⳁ above the line by a simple "acute accent" or again that he forgets it altogether.

Line 6 (A.C. table, l. 28): In Schm. ⲱ has the form of a large Greek *α*. In Mim. the regular form is decidedly ⳆⳆ (the two ⲝ read by the editor of the text are extremely doubtful). In Par. 1, /č/ is normally rendered by ⲱ (two cases), but also (through phonological confusion of /č/ and /ç/) by ⳋ (two cases) or even by ⲝ (one case, through the influence of the contemporary Coptic alphabet).

Line 7 (A.C. table, l. 29): Mich. very uncertain.

Line 8 (A.C. table, l. 30): Nothing.

Line 9 (A.C. table, l. 31): In Hor. three cases only, all rather doubtful (phoneme that could be /ʾ/, grapheme more or less resembling a ⊥ or a ⲱ (Kasser, 1980, p. 264); in Ox. the possibility of a ⊥ remains too hazardous (ibid., p. 264).

Line 10 (A.C. table, l. 34): Hor. presents three cases where ⲯ is written in place of ⳋ and perhaps a further case where ⳋ is written in place of ⲯ (confusion between the phonemes /x/ and /ç/). The only ⳉ of Mich. is in a context extremely (perhaps excessively) obscure. It is not very likely that ⳋ of Ox. ever renders /x/ (Kasser, 1980, p. 267). In DMP there is eventually (?) a case where /ç/ is rendered by ⳉ.

Line 11 (A.C. table, l. 35): In DMP there is an uncertain ⲯ (two cases), a certain ⲟ (one case), and a probable ⲭ (one case). In Par. 2, if ⳁ regularly renders /h/, it also renders /x/ two out of three times, ⲭ rendering it (more correctly) one out of three times (tendency toward the neutralization of the opposition of the phonemes /h/ and /x/, in favor of the sole survival of a uniform /h/?).

Line 12 (A.C. table, l. 36): Mim. probably does not have this /čh/ (cf. Kasser, 1980, p. 269). With regard to the problem of the eventual existence of the phoneme /čh/ rather than /č/ in Par. 1, cf. Kasser (1980, p. 269).

Line 13 (no corresponding line in AC table): With regard to DMP, see above, line 5.

Coptic; *P* even has in its alphabet such a large number of letters typical of Old Coptic that it reaches a total alphabet of at least thirty-five graphemes. This is thus an alphabet as rich as the richest of the Old Coptic alphabets (excluding exceptional graphemes; see below), that of Hor., with its thirty-five letters; one might even say that *P* has thirty-six graphemes if one admits that the ⲕ /k/ of its Copto-Greek vocabulary is to be distinguished from the ⲕ /c/ of its autochthonous vocabulary, the first developing from the Greek *κ*, and the second from a demotic grapheme (see du Bourguet, 1976, p. 75, sign for *g*, first variant).

To facilitate comparison, the order of the phonemes is that of the final sections in the synoptic table of Coptic alphabets (only nos. 25–36 are concerned), except for /k/ and /ṇ/, placed right at the beginning, and /ḥ/, placed at the very end. In the table hereafter, the sign = indicates that instead of rendering /ti/ by a single grapheme, ⲧ, the text in question renders it by two letters, ⲧⲓ; "gem." signifies that /'/ is rendered not by a grapheme of its own (like ⊥ in Hor. [?] and *P*) but by the second element of a graphic vocalic gemination (see ALEPH).

In this presentation of the graphemes typical of Old Coptic, each is given in a standardized form and no account is taken of its numerous particular graphic variants (sometimes very perceptibly remote from one another); so far as ⲫ is concerned, it has been fixed in the form that it habitually has in Coptic, although in Old Coptic this form is generally much closer to that (the most usual) of the demotic grapheme for /f/ (du Bourguet, 1976, p. 3), especially with its stem strongly inclined toward the right. Furthermore, the signs are limited to those that appear regularly in these texts (or nearly so); it has not been judged indispensable to include also certain rare forms of Old Coptic graphemes whose use is occasional (or even, in most cases, exceptional) and does not seem to have any particular phonological significance (these unusual forms appear above all in Schm., Hor., Ox., DMP, and Par. 1; further details will be found in Kasser, 1980, pp. 256–57).

Right at the end, in the count of the total number of the graphemes of each Old Coptic alphabet (and of the two proto-Coptic alphabets *P* and *İ*), account is taken only of the graphemes of demotic origin that appear fairly regularly in these texts (as just explained), and it is assumed with regard to each text that the alphabet it uses had the full complement of the twenty-four letters of Greek origin, according to the assumption made above.

The majority of the graphemes of Old Coptic alphabets presented here are considered, as has been said, as being certainly of demotic origin; for others (especially ⲕ /c/, ⲩ /ḥ/, ⲭ /x/ and, above all, sometimes even /č/ in Coptic, if not in Old Coptic), even if their appearance is wholly that of graphemes of Greek origin, one may strongly suspect that it is a case of signs of demotic origin having been entirely assimilated graphically to Greek letters that resemble them and have influenced their graphic form.

This series of letters will now be reviewed in the following order: first the graphemes of Greek appearance; then the letters of demotic origin utilized in Coptic; and, finally, the graphemes of demotic origin (whether certain or possible), utilized only in Old Coptic, not in Coptic (the Coptic protodialect *P*, however, here rejoining the Old Coptic group).

In the enumeration of each of these signs below, there is first indicated, so far as possible, the precise demotic sign from which it derives or may be presumed to have derived; for these references to the demotic graphemes, the work cited will in each case be implicitly du Bourguet (1976, p. 75), where the "usual" graphic forms are presented on the left and their "variants" on the right. Thereafter, the name of the (Old) Coptic grapheme will be given: the name traditionally known in the case of the letters ⲫ, ϥ, ϧ, ϩ, ϫ, ϭ, ⲧ used in Coptic and a name unknown and to be created in the case of the other letters. The latter has been done, where possible, in relation to the graphic form (which is certain because it can be observed) rather than to the phonological value (sometimes very uncertain and above all very variable from one Old Coptic text to another).

1. ⲕ /c/ could strictly speaking be the same grapheme as ⲕ /k/ (of Greek origin), /k/ and /c/ being phonologically close to one another and hence liable to be confused; but if that was not the case, the demotic original of ⲕ /c/ (not /k/) could be the first variant of the sign for *g*. Name assigned: *kappaoid gima* (easier to pronounce than the more exact "kappaoid k(y)ima").

2. ⲩ /ḥ/ (or /h/?), always at the beginning of a word, is not very likely to be the same grapheme as ⲩ /y/ (of Greek origin), and this even if one must record that (with very rare exceptions in *F* and *M*) in Coptic ⲩ alone (hence not preceded by ⲗ, ⲉ, or ⲏ and not in any case ⲟⲩ) can only be found in a Copto-Greek word and that at the beginning of a word the Greek *υ* always has the rough breathing, equivalent (the most normal spelling in Sahidic, etc.) to ϩⲩ- in Coptic. This ⲩ could thus be a distor-

tion of the Greek epigraphic rough breathing ⊢, placed above the ϒ and finally confused with it; but this ϒ /ḥ/ could better still have a demotic origin: see the third of the variants of the sign for *ḥ*. Name assigned: *Y-shaped grapheme.*

3. ⲭ /x/ could strictly be the same grapheme as ⲭ /kh/, corresponding to some local Greek pronunciation; if not, there is some chance that it issued from the fourth variant of the demotic sign for *h̲*. Name assigned: *chioid ḫai* or *chioid khai.*

4. ϫ /č/ is phonologically so remote from ⲭ /kh/ (of Greek origin) that their confusion appears very unlikely (even if one ventures to suppose a local Greek pronunciation in which [k] > [t] and [h] > [š], hence [kh] > [tš] > [č]); it is more reasonable to make this ϫ /č/ derive from the demotic sign for *d̲*, first variant (slightly inclined to the left). Name assigned: *chioid janja.*

5. ⲗ /h/ will evidently be interpreted first of all as a variant (in truth not rare) of the Greek epigraphic rough breathing (the more so since in Old Coptic one finds ⲗ not only as a letter placed between the other graphemes of its line but also as an "accent" placed above graphemes in its line, as the rough breathing would be placed). One cannot, however, exclude a demotic origin for this sign also: see the grapheme for *h*, fifth or seventh variant (with the final "hook" cut off). Name assigned: *L-shaped grapheme.*

6. ⲯ /š/ derives from the demotic sign for *š*, third usual form (see also the fifth and eighth variants). Traditional name: *shai.*

7. ⲱ̈ /ç/ evidently derives from the same sign as ⲯ, but completed by a diacritical element. Name assigned: *crossed shai.*

8. ⲫ (Coptic graphic form) /f/ derives from the demotic sign for *f*, first variant (which is however clearly inclined toward the right, as is ⲫ in its graphic form in Old Coptic; see above). Traditional name: *fai;* in Old Coptic it could also, if preferred, be called *inclined fai.*

9. ϧ /x/ derives from the demotic sign for *h̲*, first usual form. Traditional name: *ḫai* or *khai.*

10. ⲋ /h/ derives from the demotic sign for *h*, usual form (but not without some graphic evolution). Traditional name: *hori.*

11. ⲓ /x/ clearly derives from the same sign as ⲋ but is completed by a diacritical element. Name assigned: *barred hori.*

12. ⲍ /c/ derives from the demotic sign for *d̲*, the first of the usual forms or the last of the variants (but in both with some graphic evolution). Traditional name: *janja.*

13. ⲥ (Coptic graphic form) /c/ derives from the demotic sign for *k*, the first of the usual forms (which has, however, a very small loop and stretches its upper antenna at length to the right, as is the case also with ⲥ in Old Coptic; see above). It is probable that this form of the Old Coptic ⲥ should not lead one to confuse it with the graphically very similar one that Par. 1 eventually uses for /čh/ rather than for /c/ (see no. 30). Traditional name: *gima;* in Old Coptic one may also call it, if preferred, *stretched gima.*

14. ⲥ /čh/ (only in *B*, etc.) could be derived not from the demotic sign for *k* (see above with reference to ⲥ /c/), but from the demotic sign for *d̲*, the last of the variants, which resembles a bulging *α* with the rounded part below and the two "horns" above (suppression of the left horn would in fact produce a kind of ⲥ). Name assigned: *aspirated janja.*

15. ⲧ /ti/ is generally considered as derived from the demotic sign for *t*, the second or eighth of the variants (with considerable graphic evolution). It will, however, be remarked that this Coptic letter has exactly the form of the ⲧ in Latin epigraphy, a compendium for /ti/, more rarely for /it/ (cf. Kasser, 1984–1985); a strong graphic influence from the Latin compendium on the demotic sign, strangely absent from Old Coptic but adopted in Coptic, seems to be the least one can admit. Traditional name: *ti.*

16. ⲧ /ps/ is the customary form of the grapheme psi in the Greek manuscripts contemporary with the oldest Coptic manuscripts; all the same, after the adoption of ⲧ /ti/ (a non-Greek grapheme) in Coptic, it was necessary to modify the form of the psi, ⲧ > ⲯ, to avoid confusion with ⲧ /ti/. (The Coptic texts that still write ⲧ /ps/, all very ancient, are rare.) Name assigned: *tioid psi.*

17. ⲁ /'/ derives from the demotic sign for *ʾ*, the third of the usual forms, perhaps also influenced by the demotic sign for *3*, the first of the usual forms or the first of the variants. Name assigned: *reversed tau-shaped aleph.*

18. ⲕ /k/ derives from the demotic sign for *ḳ*, the second of the usual forms. Name assigned: *zetoid kappa.*

19. – /n̤/ derives from the demotic sign for *n*, the first of the usual forms. Name assigned: *hyphen-shaped nu.*

20. 3, the equivalent in Old Coptic most often for /š/, but also sometimes for /h/ or /ḥ/, has particularly variable graphic forms (see above) and derives from the demotic sign for *š*, the second usual form (see also the thirteenth and the twenty-sixth variants for *ḥ*). Name assigned: *3-shaped grapheme.*

21. ⳇ, the equivalent in Old Coptic most often for /ç/, but also sometimes for /š/, derives from the demotic sign for *ḫ*, the first usual form. Name assigned: *6-spiraled grapheme*.

22. ⲋ, the equivalent in Old Coptic (Hor.) of /h/ or (DMP and less clearly) /x/, but systematically equivalent to /ç/ in proto-Coptic *P* (an inversion of the ⳇ presented just above?), derives from the demotic sign for *h*, the usual form (?) or first, third, or sixth variant (strongly developed on the graphic level), or eventually also from the demotic sign for *h*, tenth variant (?). Name assigned: *9-spiraled grapheme*.

23. ⲍ /s/ probably also derives from some variant of a demotic sign, but which? For phonological reasons, one cannot compare it with the sign for *r*, second usual form, or the sign for *f*, third variant, or the sign for *l*, second usual form, or even the sign for *ḫ*, fourth variant. Name assigned: *fraction-stroke-shaped grapheme*.

24. ⲝ /ç/ (? in Mich.) does indeed seem to derive from the demotic sign for *ḫ*, second usual form. Name assigned: *stretched-capital-sigma-shaped grapheme*.

25. ⲡ, the equivalent in Old Coptic of /h/ (Schm. and Ox.), or again perhaps /ḥ/ (DMP), has particularly variable graphic forms: it may be almost vertical (Ox.) or more or less sloping (Schm.); its loop may be closed (Ox.) or less angular and largely open, in the manner of a demotic *h* (Schm., see further on). ⲡ derives from the demotic sign for *h*, the usual form or the first of the variants (with, probably, a fairly clear influence from the sign for *ḫ*, the second usual form; see also the fifth, sixth, and seventh variants, and again, phonologically incompatible, the sixth of the variants of the demotic sign for *w*). Name assigned: *P-shaped grapheme*, though one might specify in Ox. *three-corner P-shaped grapheme*, in Schm. *inclined-open-P-shaped grapheme*, or in a different way *demotic-h-shaped grapheme*.

26. ⲏ /ḥ/ derives from the demotic sign for *ḫ*, the third of the usual forms (and fifth and sixth variants). Name assigned: *hook-shaped grapheme*.

27. ⲥ /c/ derives from the demotic sign for *d̲*, a compromise (clearly evolved) between the first usual form and the last variant. Name assigned: *minuscule-alpha-shaped grapheme*.

28. ⲓ /c/ derives from the demotic sign for *d̲*, second usual form (graphically evolved). Name assigned: *reversed-pi-shaped grapheme*.

29. ⲕ /c/ perhaps derives from the demotic sign for *ḳ*, the first or second variant (graphically evolved); it is difficult to see its origin in one or other of the variants of the sign for *g*. Name assigned: *divided-triangle-shaped grapheme*.

30. The grapheme of Mich. for /c/ (?) and that of Par. 1 for /čh/ (?) (see no. 13 and Kasser, 1980, p. 269) are decidedly too doubtful to merit being studied here and named, given present knowledge.

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ʿAYIN. ʿAyin (= ʿ) is the voiced laryngeal fricative (Vergote, 1945, pp. 10, 72–76, 79–80), the Arabic ع. It belongs to the phonological inventory of ancient and also later Egyptian, perhaps even as far as the beginnings of demotic (cf. Vergote, 1945, pp. 122–23, and 1973, pp. 31–32; du Bourguet, 1976, pp. 3–4, 75). However, it probably does not belong any longer to the phonological inventory of Coptic or even Pre-Coptic, not even as a CRYPTOPHONEME, in contrast to ALEPH. (Hence, this discussion will set aside the hypothesis of those who have been tempted to see, or have actually thought to see, a phonemic survival of ʿ in the second element of the graphic vocalic gemination [see GEMINATION, VOCALIC] typical of certain lexemes belonging to *S* etc.)

Like the lost *3* or the revived /ʾ/ (cf. ALEPH), ʿayin nonetheless plays an important role in Coptic phonology; its presence, although anterior to Coptic, has not only influenced the vocalization of contemporary Egyptian but has also often left its mark in the vocalization of certain Coptic dialects and subdialects. On the other hand, it will be noted that in numerous cases ʿ itself has not entirely disappeared but has survived in some way, being transformed into /ʾ/, this phonological aleph (in tachysyllabication) normally appearing in orthography (as a phenomenon of bradysyllabication) through the graphic doubling of the phonologic tonic vowel preceding this /ʾ/ ("echo effect"), except in the final position (see below and SYLLABICATION).

Thus, according to Vergote (1973, pp. 30–33):

(1) At the beginning of the tonic syllable, both at the beginning and within the word, ʿ has disappeared in Coptic without leaving traces (e.g., *ʿānaḫ* /ṓnh/ ⲱⲛϩ, life; *waʿáb* > /wṓp/ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ, be pure) or, just as in the other positions (see below), the ʿ (after the general disappearance of *3)* has taken the value of the laryngeal occlusive /ʾ/, which is rendered by the first element (unstressed but the most-voiced) of a hiatus in the archaizing form of writing *rmt* ʿ3 > languages or DIALECTS etc. *S* etc. /rm̀maṓ/ ⲣⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲟ, *B* /ramaṓ/ ⲣⲁⲙⲁⲟ, *M* /rm̀məá/ ⲣⲙⲙⲉⲁ, *F5* /ləməá/ ⲗⲉⲙⲉⲁ, rich.

(2) At the beginning and end of the unstressed pretonic syllable and in the stressed final syllable, ʿ has generally disappeared, though leaving traces in the vocalization ("anteriorization" of the stressed vowel, or articulation of vowels more and more forward, /o/ > /a/ and /a/ > /e/, /o/ being less forward than /a/, and /a/ even less than /e/); thus atonic ⲁ; *S, B* tonic ⲁ instead of ⲟ; *F* tonic ⲉ instead of ⲁ, as in *ʿanáḫ(ḥa)* > /anáš/ ⲁⲛⲁϣ, etc., oath; *yaʿ-dá3t* ˝ > /ja-tṓʾt ˝/ ⲉⲓⲁ ⲧⲟⲟⲧ˝, etc., wash the hands. At the end of monosyllabic words the ʿ > /ʾ/ is sometimes preserved in some way (tachysyllabically) in *A* and *F* and there rendered (orthographically) by the second element (unstressed and the less-voiced) of a hiatus (where it plays the role of a "similiglide"; cf. Kasser, 1981b, p. 35), while in *B* this essentially vocalic linkage has become a veritable diphthong (its second element being the glide /j/), as in *baʿ* > baʾ > *S* /bá/ ⲃⲁ, *A, L* /báə/ ⲃⲁⲉ, *B* /báj/ ⲃⲁⲓ, *F* /bé̀j/ ⲃⲉ(ⲉ)ⲓ, palm (cf. ALEPH, end of article); but note, on the other hand, *d̲abáʿ* > *S, A, L* /tbá/ ⲧⲃⲁ, *B* /thbá/ ⲑⲃⲁ, *F* /tbé̀/ ⲧⲃⲉ, ten thousand.

(3) At the beginning of the unstressed syllable before a consonant and in the unstressed final syllable of a word, ʿ has been preserved (in some way) in Coptic in the form of /ʾ/, except in *M, W, V4, F4, B* (and its subdialects), and *G*, as in *šaʿad* > /šṓʾt/ *S* ϣⲱⲱⲧ, *B* ϣⲱⲧ, to cut. When ʿ was the third radical, there was inversion (except in some particularly archaic idioms; see below), but the ʿ > /ʾ/ did not modify the "timbre" of the vowel, as in *múšʿu* > *S* /mḗʾšə/ ⲙⲏϣⲉ, *B* /mḗš/ ⲙⲏϣ, crowd. Here, however, the archaic orthography will be noted (unstressed finals in -ⲁ instead of the usual -ⲉ or -ⲓ, with at the same time generally no graphic vocalic gemination), which attracts attention in some idioms: the PROTO-DIALECT *P* (in its most ancient form, phonologically very often similar to a reconstructed **ppS*, cf. DIALECT P) and the peripheral and often archaic subdialect *F7;* they are survivals from a stage in which the metathesis had not yet taken place and ʿ has retained its value, preserving the /a/ that derives from old *a* and *u* (which shows the late date of the change in question). *F5* and *V5* for their part present at once the gemination caused by ʿ > /ʾ/ and the peculiar atonic final vocalization (-ⲉ instead of the usual -ⲓ) resulting from the still active influence of ʿ. Finally, *F4, V4,* and *W* appear in a manner analogous to *P* and *F7*, with, however, in this case, as in *V5* and *F5,* an atonic final vowel in -ⲉ instead of the usual -ⲓ, as in *múšʿu* > *P* (and *F7*) /meḗša/ ⲙⲏϣⲁ, *W, F4* /mḗšə/ ⲙⲏϣⲉ, *F5* /mḗʾšə/ ⲙⲏⲏϣⲉ (*S, B* see above), crowd; *d̲úbʿu* > *P* /tḗba/ ⲧⲏⲃⲁ, *F5* /tḗʾbə/ ⲧⲏⲏⲃⲉ, cf. *S* /tḗʾbə/ ⲧⲏⲏⲃⲉ, *B* /tḗb/ ⲧⲏⲃ, finger (cf. Kasser, 1981a, 94–95). In the cases of /ʾ/ < ʿ at the end of a tonic syllable before a consonant, *S* presents an ⲁ instead of ⲟ; on the other hand, it has a tonic ⲟ before the /ʾ/ derived from other consonants, as in *d̲r.t.f.* > /tṓʾtf/ ⲧⲟⲟⲧ˝ⲫ, his hand. This proves that at the time of the general change at first in *B*, later in *S*, from /a/ to /o/ between the seventh and the sixth centuries A.D., ʿ had preserved its value as a voiced laryngeal fricative and had not yet become the unvoiced laryngeal occlusive /ʾ/ called ALEPH (Vergote, 1973, pp. 31–32). On the other hand, the presence of the tonic ⲁ in *B*, despite the disappearance of /ʾ/ < ʿ, shows that the latter phoneme is still later (e.g., *wáʿbu S* /wáʾb/ ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ†, *B* /wáb/ ⲟⲩⲁⲃ†, holy). When the ʿ precedes *ḫ, S* and *B* and even *A* and *L* present an ⲟ; it must be concluded that by differentiation ("dissimilation") between the two laryngeal frications, the voiced and the unvoiced, ʿ had already become /ʾ/ before the general change of /a/ to /o/ had come about (e.g., *yáʿḥu* > *S, A* /ṓʾh/ ⲟⲟ2, *B* /jṓh/ ⲓⲟ2, moon). The ʿ that ends the atonic final syllable of a word has undergone a metathesis, without, however, modifying the quantity of the tonic syllable, which thereby became closed; when the second radical was *ḫ*, either ʿ disappeared or (after metathesis) it was entirely assimilated to this consonant; sometimes ʿ was changed into *ḫ* > ϩ; e.g. *pānaʿ* > *S* /pṓʾnə/ ⲡⲱⲱⲛⲉ, *B* /phṓnh/ ⲫⲱⲛ2 (cf. *F5* /pṓʾnə/ [ⲡⲱⲱ]ⲛⲉ), to change; *ʾāḥaʿ* > *S* /ṓhə/ ⲱϩⲉ, *B* etc. /ṓhi/ ⲟϩⲓ, etc., stand, stay; *d̲āmaʿ* > *S* /čṓʾmə/ ϫⲱⲱⲙⲉ (*F5* = *S*), *B* /čṓm/ ϫⲱⲙ, book (Vergote, 1973, pp. 30–33).

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RODOLPHE KASSER

BASHMURIC. The history of the Bashmuric dialect is in large measure that of a "phantom dialect." Coptic Egypt had many more dialects than modern science has been able to identify from the texts discovered; but some of these never reached the literary stage. Others did (perhaps poorly enough), but none of their witnesses has been found as yet. Hence, they are as good as completely lost. Such might have been the fate of Bashmuric if it had not been saved from oblivion by a Coptic grammarian of the fourteenth century (Garitte, 1972), Athanasius of Qūṣ, who wrote in Arabic as follows (cf. Scala copte 44 in the National Library, Paris, p. 154, left column, ll. 14–22, trans. W. Vycichl; cf. Kasser, 1975, p. 403):

> . . . and you know that the Coptic language is distributed over three regions, among them the Coptic of *Miṣr* which is the Sahidic, the Bohairic Coptic known by the *Boḥaira*, and the Bashmuric Coptic used in the country of *Bashmur*, as you know; now the Bohairic Coptic and the Sahidic Coptic are (alone still) used, and they are in origin a single language.

The first scholars who in the seventeenth century set themselves to the serious study of Coptic had at their disposal only an extremely limited documentation—above all, Bohairic texts, some Sahidic, and Fayyumic texts in even smaller number. Hence, they had before their eyes three Coptic idioms or "dialects," and they knew the text of Athanasius of Qūṣ, who also spoke of three Coptic "dialects" and indicated their names and their location. These Coptologists thus sought to give to the "dialects" they knew the names mentioned by the bishop of Qūṣ.

For Sahidic and Bohairic, the identification was made without difficulty. The Sahidic and the Bohairic of Athanasius having been identified, there remained, on the one hand, the Fayyumic documents and, on the other, the mention of the "Bashmuric" dialect. How could they not yield to the temptation to confuse them—the more so since one then recovered the tripartite scheme dear to the Egyptologists, with the three chief regions marked by Egyptian history, Upper, Middle, and Lower Egypt?

In Tattam's grammar (1830) one sees that the texts of the third dialect, which could not be assimilated to those of the first (Bohairic "Coptic") or the second ("Sahidic"), are perforce those of "Bashmuric." Georgi (1789) affirmed that the region of Bashmur, of which the learned fourteenth-century grammarian spoke, is not the one in the eastern Delta but another Bashmur, deriving from the Coptic ⲡⲥⲁⲙⲏⲣ, territory "beyond the river," or the Egyptian oases of the Western Desert, including the Fayyūm (cf. Quatremère, 1808, pp. 147–228, for whom Fayyumic could not be the famous "Bashmuric" of the bishop of Qūṣ; hence, Quatremère gave to Fayyumic the name Oasitic). Champollion (1811, 1817) took up this terminology without contesting it; likewise Peyron (1835, 1841), Schwartze (1850), and others. Later still, at the time when the first Akhmimic texts appeared, Bouriant (1884–1889), by a very curious reasoning, identified them with Fayyumic and hence with Bashmuric, although recognizing very well the dialectal differences that rendered them fundamentally dissimilar (Kasser, 1975, p. 405).

Maspero (1899) was, it seems, the last author who called one *F* text Bashmuric, without explaining why he maintained such an opinion, although it had long been contested and become outmoded. In fact, some twenty years earlier, Stern (1880, p. 12, n. 1), following Quatremère (1808), had already categorically rejected this terminology: "It was not out of

desire for novelty that I abandoned the usual designation for the dialects, once Bashmuric was no longer tenable." Shortly after, all Coptologists followed him, and since there was in fact no truly Bashmuric document, people ceased to speak of this dialect, to which only the mention made of it by Athanasius of Qūṣ could have drawn the attention of scholars; they became almost completely uninterested in it, if they did not reach the point of denying its existence as an authentic Coptic dialect. Thus, Steindorff (1951, p. 5) wrote: "According to Eutychius . . . the Bushmuric-speaking population was in origin Greek, not Egyptian; perhaps Bushmuric was a Greco-Egyptian gibberish and not a Coptic dialect at all." W. Crum, however, wondered if the medieval grammarian's famous "Bashmuric" was not the language (written, in principle, by means of an exclusively Greek alphabet, without graphemes of demotic origin) of which he published the principal texts in 1939. That is no doubt a hypothesis in whose favor several weighty and important arguments speak (cf. DIALECT G; Kasser, 1975).

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RODOLPHE KASSER

BODMER PAPYRI. The term "Bodmer papyri" is the conventional designation of an important group of manuscripts (75 percent on papyrus and 25 percent on parchment, at least 950 folios) held by the Martin Bodmer Foundation, at Cologny, near Geneva. There are good reasons for thinking that these manuscripts were found together as a complete collection (perhaps a private library) in Upper Egypt; the great majority of them (81 percent) was acquired by the learned Swiss collector Martin Bodmer, for his library. The percentages mentioned, like those below, are calculated, except in special instances, on the basis of folios the existence and location of which are known today. (Other folios may very likely have perished during the centuries or when their discovery took place.) The Bodmer collection, originally known as the Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, became, as of 1971, the Fondation Martin Bodmer. It is by no means limited to papyrology, and even in that field it has several manuscripts (on papyrus, such as P. Bodmer I, XVII, XXVIII, XLIII, and XLVII, or on parchment, such as P. Bodmer XXXIX, XLII, and XLIV) clearly distinct in origin from the Bodmer papyri proper. Information on this subject was collected from reliable informers at precisely the same time as these documents came to the Bodmer Foundation, that is, probably shortly after their discovery in the Egyptian sands.

All the Bodmer papyri are more or less complete codices (nineteen in all, according to an estimate

confined only to reliable information), and these are works of very varied sizes and contents. They include, in Greek (39 percent), some pagan literary texts, some books of the Bible, some Apocrypha, and other documents from Christian literature (hagiography, liturgy, religious poems, etc.); in Coptic (58 percent), primarily biblical texts, an apocryphon, and two fragments of Christian literature; and, in Latin (3 percent), two pagan literary texts and a fragment of Christian literature. Here, of course, account is taken only of published texts and of some unpublished ones regarding which at least a minimum of indispensable information is available (such is not the case for the unpublished remainder Barc-LG = the Latin-Greek codex of Barcelona; cf. below).

There are some reasons for thinking that the Bodmer papyri were discovered some years after the end of World War II, in Upper Egypt, either near Asyūṭ or, more probably, in Debba, a few miles to the northeast of Nag Hammadi (cf. Kasser, 1988), thus in the same general region as the well-known Coptic NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY of Gnostic manuscripts, the remains of a library of thirteen papyrus codices of the fourth and fifth centuries, containing fifty-two distinct texts and amounting approximately to six hundred written folios fairly clearly identified as such. Although the place and time of these finds were more or less the same, it is impossible to group them together as one and the same discovery; while these two groups of manuscripts, which are very sizable, embrace, apart from a lot of more or less mutilated folios, a large number of tiny fragments, not a single shred belonging to the Gnostic library has been found among the Bodmer papyri and vice versa.

Thus, there are nineteen codices if one considers only the reliable information gathered by the Bodmer Foundation at the time the Bodmer papyri came to be included in the library. There are some scholars who, on the basis of much later research (some thirty years after the presumed date of the discovery of the Bodmer papyri), think that they can also include in the Bodmer papyri various other famous manuscripts such as the P. Palau-Ribes from Barcelona (the Gospels of Mark, Luke, and John in Sahidic Coptic, edited by H. Quecke), and, above all, various letters of PACHOMIUS, one of which is preserved in the Bodmer Foundation but with nothing to indicate that it might be part of the Bodmer papyri. Their suggestion is that the actual library of the famous Monastery of Saint Pachomius at Faw al-Qiblī has been rediscovered. This hypothesis is certainly very tempting, but the reliable information referred to above tends to weaken rather than strengthen it.

These nineteen codices are listed in Table 1. They contain in all fifty-four distinct texts and amount to 951 (?) preserved folios of which something short of 100 are seriously mutilated, incomplete, and fragmentary (this apart from a minimum of 213 folios lost, if one can trust the clues—and they are not absolutely precise—that the texts and their pagination provide). Of these nineteen codices, fourteen are still wholly in the Bodmer Foundation; a fifteenth (Divv-G) did until recently belong to the Bodmeriana in its entirety, but it was dismembered when Martin Bodmer made a gift of one of his texts (P. Bodmer VIII, 18 folios) to the Vatican Library; two (Jer-C and Jos-C) are partly in the Bodmer Foundation and partly in another library; and two (Barc-LG and Crosby-C) are entirely outside the Bodmer Foundation; eleven of these codices are Coptic, seven are Greek, and only one is Latin and Greek.

Following are the signs and abbreviations used in the chart of codices and list of papyri contents:

A = oldest witness; (A) oldest witness in that language; (A′) oldest witness in that Coptic idiom; A. oldest witness for almost the entire text; (A.) oldest witness in that language for almost the entire text; etc.; A: oldest witness for a large part of the text; etc.

a = one of the oldest witnesses; etc., as for A, mutatis mutandis

AP-C = P. Bodmer XLI (unpublished) (text no. 38)

B = Bohairic Coptic language

B74 and *B4* = Bohairic (sub)dialects (the latter attested only by Jo-C [imperfectly] and [better] by the Pap. Vat. Copto 9, manuscript of the Minor Prophets in the Vatican Library)

Barc-LG = Latin-Greek codex of Barcelona (partial publication: texts nos. 5, 6, 53; number of unpublished texts [= 22(?) folios] still unknown)

BF = Martin Bodmer Foundation

-C (at the end of the siglum) = in Coptic

cl. = classical version (in this or that Coptic language or dialect)

comp. = composition

corrupt = corrupt textual form

Crosby-C = Crosby Codex (unpublished) (texts nos. 12, 17, 32, 40, 42)

Ct-C = P. Bodmer XL (unpublished) (text no. 16)

Div-G = P. Bodmer XXVII, XLV, and XLVI (texts nos. 4, 23, 24)

TABLE 1. *The Nineteen Codices of the Bodmer Papyri*

Siglum here	Mat.	Format	Comp.	Age (century)	B.F.	Elsewhere	[Lost]	Sig.t.c.
AP-C	P	2/3	w	4th	mi (7)		[MA?]	
Barc-LG	P	1/1	V	4th		MA(54 ?)	[mi 2?]	
Crosby-C	P	1/1	w	4th		MA (59 ?)	[mi ?]	
Ct-C	m	1/1-	w	5th	mi (8)		[MA 71]	
Div-G	P	1/1-	w	3–4th	mi (12)		[MA]	
Divv-G	P	1/1	w	3–4th	MA (93)	mi (fr.)	[mi 2?]	(Rahlfs 2113)
					(-18)	(Mi +18)		(P 72)
Dt-C	P	1/1	w	4th	MA (48)			
Es-C	P	2/3	w	4th	MA (80)			
Ex-C	m	1/1	w	5(–6)th	MA (42)			
Jér-C	m	1/1	w	4th	MA (39)	Mi (34)	[mi 2]	
Jo-C	P	2/3	w	4th	MA (77)		[mi 5]	
Jo-G	P	1/1	w	2–3rd	MA (100)	mi (fr.)		P 66
Jos-C	P	2/3	w	5th	MA (21)	Mi (18)	[Mi?24??]	
LuJo-G	P	1/2	V	3rd	MA (48)		[Mi 17]	P 75
Men-G	P	1/2	V	3rd	MA (26)	mi (fr.)	[mi 6]	
Mt-C	m	1/1	w	4–5th	Mi? (48)		[MA? 70?]	
Ps-G	P	1/2	V	3–4th	MA (49)		[Mi 35]	Rahlfs 2110
Pv-C	m	1/1	w	3(–4)th	MA (66)		[mi 3]	
Vis-G	P	2/3	V	4–5th	MA (22)			

Divv-G = P. Bodmer V (text no. 35), X (no. 36), XI (no. 37), VII (no. 34), XIII (no. 39), XII (no. 41), XX (no. 43), IX (no. 14), VIII (nos. 31, 33)

Dt-C = P. Bodmer XVIII (text no. 9)

elsewhere = exists in some library or collection other than the Bodmer Foundation

Es-C = P. Bodmer XXIII (text no. 18)

Ex-C = P. Bodmer XVI (text no. 8)

fr. = fragment

-G (at the end of the siglum) = in Greek

Jer-C = P. Bodmer XXII (= Mississippi Coptic Codex II) (texts nos. 19, 20, 21, 22)

Jo-C = P. Bodmer III (texts nos. 7, 29)

Jo-G = P. Bodmer II (text no. 27)

Jos-C = P. Bodmer XXI (= Chester Beatty Library, Accession no. 1389) (texts nos. 10, 11)

L = Lyco-Diospolitan Coptic dialect (or cluster of dialects) (here of type *L5*)

-L (at end of siglum) = in Latin

[lost] = may exist in some unknown place, or no longer exists (having been destroyed)

LuJo-G = P. Bodmer XIV, XV (texts nos. 26, 28)

m = parchment (membrana)

MA = major part of codex (followed by the number of the folios, if known)

Men-G = P. Bodmer XXV, IV, XXVI (texts nos. 1, 2, 3)

mat. = material

mi = very small part of the codex (followed by the number of folios, if known)

Mi = relatively small but important part of the codex (followed by the number of folios, if known)

Mt-C = P. Bodmer XIX (texts nos. 25, 30)

N = completely new text; (N) completely new text in that language; (N′) completely new text in that Coptic idiom; N. new for almost the whole text; (N.) new in that language for almost the whole text; etc.; N: new for a large part of the text; etc.; N:. new for part of the text; etc.

or. = the original language of the text (the Greek of the Septuagint, though translated from Hebrew, is considered exceptionally here as the "original language" because very probably all the Coptic Old Testament versions were translated from one or other LXX text)

P = papyrus

P = DIALECT P (phonologically quite near to what can be known about **pS*, a tentatively reconstructed proto-Sahidic; remarkably archaic even in its alphabet, where ϭ is missing (replaced by ⲕ) and one finds the following demotic or Old Coptic letters: ⲗ /ʾ/, ⲋ /k/, ⲛ /n̩/, ⲯ /ç/

precl. = preclassical version (in one Coptic dialect or another; what has remained of it is extremely rare, hence its exceptional interest)

Ps-G = P. Bodmer XXIV (text no. 13)
Pv-C = P. Bodmer VI (text no. 15)
S = Sahidic Coptic language
sig.t.c. = official siglum in Greek biblical textual criticism (of the Old Testament: Rahlfs . . . ; of the New Testament: P . . . ; this is placed in parentheses when only one part of the codex is biblical)
V = codex consisting of a single quire
Vis-G = Greek codex called (in the Bodmer Foundation) Codex Visionum (partial publication: P. Bodmer XXIX, text no. 44; unpublished are P. Bodmer XXX to XXXVIII, texts nos. 45–54)
w = codex made up of several quires
1/1 = folio almost square in shape (generally, however, a little taller than its width)
1/1- = roughly 1/1, although in a form tending toward 2/3
1/2 = folio of which the width is almost half the height
2/3 = folio of which the width is almost two-thirds of the height
[. .] = with various gaps

An outline of the fifty-four known texts of the Bodmer papyri follows:

I. Pagan Texts

1. Menander, *The Samian* (nearly three quarters), in Greek: P. Bodmer XXV in Men-G, third century [or. N:]
2. Menander, *The Dyskolos* (= *Knemon the Misanthrope*), in Greek: P. Bodmer IV in Men-G, third century [or. N.]
3. Menander, *The Shield* (=*Aspis*) (roughly half), in Greek: P. Bodmer XXVI, in Men-G, third century [or. N.]
4. Thucydides, *History* . . . 6.1.1–2.6, in Greek: P. Bodmer XXVII in Div-G, third–fourth centuries [or. A]
5. Cicero, *In Catilinam* 1.6–9, 13–33, 2.1–29, in Latin: in Barc-LG, fourth century [or. A]
6. Poem on the subject of the sacrifice of *Alcestis* in Latin: in Barc-LG, fourth century [or. N]

II. Christian Texts

A. Bible

7. Genesis 1:1–4:2 in *B74* (mixed with *B4*): in P. Bodmer III = Jo-C, fourth century [(A′) precl.]
8. Exodus 1:1–15:21 in *S*: P. Bodmer XVI = Ex-C, fifth(–sixth) century [(A:) cl.]
9. Deuteronomy 1:1–10:7 [. .] in *S*: P. Bodmer XVIII = Dt-C, fourth century, [(A:) cl.]
10. Joshua 1:1–11:23, followed immediately by 22:1-24:3, in *S*: in P. Bodmer XXI = Chester Beatty . . . 1389, in Jos-C, fifth century [(A) corrupt]
11. Tobit 14:13–15 (end) in *S*: in P. Bodmer XXI = Chester Beatty . . . 1389, in Jos-C, fifth century [(A) corrupt]
12. 2 Maccabees 5:27–7:41 in *S*: in Crosby-C, fourth century [(N:) cl.]; unpublished
13. Psalms 17:45–51:9[. .], 55:8–105:32 [. .], 106:28–118:44 [. .] in Greek: P. Bodmer XXIV = Ps-G, third–fourth centuries (= Rahlfs 2110) [a] (two-thirds of this text attest for the first time the type of Greek text from which the Sahidic version of the Book of Psalms is derived)
14. Psalms 33:2–34:16 in Greek: P. Bodmer IX in Divv-G, third–fourth centuries (= Rahlfs 2113) [a] (same type of text as no. 13 above)
15. Proverbs 1:1–2:9, 2:20–18:1, 18:9–20:9, 20:25–21:4, in *P*: P. Bodmer VI = Pv-C, third(–fourth) century [(N′) cl. *S*]
16. Song of Solomon 1:4–3.1, 4:2–8:12, in *S*: P. Bodmer XL = Ct-C, fifth century [(a) (N:.) cl.]; unpublished
17. Jonah, in *S*: in Crosby-C, fourth century [(a) precl.]; unpublished
18. Isaiah 47:1–66:24 (end), in *S*: P. Bodmer XXIII = Es-C, fourth century [(A′.) cl.]
19. Jeremiah 40:3–52:34 (end), in *S*: in P. Bodmer XXII = Mississippi Coptic Codex II = Jer-C, fourth century [(A) (N′.) cl.]
20. Baruch 1:1–5:5 in *S*: in P. Bodmer XXII = Mississippi Coptic Codex II = Jer-C, fourth century [(A)(N′.) cl.]
21. Lamentations, in *S*: in P. Bodmer XXII = Mississippi Coptic Codex II = Jer-C, fourth century [(A′)(N′:) cl.]
22. Epistle of Jeremiah in *S*: in P. Bodmer XXII = Mississippi Coptic Codes II = Jer-C, fourth century [(A)(N′.) cl.]
23. Susannah, in Greek (Theodotion): P. Bodmer XLV in Div-G, third–fourth centuries [or. A (or or. a)]
24. Daniel 1:1–20, in Greek (Theodotion): P. Bodmer XLVI in Div-G, third–fourth centuries [or. A (or or. a)]
25. Matthew 14:28–28:20 (end), in *S*: in P. Bodmer XIX = Mt-C, fourth–fifth centuries [(A′:.)(a′:.) cl.]
26. Luke 3:18–22, 3:33–4:2, 4:34–5:10, 5:37–18:18 [. .], 22:4–24:53 (end), in Greek: P. Bodmer XIV in LuJo-G, third century (= P 75) [or. A:, or. a]
27. John 1:1–6: 11 [. .], 6:35–7:52, immediately followed by 8:12–21:9 [. .], in Greek: P. Bodmer II = Jo-G, second–third centuries (= P 65) [or. A.]

28. John 1:1–7:52, immediately followed by 8:12–13:9 [. .], 14:8–15:8 [. .], in Greek: P. Bodmer XV in LuJo-G, third century (= P 75) [or. A:., or. a.]
29. John 1:1–25 [. .], 1:40–45 [. .], 2:9–16 [. .], 3:33, 4:5–7:52 [. .], immediately followed by 8:12–21:25 (end), in *B74* mixed with *B4*: in P. Bodmer III = Jo-C, fourth century [(A:.) (N′) precl.]
30. Romans 1:1–2:3 [. .], in *S:* in P. Bodmer XIX = Mt-C, fourth–fifth centuries [(A) cl.]
31. 1 Peter, in Greek: in P. Bodmer VIII in Divv-G, third–fourth centuries (=P 72) [or. A]
32. 1 Peter, in *S*: in Crosby-C, fourth century [(A)]; unpublished
33. 2 Peter, in Greek: in P. Bodmer VIII in Divv-G, third–fourth centuries (=P 72) [or. A]
34. Jude, in Greek: P. Bodmer VII in Divv-G, third–fourth centuries (=P 72) [or. A]

B. Apocrypha

35. Nativity of Mary (or Protevangelium of James), in Greek: P. Bodmer V in Divv-G, third–fourth centuries [or. A]
36. Apocryphal correspondence of the Corinthians and the Apostle Paul, in Greek: P. Bodmer X in Divv-G, third–fourth centuries [(or. N) or. A]
37. Eleventh Ode of Solomon, in Greek: P. Bodmer XI in Divv-G, third–fourth centuries [(or. N) or. A]
38. Acts of Paul, Ephesus episode [. .] [. .], in *L5*: P. Bodmer XLI = AP-C, fourth century [N: (A:)]; unpublished

C. Other Christian Literature

39. Melito of Sardis, Homily on Easter, in Greek: P. Bodmer XIII in Divv-G, third–fourth centuries [or. A, or or. a]
40. Melito of Sardis, Homily on Easter, in *S*: in Crosby-C, fourth century [(N)]; unpublished
41. Liturgical hymn, in Greek: P. Bodmer XII in Divv-G, third–fourth centuries [or. N]
42. Liturgical hymn, in *S*: in Crosby-C, fourth century [N]; unpublished
43. Apology of Phileas, bishop of Tmuis, in Greek: P. Bodmer XX in Divv-G, third–fourth centuries [or. (N)A]
44. Vision of Dorotheos, in Greek: P. Bodmer XXIX in Vis-G, fifth century [or. N]
45–52. Eight religious poems, in Greek, otherwise unknown, with the following titles: (45) Abraam (P. Bodmer XXX), (46) The Righteous (P. Bodmer XXXI), (47) [. . .] of the Lord Jesus (P. Bodmer XXXII), (48) The Murder of Abel by Cain (1°) (P. Bodmer XXXIII), (49) The Lord to the [. . .] (P. Bodmer XXXIV), (50) The Murder of Abel by Cain (2°) (P. Bodmer XXXV), (51) Poem with damaged title (P. Bodmer XXXVI), (52) Hymn (P. Bodmer XXXVII); all in Vis-G, fifth century, [or. N], unpublished
53. Psalmus Responsorius, in Latin: in Barc-LG, fourth century [or. N]
54. Hermas the Shepherd, the first three visions, in Greek: P. Bodmer XXXVIII, in Vis-G, fifth century [or. a]; unpublished

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RODOLPHE KASSER

BOHAIRIC, a major dialect of Coptic, called "MEMPHITIC," "the northern dialect," or "dialect of Lower Egypt" in earlier terminology, and simply "Coptic" in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century treatises, Bohairic being the first Coptic dialect with which West-

ern scholarship became acquainted. "Bohairic" (*B*) was first used by Stern (1880, p. xii).

Originally the northern local dialect of the western Delta (Buhaira) and Wādī al-Naṭrūn, Bohairic spread dramatically (beginning after, and as an indirect result of, the ARAB CONQUEST OF EGYPT) eastward and southward. In the eighth and ninth centuries it broke the monopoly of Sahidic as a Pan-Coptic idiom and by the eleventh century had largely completed the process of becoming virtually the sole dialect of Coptic. Bohairic became the official ecclesiastical language, and the classical Bohairic version of the Scriptures, the official text. Bohairic, which survives only as a liturgical language, was the dialect that saw Coptic out as the living idiom of Egypt. The old controversial question of its prehistory—whether it was never a literary language before the Arab conquest (Stern, 1880, p. 1; Lefort, 1931) or was, on the contrary, an old literary dialect (Worrell's opinion) has not yet been settled. What survives in the way of Bohairic documentation consists, on the one hand, of manuscripts later than the ninth century with scriptural, homiletic, hermeneutic, hagiographical, and liturgical texts and, on the other, a much smaller collection of fourth- and fifth-century fragments, all biblical (see sec. 5 on the varieties of Bohairic).

Bohairic shares isoglosses with most other dialects of Coptic, mainly with Fayyumic, Middle Egyptian (MESOKEMIC), Sahidic, and, more subtly, certain Nag Hammadi varieties of Sahidic (especially some tractates in Codex VII), DIALECT G and DIALECT P. The persistent, somewhat biased impression of Bohairic as an innovating dialect is refuted by careful internal and contrastive examination, which shows it to be rather of a conservative nature (cf. Shisha-Halevy, 1981). Not only its grammatical minutiae but even some major issues are still obscure and in need of rigorous and methodologically careful investigation. Far from being "sufficiently well known" (Kahle, 1954, p. 232), it has, following Steindorff's *Grammatik* of 1894, been superseded by Sahidic as far as research and tuition are concerned. (For Stern, 1880, it was still the primary illustration dialect.) Since the 1890s "Coptic" par excellence has been Sahidic, and Bohairic has been suffering grave scholarly neglect (cf. Erman, 1915, p. 161). This article will attempt to provide a brief typological profile of Bohairic grammar. While details of phonology and nonsystemic morphology are relatively well known, its *système de valeur* and syntax still hold quite a few mysteries for the linguist. The account given here is predominantly synchronic and noncontrastive.

1. Phonology, Morphophonology, and Graphemics

1.1. Probably the most striking feature of Bohairic is the nonpertinent, allophonic status of consonant aspiration in words of native Egyptian stock. The aspirated allophone (ⲑ, ⲫ, ⲭ) occurs "combinatorily" before, and in contact with, a sonorant (any of /b/, /l/, /m/, /n/, /r/, /w/, and /j/) in initial clusters and elsewhere (ϫⲗⲟⲙ, crown; ⲁⲑⲙⲟⲩ, immortal; ⲫⲙⲉⲛⲣⲓⲧ, the beloved) or "spontaneously" as the onset of a stressed syllable (indeed, "stress" is a feature equivalent to "sonority," and thus the "spontaneousness" is relative and only a manner of speaking). ⲅ, the allophone of ϫ before sonorants (ⲅⲗⲟⲅ, bed), nonetheless constitutes a phoneme (ⲅⲓ, quince, versus ϫⲓ, dish).

1.2. The *B* phonemic inventory features the opposition /x/ : /h/, graphemically ϩ : ⲭ (ϩⲣⲏⲓ, lower part:ⲭⲣⲏⲓ, upper part).

1.3. The open final unstressed (posttonic) vowel in *B* is /i/ (ⲣⲱⲙⲓ, man; ⲙⲉⲩⲓ, think, thought). Table 1 displays the facts in the case of closed unstressed syllables (cf. Polotsky, 1933).

1.4. Nonfinal historical laryngeals (primary and

TABLE 1. *Closed Unstressed Syllables in Bohairic*

	POSTTONIC			
	STRESS SYLLABLE CLOSED		STRESS SYLLABLE OPEN	
PRETONIC	SONORANT ONSET	NO SONORANT	SONORANT CODA	SONORANT ONSET/ NO SONORANT
e	*e*	Ø	*e*	Ø
ⲥⲉⲛⲥⲱⲛϥ	ⲥⲟⲑⲙⲉϥ	ⲥⲟⲧⲛϥ	ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ	ⲥⲱⲗⲛ ⲥⲱⲧⲛ
ⲱⲉⲣⲫⲱⲣϥ				
entreat/ destroy him	hear him	choose him	hear	break choose

secondary, evolved from *r* or *l*) are not realized in Bohairic: ϥⲟⲛ†, in existence; ⲧⲏϐ, finger; ⲥⲉⲙⲓ, remain over; ⲛⲉ-, thy- (second fem. sing.) Finally, one finds *i*: second fem. sing. ϩⲱⲓ, thou too; ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛⲓ, stand thee up; masc. ⲟⲩⲁⲓ, one.

1.5. Palatal sibilant assimilation is the rule: ϥⲁⲛϥ, make live, nourish; ϥⲱϥ, despise.

1.6. Long diphthongs lengthened from short vowels occur with *w* and *j*: ⲱⲓⲕ, bread; ⲱⲟⲩ, honor.

1.7. The syllabicity of vowels and nasal sonorants is indicated by means of a superposed point (ⲭⲓⲛⲕⲓⲙ; see DJINKIM). In classical usage (manuscripts prior to the fourteenth century), this applies to any vowel constituting by itself a syllable (ⲁϥⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, he went out; ⲁⲛⲓⲟⲩⲓ, bring [imp.]) and to ⲙ and ⲛ constituting a radical or a grammatical element and preceding another (ⲙⲧⲟⲛ, rest; ⲛⲟⲟϥ, he; ⲙⲫ†, for God). This syllabicity is canceled in certain combinatory circumstances (cf. Polotsky, 1949). In later Bohairic, one finds the djinkim on other consonants (ⲥⲑⲟⲓ smell; ⲛⲛⲏⲟⲩ, you are coming).

1.8. Numbers are usually symbolized by letters and not written out (Dt. 34:8, ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ, for thirty days; Mk. 6:40, ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲣ̄ ⲣ̄ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄, by hundreds and by fifties).

1.9. The phoneme /i/ is usually expressed by an iota, even when initial (i, come, go; ⲓⲃⲓ, thirst).

1.10. Proclitically weak elements are not always marked as such (Erman, 1915): ⲁⲛⲟⲕ-, ⲟⲩⲟⲛ-, ⲙⲙⲟⲛ-.

2. Morphology and Word Formation

2.1. There is superficial (structurally resolvable) coincidence of the perfect base with the second present/future converter, both ⲁ (opposed to the circumstantial ⲉ). *a*-vocalism characterizes the preterite converter ⲛⲁϥ- and the negative aorist ⲙⲡⲁϥ-.

2.2. The relative converter ⲉⲧⲉ is common to the bipartite and all tripartite conjugation forms (ⲉⲧⲁϥ-, relative perfect).

2.3. The relative and second perfect converters coincide, as ⲉⲧ-, with systemic consequences.

2.4. The relative converter ⲉⲧⲉ has no prenominal allomorph, thus differing from the other three converters before the bipartite pattern. ⲉϥⲉ- is an alternant (variant?) of the circumstantial before the existential ⲟⲩⲟⲛ. The converters and some bases have a -ϥⲉ- allomorph before the short second plural suffix: ⲁϥⲉⲧⲉⲛ-, ⲛⲁϥⲉⲧⲉⲛ-, ϥⲁϥⲉⲧⲉⲛ-, (ⲉⲧ)ⲁϥⲉⲧⲉⲛ-, etc.

2.5. The base of the conjuctive is ⲛⲧⲉ-, prenominally as well as presuffixally. In the first singular the base-plus-actor is ⲛⲧⲁ-; in the third plural it is ⲛⲧⲟⲩ-, which is opposed to ⲛⲥⲉ-, the sole representative in Bohairic of a syntagm (the Sahidic conjunctive) in which ⲛ- marks as modifier a nexus of "actor plus verb."

2.6. The so-called third future is largely convertible in Bohairic (Stern, 1880, sec. 418–19; Andersson, 1904, pp. 62ff.).

2.7. In one variety of Bohairic (see 5.3) there occurs a special negative-conditional base, ⲁⲛⲛⲉ- (discussed by Černý, 1963, and Kasser, 1963). -ϥⲁⲛ occurs only in the affirmative form of the conditional clause-tripartite conjugation form. The negated base coincides with the second present (ⲁϥⲱⲧⲉⲙ-), a coincidence that is diachronically significant but synchronically probably superficial.

2.8. The negative jussive (causative imperative) base is in Bohairic ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲟⲣⲉ-; its connection with the negative imperative characteristic ⲙⲡⲉⲣ- is thus severed.

2.9. The negative aorist base is ⲙⲡⲁ(-), showing diachronic affinities with the second tense.

2.10. ⲧⲉⲣⲁ- is the second singular feminine form of the future.

2.11. The first singular and third plural actor suffix pronouns are syllabic with the causative infinitive (ⲟⲣⲓ-, ⲟⲣⲟⲩ-) and negative third future (ⲛⲛⲓ-, ⲛⲛⲟⲩ-; cf. Polotsky, 1960, sec. 49).

2.12. Verb Lexeme/Stative Peculiarities. Historical *3ae infirmae -i* infinitives (Stern's class III) usually have no *-t*= in the pronominal state (ⲉⲛ〃, bring; ⲙⲥⲉ〃, give birth to; ϫⲉⲙ〃, find; ⲏⲁⲥ〃, exalt). On the other hand, the imperative form marked by ⲁ often has *-t* = (ⲁⲣⲓⲧ〃, do; ⲁⲛⲓⲧ〃, bring). Verbs of Greek origin have in Bohairic the Greek infinitive form (-ⲓⲛ, -ⲉⲥⲑⲉ) and are integrated in the Coptic conjugation by means of the auxiliary ⲉⲣ- (ⲉⲣ ⲫⲟⲣⲓⲛ, bear; ⲉⲣ ⲁⲥⲡⲁⲍⲉⲥⲑⲉ, embrace, greet). The stative of the causative lexeme class ends in *-t* (-ⲏⲟⲩⲧ†, ⲑⲁⲙⲓⲏⲟⲩⲧ†, being created).

2.13. The imperative of "give" has three allomorphs: ⲙⲟⲓ, ⲙⲁ-, ⲙⲏⲓ〃 (Polotsky, 1950, pp. 78ff.; 1971, 213ff.).

2.14. A verb-nominalization form in ϫⲓⲛ- is grammaticalized as ⲡϫⲓⲛⲧⲉ-/ⲑⲣⲉ- (Stern, 1880, sec. 470–72; Mk. 14:55, ⲉⲡϫⲓⲛϧⲟⲟⲃⲥϥ, to kill him).

2.15. The definite determinator pronoun {ⲡ} has only one form (with no special precluster allomorph).

2.16. Bohairic has a plural infix *-u-* (ⲁⲛⲁⲩϣ, oaths; ⲥⲛⲁⲩϩ, fetters).

2.17. The first plural object suffix is usually (postconsonantally) -ⲧⲉⲛ (rarely -ⲉⲛ).

2.18. Postadjunctive Greek-origin adverbial modifiers may be marked by ⲛ (ⲛⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ).

3. Syntagmatics, Paradigmatics (Role Relationship), and Prosody

3.1. Focalization Patterns. The second tense focalizes adverbs only, not actor or object (pro)nouns (except for ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣ ⲟⲩ, How are you?, cf. Polotsky, 1960, p. 409). Interrogative pronouns may be construed with an unmarked (basic tense) topic, especially the first perfect (Gn. 27:33, ⲛⲓⲙ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲩⲭⲉⲣϫ ⲟⲩϫⲟⲣⲥ ⲛⲏⲓ, Who then hunted game for me?), but enter more usually the nominal cleft-sentence pattern. In the latter case, the topic constituent is either the invariable ⲛⲉⲧ- (Polotsky, 1962, pp. 419f. [=*CP* 424]), which differs from the "substantivized" relative ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧ- (the relative expanding a demonstrative and indefinite pronouns as well as proper names; cf. Polotsky, 1962, sec. 9; Shisha-Halevy, 1981, pp. 321f.): Mt. 3:14, ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲉⲧⲉⲣ ϧⲣⲓⲁ ⲉⲃⲏ ⲱⲙⲥ, It is I who need to be baptized; Mt. 9:5, ⲟⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲑⲙⲟⲧⲛ ⲉϧⲟⲥ, What is it that is easy to say? Mt. 2:22 ⲁⲣϫⲉⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲟ, It is Archelaos that is king; Mk. 8:37, ⲫⲏ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲁⲧⲏⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲱⲃⲃⲓⲱ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲫⲯⲩⲭⲏ, This is what a man will give in exchange for his soul.

3.2 Extraposition. Bohairic is strikingly topic-marking, favoring a front (topicalizing) extraposition as topic of a nominal sentence (Gn. 24:65, ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲏ, Who is this man yonder?) and in other constructions (Shisha-Halevy, 1981, p. 321). The rear extraposition of a noun lexeme to an "interlocutive" (first-second person) pronoun is marked in Bohairic by ϯⲛⲁ- (e.g., Acts 10:41, Jas. 4:12).

3.3 Nominal Syntagmatics. The Bohairic system of determinator nuclear pronouns ("articles") is quaternary: definite-deictic ({ⲡⲓ-}), definite nondeictic ({ⲡ-}), indefinite ({ⲟⲩ-}), generic, nonindividualizing (Ø-). Of these, the first two are interrelated in a complicated, still partly obscure set of factors, some external (cotextual), others internal (i.e., selection of {ⲡ-} by a special lexeme paradigm in a construction {ⲡ-} ⲛ̀- expressing inalienable possession, opposed to {ⲡⲓ-} ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ, which expresses noninherent "appurtenance"). Elucidating this issue is probably the most urgent single task to be undertaken by students of this dialect. ⲛ̀- is also used to add further lexemes to the determinator-plus-lexeme basic unit: ⲡⲓ= ⲟⲩⲟ₂ ⲛ̀-, as in Mt. 23:17, 19, ⲛⲓⲥⲟϫ ⲟⲩⲟ₂ ⲙ̀ⲃⲉⲗⲗⲉ, the stupid and blind; *Acta Martyrum* 1.21.2f., ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲩⲫⲉⲛ₂ⲏⲧ ⲟⲩⲟ₂ ⲛ̀ⲛⲁⲏⲧ (nom. predicate) "pitiful and merciful."

3.4. The predication of possession is effected in Bohairic by a paradigm of adverbial-predicate patterns predicating ⲛ̀ⲧⲁ⁄ (Lk. 3:11), and not only by a verboid (ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲁ⁄ / ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛⲧⲁ⁄, as in Gn. 16:1; cf. Shisha-Halevy, 1981, pp. 317f.). The pronominal *possessum* never occurs as object of the verboid, but as the subject of the adverbial predication (Dt. 4:38).

3.5. The pronominal subject of affirmative bimembral nominal sentences is sometimes zeroed when it is anaphoric to a determinator or an extraposed topic (Shisha-Halevy, 1981, pp. 328f.; I Cor. 5:18, ⲉⲱⲱⲡⲓ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲉⲩ† ⲣⲁⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲥⲟⲛ ⲉⲟⲩⲛⲟⲣⲛⲟⲥ). The most common instance of this is the distinctively Bohairic possessive ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲫⲱ⁄ (ⲛ̀-) (Lk. 6:30, 16:12).

3.6. ⲟⲣⲟ, the grammatically operative causative infinitive of ⲓⲣⲓ, is in Bohairic subject to the Stern-Jernstedt Rule and thus incompatible with the mediate (ⲛ̀-/ⲙ̀ⲙⲟ⁄) direct-object construction in the bipartite pattern (Stern, 1880, p. 292; e.g., Mt. 5:32; De Vis, 1922–1929, 1.14.6).

3.7. The bipartite pattern predicating an adverb favors the intermediation of a copular stative (Gn. 26:24, †ϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲕ, I am with you).

3.8. Gender. The cataphoric gender in "impersonal" predications is as a rule the feminine. On the other hand, the pronominal subject of the predicate ("to the debit/obligation of . . .") is (at least as a variant) the masculine: Gal. 5:3, ⲫⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲏⲣ ⲫⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ, he is obliged to observe the whole Law.

3.9. Tempuslehre Idiosyncrasies. The so-called third future is in Bohairic a true tense, not a mode, in paradigm with the present-based imminent future marked by -ⲛⲁ-. The conjunctive has often a subjunctival or "that"-form value (Stern, 1880, sec. 442), such as expanding the cataphoric feminine in "impersonal" predications (Mt. 5:29, ⲥⲃⲏ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲁⲕⲟ, It is good for you that one of your members perish . . .). The second relative perfect form serves not only its topicalizing adnominal function but also as a temporal-protatic "temporalis" topic before a main clause (constituting a "topic-comment" nexus on a macrosyntactic level of analysis; Jn. 11:28, ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲥϫⲟⲩ ⲁⲥⲱⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲥ, Having said this, she went away). The temporal clause is thus not expressed by a specific clause-tripartite conjugation base. (Incidentally, the second perfect in Bohairic cannot be further converted by the circumstantial converter.) The final and conditional clause paradigms include in Bohairic the conjunctive (after Greek final conjunctions of ⲉⲱⲱⲡⲓ, respectively, I Cor. 12:25, Mt. 6:14ff.). The postimperative paradigm lacks in Bohairic a specific marked apodotic form (ⲧⲁⲣⲉⲩ- in other dialects, especially Sahidic) and features, typically, imperative

and jussive forms (Mt. 9:6; Lk. 7:7) beside the nonspecific conjunctive (Acts 6:3) and ⲟⲩⲟ2 plus future tense (Mt. 7:7; Prv. 4:6). The "ethical dative" is regular after ⲫⲉ in the nondurative conjugation (ⲫⲉ ⲛⲁ⸗).

3.10. Prosody and Juncture. Elements of relatively weak stress in the utterance (native Egyptian enclitic particles, augentia, ⲁⲛ, the "backgrounding" ⲛⲉ) tend to a sentence-posterior, "trailing" position (Shisha-Halevy, 1981, pp. 319f.; e.g., Mt. 23:4, 26:44; Jn. 5:30, Lk. 16:2).

The relative converter ⲉⲧⲉ, when expanding the formal demonstrative antecedent ⲫⲏ or ⲫⲣⲏ†, may be separated from the converted conjugation-form by at least two adjacent paradigms ("slots"), the first (pro)nominal and the second adverbial (Shisha-Halevy, 1981, p. 318; e.g. Dt. 2:25, ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲫⲁⲛⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲡⲉⲕⲣⲁⲛ ⲉⲩⲉ̀ⲫⲟⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ, they who shall tremble if they hear your name; Col. 3:7, ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ 2ⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲙⲟⲫⲓ ⲛ̀ϩ̀ⲣⲏⲓ ⲛ̀ϩ̀ⲏⲧⲟⲩ, those in which you too used to walk); this indicates that the converter/conjugation-form seam is juncturally open to a degree.

3.11. The functional range of the coordinating ⲛⲉⲙ- is considerably extended in Bohairic, entailing reduced functions for ⲟⲩⲟ2. (ⲛⲉⲙ- is preferred as a coordinator of noun syntagms.)

4. Lexicon: Idiomatics

4.1. The Bohairic lexeme inventory, idiosyncratic to a considerable extent, has never been properly researched in respect of either its internal or its contrastive structure. In the unstructured lexicon peculiar to Bohairic, occasionally in common with Fayyumic (e.g., ⲙ̀ⲃⲟⲛ, be wroth; ⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ, send; ⲕⲏⲛ, cease; ⲅⲁⲗⲟⲭ, foot; ⲥⲕⲉⲛ, side; ⲭⲱⲫ, pour; ⲉ̀ⲡⲫⲱⲓ, up), one notes cases of 1:1 correspondence with Sahidic (ⲉⲙⲛⲟ† : ⲉⲕⲓⲃⲉ, breast; ⲭⲁⲅⲏ : ⲥⲃⲟⲩⲣ, left side; ⲑⲱⲟⲩ† : ⲥⲱⲟⲩ2, gather), 2:1 (ⲫⲏⲣⲓ + ϩ̀ⲣⲟ† : ⲫⲏⲣⲉ, children; ⲫⲁ- + 2ⲁ- : ⲫⲁ-, unto), 1:2 (ⲕⲏⲛ : ⲟⲩⲱ + 2ⲱ, cease, have done), and so on.

4.2. Although no overall statistics are available on the Greek-origin component of the Bohairic lexicon (cf. Kasser, 1966, and Bauer, 1975), one impressionistically notes the higher frequency in Bohairic of the use of Greek loanwords as well as their broader semantic spectrum and their number in absolute terms, which is larger in comparison with Sahidic usage. Some loans (e.g., ⲉⲥⲧⲱ ⲁⲉ, ⲉⲛ ⲟⲓⲥ, ⲙⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲅⲉ, ⲧⲟ ⲗⲟⲓⲡⲟⲛ, ⲟⲩ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲧⲟⲩⲧⲟ, ⲟⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ) are exclusive to Bohairic and show to what extent it imported ready-made Greek phrases; others (e.g., ⲡⲱⲥ, ⲟⲩⲛ, 2ⲁⲣⲁ, 2ⲓⲛⲁ) do occur elsewhere, but are much more common in Bohairic.

4.3. Phraseology and idiomatics are again virgin fields of study. Peculiarly *B* are, for instance, ⲉⲣ ⲟⲩ (ⲛⲁ⸗), what for, to what purpose?; ⲛⲉⲙ-, ⲛⲉⲙⲁ⸗, together with; and ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲭⲓ ⲁⲛ, not small, for *S* ⲛⲟⲩⲅ, 2ⲁ2 ⲛ̀-, ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ (Acts 12:18, 15:2, etc.).

5. Varieties of Bohairic

5.1. Without taking a stand on their relative status and relative chronology, one can point out the following main subdivisions, or *Gattungen*, that *B* texts fall into, from the grammatical point of view. Given the current state of knowledge, one can do no more; as more evidence comes in (e.g., following the publication and evaluation of the "Old Bohairic" Twelve Prophets, unbiased consideration of Nitrian sources) and as the general dialectological picture becomes clearer (as it surely will, following the publication and study of "Middle Egyptian" evidence), one may be able to integrate these types of Bohairic in a coherent system.

5.2. "Classical" scriptural Bohairic conventionally serves as a *point de repère* for judging other types and is usually used for "Bohairic proper." Although it is by no means homogenous (being often variously blended with Nitrian; see 5.4), it nevertheless represents an optimal *testo di lingua*, especially in "good" consistent manuscripts (such as Vat. copto 1 and Bibl. Nat. copte 1).

5.3. A group (again, not monolithic) of fourth- and fifth-century biblical texts—extremely early documentation in comparison with the bulk of Bohairic scriptural sources—differs sharply from the classical idiom in linguistic usage. The largest single document of this kind published to date is Papyrus Bodmer III, containing the Gospel of John (Kasser, 1958, and 1966, pp. 66ff; cf. DIALECTS); another extensive manuscript containing the Twelve Prophets in the Vaticana was studied by H. Quecke. In Bodmer III one finds, among others, the following idiosyncrasies: ⲙⲙⲁ, there; ⲥⲛⲁ, two (for the classical ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ, ⲥⲛⲁⲩ); ⲟⲩⲟ2ⲉ, and; the negative conditional ⲁⲛⲛⲉⲫ-; the preterite relative converter ⲉⲣ- (known also in Gnostic Sahidic, Subakhmimic, and Middle Egyptian); absence of the djinkim; *flottement* of ϫ~2, ⲅ~ⲭ, ⲫ~ⲡ. Under the same heading, one may also include some shorter biblical texts of approximately the same early dating, including passages from James (with the djinkim; Quecke, 1974) and a biblical anthology (Husselman, 1947). On some "Bohai-

ric" elements in Old Coptic, see Kahle (1954, pp. 243f.).

5.4. Nitrian Bohairic is attested mainly in hagiographical, homiletic, and hermeneutical texts from the Nitrian Monastery of Macarius, where they are generally supposed to have been transposed from a Sahidic *Vorlage* in the ninth century, but is also found "seeping through" into classical sources. This idiom has not yet been redeemed from neglect due to the bias of "secondhandedness" and "tainting," and Nitrian grammar has not had the attention it deserves. Phonologically, one observes here ϧ fluctuating with ϩ (e.g., in ϩϧϩρϩι, down) and ϭ with ϫ (in coϫ, fool; ϫⲁmoγⲗ, camel). Typically there are ϣϣhn, tree; cmont, form; tωoγnoγ, stand up; and koγϊ, small. Sporadically, combinatory aspiration is absent. As regards morphology, one finds ⲁ~ϵ for the second present converter; ϩτϵρϵ- is found as a variant of prenominal ϩτϵ-; in certain classes the presuffixal allomorph of the verb lexeme is extended to the prenominal state, leveling simplification into two—absolute and preobject—allomorphs (see Polotsky, 1930, p. 875 [=*CP* 344]): coγωn-, toγnoc-, ϣon-, tom-, oϣ-, ϣoγό-; typical are the conjugation bases ϣⲁntϵ- and ⲙ̀ⲡⲁntϵ- (first sing. ⲙ̀ⲡⲁntⲁ-, ϣⲁntⲁ-); ϑhnoγ occurs for the second plural after ⲛ̀tot-. One encounters the "freezing" of the possessive suffix in nϵqρωq, ⲡⲓρωq (Polotsky, 1934, p. 61 [=*CP* 366)]; Greek loan verbs occur also without ϵρ-. Syntactically, one finds the relative to be compatible with indefinite determination (oγⲁι ϩτⲁq-, Balestri and Hyvernat, 1907–1950, 2.206.23; ρωmi ϭϑnⲁnϵq, *Homélies* 1.101.4) and the circumstantial expanding definite nouns (ⲡⲓmⲁ ϩρϵ ⲡ$\overline{\text{xc}}$ ⲙ̀moq, Balestri and Hyvernat, 1907–1950, 2.184.22f.). As in Sahidic, the second tense may have a nonadverbial focus (Polotsky, 1944, pp. 22, n. 1, and 31; 1971, pp. 126, 135). The negator ⲁn is compatible with independently negative elements: ⲙ̀mon- ⲁn (Balestri and Hyvernat, 1907–1950, 1.9.8), ⲙ̀ⲡϵρ- ⲁn (*ibid.* 216.3). The regulation of ⲡⲓ- ⲛ̀tϵ- versus ⲡ- ⲛ̀- adnominal expansion appears to be disrupted or changed. nϵ occurs (as a backgrounding of macrosyntactic subject) after verb forms other than the imperfect (Hyvernat, 1886–1887, 135.13f., ⲁq-; 146.6f., ϭγ-, circumstantial; 150.13, oγon). Although many of these traits are attributable to the influence of Sahidic, this is by no means true of all.

5.5. Liturgical Bohairic has never been especially considered from the grammatical point of view. The djinkim occurs over most consonants, including surds; phonetic spellings are very common. ⲛ̀- is often zeroed. Some of the syntactic characteristics of Nitrian Bohairic are in evidence; the word order is occasionally remarkable; "agrammatical" constructions (such as ϫϵ + fut. I in a final clause, ϣϵ nⲁ⁄ in the durative conjugation) occur. Nominal sentences with zeroed nϵ are common; the conjunctive occurs in initial position.

5.6. Nonliterary Bohairic is still a complete mystery. The sixth–eighth-century inscriptions of Kellia in Wādī al-Naṭrūn belong here only in a sense (they include tombstone and other personal religious texts); they are interesting (and as yet unresearched) from the linguistic point of view. One finds here sporadic variation of ϐ ~ γ, o ~ ω, ϭm ~ m; the conjunctive tϵ-; the spelling ϭⲗⲁϩⲓcτoc; sporadic absence of nasal-labial assimilation (ⲛ̀ⲡⲓⲁmhn) and of combinatory aspiration (ⲡmϭγⲓ). Proper names are expanded by ⲛ̀tϵ (ιωcⲏϕ ⲛ̀tϵ ⲡτϵⲁmϵ). On the whole, the language conforms with the classical rather than the Nitrian standard of Bohairic.

5.7. Kahle's "semi-Bohairic" Bala'izah no. 19, a fourth-century papyrus text with passages from Philippians, shows some Fayyumic and Sahidic affinities.

6. Selected Bibliographical Information

6.1 Major or Comprehensive Text Editions. Biblical, hermeneutic: Tattam (1836, 1852 [Prophets]), de Lagarde (1867, 1886 [Pentateuch, New Testament Catena]), Burmester and Devaud (1925, 1930 [Psalms, Proverbs]), Porcher (1924 [Job]), Horner (1898–1905 [New Testament]). Patristic, hagiographical, homiletic: Hyvernat (1886–1887), Balestri and Hyvernat (1907–1950), de Vis (1922–1929).

6.2 Grammatical Discussion. Andersson (1904) contains, beside blatant errors, a few notable observations. Mallon (1956) is the only modern special grammar (cf. Polotsky, 1959, his major treatise concerning Bohairic, as well as 1930, 1934, 1944, 1950) with extensive bibliography, chrestomathy, and glossary; it leaves much to be desired. While Peyron's venerable grammar (1841) is still of value, Stern (1880) is still by far the best treatment of Bohairic (as of Sahidic) grammar; the Schwarze (1850) grammar is skeletal, but contains numerous important grammatical observations. Note also Schwarze's unwieldy work of 1843, and the early grammars by Tuki and by Scholtz and Woide (both 1778). Chaîne (1933), a detailed and extensive contrastive-dialectological grammar, has many merits and makes quite a few pioneering statements. Till (1931) is superficial and almost useless (cf. Polotsky, 1934). Finally, Erman's famous, yet unfollowed, contrastive study of

juncture (1915) aims at reviving interest in Bohairic, and Shisha-Halevy (1981) dwells on some conservative characteristics of this dialect.

6.3 General Dialectological Discussion. Kahle (1954) is still the prime source of information (esp. pp. 231ff., 248ff.). Worrell (1934, esp. chaps. 1–2) treats Bohairic phonology and the general status of the dialect. Vergote (1973, Vol. 1b) discusses *B* phonology as a component in a panoramic presentation. Bohairic features in all of Kasser's important dialectological studies (see esp. 1981, pp. 92ff.).

6.4 Lexicology. Only Peyron and Tattam (both 1835) cater specially to *B*. The priceless information in Crum's *Dictionary* (1939) must yet be resolved for the individual dialects. G. Bauer's concordance (1975) of the invariable Greek elements in the Bohairic New Testament is a welcome tool of research, which, one hopes, is to be extended to the rest of the Greek, as well as the indigenous, lexicon.

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ARIEL SHISHA-HALEVY

BOHAIRIC, PRONUNCIATION OF LATE.

The phonetics of a dead language can be determined in an indirect way only—namely, by a scrutinizing analysis of spelling irregularities that are based on phonetic phenomena and of transcriptions in the writing system and orthography of another language the phonetics of which are better known. Absolute proof of the issue can never be gained. But results obtained from different sources and by different methods are to be regarded as probable if they are consistent.

But is Coptic a dead language in respect to phonetics? Has not the Coptic liturgy been recited in a traditional way down to this day? Although some authors have claimed near-perfect authenticity for one or another modern tradition, it seems highly improbable that the mother tongue of the Copts has left no mark on the spelling of the liturgical language. It is, therefore, advisable to take a critical stand—that is, to reconstruct the pronunciation of ancient living Coptic from contemporary sources and to confront the issue of such an endeavor with modern evidence only as a last resort.

For the literary Coptic of the thirteenth century (which is, of course, the BOHAIRIC dialect), much elucidation can be gained from a codex of an Arabic version of the Apophthegmata Patrum that is entirely written in the Coptic alphabet (Casanova, 1901; Sobhy, 1926; Burmester, 1965–1966). Some remarks on the character of the Arabic idiom of the text are necessary. It has been plausibly classified by Blau (1979) as "Middle Arabic Substandard." He wrote, "Its author(s) intended to write Classical Arabic, but whether as a result of his (their) ignorance or negligence, elements of Neo-Arabic penetrated into it. Like Middle Arabic texts in general, our text is characterized by freely alternating features of Classical Arabic, Neo-Arabic and pseudo-corrections" (ibid., p. 215, sec. 2). The main features of its phonetics have been elaborated with a substantial degree of certainty. *q* was probably pronounced in the classical way (voiceless uvular plosive), although a pronunciation as [g] or [g̱] cannot be ruled out (ibid., p. 221, sec. 8; Satzinger, 1971, p. 61). *ǧ* was of palatalized articulation ([ǧ] or [ǧ̣]). *ḍ* and *ẓ* had coalesced in an emphatic spirant, most probably *ḏ̲*. This pronunciation may also suggest that *ḏ̲* and *ṯ̲* had preserved their spirant articulation, although there is no direct evidence to exclude a plosive articulation *d* and *t*, respectively (Blau, 1979, p. 221, sec. 9; Satzinger, 1971, p. 52). The author generally preserves *aw* and *ay* in diphthong transcription, but in some cases slips to his Neo-Arabic vernacular monophthong articulation (ibid., p. 47). In forms of the verb *ǧā'a*, to come, he presents purely Neo-Arabic features, clearly eliding the glottal stop or *hamz*

(*ğeyt*, I came, *ğeyyeh*, fem. sing. active participle; ibid., p. 52).

The main regular correspondences between the Arabic phonemes of the text and the Bohairic signs of the transcription are given in the following tables (ibid., pp. 49–50, but with observations of Blau, 1979, pp. 218–22, sec. 6–10):

1. The Consonants

'	zero
b	ⲡ
t	ⲑ; in final position also ⲧ (see remarks)
ṯ	ⲑ
ǧ	ϫ
ḥ	ϩ
ḫ	ϧ
d	ⲇ
ḏ	ⲇ
r	ⲣ
z	ⲍ
s	ⲥ
š	ⲫ
ṣ	ⲥ
ḍ	ⲍ
ṭ	ⲧ; in nonfinal position also ⲑ (see remarks)
ẓ	ⲍ
'	ϩ
ġ	ⲅ
f	ⲫ
q	ⲕ
k	ϫ, more rarely ⲕ; in final position, exclusively ⲕ (see remarks)
l	ⲗ
m	ⲙ
n	ⲛ
h	ϩ
w	ⲃ
y	ⲓ

No use is made of the following Coptic letters for transcribing Arabic consonants: ⲝ, ⲫ, ⲯ, ϭ, consonantal ⲟⲩ.

Remarks. Arabic *t* is generally rendered by the aspirate, ⲑ. If in the final position, *t* may also be rendered by ⲧ.

Arabic *ṭ* is generally rendered by ⲧ; in nonfinal positions it may also be rendered by ⲑ.

Arabic *k* is rendered generally by ϫ or, more rarely, by ⲕ. In the final position, however, *k* is exclusively rendered by ⲕ. This letter is also used to render Arabic *q* (see Table 1).

It is remarkable that ⲧ is not used to render Arabic *t* (except in some cases where the latter is in the final position). This can be best explained by assuming a "soft" articulation [ḍ] for ⲧ. Furthermore, three tendencies can be observed: (1) the use of aspirate signs for nonemphatic stops and of nonaspirate signs for emphatic stops, the reason for this being, in all probability, the notably nonaspirated character of the Arabic emphatics; cf. Kästner, 1981, p. 43); (2) the use of nonaspirate signs instead of aspirate signs for stops in the final position, such as ⲧ occasionally for ⲑ, and ⲕ regularly for ϫ, proving that Coptic nonaspirate stops were of soft articulation in nonfinal positions only; (3) the use of ⲕ rather than ϫ (Blau, 1979, pp. 218–20, sec. 6) (one may conclude from this that the articulation of ⲕ was less soft than that of ⲧ and ⲡ).

In the Arabic transcriptions of Coptic liturgical texts (of later date; cf. Worrell, 1934, pp. 5–6), nonfinal ⲧ is regularly rendered by Arabic *d* or *ḍ* (or *ẓ*, which had coalesced with *ḍ* in Arabic), though not in Greek words (صوتير, ⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ; خرسطوس , ⲭⲥ; etc.). In what is probably the oldest transcription text preserved, an undated codex published in excerpts by Galtier (1905), final ⲧ is regularly rendered by Arabic *t*. The transcription that Sobhy (1940) published in excerpts—which is dated, according to him, A.M. 1438 (but this cannot be confirmed from the printed rendering; at any rate read "9" [= *ṯā'*] instead of "8" [which would be *ḥā'*])—is less consistent in this, as are the records by Petraeus (1659; cf. Galtier, 1905, pp. 109–110), de Rochemonteix (1892; taken down 1876–1877), and Sobhy (1915 and 1918; taken down early in this century). Modern reformed

TABLE 1.

ARABIC	COPTIC TRANSCRIPTIONS	
	NONFINAL POSITION	FINAL POSITION
t	ⲑ	ⲑ (ⲧ)
ṭ	ⲧ (ⲑ)	ⲧ
k	ϫ (ⲕ)	ⲕ
q	ⲕ	ⲕ

pronunciation does not articulate ⲧ "softly" at all; it is, rather, t or ṭ in all positions, in accordance with the Greek pronunciation.

2. The Vowels

a, ā if there is a *ḥarf mufaḫḫam* in the same syllable; otherwise, ⲉ (see Blau, 1979, p. 222, sec. 11, and remarks)
i ⲉ, occasionally ⲓ
ī ⲓ
u ⲟ, occasionally ⲟⲩ
ū ⲟⲩ, but also ⲟ if in the vicinity of a *ḥarf mufaḫḫam* (see remarks)
ay ⲁⲓ if preceded by a *ḥarf mufaḫḫam;* otherwise, ⲉⲓ or ⲏⲓ indiscriminately
aw ⲁⲩ

Remarks. *Tafḫīm*, or the glottalizing effect, is a characteristic of the emphatics *ṣ, ḍ, ṭ, ẓ,* uvular *q,* and, to a lesser extent, the postdorsal uvular consonants *ḥ* and *ġ,* the pharyngeal sounds of ʿ and *ḥ,* and in many instances *r.* Although, for example, both Arabic *s* and *ṣ* are rendered by Coptic ⲥ, the transcription differentiates in rendering *sa* by ⲥⲉ and *ṣa* by ⲥⲁ. This proves beyond doubt that ⲁ and ⲉ were pronounced differently in the Bohairic idiom, which underlies the Coptic transcription.

Similarly, the later Arabic transcriptions make use of the Arabic emphatics to distinguish Coptic vowels for which there are no distinct Arabic graphemes. In the text published by Galtier (1905), the reader can be sure that an Arabic *ṣā* renders ⲥⲁ, whereas the Arabic *sā* renders ⲥⲉ (or ⲥⲏ) rather than ⲥⲁ, more often than not. Similarly, both ⲥⲟ and ⲥⲱ are almost always rendered by *sū,* whereas *sū* is the regular equivalent of ⲥⲟⲩ. The writer of the text published by Sobhy (1918) does not proceed consistently, but a tendency toward distinguishing ⲁ and ⲉ is still clearly discernible. In the Coptic idioms underlying these transcriptions (though not necessarily the copies preserved, one of them perhaps from the early eighteenth century), the vowels ⲁ and ⲉ were obviously pronounced in a different way. But coalescence of these vowels is attested as early as the mid seventeenth century. In the record done by Petraeus (1659) both letters are regularly rendered by *a.* The same is found in de Rochemonteix's (1892) and Sobhy's (1915 and 1918) records of traditional pronunciation. It is only in the modern reformed pronunciation that ⲁ and ⲉ are again distinguished as *a* and *e* [ɛ], rendered by alif and yā', respectively, in the popular *khulagis* which have an Arabic transcription. Here, emphatics are only used to distinguish ⲧⲟ and ⲧⲱ (transcribed by *ṭū*) from ⲧⲟⲩ (transcribed by *tū*).

Conclusion

The evidence gained from the Bohairic transcription, the Arabic transcriptions of liturgical Bohairic, and transcriptions of this into the Latin alphabet from the mid seventeenth century onward corroborates many of the results that have been gained from other evidence (see BOHAIRIC).

The Bohairic consonants are voiceless, except ⲙ, ⲛ, ⲗ, ⲣ, and, if in a nonfinal position, ⲃ (see below).

A "soft" articulation of the nonaspirate plosives is assumed for all Coptic dialects. This has been corroborated by the evidence of the Arabic transcriptions: the usual equivalent of ⲧ is Arabic *d* or *ḍ.* It may, however, be assumed that ⲕ was not of the same "softness" as ⲡ, ⲧ, and ⲭ; it is rather often used to render Arabic *k* instead of ⲭ. Worrell (1934) thought it possible that Bohairic ⲡ, ⲧ, ⲭ, and ⲕ were voiced whenever going back to Egyptian *b, d, ḏ* (= ǧ), and *g,* respectively. In the Coptic alphabet of the Arabic Apophthegmata, however, these signs represent voiceless stops: it is not ⲧ that is used for Arabic *d* but rather ⲇ (a letter of the alphabet of Coptic Greek). If ⲡ is used for Arabic *b* and ⲭ for Arabic ǧ, this may have been done by default, there being no voiced alternative available, in contrast to the case of ⲧ.

The problem of ⲭ is rather one of Arabic dialectology, as this letter has by and large been identified with ǧīm, a phoneme whose articulation varies greatly in the Arabic idioms of Egypt (see Woidich, 1980, pp. 207–208). De Rochemonteix's (1892) Upper Egyptian informants pronounced ⲭ as ⲋ (ǧ), though one informant offered a free(?) variant ž. Sobhy (1918, p. 54), on the other hand, claimed that in Upper Egypt, ⲭ is ⲋ where it corresponds to Sahidic ⲭ but *g* where it corresponds to Sahidic ⲅ (but note that ⲭⲉ in the text he reproduces is ⲭⲉ, not ⲅⲉ, in Sahidic). In Lower Egypt, ⲭ preceding vowel *i* was pronounced as ǧ, but otherwise it was *g,* according to Sobhy (1915, p. 18). A very similar rule applies in modern reformed pronunciation, which has *ǧ* before *i* and *e.* This is remarkable indeed. As it cannot be explained by Arabic influence, it is obviously a testimony to internal Coptic development.

In the final position, ⲡ, ⲧ, ⲭ, and ⲕ seem to have coalesced with the aspirates, ⲫ, ⲑ, ⲅ, and ⲭ, respectively. This, again, is corroborated by the evidence of the Arabic transcriptions.

As to aspirate stops, in the Arabic transcriptions, a (possibly late) tendency to pronounce ⲫ as a fricative, even in genuine Coptic words, is attested; it is sometimes rendered by Arabic *f* (corresponding evidence can be found with de Rochemonteix, 1892). ⲍ is not used for transcribing Arabic. It is rendered by *š* in Arabic, although the assumed pronunciation is *č*ʰ. This can be explained by the fact that Arabic (both classical and Egyptian) has no *č* phoneme, and the device of rendering the Bohairic phoneme by two Arabic phonemes (and, by consequence, two graphemes), namely *t* plus *š*, met with reluctance. Compare this to the use in modern Egypt of *š* to render Turkish *č* (which is *ç* in the Turkish Latin alphabet; see Prokosch, 1983, p. 11). But somewhere the *č* articulation may have survived. Although both Petraeus (1659) and de Rochemonteix (1892) render ⲍ by *š* exclusively, Sobhy (1915, p. 18, and 1918, p. 52) heard [č] (though obviously not in ⲟⲩⲥ, which is *šois*). This could, however, be interpreted as a trait of the reformed pronunciation, which has the *č* sound (rendered *t̲* plus *š̲* in Arabic script), again with the exception of ⲟⲩⲥ.

It is assumed that ⲃ was pronounced as a voiced bilabial fricative, *β* (= *b̲*). This articulation was still noticed by de Rochemonteix in 1876–1877; Sobhy (1915 and 1918) noted that nonfinal ⲃ is pronounced as vocalic *u*, and never like the rounded *w* of Arabic. The evidence of the Arabic transcriptions is in agreement with this: initial ⲃ is rendered, not by wāw but rather by alif plus wāw, and once in the syllable-initial position hamza with kasra plus wāw (امبرءواروورت , ⲙⲡⲉⲣⲃⲉⲣⲃⲱⲣⲧ): by indicating a short front vowel, the writer obviously hinted at a nonrounded articulation of the labial.

In the final position, however, ⲃ was not pronounced as a fricative (cf. Tuki, 1778, p. 3). This cannot be verified in the Apophthegmata transcription, as Arabic final *w* is realized as vocalic *u* in the pausal forms. But both in the transcriptions and in the records of traditional pronunciation, final ⲃ is rendered by the corresponding plosive (Arabic *b*). It is not possible to say whether final ⲃ fully coalesced with final ⲫ or the former remained softer and/or unaspirated.

It is a very remarkable fact that at the time the Arabic transcription of the Galtier (1905) text was produced, Copto-Greek words were mostly pronounced according to rules similar to those of late koine and modern Greek.

In many words, ⲧ is rendered by the Arabic voiceless stops *t* or *ṭ*. This indicates that it was not of soft articulation, as it was in autochthonous Coptic words.

The voiced stops of Greek had developed into the corresponding fricatives in late antiquity: *b* > *β* (*b̲*) > *v*; *d* > *δ* (*d̲*); and *g* before front vowels > ɟ (*ġ*) > *y*, but otherwise > *γ* (*ḡ*).

The relevant correspondences with Arabic signs can be explained by assuming a similar pronunciation of the Copto-Greek words (see especially for ⲅ).

The aspirates of Greek had developed into the corresponding fricatives in late antiquity: *p*ʰ > *ɸ* (*p̄*) > *f*; *t*ʰ > *ϑ* (*t̲*); and *k*ʰ before front vowels > *ç* (*ṡ*), but otherwise > *χ* (*ḫ*).

For the Copto-Greek words in Bohairic, note especially that ⲫ was not rendered by Arabic *b*; ⲑ was apt to render Arabic *t̲*; and ⲭ was rendered by Arabic *š* (the sound value coming closest to *ç* in Arabic) if preceding a front vowel, but otherwise by *ḫ*.

One will be inclined to attribute the introduction of such "learned" usage to a rather late period of Coptic literacy—for example, a period of high philological interest, such as the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Note, however, that some of the misspellings in earlier Coptic (cf. Crum, 1939, pp. 48–49, 516, 540–41, 745) can hardly be explained otherwise than by assuming a tradition of "Neo-Greek" pronunciation. The question is, though, whether this pronunciation was applied to the Copto-Greek words in earlier times in the same matter-of-course way as in the Galtier (1905) text, for example.

Note that the informants of de Rochemonteix (1892) were not very consistent in the use of ⲅ, ⲇ, and ⲭ in Copto-Greek words, sometimes pronouncing them in the "Coptic" way, namely *ġ* (< *g*?), even when preceding back vowels; *d* instead of *d̲*; *k* instead of *ḫ* or *ç*.

Present-day liturgical recitation follows the rules of a reformed pronunciation. It is mirrored in the Arabic transcriptions that have replaced the Coptic characters in the popular *khulagis*. The values attributed to the Coptic signs appear systematic and uniform, making transcription almost a transliteration. Consonants are more or less rendered according to the Neo-Greek values. ⲭ is *ğ* (spelled ج) before front vowels *i* and *e*, but otherwise *g* (spelled ج). Other values have been mentioned above. A conspicuous feature is the mechanical rendering of the *djinkim* by hamza: ⲉ̀ϩⲣⲏ, *'e'ehrī*; ⲱϣⲡ̀ϩⲙⲟⲧ, *šep'ehmōt*, and so on.

These modern innovations represent the greatest break in the history of Coptic pronunciation. But

TABLE 2.

ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲉⲛ	ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲱⲁ	ⲛ̀ⲭⲟⲥ	ϩⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲱⲉⲙ ⲛⲟⲩ
1. *arí̈den	ənəmbšá	əndšós	ḫen ušebəhmót
2. aridān	enembša	eng̀os	ḫan ušabehmot
3. aritēn	'en'empšā	'engōs	ḫen 'ušep'ehmōt

ϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲓⲱⲧ	ⲉⲧϩⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲫⲏⲟⲩⲓ	ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲫⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ
1. dšebeniṓt	etḫen nip^{h}éui	marefdubó
2. g̀a baniōt	adḫan nifāui	marafdūo
3. ğe penyōt	'etḫen nifī'ui	mareftuvō

ⲛ̀ϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲁⲛ	ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲥⲓ	ⲛ̀ϫⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ
1. əndše bek^{h}rán	maresī	əndše dek^{h}meduró
2. eng̀a bakrān	marasī	eng̀a dakmadūro
3. 'enğe pekrān	mares'ī	'enğe tekmet'urō

ⲡⲉⲧⲉϩⲛⲁⲕ	ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲫϣⲟⲡⲓ	ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏⲧ
1. bedehnák^{h}	marefšṓbi	əmp^{h}rḗi
2. bedehnak	marafšōbi	emebrādi
3. petehnāk	marefšōpi	'emefrīti

ϩⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ	ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ	ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ
1. ḫen tp^{h}é	nem hidšen	bikáhi etc.
2. ḫan etba	nem hig̀an	ebkahi etc.
3. ḫen 'etfī	nem hiğēn	pi kāhi etc.

whereas present-day liturgical recitation would perhaps not be comprehensible to the ears of a medieval Copt, this would certainly not be true of traditional recitation even as it was heard in this century. Although it cannot be denied that changes had occurred—because of the influence of Arabic and internal development—the ancient tradition had been preserved in an astonishing measure. An example (Table 2) will serve best to clarify this.

The first line of the example is a reconstruction of what the beginning of the Lord's Prayer may have sounded like in classical times. But note that the phonetic rendering is quite imprecise. Voiceless stops [ḫ, d̈] are meant by *b* and *d;* what is written *f* is thought to be a bilabial fricative [Φ]; short *e* and *o* are open vowels [ɛ, ɔ]; *ē* was rather an *ae* sound (or perhaps even *œ;* cf. Vycichl, 1936).

The second line renders Sobhy's (1915, p. 19) record in the conventions used here (*š* for *sh,* etc.). An Upper Egyptian pronunciation *g̀* has been assumed for ϫ.

The third line is a rendering of modern church recitation as it is transcribed in Arabic script in the popular *khulagis.*

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CRYPTOGRAPHY. At times the Copts have felt the need to use cryptography in order to hide the contents of certain annotations, formulas, inscriptions, and messages. About thirty examples of this have been recorded. It would, however, be excessive to speak here of a "Coptic cryptography," for, as shall be seen, even in a Coptic context, the scribe used cryptographic systems borrowed from Greek and even preferred Greek over Coptic in formulas thus disguised. The cryptographic systems employed can be summarized within three types.

First Type

The two principal forms fully merit description as "encoding," for the Greeks took them not from the classical alphabet but from an archaic repertoire used in writing numbers: the first nine characters of the archaic Greek alphabet were used to express the units one through nine. The next set of nine were employed to express the tens: ten, twenty, thirty, and so on. The next set of nine letters were used to express the hundreds, as Table 1 illustrates. Here one can see three archaic letters that had fallen out of use: ϛ (stigma) for 6, ϙ (qoppa) for 90, and ϡ or ϟ (sampi) for 900.

TABLE 1.

1	α	10	ι	100	ρ
2	β	20	κ	200	σ
3	γ	30	λ	300	τ
4	δ	40	μ	400	υ
5	ϵ	50	ν	500	φ
6	ϛ	60	ξ	600	χ
7	ζ	70	ο	700	ψ
8	η	80	π	800	ω
9	ϑ	90	ϙ	900	ϡ or ϟ

During the Hellenistic period, imitating a Jewish cryptographic process (called *atbash*), some Greek created a similar encoding based on that division of the former alphabet into three portions (or rows). This system consisted of inverting the letters of each row and replacing the normal row by the inverted row—for example, α β γ δ ϵ ϛ ζ η ϑ becoming ϑ η ζ ϛ ϵ δ γ β α, and normal α being replaced by ϑ, β by η, δ by ζ, and so on (see Gardthausen, 1913, p. 301; Wisse, 1979, pp. 119–20). As this system of inversion had the weakness of not being able to modify ϵ (ϵ), ⲛ (ν), and ⲫ (φ), located at the center of each row, special cryptic symbols were fabricated for them. For instance, ϵ was translated by ≡ and ⲛ by |||. When the Copts borrowed this system, the archaic letter ϟ, which had the value of 900 and in such texts was written with the letter ρ, had fallen into disuse; it was thus rendered with some lack of precision, as if it were the well-known letters ⲩⲣ bound together. Such was the basis of the cryptography that the Copts mostly used (Table 2). It is noteworthy to remark that in Coptic the Greek ϙ is currently confused with ϥ, by which it is replaced.

TABLE 2.

ⲁ = ⲑ	ⲓ = ϙ	ⲣ = ϟ
ⲃ = ⲏ	ⲕ = ⲡ	ⲥ = ⲱ
ⲅ = ⲍ	ⲗ = ⲟ	ⲧ = ⲯ
ⲇ = ϛ	ⲙ = ⲝ	ⲩ = ⲭ
ⲉ = ⲉ	ⲛ = ⲛ	ⲫ = ⲫ
ϛ = ⲇ	ⲝ = ⲙ	ⲭ = ⲩ
ⲍ = ⲅ	ⲟ = ⲗ	ⲯ = ⲧ
ⲏ = ⲃ	ⲡ = ⲕ	ⲱ = ⲥ
ⲑ = ⲁ	ϙ = ⲓ	ϟ = ⲣ

This system was suitable for encoding a text written in Greek, and in fact, in encoding formulas, the Copts mostly used Greek formulas, even in the body of documents otherwise written completely in Coptic. However, when they wanted to hide a truly Coptic formula, they either did not modify the autochthonous graphemes (especially ϕ, ϥ, ⲍ, ϫ, and ϭ), or they encoded them by means of conventional signs. Here are some examples of this system and some known variations of it:

1. From the Coptic treatise entitled "Zostrianos" (Nag Hammadi Library, Codex VIII [or IV, according to Doresse's numbering], p. 132) comes in Greek the following "colophon" at the tractate's end (first half of fourth century):

ϫ̄ⲗ̄ ϥ̄ ⲑ̄ⲟ̄ⲃ̄ ⲁ̄ϭ̄ϥ̄ [ⲑ̄] ⲫ̣ⲣ̄ ⲥ̄ⲱ̄ϯ
ⲩ̄ⲣ̄ϥ̄ⲑ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ϫ̄ ⲁ̄ⲥⲁⲱ̣ ⲑ̄ⲟ̄ⲃ̄ⲁ̄ϭ̣ϥ̄
ⲑ̄ⲱ̄ ⲟ̄ⲗ̄ⲍ̄ⲁϥ̄ ⲣ̄ⲥⲩⲣⲁ ⲑ̄ⲱ̄ⲫ̄ ⲩ̄ⲣ̄[ⲁ̄ϫ̄]

λόγοι ἀληθεί[α]ς Ζωστ
ριανοῦ θεὸς ἀληθεί
ας λόγοι Ζωροάστρ[ου]

"Words of truth of Zostrianos, the God of truth, words of Zoroaster" (cf. Doresse, 1950; Wisse, 1979, no. 1; with some emendations).

2. A Greek graffito from the sixth century or later found in the Theban mountains (Crum and Evelyn-White, 1926, no. 701) reads thus:

†ⲡ̄ⲉ̄ⲕⲑϥ{ϫ}ⲥϫⲛⲑⲓϥⲫ̣
†ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲑⲍϥⲗⲛⲉϫⲩⲗⲛ
†ⲥⲓⲓⲉⲍⲑⲗ̣ⲛⲉϫⲙⲑⲱ
ⲁⲑϥⲕⲉⲃϥ†ⲑⲱⲫ̣ⲓⲟⲃ†ϥⲑ
ⲓⲗϫⲉⲣⲥⲓ[ⲃ]ⲛⲑⲱ{ⲥ}ⲗⲓⲑ†
†ⲗⲟⲱ † ϥⲑ ϥ̄ⲑ̄ ϥⲑ ⲕ̄ⲉ̄ † ⲒⲚⲗ ⲍ

κ̄ε̄ καὶ δύναμις
τῶν ἁγίον εὐχὸν
θαι περὶ τὰς ἁμαρτία⟨ς⟩
μου ἐγὼ Μ[η]νὰς ὁ ⟨ἁ⟩μαρ
τολ⟨ό⟩ς ϥϑ ϥϑ ϥϑ κ̄ε̄ ινδ ζ

In lines 1 and 5, the marks in braces { . . . } are superfluous. In line 1, the first †, and in line 6, the second and third † are ordinary crosses. "Lord and power of the holy prayers of the great [monks], pray for my sins! I am Menas the sinner. Amen, Amen, Amen, Lord! Ind[iction] 7" (cf. Wisse, 1979, no. 2, which strongly improved the reading of this text, in an approximate Greek; formerly published in Crum and Evelyn-White, 1926, pp. 147, 330, 386). The sampi, a rarely used symbol, is sketched in some variable fashions. The siglum ϥ̄ⲑ̄ for "Amen" is the current Byzantine abbreviation based on the numerical value of the letters of this word:

ⲁ + ⲙ + ⲏ + ⲛ = 1 + 40 + 8 + 50 = 99.

3. Coptic formulas to protect oneself from dogs were not so much for the simple passerby as for lovers or thieves who would fear the dogs' barking and biting at night; the text shown below was edited by Erman (1895) from a fragment conserved in the British Museum (Or. 1013-A). The reading of the cryptographic formula was specified by Wisse (1979, no. 11). The revelation of this formula is attributed to Isis, an attribution that places it among the most archaic of Coptic formulas. Here are the most essential lines only:

[≡ϥ]ⲍⲗϫϥⲥⲕⲗϫⲑϥ|||||ϥⲍⲕⲱⲃⲣ≡|||ⲯ≡ⲱ₂ϥⲍ≡
≡ⲯ≡ⲯ≡ϥⲍⲑ[ⲑϫⲯ≡]

[ⲉⲓ]ⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲣ ⲛⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲫⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲥ₂ⲓⲙⲉ
ⲏⲧⲉ ⲧⲉϥⲙⲁ[ⲁⲩ ⲧⲉ]

I bind the dog of [. . .], the son of the woman [. . .], who is his mother!

In this text, the three Coptic letters originated from demotic, ϕ, ϥ, and ₂, are conserved just as they are, without encoding (cf. Erman, 1895; Kropp, 1930–1931, Vol. 2, no. 5, pp. 14–16, and Vol. 3, no. 249; see Wisse, 1979, no. 11, for review and comment).

4. In the Coptic medical papyrus published by Chassinat (1921), the names of a certain number of drugs are encoded in the same way. The manuscript can be dated from the ninth or the tenth century. Samples: ⲍⲗⲥⲫ for ⲙⲭⲱⲣ (or ⲙⲭⲱⲗ), onion; ⲩⲑⲟⲡⲗⲱ for ⲭⲁⲣⲕⲟⲥ (or ⲭⲁⲗⲕⲟⲥ), bronze; ⲍⲑⲑⲱ≡ for ⲙⲁⲗⲥⲉ, calf.

5. During the Persian invasion at the beginning of the seventh century, the monks of the monasteries in the Theban mountains (in Dandarah as well as in Dayr al-Bahri) had to withdraw to the surrounding desert. Probably this temporary exile would account for the Coptic graffiti found in a hermitage in the region of Armant in 1947 by Bachatly (cf. Abd al-Masih et al., 1965). This graffito was written by a monk who came from the great Monastery of Phoebammon; only the first half is given here:

ⲑ|||ⲗⲡⲫⲉⲓⲟⲗⲗ≡ⲗⲱⲡⲱⲃ̣≡|||ⲡⲗϫ≡ⲱⲕ
†≡ⲫ≡ⲗⲗⲩ{ⲓ}ϥⲱ†ⲗⲱ|||ⲧⲥⲗ
ⲛ̣ⲗ|||ⲗⲱ|||ⲯ≡̣ⲡⲥⲯⲕⲗϫⲗ̣≡ϥⲱ̄
ϥⲱ̄ⲕ≡ⲩ̄ⲱⲑ̣ϥⲁⲗ|||ⲑ̄|||ⲍⲍⲑϥ

ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲫⲉⲓⲗⲟⲑⲉⲟⲥ ⲡⲫⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲕⲟⲙⲉⲥ ⲡ
ⲉⲓⲉⲗⲁⲭⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲓⲁ
ⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲕⲱⲧ ⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ
ⲓ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲉⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ⲁⲣⲓ ⲟ⟨ⲩ⟩ⲛⲁ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲓ

In line 2, the first † is an ordinary cross. The sign in braces { . . . } is superfluous. In line 3, the scribe

wrote the first ⲯ with the shape of an ankh. "I am Philotheos, the son of Komes, the insignificant deacon of Terkōt. My Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy on me . . ." The autochthonous coptic letters ⲱ and ⲭ remain without encoding (cf. ibid., p. 30; reviewed by Wisse, 1979, no. 12).

6. To disguise the autochthonous Coptic letters, the Copts tried employing conventional signs such as ⲟⲟ for ⲱ and ⋈ for ⲭ. The following example is a personal invocation inserted by a monk before the title of an epistle on virginity attributed to Saint Athanasius (Bibl. Nat. copte 131, fol. 2r, perhaps ninth or tenth century; cf. van Lantschoot, 1929, Vol. 1, App. 1; reviewed by Wisse, 1979, no. 14):

ϕϕϥκθϫ≡χ̣≡≡|||θⲓⲓⲑ̣[κϐ]
ⲗⲭⲥ||||||ϥϫ≡ⲯ|||θⲥⲟⲟ[ⲋϫ]
κϥ⋈ⲥⲥϫ≡|||ⲯ≡ⲯ|||ⲟⲟ[ⲟϐⲟ]
≡⋈ⲥϥ

ⲁⲣⲓ ⲡⲁⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲕⲁ[ⲓⲏ]
ⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲱⲱ [ⲋⲙ]
ⲡⲓⲭⲱⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲱ[ⲗⲏⲗ]
ⲉⲭⲱⲓ

Remember me in love, everyone that will read in this book, and pray for me.

7. In a brief message of greeting written on a parchment scrap (B.M. Or. 4720[96]), the Coptic letters of demotic origin were encoded by Greek letters used as symbols for thousands: ϡ for 1,000; ϧ for 2,000; ⳋ for 3,000; ϩ for 4,000; and ϭ for 5,000—this, respectively, for the letters ⲱ, ϥ, ϩ, ⲭ, and ⲋ. These graphemes were conserved in their regular order.

Recto: ⲥⲩ̇||ⲯϥϡϥ|||ϥ ⲥⲩⲛ ⲑ⟨ⲉⲱ⟩ ⲧⲓⲱⲓⲛⲓ

ⲑⲭⲥⲯϥⲑⲧⲕⲑ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲓⲁⲥⲡⲁ
ⲅ≡ϫⲕⲗⲭϡⲑϥ ⲍⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ
ϫⲕⲁϫⲁϥ|||ⲁⲭⲧⲓ ⲙⲡⲁⲙⲁⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲓ

Verso: ⲁⲃⲃⲁ ⲡⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲁⲃⲃⲁ ⲡⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩϯ

With God! I greet and salute the health of my pious Abba Paphnouti.

One can see that the name of the addressee, Abba Paphnouti, is written without code on the parchment's verso (cf. Crum, 1905, no. 669; reviewed by Wisse, 1979, no. 16).

Second Type

A second cryptographic system borrowed from Greek also uses the primitive alphabet divided into three rows of characters representing units of tens and hundreds. The units are represented by the letters ⲁ through ⲑ, the tens by the same ⲁ́ through ⲑ́ topped by a single dot, the hundreds by ⲁ̈ through ⲑ̈ topped by two dots. This system was perhaps borrowed from Arabic (Wisse, 1979, no. 18). Each set of the alphabet is encoded by the signs 1 to 9, 10 to 90, and 100 to 900, respectively, superimposed one on the other without resorting to an inversion, as was the case in the system described above, with the result that the letters ⲁ to ⲑ of the genuine text are not modified by this code at all (Table 3).

8. In a Bohairic Gospel book dated from 1327, an invocation is transcribed as follows:

ⲏⲁ́ⲉⲃⲁ́ⲏⲉ ⲑⲏⲁ́ⲁⲃ̈ ⲉ̈ϯ ⲉⲁⲁ́ ⲉⲁⲟ́
ⲁ̣ⲁ́ⲏⲉ ϡⲑ ⲁ́ϫⲃ|||

ⲡⲏⲉⲃⲓⲏⲛ ⲑⲱⲙⲁⲥ ϕϯ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁϥ
ⲁⲙⲏⲛ ϡⲑ ⲁⲙⲏⲛ

The wretched Thomas, God be merciful to him! Amen, Amen, Amen.

An original peculiarity: each "Amen" is encoded in a different way. The first is represented by ⲁ̣ⲁ́ⲏⲉ́, corresponding to the later method illustrated by this invocation. The second is ϡⲑ according to the isopsephic system already noted above in example 2. The third appears as ⲁ́ϫⲃ|||, according to the cryptographic process described at the beginning of this article (cf. Horner, 1898–1905, p. lxxi; Wisse, 1979, no. 18).

Third Type

A third system substituted for each letter of the normal alphabet the corresponding letter from another normal alphabet written beside it but shifted down by one or more letters, a process called in antiquity "Julius Caesar's method." If one shifts the second alphabet by one letter, starting with β replacing α, one has the following:

TABLE 3.

ⲁ = ⲁ	ⲓ = ⲁ́	ⲣ = ⲁ̈
ⲃ = ⲃ	ⲕ = ⲃ́	ⲥ = ⲃ̈
ⲅ = ⲅ	ⲗ = ⲅ́	ⲧ = ⲅ̈
ⲇ = ⲇ	ⲙ = ⲇ́	ⲩ = ⲇ̈
ⲉ = ⲉ	ⲛ = ⲉ́	ⲫ = ⲉ̈
ⲋ = ⲋ	ϫ = ϫ́	ⲭ = ϫ̈
ⲍ = ⲍ	ⲟ = ⲍ́	ⲯ = ⲍ̈
ⲏ = ⲏ	ⲡ = ⲏ́	ⲱ = ⲏ̈
ⲑ = ⲑ	ϥ = ⲑ́	ϣ = ⲑ̈

α β γ δ ϵ ζ η ϑ ι κ λ μ ν ξ ο π ρ σ τ υ φ χ ψ ω
β γ δ ϵ ζ η ϑ ι κ λ μ ν ξ ο π ρ σ τ υ ϕ χ ψ ω α

9. Here is an example attested in a Gospel text from the White Monastery dated 1112 A.D. The same process was only applied to the five Coptic letters ⲫ through ⲭ encoded by their own sequence being shifted by one letter:

ⲫ ϥ ϩ ϭ ⲭ
ϥ ϩ ϭ ⲭ ⲫ

The text reads:

ⲃⳝⲡⲗⲣⲕⲑⲟⲗⲍⲣⲕⲗⲩⲓ̈[ⲥ]
ⲫⲧⳝϥⲕⳝⲡⲫ[ⲩⲍ]ⲗⲗⳝⲃⲕⲍⲣⲡⲙ̈

ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲓ̈ϩⲛⲕⲉ ⲃⲓⲕⲧⲫ[ⲣ]
ⲩⲥ ⲛⲫⲓⲛⲟⲩ[ⲧⲉ] ⲕ̈ⲱ ⲛ̈ⲁⲓ ⲉ̈ⲃⲟⲗ

I am the poor Victor, son of Shenoute. Forgive me!

(Cf. Crum, 1905, no. 489; van Lantschoot 1929, no. lxxx–h; Wisse, 1979, no. 19, settled the issue of its interpretation.)

These systems are the most current. The first, transmitted by the Coptic scribes to their Ethiopian colleagues, was even adapted to the Ge'ez language and used under the designation of the "learned language" or *naggara liqâwent* (Conti-Rossini, 1927, pp. 524–28; unfortunately notes written very hastily and imprecise).

Other Types

Were there other Coptic processes of encoding? One can suppose this, since several formulas still resist efforts to decode them, unless they are cryptogram imitations devoid of meaning. It must be pointed out that artificial alphabets existed and were used to hide astrological, alchemic, and magical formulas. Indeed, Hellenistic and Byzantine occultism produced many picturesque versions (Doresse, 1950–1951, pp. 221–26). Furthermore, the Arabs, not merely satisfied to revive such formulas, added a great number of fancies that spread throughout the Mediterranean world (among others, cf. Ibn Wahshīya, "Les Alphabets occultes dévoilés," in Hammer, 1806).

It is certain that through the Byzantines, the Copts learned the cryptographic method of transliterating the normal alphabet by a "long key"—that is, by a conventionalized phrase embodying all the letters of the alphabet out of alphabetical order, as suggested by repetitions in the artificial sentence

ⲁⲃⲣⲟⲭⲉⲓⲁⲱⲛ ⲧⲟ ⲫⲩⲗⲁⲝ ⲑⲏⲣⲁⲍⲩⲅⲱⲕⲁⲙⲯⲓⲙⲉⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ,

to be compared with the alphabetic order transcribed as follows:

ⲑⲓⲓⲍϩⲉⲅⲣⲃⲁϥⲡⲟⲝⲓ ⲛ ⲙ ⲓ ⲗⲕ ⳟ ⲱ ⲯ ⲭ ⲫ ⲩ ⲧ ⲥ ⲣ

These two lines were found scribbled on a piece of wood recovered in the ruins of the Theban Monastery of Apa Epiphanius (Crum and Evelyn-White, 1926, no. 616). The grotesque formula

ἀβροχίτων δ'ὸ φύλαξ θηροζυγοκαμψιμέτωπος

was so well known that the Palatine Anthology (9.538) had included it. However, there survive no examples of either Coptic or Greek encoded texts employing it as a key. And yet, the cryptographic purpose of this mnemonic device seems to be indisputable, the normal alphabet being connected with it in the form of three inverted rows (from ⲑ to ⲗ, from ϥ to ⲓ, and from ⳟ to ⲣ), as in the first of the systems discussed above.

Purpose

One should ask what purpose these cryptograms served, for it is clear that such systems began virtually at the birth of the Coptic language (examples 1 and 3) and lasted at least until the fourteenth century (example 8). In answer, the limited number of examples so far identified, plus the fact that several cases remain unidentified and that it is impossible in other instances to decide whether the text is written in Greek or Coptic (e.g., the calamus box from Antinoë [ANTINOOPOLIS] in the ancient collection of the Guimet Museum kept today at the Louvre; cf. Doresse, 1951, pl. 1) allow just a few observations rather than true conclusions.

It seems that initially such systems served to hide the entire title of an apocryphal work, to disguise a magic formula or make it more mysterious, or to veil the exact identity of medical drugs from the knowledge of common people (examples 1, 3, and 4). For the rest, it became above all a guileful expedient of some literates to communicate among themselves only: an invocation inserted by a scribe at the end of a manuscript he has copied (examples 6, 8, and 9); a prayer of a monk scribbled on a wall (examples 2 and 5); a brief message, essentially a prayer, to another monk (example 7). All of this was at once naive in its process and impoverished in its content. Apparently, the worthiest things hidden in these cryptograms have been totally lost, except vague memories: "The Thebans tell of an angel giving the science of the mystic language to Pachomius, Cornelius and Syrus in such a way that they ex-

pressed themselves by means of a special alphabet which concealed the meaning in hidden signs and symbols" (*Praefatio ad regulas S. Pachomii,* in Migne, PL 23, p. 68). This would confirm a letter from Pachomius to Syrus (ibid., p. 100): "Animadverti enim terminos esse epistolae vestrae Heta et Theta," where *terminos* could specify a key to decode the order of those things of which one can only catch a glimpse.

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CRYPTOPHONEME. The term "cryptophoneme" designates any phoneme that appears not directly, through a grapheme (letter) exclusively its own in the superficial form of the language (its orthography), but indirectly, through some grapheme not its own and normally assigned to another phoneme. The existence of the cryptophoneme, superficially concealed, can be recognized at a deeper level (on the question of levels, see Hintze, 1980, pp. 111, 122), where it shows itself in indirect fashion by its influence on neighboring superficial phonological structures, in various lexemes, and the like.

If the grapheme that renders the cryptophoneme is normally allotted to another phoneme, it is nonetheless most often chosen because of the similarity of pronunciation between phoneme and cryptophoneme. Kasser (1982) thinks he can detect in Coptic the existence of at least three cryptophonemes in tachysyllabication (i.e., quick SYLLABICATION): the glide /j/ of tachysyllabication, rendered orthographically by (ϵ)ι (normally /i/ in tachysyllabication and always /i/ in bradysyllabication, slow syllabication); the glide /w/ in tachysyllabication, rendered orthographically by (ο)υ (normally /u/ in tachysyllabication and always /u/ in bradysyllabication); the enigmatic occlusive /'/ (cf. Dieth, 1950, p. 101; Kasser, 1981a, pp. 26–32; and ALEPH), which of necessity follows a tonic vowel, a chiefly vocalic link rendered graphically by vocalic gemination (see GEMINATION, VOCALIC), probably always equivalent to tonic vowel plus atonic vowel in bradysyllabication (cf. the problem of "glides" and "glidants" in phonology, Kasser, 1981b, pp. 37–38; and that of aleph, rather than 'AYIN, in relation to vocalic gemination).

In the Coptic idioms, dialects, and subdialects without graphical vocalic gemination, such as *B* and its subdialects, and *G, F4, V4, W,* and *M,* there are only the cryptophonemes /j/ and /w/, but not /'/, since even the borrowed grapheme that renders it in other dialects has disappeared, although in *B* etc., *G, F4, V4, W,* and *M* traces have survived of the influence formerly exercised by this cryptophoneme upon the neighboring superficial phonological structures (e.g., *S* ϫⲗⲗϥⲧ /ka't/, to leave me, *B* ϫⲗϥⲧ and not *ϫⲗⲓ).

Confronted by something that he has reason to think conceals a cryptophoneme, the phoneticist and philologist may seek to "decode" it, and thus demonstrate its existence, not by simple examination of graphemes with exclusive allocation but by a complex examination of graphemes with allocations that comparative and analogical analysis will show to be

diverse. The possibility will always remain of contesting the existence of this or that cryptophoneme (cf. Edgerton, 1957, in regard to aleph and 'ayin, the survival of which ['ayin only] in Coptic the author also contests).

Because of various factors that often make it very difficult, or even impossible, to achieve perfect correspondence between the phonological system of a language and its alphabetic and orthographical systems, practically every language has its cryptophonemes (cf. Dieth, 1950, pp. 36–43). It is therefore not surprising to find them also in Coptic.

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RODOLPHE KASSER

DIALECT, IMMIGRANT. In Coptology, the term "immigrant dialect" means any idiom spoken outside its region of origin. The classic example is, of course, Sahidic, which in its farthest origin probably derives in some way from a regional dialect; afterward it spread upstream and downstream, and became gradually a supraregional language, the vehicular, or common, speech of the Nile Valley from Cairo to Aswan. It is reasonable to suggest that each Coptic idiom has, in principle, a territory of which it is, or originally was, the natural language (cf. GEOGRAPHY, DIALECTAL). The validity of this general statement is not affected by the fact that a dialect etc. known to scholars only in a more or less advanced stage of neutralization is evidence of a situation of compromise, which, in terms of logical and chronological evolution, is only secondary, not primary, a situation in which the more advanced the neutralization is, the more difficult it becomes to determine the geographical origin of its components.

The origin of *A*, *F*, *B*, and possibly *M* can be seen with some precision. That of *L*—or more precisely, that of each component of *L* (i.e., *L4*, *L5*, and *L6*) as a dialectal cluster, possibly evolved, collectively, if not degenerate, remains of the previous common speech of at least a large part of Upper Egypt—does not emerge so clearly (to the north and perhaps also to the south of *A*; cf. LYCO-DIOSPOLITAN). The origin of *S* is even more obscure, even if some arguments from its phonology (so far as it can be known from its orthography, which the majority of Coptologists think is possible) and especially from its morphosyntax suggest placing its origin in upper Middle Egypt, somewhere between the region of *M* and the area of which *L* was the current language. The reason is that the secondary components of *L* and their origin are still not known. This means that there is even greater ignorance of the precise character of its chief component, but there are good grounds for calling it, too, *L*, or pre-*L*, since it was from this above all that *L* emerged. The lack of knowledge of pre-*L* prevents location of its origin with any precision.

Even less is known about the secondary components of *S*, and hence about the precise character of its chief component, pre-*S*, so much so that some doubt whether it even existed and consider the search for it superfluous and illusory. From this point of view, *S* would not have any precise local origin; it would be a completely neutral and hybrid product, the result of a large number of compromises among the various Coptic dialects the whole length of the Nile, gathering up the results of earlier regional compromises. In this view, then, one would

have to see in *S* ultimately some kind of a vast compromise embracing the whole "dialectal" panorama of the country, and hence a "language" in the broadest sense, not, strictly speaking, a "dialect" (cf. Kasser, 1980, pp. 103–104, n. 17).

When a local or regional dialect or idiom is spoken in the territory of its origin, it is the "autochthonous dialect" of that area. One may also use this term, by extension, for a somewhat neutralized dialect that has become regional (i.e., a large regional idiom originating in a compromise between the minor autochthonous dialect of one place and minor neighboring autochthonous dialects), so long as its use remains confined to the region in which it has established itself through these compromises.

Some Coptic idioms, each supported by an original milieu (geographical and, above all, social) more dynamic than that of its neighbors, progressively invaded neighboring territory, extending their own geographical area. This is true for *S* and, to a lesser but still considerable degree, possibly also for *L*, and was perhaps a tendency in *V* (rather than *M*). One calls these "immigrant dialects" when they are encountered outside the areas in which they are the autochthonous idioms.

The dialectal invasion, the most important cause of the formation of an IDIOLECT, can be seen most conveniently in what appears to have been the progress of *S*. It very soon, and probably a long time before the strictly Coptic epoch, became the common language of the whole Egyptian Nile Valley above the Delta. Beside it, of course, in all the important economic and political centers there was the Greek of Egypt, but this was a foreign language reserved for the Greek minority and a small elite of bilingual Egyptians. The consequences of this invasion of Sahidic, in the more or less long term, were disastrous for the other idioms, especially the autochthonous dialects of the areas involved; at least on the literary level, *S* progressively supplanted them and choked them off.

The Sahidic invasion could take effect in two main ways: (a) by a slow continuous progression, through direct contact along the roads by land, which produced a fairly homogeneous conquest and left behind various "pockets of resistance" in corners in the country, sometimes concentrated around small towns or (later) monasteries that were particularly conservative; or (b) by a more rapid discontinuous progression, along the line of the river from large port to large port, which led in the first place to the establishment of islands of the new idiom in certain social milieus of the most important towns, while the country areas and small towns (or small ports) in between remained practically unaffected in the short and middle term, and continued for a long time faithful to their autochthonous local dialect.

According to the social class or the level of culture of those who wished to speak it (the "social" aspect of the Coptic dialects; cf. GEOGRAPHY, DIALECTAL) and according to the time elapsed since its immigration, the immigrant dialect was itself inevitably, and in varying degrees, subject to the influence of the autochthonous dialect (cf. Vergote, 1973a, 2–3, 5). This hybridization may have been practically nonexistent in those milieus which had themselves immigrated from the region where *S* originated or among recent immigrants for whom *S* was their mother tongue. But from the second or third generation onward, even in cultivated circles, and with all the more reason in milieus of a low cultural level, it would be encouraged by continual contacts between autochthonous speakers and immigrants, or descendants of immigrants, and would sometimes have reached the level of orthography (especially in vowels), where it produced perceptible modifications.

In milieus of a low cultural level, this contamination was shown by the production, in quite anarchic fashion, of very diverse idiolectal forms. In cultivated milieus in which the immigrant dialect was spoken, resistance to contamination from the autochthonous dialect may have been effective for a short time after the immigration. Succeeding generations would eventually undergo contamination to some extent, despite their will to adhere to their own autochthonous dialectal system. They would gradually come to terms not with the idiolectal anarchy of the milieus of low culture but with a kind of systematic compromise that would emerge as, in some respects, a new dialectal system slightly different from the original system that had penetrated earlier into this area of immigration. This would be a system of hybrid origin, in which the immigrant phonemic component to a large extent predominates, but the autochthonous component, though very much in the minority, also has its part.

Such may have been the case with DIALECT P, in which some have seen a variety of proto-Sahidic (reconstructed, **pS*) immigrating into the Thebaid even before the Coptic period. Here, alongside a kind of **pS* vocabulary that would be the major element, there would be found also, among remains of some lost local dialect, several **pS* lexemes (i.e., proto-Sahidic with some phonemic characteristics that are Lycopolitan or, in a large number of cases, Akhmimic), but not **pS*^{l} (i.e., proto-Sahidic with Lycopolitan or other characteristics that are

idiolectal or nonsystematic and thoroughly irregular; cf. Kasser, 1982).

Analysis of the numerous Sahidic texts found in Upper Egypt would probably allow one to discover, alongside those which are purely idiolectal and present S^{l} or S^{a} forms, others that systematically show their adoption of some Lycopolitan or Akhmimic phonemic characteristic, and hence present *Sl* or *Sa* forms.

Equally the product of cultivated Sahidic milieus in a region of which *L* is the autochthonous regional (or even local) dialect are some texts in immigrant *S* whose phonological system is entirely *S* (so far as one can judge from the orthography) but whose syntax and lexical stock are *L* rather than *S*. Mutatis mutandis, it could be *A* rather than *S*, if one is interested in the phenomena produced by immigration of *S* into an area of which the autochthonous dialect was akin to *A* (and no doubt very similar) and in which *L*, as an immigrant dialect, may have been the common speech even before the Sahidic invasion (as in the region of Nag Hammadi) and before the region was completely swamped by the immigration of *S*. Should one class these texts as evidence of *A* or, on occasion, of *L*, rather than of *S*? That would not be very reasonable, for if in theory syntactic and lexical criteria are at least as important as (or even more important than) phonological criteria in the analysis of a text, the fact remains that the last are the only ones which can in practice be applied in almost all circumstances, even if one is dealing with a trifling scrap of text in which the syntactic structures are not readily apparent and one can identify only a few isolated and not very specific words, and hence cannot find that rare word, or observe the characteristic syntactic construction, that belongs to *A* or *L* and not to *S*. It is, thus, to the phonological criteria that priority would ultimately be given, not in terms of any theoretical superiority but simply as a matter of convention, because these criteria are the most practical and, so to speak, universally applicable.

Therefore, these cases require the use of a siglum more complex than the earlier ones, to indicate a veneer of *S* phonology on either a lexical or a syntactical system that is non-*S*. This kind of siglum will designate either the non-*S* lexemes adopted into immigrant *S* (with a phonological orthography perfectly consistent with *S*) or Sahidic texts originating in another dialect, subsequently adopted into immigrant *S*, and clothed in an orthography perfectly consistent with *S*, but as a veneer on a non-*S* syntax. Cases of the latter sort may occur either because of mental habits due to the non-Sahidic mother tongue of the redactor (or the translator of the first Coptic version of a Greek original) or because these writings were first composed in another dialect and then translated into Sahidic. These complex sigla will be S^{s}/l, S^{s}/a, S^{s}/m, S^{s}/f, and so on, for Sahidic, showing its condition as an immigrant dialect in regions where *L*, *A*, *M*, *F*, or another dialect is the autochthonous dialect: they could also be L^{l}/a and so on if it was a case of Lycopolitan or Lyco-Diospolitan immigrating into the territory of autochthonous *A*, and so on.

Sahidic is the most neutral of the Coptic idioms and became the common speech of the entire Egyptian Nile Valley above the Delta. As noted above in the description of the origins of the phenomena indicated by the sigla *Sl* or S^{s}/l, there are all kinds of *S*, of which only one is an autochthonous *S* while the others are immigrant. Of the productions in immigrant *S*, some are as completely *S* as the autochthonous; these will be described as "atypical" immigrant *S*. Others will clearly betray their status as immigrant *S;* they will be called "typical" immigrant *S*. In a lexicon, the siglum *S* should be assigned only to lexemes attested by autochthonous *S* (and the witnesses of atypical immigrant *S*); the others (witnesses of typical immigrant *S*) should be given sigla such as *Sl* or S^{s}/l (cf. Kasser, 1980, pp. 108–109).

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DIALECT, SPORADIC. A "sporadic dialect" is any dialect attested by one or more texts that, while certainly idiolectal, are of a "transparent" IDIOLECT, allowing one to see clearly the greater part of the essential dialectal characteristics of the idiom; however, throughout the document(s), these characteristics are rivaled by those of another dialect that is continually more strongly attested. A sporadic dialect may be known only from almost pure witnesses that are not idiolectal, but are (like Husselman, 1947, and Quecke, 1974, for *B4*, a subdialect of *B*; cf. DIALECTS) probably (and unfortunately) too brief to provide a truly exhaustive description of most of its principal phonological and other characteristics.

Such was the case with *M* when Kahle (1954, pp. 220–27) described it before the discovery of the four great manuscripts known today: the Psalms (in rather good condition, but unpublished), the Gospel of Matthew (in perfect condition and carefully edited by Schenke, 1981), the first half of Acts (in perfect condition, but unpublished), and the Pauline epistles (with many lacunae, and rapidly published by Orlandi, 1974).

Such was also the case with *B74* (a southern [?] and slightly archaic [?] subdialect of *B*; cf. DIALECTS), which forms one of the components of the idiolect of P. Bodmer III (first hand), before the discovery of Pap. Vat. Copto 9, a papyrus codex of the Minor Prophets now in the Vatican Library but still unpublished (cf. Kasser 1958, and 1966, p. 66–76).

So it is, and even more evidently, with DIALECT İ, a PROTODIALECT of *L*, for in *İ*, where ⲫ may appear for /ç/ (60 percent of the cases), it is strongly rivaled by ⲫ (40 percent; cf. Kasser, 1979; 1980b, pp. 83–84; 1981, pp. 112–13).

A partially sporadic dialect (or PROTODIALECT, METADIALECT, or subdialect) will, like *P*, for example, have some of its essential phonemic characteristics fully attested by orthography (thus ϩ = /ç/, ϧ = /x/), while others will be attested only in sporadic fashion (thus ⊥ = /'/ in a primitive state of evolution only [graphic vocalic duplication in a secondary state, as in *S*, but also frequently omitted], and so on; cf. Kasser, 1980a).

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RODOLPHE KASSER

DIALECT G (OR BASHMURIC OR MANSURIC). To judge by a rather curious orthographical-phonological system more or less adequately attested by a group of small, late nonliterary Coptic texts of the eighth century, of which the principal ones have been published by Krall (1887 [extracts]; 1892) and, most completely, by Crum (1939), there must have existed, probably in Lower Egypt, an idiom of Coptic conventionally called dialect *G*, occasionally called Bashmuric (Kasser, 1975, esp. pp. 406–407) or even Mansuric (Schüssler, 1969, p. 154). According to orthographical criteria, *G* should be included in the BOHAIRIC dialectal group (Kasser, 1981, pp. 102–103, 121–122), itself a subdivision of the northern (dialects and vehicular language)–southern (vehicular language) Coptic dialect major group (see DIALECTS, GROUPING AND MAJOR GROUPS OF; and Kasser, 1982, p. 51). Although it is difficult to locate this dialect geographically with any precision, several features would support assignment of it to the eastern Delta.

The most striking characteristic of the *G* texts is of an alphabetic nature (see ALPHABETS, COPTIC): the letters used in them are all of Greek origin. Thus, the alphabet of *G* does not include ϣ, ϥ, ϧ, ϩ, ϫ, ϭ, and ϯ (which does not mean the absence in *G* of all the phonemes normally used in other dialects by these graphemes of demotic origin, as will be seen). This alphabetic idiosyncrasy is glaringly evident, to the point of overshadowing other, nonalphabetic characteristics and with the consequence that the current view of the language of these texts is that it is, for all practical purposes, more or less pure Bohairic, even if a Bohairic disguised by a graphemic system different from that of Bohairic proper. This view has delayed the definition of *G*, although its main texts had been edited for over a century.

To compile the phonological inventory of *G*, it would be simplest to compare it with that of Bohairic, *B*, the idiom to which it is closest. If one studies mainly the manuscript K 1785 of the Austrian National Library in Vienna, one may have the impression that *G* lacks several phonemes occurring in the *B* system.

First, consider the phoneme series expressed in Coptic by letters of Greek origin, which may therefore be taken to match phonemes existing in Greek itself. After an unstressed vowel and before a stressed one, *G* replaces Bohairic ⲃ by ⲡ: thus, ⲉⲡⲟⲗ, out(ward), but ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ, every. Unfortunately, no lexeme beginning with ⲃ in *B* is attested in the *G* documents; elsewhere, however, *G* has ⲃ, which seems to have a /v/ rather than a /b/ value (see below). Before the stress-carrying vowel and in word-initial position, *G* appears to replace Bohairic ⲇ /d/ by ⲧ /t/ fairly regularly (e.g., ⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲙⲏ, *διανομή*, sharing). *B* aspirates ⲕ /k/, ⲡ /p/, and ⲧ /t/ into ⲭ /kh/, ⲫ /ph/, and ⲑ /th/, respectively, in certain well-defined conditions (Stern, 1880, pp. 16–26; Mallon, 1907, pp. 17–18; Worrell, 1934, pp. 18–23; Till, 1961, p. 7), but *G* does not (see below, on the phonemes /f/, /x/, /č/, and also /čh/ of *B*). This can be stated in spite of the occurrence in *G* of ϫⲱ etc., not ⲕⲱ etc., for "put", since this exceptional instance of what might, at first sight, be taken for the aspiration /kh/ of /k/ remains entirely isolated in *G*; and this ϫ of *G* can be explained differently, on diachronic grounds: one may assume that the value of this ϫ is not /kh/ as in *B* but /x/ as invariably elsewhere in *G*, for *S* etc. ⲕⲱ and *B* ϫⲱ stem from Egyptian *ḫ3ˁ*, although for this lexeme alone, old *ḫ* has exceptionally evolved into /k/ or /kh/, whereas normally *ḫ* became /x/ > Coptic /h/, *ḫ* in a few cases similarly /x/, in most part /ç/ > /š/. On the other hand, Bohairic ⲧ /t/ corresponds to ⲇ /d/ in *G* when preceded by a stress-carrying vowel and followed by an unstressed one (e.g., ⲛⲟⲩϯ, God; ϭⲟϯⲙ, hear; ⲧⲉⲕⲛⲓⲧⲉⲥ, *τεχνίτης*, artisan). Since ⲫ in *G* not only renders the Greek *φ* in Greco-Coptic words but also corresponds to Bohairic ϥ /f/ in the autochthonous Coptic vocabulary (e.g., ⲉⲧⲃⲟⲫ, [up]on him), one may assume that ⲫ in *G* was /f/ throughout and did not maintain the /ph/ value in the Greco-Coptic vocabulary. Similarly, since ϫ in *G* not only renders Greek *χ* in Greco-Coptic but corresponds also to Bohairic ϧ /x/ in the autochthonous vocabulary (e.g., ϫⲉⲛ-, in), it is a safe assumption that ϫ in *G* had the value /x/ throughout and did not maintain the value /kh/ in Greco-Coptic—and that even in the apparently exceptional case of *G* ϫⲱ, put (see above).

Turning now to the series of Coptic phonemes rendered by graphemes of demotic origin, one observes the following: Bohairic ϣ /š/ corresponds to ϲⲍ /š/ in *G* (e.g., ϲⲍⲁ-, until), Bohairic ϥ /f/ to ⲫ /f/ in *G* (see above), and Bohairic ϧ /x/ to ϫ /x/ in *G* (see above); ϩ /h/ in *B* does not correspond to any *G* graphemes, which may give reason to assume that this phoneme has completely disappeared (leaving, however, some traces in neighboring vocalism; see below). Bohairic ϭ /č/ corresponds to ⲧⲍ in *G* (e.g., ⲧⲍⲟⲙ, power); Bohairic ϭ /čh/ also corresponds to ⲧⲍ in *G* (e.g., ⲧⲍⲓ-, take), from which one could conclude that *G* (probably) does not have the aspiration so typical of Bohairic (see above). Finally, *G* does not use the grapheme ϯ /ti/, expressing this

combination of phonemes simply by ⲧⲓ (as is the case in all OLD COPTIC alphabets and in the Coptic DIALECT H as well as in the Fayyumic subdialects *F8* and *F9*). The foregoing gives some basic ideas of *G* consonantism; one should add that *G* replaces word-initial Bohairic ⲟⲩ /w/ by ⲃ /v/ (e.g., ⲃⲟⲩⲧⲍ, wish).

As for the vocalism (to give here but the most essential), *G* seems to treat what is in *B* rendered by ⲟ /o/ and ⲱ /ō/ as a single phoneme, expressed by ⲟ /o/ (e.g., ⲥⲟⲗⲉⲙ, hear) except in the following special cases: In closed syllable, after disappeared ⲩ /h/, this vowel is ⲱ /ō/ in *G* (e.g., ⲱⲃ, thing); after ⲃ /v/ (replacing ⲟⲩ /w/ in *B*), this vowel is ⲟⲩ /u/ (see ⲃⲟⲩⲥⲍ, wish, above); and before ⲟⲩ /w/, this vowel is ⲱ /ō/ (e.g., ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲉⲓ, tomorrow). In open syllable, after disappeared ⲩ /h/, this vowel is ⲱ /ō/ (e.g., ⲱ, face, person); and after ⲥⲍ /š/, this vowel is ⲟⲩ /u/ (e.g., ⲥⲍⲟⲩⲧⲛ, become, but ⲥⲍⲟⲣⲛ, first).

The *G* texts are too short and too unhomogenous to make possible a detailed and exhaustive observation on the morphosyntactic level. However, one may observe a negative imperative (or vetative) ⲙⲉⲛ-, most often followed by the negator particle ⲁⲛ, in a combination that is quite unusual elsewhere in Coptic (combining with the vetative ⲙⲛ̄-, normal in *A* and *P*, this negator particle that is not compatible with it, with some exceptions, very rare in *S*, less rare but not frequent in *B*, some indicated in Crum, 1939a, p. 10b, under ⲁⲛ, sec. d; others, particularly for *B*, indicated in Shisha-Halevy, 1981, pp. 324, 333 n. 51). Thus ⲙⲉⲛⲭⲁϥ ⲉⲡⲟⲗ ⲁⲛ, Release him not; ⲙⲉⲛⲥⲍⲧⲟⲣⲓ ⲉⲧⲍⲟⲉⲓ ⲛⲉⲛ (?) ⲑⲉⲛⲛⲓⲥⲟⲩ, Take not surety of me for (?) Tinnis; ⲙⲉⲛⲥⲟⲗⲉⲙ ⲉⲛⲥⲟϥ ⲁⲛ, Hearken not unto him; ⲙⲉⲛⲭⲁⲛⲧⲉϥⲥⲁⲙⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲁⲧⲥⲍⲧⲟⲣⲓ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲱ, Suffer not that he quit (?) thee without undertaking for himself; ⲙⲉⲛⲡⲁⲉⲓⲥⲛⲁⲟⲩ ⲧⲉⲕⲛⲓⲁⲉⲥ ⲧⲁⲉⲓⲃⲟⲣⲡⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲙⲉⲛⲭⲁ ⲡⲉⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⲧⲉϥⲧⲁⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ, No, these two craftsmen that I have sent thee, suffer not evil to befall them.

Little is known of the *G* verbal prefixes, an ignorance due to the scarcity of texts in this dialect, all nonliterary, as well as too rare and too short. Given below will be the third-person singular masculine form and then the corresponding prenominal form (nom. = before nominal subject), if attested, the former in brackets, reconstructed where possible according to an associated form:

Bipartite pattern. Present I [ϥ-], nom. zero (neg. [ϥ-] . . . ⲁⲛ, nom. zero . . . ⲁⲛ); circumstantial of present I [ⲉϥ-]; present II [ⲉϥ-].

Tripartite pattern. Perfect I ⲁϥ-, neg. [ⲙⲉϥ-?]; relative perfect I ⲉⲧⲁϥ-; perfect II [ⲧⲁϥ-?]. Futurum energicum (or third future) ⲉϥⲉ-. Imperative ⲁ- (in ⲁⲛⲁⲟⲩ, see), neg. (vetative) ⲙⲉⲛ- . . . (ⲁⲛ), see above. Causative imperative, nom. ⲙⲁⲣⲉ- (?). Conjunctive, 1st singular ⲧⲁ-, 2nd masc. ⲛⲕ- (or ⲧⲉⲕ-), 3rd masc. [ⲛϥ-] (or ⲧⲉϥ-), and so on (a morphological duality not unknown in *B;* see Shisha-Halevy, 1981, p. 324), nom. ⲧⲉ- (?) (or ⲉⲛⲧⲉ-); combined with ⲥⲍⲁ-, until (limitative) ⲥⲍⲁⲛⲧⲉϥ-, nom. ⲥⲍⲁ⟨ⲛ⟩ⲧⲉ-; combined with ⲭⲁ-, let, allow, suffer, ⲭⲁⲛⲧⲉϥ- (see above); combined with ⲉⲥⲍⲟⲩ-, if, a kind of conditional, ⲉⲥⲍⲟⲩⲧⲉϥ-. Conditional [ⲁϥⲥⲍⲁⲛ-].

It is hoped that one day the caprice of discovery may yield a literary *G* text, one more extensive than the small documents on which observations of the orthographical-phonological account of this dialect have perforce been based. Finally, as an illustration, the initial greeting in the text of Vienna K 1785 is presented here: ϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲉⲛⲏⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲉⲛⲥⲍⲟⲣⲡ ⲛⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲧⲓⲥϫⲁⲓ ⲧⲓⲉⲣ ⲁⲥⲡⲁⲍⲉⲥⲟⲉ ⲉⲛⲏⲁⲙⲁⲓⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲉⲛⲥⲟ[ⲛ] ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓⲏⲟⲩⲧ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲥⲙⲟⲛⲧ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉⲕⲏⲓ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲉⲓⲥⲍⲧⲍⲉⲛ ⲕⲟⲩⲧⲍⲓ ⲥⲍⲁ ⲛⲓⲥⲍⲧ(ⲓ) (In God's name. Before all things I write and I greet my God-loving brother, in all ways honored, and all thy house, from small to great).

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DIALECT H (OR HERMOPOLITAN OR ASHMUNINIC). Among the manuscripts of the famous Pierpont Morgan collection in New York is a papyrus, M 636, of the ninth (or eighth–ninth) century, which contains mainly what are called *hermeneiai* (Quecke, 1970, pp. 97–100). A *hermeneia* is a liturgical text consisting of a mosaic of biblical quotations, chiefly from the Psalms, selected in relation to one word thought to be central and of prime importance, and so grouped. Drescher (1958–1960, p. 63) wrote:

> The Encyclopaedias in their articles 'Concordance' all have it that the first Biblical Concordance was made in the 13th century. . . . [F]or the Psalms the Copt had rudimentary Concordances before this. Coptic liturgical manuscripts from Upper Egypt show that the principle of verbal concordance was much followed in the liturgical use of the Psalms. The Pierpont Morgan manuscript M. 574 (895 A.D.) is entitled 'The Book of the Holy Hermeniae.' These Hermeniae are for the most part mere collections of versicles from the Psalms. Each Hermenia is based on a key-word—'king,' 'rise,' 'light,' 'house,' 'eye,' 'just,' etc.—and all the versicles in the Hermenia must contain this key-word. Common words have two or three Hermeniae. The word ⲥⲙⲟⲩ (bless, praise) has three, the first with 22 versicles, as well as Incipit and Explicit, the second with 46, the third with 13—in all, some 86 versicles, each containing the word ⲥⲙⲟⲩ. After the Hermeniae of this kind there follow in the manuscript what are called, 'The Little Hermeniae of the Church' but these seem rather to be for the most part short, continuous passages from the Psalms and they need not detain us.

Quecke (1978, p. 215) said:

> Although unfortunately we know very little about the Coptic "Hermeneiae," this designation still seems to be best suited as a brief and relatively clear indication of the kind of texts in question . . . The Copts collected quotations from the Psalter for particular purposes in the liturgy, with the same key-word occurring in each instance. And in any event there are instances where the description "Hermeneia" is connected with these quotations from the Psalter. So far we hardly have any reliable knowledge about the occasions when these Psalm quotations were used in the liturgy and about how they were used.

Papyrus M 636 is written in three different hands, one of which, hand α, is distributed in several sections and uses (regularly or almost so) a completely original spelling system. If it is accepted that this orthographical system is an adequate witness to the existence of a corresponding phonological system, one is led to think of the language of these sections of M 636 as a special Coptic dialect or subdialect, probably a METADIALECT, since it clearly gives the impression of being a much-evolved and, indeed, bastard and degenerate form of the Coptic language. These symptoms of degeneration, combined with a certain negligence in the use of the orthographic system, have encouraged Coptic experts previously concerned with this text to regard its language as a FAYYUMIC of a very special and highly peripheral type, or again, as an odd mixture, intermediate between *F* and *S:* thus, in Crum (1939), of the thirty-four words of M 636, hand α, that are quoted, twenty-three are classified under *F*, six under S^f, and five under *S*. The language to which M 636, hand α, testifies is today conveniently called dialect *H;* it is also termed Hermopolitan or Ashmuninic, since the ancient Hermopolis is the al-Ashmūnayn of modern Egypt, and according to Kahle (1954), in idiolectal *S* documents, most of the orthographic characteristics similar to those in *H* are mainly found in the region of Hermopolis. Apart from the Morgan manuscript, some other texts (quite as late) show a language close to that of *H*, although never as coherently and as regularly. Thus, phonological and other descriptions of *H* will be based, above all, on an examination of the orthography of M 636, hand α (cf. Kasser, 1966; 1975–1976; 1981, pp. 104–112).

In listing the phonology of *H*, it will be appropriate to compare it as far as possible with that of dialect *V* (or South Fayyumic), a type of Fayyumic without lambdacism (particularly as its *V5* variety has, like *H* generally, the graphic vowel gemination that testifies to the presence of /'/ ALEPH as a CRYPTOPHONEME). Recourse will be had to *F*, *S*, or, where necessary, other Coptic idioms when such a word is not attested in *V* or when this additional reference seems to be of some use.

The order followed will be that of the series of phonemes of the alphabet most generally used in Coptic, that of *S* etc., which is also that of *F5*, *V5*, and almost all *L*, and which (except for aleph, which is graphically rendered by vowel gemination) is

identical to the alphabet of *M* etc., which is also that of *W*, *V4*, and *F4* (cf. ALPHABETS, COPTIC). Any Coptic alphabet, as is well known, conventionally begins with those phonemes that are rendered by Coptic letters of Greek origin; it continues with phonemes rendered by Coptic graphemes of demotic origin. Aleph or the cryptophoneme /'/, which was rendered by graphic vowel gemination, will be tackled at the very end.

ⲁ /a/: *H* greatly favors this phoneme (where it has the maximum presence among the Coptic dialects and subdialects, 35 percent; Kasser, 1966, p. 115); see below regarding tonic ⲉ /e/ and atonic ⲉ /ə/ in *V* etc.

ⲃ /b̄/: *H* does not seem to have this phoneme (which is usual in *V* and in the great majority of the Coptic dialects and subdialects); the ⲃ of *H* is equivalent to /v/ rather than /b̄/, since it also systematically replaces ⲫ /f/ of *V* etc.; see below regarding ⲫ /f/.

ⲅ /g/ (appears only in the Copto-Greek vocabulary): *H* does not have this ⲅ /g/ of *V* etc., and it replaces it by ⲕ /k/, for instance, *H* ⲕⲁⲣ, *V* ⲅⲁⲣ, for.

ⲇ /d/ (appears only in the Copto-Greek vocabulary): *H* does not have this ⲇ /d/ of *V* etc., and it replaces it by ⲧ /t/, for example, *H* ⲧⲓⲕⲏⲟⲥ *V* ⲇⲓⲕⲉⲟⲥ, righteous; *H* ⲧⲓⲕⲏⲟⲥⲏⲛⲓ (in one instance only), *V* ⲇⲓⲕⲉⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ, justice.

Tonic ⲉ /e/ (except the ⲉ of the combination of graphemes ⲉⲓ for /i/ or /j/; see below under ⲓ): *H* always has ⲏ /ē/ where, according to the rules of *V* adapted to the system of *H*, one ought to find tonic ⲉ /e/ (in fact, only in the Copto-Greek vocabulary; see Till, 1948–1949, pp. 18–20), for example, ⲕⲏⲛⲟⲥ, *F* ⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ, relationship, race, kind. As regards (tonic) vowel ⲉ /e/ in *V* etc., it will be seen again that on this point *H* does not have exactly the same vocalization as *V*, *F* etc.; in *H*, there is ⲁ /a/ also when it is so in *V* etc. while ⲟ /o/ in *S* (for example, *H*, *V*, *F* ⲥⲁⲓ, *S* etc. ⲥⲟⲓ, occasion; *H*, *V*, *F* ⲧⲁⲕⲁ, *S* ⲧⲁⲕⲟ, to destroy), when it is ⲁ /a/ in *S* etc. in opposition to ⲉ /e/ (or ⲏ /e/ before ⲓ /j/) in *V* etc. (especially for various reasons in relation to its position; Vergote, 1973–1983, Vol. 1a, pp. 24–25; Kasser, 1982, pp. 61–62), for example, *H* ⲁⲛ, *V* ⲉⲛ, the negative particle; *H* ⲙⲁ, *V* ⲙⲉ, place; *H* ⲉⲙⲕⲁ$_2$, *V* ⲙⲕⲉ$_2$, suffering; *H* ⲙⲁⲉⲓⲛ, *W* ⲙⲏⲓⲛ, sign; *H* ⲙⲁⲟⲩ, *V* ⲙⲉⲩ, (place) there; *H* ⲛⲁ, *F5* ⲛⲉⲉⲓ, pity; *H* -ⲛⲁ-, *V* -ⲛⲉ-, the future auxiliary; *H* ⲛⲏⲙⲁ⁄⁄, *V* ⲛⲉⲙⲉ⁄⁄, with; *H* ⲟⲩⲁⲃ†, *V* ⲟⲩⲉⲃ†, holy; *H* ⲫⲁⲟⲩ, *V* ⲫⲉⲩ, use; *H* ⲫⲁϫⲓ, *W*, *V* ⲥⲉϫⲓ, *F (V)* ⲫⲉϫⲓ, to talk; *H* ϩⲁⲓⲃⲏⲥ, *F* ϩⲏⲃⲉⲥ, shade; *H* ϩⲙ$_2$ⲁⲗ, *F* ϩ(ⲉ)ⲙ$_2$ⲉⲗ, slave; *H* ϩⲣⲁⲓ, *V* ϩⲣⲏⲓ, upper part or lower part.

Atonic ⲉ /ə/: When *V* etc. has atonic /ə/, *H* also has ⲏ /ē/ as a general rule but continues to retain ⲉ /ə/ in the following restricted area: in the initial syllable consisting of /ə/ followed by a consonant or consisting of /w/ followed by /ə/, followed by a consonant. In the first of these instances, if the "close liaison" phenomenon is produced (Polotsky, 1949, pp. 29–30), particularly by the attachment of the definite article (not of the possessive article!) before the word, what would otherwise be initial ⲉ is so no longer and returns to the ordinary category, being vocalized ⲏ as elsewhere; thus ⲉⲙⲧⲁ in ⲡⲏⲕⲉⲙⲧⲁ ⲃⲁⲗ, in thy presence, but ⲏⲙⲧⲁ in ⲡⲏⲙⲧⲁ ⲃⲁⲗ ⲡϫⲁⲉⲓⲥ, in presence of the Lord. It will also be noticed that *H*, even more than *F5*, finds it difficult to sustain the weight of two consecutive consonants within the one syllable and so separates them by inserting between them an atonic ⲏ (sometimes corresponding to atonic ⲉ in *F5*, not in *V*), except before ϩ, where in *H* the inserted vowel is then ⲁ; it thus divides the "heavy" syllable into two "lighter" syllables. Examples, which are particularly numerous, include *H* ⲁⲛⲕⲏⲗⲱⲥ, *V* ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ, angel; *H* ⲏⲃⲓⲏⲛ, *F* ⲉⲃⲓⲏⲛ, poor; *H* ⲏⲣⲏⲧ, *V* ⲉⲣⲏⲧ, promise; *H* ⲏⲥⲏⲧ, *V* ⲉⲥⲏⲧ, earth; *H* ⲏⲥⲁⲟⲩ, *W* ⲉⲥⲁⲩ, sheep; *H* ⲕⲏ-, *V* ⲕⲉ-, other, also; *H* ⲕⲏⲛⲧⲏ, *F* ⲕⲉⲛⲧⲏ, fig; *H* ⲙⲏⲛ-, *V* ⲙⲛ-, *F* ⲙⲙⲛ-, ⲙ(ⲉ)ⲛ, there is no; *H* ⲙⲏⲛ-, *V*, *F* ⲙⲛ-, more seldom *F* ⲙⲉⲛ-, with; *H* ⲙⲏⲧⲣⲏ, *V* ⲙⲉⲧⲣⲏ, witness; *H* ⲛⲟⲩϩⲙ, *V* ⲛⲟⲩϩⲙ, *F5* ⲛⲟⲩϩⲉⲙ, to save; *H* poss. articles (masc. sing. etc.) sing. 2.m. ⲡⲏⲕ-, 3.m. ⲡⲏϥ-, 3.f. ⲡⲏⲥ-, plur. 1. ⲡⲏⲛ-, 3. ⲡⲏⲩ-, etc., and *V* etc., respectively, ⲡⲉⲕ-, ⲡⲉϥ-, ⲡⲉⲥ-, ⲡⲉⲛ-, ⲡⲉⲩ-, etc.; *H* ⲡⲏϫⲏ-, *V* ⲡⲉϫⲉ-, to say; *H* ⲣⲏⲕⲣⲓⲕⲓ, *F* ⲣⲉⲕⲣⲓⲕⲓ, sleep; *H* ⲣⲏⲙ-, *V* ⲣⲙ-, *F* ⲗⲉⲙ-, man of; *H* ⲣⲏϥ-, *V* ⲣⲉϥ-, maker of; *H* ⲥⲁⲣϩ, *V* ⲥⲁⲣϩ, flesh; *H* ⲥⲱⲧⲏⲙ, *F* ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ, hear; *H* ⲧⲓⲕⲏⲱⲥ, *V* ⲇⲓⲕⲉⲟⲥ, righteous; *H* ⲧⲏⲗⲏ, *F* ⲧⲉⲗⲏ, joy; *H* ⲧⲏⲛⲧⲱⲛ†, *F* ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲱⲛ†, similar; *H* (except in the third personal pronoun) ⲧⲏⲣⲏ⁄⁄, *V* ⲧⲏⲣ⁄⁄, all; *H* ⲧⲁⲫⲏ ⲁⲉⲓⲱ, *F* ⲧⲁⲫⲉ ⲁⲉⲓⲱ, to preach; *H* ⲑⲏⲃⲃⲓⲗ, *V* ⲑⲉⲃⲓⲗ, to humiliate; *H* ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ, *V* ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ, revelation; *H* ⲟⲩⲏⲣⲏⲧⲓ, *F* ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲓⲧϯ, foot; *H* ⲱⲃⲏⲫ, *V* ⲱⲃⲫ, *F5* ⲱⲃⲉⲫ, forgetting; *H* ⲱⲛⲁϩ, *V* ⲱⲛϩ, life; *H* ⲫⲏⲗⲏⲧ, *F5* ⲫⲉⲗⲏⲓⲧ, betrothed; *H* ⲫⲁⲙⲏⲧ, *F* ⲫⲁⲙⲧ, three; *H* ⲫⲁⲣⲏⲓ, *V* ⲫⲁⲣⲡ, *F5* ⲫⲁⲣ(ⲉ)ⲡ, first; *H* ϩⲏⲃⲏⲥ, *F* ϩⲏⲃⲥ, lamp; *H* ϩⲏⲛ-, *V* ϩⲛ-, *F* ϩ(ⲉ)ⲛ-, in; *H* ϩⲁⲣⲏϩ, *V* ⲁⲣⲉϩ, *S* ϩⲁⲣⲉϩ, to guard; *H* ϩⲓϫⲏⲛ-, *V* ϩⲓϫⲛ-, *F* ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ-, on; *H* ϫⲏ, *V* ϫⲉ, that; *H* ϫⲏⲕⲁⲁⲥ, *V4* ϫⲉⲕⲉⲥ, *F5* ϫⲉⲕⲉⲉⲥ, in order that; *H* ⲉⲏⲃⲁⲓ̈, *F* ⲉⲃⲁⲓ̈, arm; *H* ⲉⲱⲣⲏⲉ, *F* ⲉⲱⲣⲉ, to hunt. On the other hand, ⲉ is in the relative particle (not preceded by the article as an antecedent) *H* ⲉⲧ- (but ⲡⲏⲧ-), *V* ⲉⲧ- (ⲡⲉⲧ-); *H* ⲉⲧⲃⲏ-, *V* ⲉⲧⲃⲉ-, because of; *H* ⲉⲫϫⲏ, *V* ⲉⲫϫⲉ, if; *H* ⲉⲙⲧⲁ (but ⲡⲏⲙⲧⲁ), *V* ⲙⲧⲁ, *F* (ⲉ)ⲙⲧⲁ face, presence; *H* ⲉⲛⲕⲁⲧⲕ, *V* ⲛⲕⲁⲧ, to sleep; *H* ⲟⲩⲉⲛ-, *V* ⲟⲩⲛ-, *F* ⲟⲩⲁⲛ, there is. On the almost total disappearance in *H* of the preposition "toward, for" etc., which is ⲉ- in *V* (pronominal forms *H*

sing. 1. ⲣⲁⲓ, 2.m. ⲣⲁⲕ, 3.m. ⲣⲁⲃ, etc.; cf. *V* etc. ⲉⲣⲁⲓ, ⲉⲣⲁⲕ, ⲉⲣⲁϥ, etc., and *F* ⲉⲗⲁⲓ, ⲉⲗⲁⲕ, ⲉⲗⲁϥ, etc.), see below.

ⲍ /z/ (appears only in the Copto-Greek vocabulary): *H* does not have this ⲍ /z/ of *V* etc. and replaces it by ⲥ /s/, for example, *H* ϫⲓⲑⲁⲣⲓⲥⲏ (one instance only), *S* ⲕⲓⲑⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ, to make music (with the kithara, etc.).

ⲏ /ē/: As has been seen above regarding tonic ⲉ /e/ or atonic ⲉ /ə/, *H* greatly favors ⲏ /ē/ (tonic or atonic). Here it has the maximum presence among the Coptic dialects and subdialects, 34 percent (Kasser, 1966, p. 115). *H* even tends to substitute ⲏ for ⲓ as a final atonic vowel; see below regarding ⲓ (or ⲉⲓ) for /i/ vowel or /j/ consonant.

ⲓ (or ⲉⲓ) for /i/ vowel or /j/ consonant (except as regards the alternative ⲓ or ⲉⲓ, a problem too complex to go into here): *H* behaves very like *V* etc.; in particular, it has ⲓ /i/ as a final atonic vowel. In *H*, however, there exists a strong tendency toward the formation of a metadialect, which shows itself in the frequent replacement of final atonic ⲓ by a final atonic ⲏ. These ⲏ amount to 33 percent of all the atonic final letters, and among them may be noted a whole series of words with, in *H*, the final letter either always in -ⲏ or in -ⲏ more frequently than in -ⲓ (these last cases are shown below in parentheses): ⲕⲓⲃⲏ, pap; ⲉⲓⲙⲏ, to know; ⲉⲓⲛⲏ, to carry; (ⲉⲓⲣⲏ, to do); ⲉⲓϣⲏ, to hang, suspend; ⲕⲏⲙⲏ, Egypt; ⲙⲓⲥⲏ, to give birth; ⲧⲏ-, genitive preposition; ⲡⲱⲛⲏ, to move; ⲣⲓⲕⲏ, to bend; (ⲣⲱⲙⲏ, man); ⲣⲁϣⲏ, joy; ⲣⲱϣⲏ, sufficiency; ⲥⲱϣⲏ, field; ⲥϩⲓⲙⲏ, woman; ϣⲓⲛⲏ, to look for; ϣⲁϫⲏ, word; ϩⲏⲕⲏ, poor; ϩⲏⲛⲏ, incense, perfume; ϩⲓⲥⲏ, trouble; ϫⲱⲙⲏ, book; (ϫⲁϫⲏ, enemy;) ⲫⲓⲛⲏ, to find (twenty-three words, against thirty-nine words where the atonic ending is either always -ⲓ or -ⲓ more frequently than -ⲏ, these latter cases being six in number). Finally, the final atonic vowel disappears completely after /w/; see below under ⲟⲩ /w/.

ⲝ /ks/ (occurs only in the Copto-Greek vocabulary): *H* sometimes keeps this letter, which, however, it tends to replace by ⲕⲝ, ⲕⲝⲥ, or ⲕⲥ /ks/, as in *H* ⲧⲱⲕⲥⲁ, *B* ⲁⲟⲝⲁ, glory; *H* ⲉⲕⲝⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ, *V* ⲉⲝⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ, authority; *H* ⲥⲁⲣⲕⲝ, *V* ⲥⲁⲣⲝ, flesh.

ⲟ /o/ (except for the ⲟ in the combination of graphemes ⲟⲩ for /u/ or /w/; see below under ⲩ): *H* has ⲱ /ō/ everywhere when, according to the rules of *V* adapted to the *H* system, one should find ⲟ /o/ (therefore, in fact, always in the Copto-Greek vocabulary): for example, *H* ⲁⲛⲕⲏⲗⲱⲥ, *V* ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ, angel; ⲧⲓⲕⲏⲱⲥ, *V* ⲁⲓⲕⲉⲟⲥ, just.

ⲩ /y/ (occurs only in the Copto-Greek vocabulary; ⲩ after ⲁ-, ⲉ-, or ⲏ- is a special case of ⲟⲩ /u/ or /w/, with loss of ⲟ, on which see below): *H* regularly replaces this ⲩ /y/ by ⲏ /e/: for example, *H* ⲧⲏⲛⲁⲙⲓⲥ, *F* ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲙⲓⲥ, power; *H* ϫⲏⲗⲱⲛ, *S* ϫⲩⲗⲟⲛ, wood.

ⲟⲩ (or ⲩ after ⲁ-, ⲉ-, or ⲏ-; see above) for /u/ vowel or /w/ consonant: *H* uses it without any special peculiarity, apart from the frequent disappearance of the final atonic vowel after ⲟⲩ /w/: for example, *H* ⲕⲁⲟⲩ, *V* ⲕⲁⲩ, *F5* ⲕⲁⲟⲩ, others; *H* ⲙⲏⲟⲩ, *V*, *F* ⲙⲏⲟⲩ, thought; *H* ⲡⲏⲟⲩ, *V*, *F* ⲡⲏⲟⲩ, heavens; *H* ϩⲓⲁⲟⲩ, *V*, *F* ϩⲓⲁⲩ, roads; *H* ϩⲃⲏⲟⲩ, *V*, *F* ϩⲃⲏⲟⲩ, works.

ⲯ /ps/ (occurs only in the Copto-Greek vocabulary): *H* sometimes keeps this letter, which, however, it tends to replace by ⲡⲯ /p(p)s/ (which could have ended up as ⲡⲯⲥ > ⲡⲥ): for example, *H* ⲡⲯⲏϫⲏ (ⲯⲏϫⲏ is clearly rarer), *V* ⲯⲩϫⲏ, soul.

ϥ /f/: *H* always replaces ϥ /f/ by ⲃ /v/.

ϫ /č/: See ⲅ /c/(?).

ⲅ /c/(?): While generally *H* has ϫ and ⲅ where *V* also has them, there are certain cases that may give the impression that while in *H* ϫ is the equivalent of /č/, ⲅ has the value of some allophone of /č/ (difficult to define) rather than /c/. One may here compare in *H* ϫⲱⲣⲏⲡ, to stumble, with ⲅⲣⲁⲡ, obstacle, and ϫⲱⲱⲣⲧ, strong, with ⲧⲁⲅⲣⲁ, to make strong. See also the surprising *H* ⲅⲡⲁ, give birth, and ⲅⲡⲁ, to insult, not to speak of ⲅⲓⲅ, hand, where this time there can be no question of the assimilation of the final consonant to the initial consonant (cf. *H* ϫⲁϫ, sparrow).

ϯ /ti/: *H* everywhere writes ⲧⲓ /ti/ where *V* has ϯ /ti/.

ʾ/ or aleph: It will be noted that *H* generally has graphic vowel gemination testifying to the presence of aleph /ʾ/ as a cryptophoneme (even if this /ʾ/ tends to disappear there as it also does in other Coptic idioms).

Several observations could still be made regarding the morphosyntactic and other idiosyncrasies of *H*, as can be noted in manuscript M 636, hand *α*. These idiosyncrasies have at yet been little studied to date. It must be mentioned above all that *H* systematically omits both the preposition ⲉ-, toward, in relation to, or for, and the numerous prepositions or particles ⲛ-, all of them as initial ⲉ- (and ⲙ-) and ⲛ-. In relation to classical Coptic, the sentence in *H* from then on appears to be completely disarticulate and dismembered; for example, the infinitive absolute of a verb can no longer be distinguished from its prenominal infinitive. Other conditions might emerge through the falling away of the initial consonant of the "accusative" preposition in its pronominal form, which henceforth appears to be felt more or less as a secondary pronominal suffix, as in ⲡⲁⲣⲏⲃⲛⲟⲩϩⲏⲙⲁⲓ,

my Savior, and ϕⲁⲕⲛⲟⲩϩⲏⲙⲁⲓ, Thou wilt save me, alongside ⲁⲕⲛⲁϩⲙⲏⲧ, Thou hast saved me.

In conclusion, there will be presented here the verbal prefixes attested to date in *H*. Except for special cases (conjunctive), the form cited here is only the third-person masculine singular, and its corresponding prenominal form (nom. = before nominal subject). The entire paradigm is not attested in all conjugations.

Unless specifically mentioned, the form is affirmative; neg. = negative. Every basic tense (abbreviated hereafter to "basic") is followed (if attested) by its satellites, after "And": circ. = circumstantial, rel. = relative, II = second tense; ant. = with pronominal antecedent. Forms between brackets [. . .] are reconstituted from very similar forms; zero = no verbal prefix.

Bipartite Pattern

Neg. zero particle . . . ⲁⲛ.

Present (basic) ⲃ-, nom. zero. And circ. ⲫⲃ-, nom. ⲫⲣⲏ-; rel. [(ⲛ)ⲧⲏⲃ-?].

Future (basic) ⲃⲛⲁ-, nom. zero . . . ⲛⲁ-. And II [ⲫⲃⲛⲁ-], nom. ⲫⲣⲏ- . . . ⲛⲁ-.

Tripartite Pattern

Tenses with special negation (if not II).

Perfect (basic) ⲁⲃ-, nom. ⲁ-; neg. [ⲙⲙⲛⲃ-], nom. ⲙⲛ-. And circ. (ⲉ)ⲁⲃ- (?), nom. [(ⲉ)ⲁ-(?)]; rel. ⲧⲁⲃ-, nom. [ⲧⲁ-]; neg. with zero . . . ⲁⲛ.

Expectative (or completive) (basic = neg.) ⲡⲁⲧⲏⲃ-, nom. ⲡⲁⲧⲏ-.

Consuetudinal (or aorist) (basic) ϕⲁⲃ-, nom. ϕⲁⲣⲏ-; neg. ⲙⲏⲃ-, nom. [ⲙⲏⲣⲏ-]; rel. neg. [ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲏⲃ-], [ant. ⲡⲙⲧⲙⲙⲏⲃ-], nom. [ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲏⲣⲏ-], [ant. ⲡⲙⲧⲙⲙⲏⲣⲏ-].

Futurum energicum (or third future) (basic) [ⲫⲃⲏ-], (ϫⲏⲃⲃⲏ- with ϫⲉ, in order that, antecedent), nom. [ⲫⲣⲏ-]; neg. ⲛⲏⲃ-, nom. [ⲛⲏⲣⲏ-].

Causative imperative (basic) ⲙⲁⲣⲏⲃ-, nom. ⲙⲁⲣⲏ-; neg. [ⲛⲏⲕⲧⲣⲏⲃ-], nom. [ⲛⲏⲕⲧⲣⲏ-].

Tenses with neg. [ⲧⲏⲙ-].

Conjunctive (basic) (sing. 1.; 2.m./f.; 3.m.; plur. 2./3.) ⲧⲁ-, ⲕ-, ⲧⲏ-, ⲃ-, ⲧⲏⲧⲏⲛ, ⲥⲏ-, nom. ⲧⲏ-. And with ϕⲁ-, toward (= limitative), ϕⲁⲛⲧⲏⲃ-, nom. ϕⲁⲛⲧⲏ-.

Temporal (basic) ⲧⲏⲣⲏⲃ-, nom. ⲧⲏⲣⲏ-.

Conditional (basic) ⲫⲃϕⲁⲛ-, nom. ⲫⲣϕⲁⲛ-.

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RODOLPHE KASSER

DIALECT İ (OR PROTO-LYCOPOLITAN OR PROTO-LYCO-DIOSPOLITAN).

The siglum of dialect *İ* comes from the title of the text contained in the unique document attesting to its presence (Lacau, 1946), "The Ascension of Isaiah." This dialect (and partially its subdialects *İ7* and *İ74*) shows in its orthography phonological qualities that allow one to consider it a PROTODIALECT—more precisely, the protodialect corresponding to the former phonological level of some lost variety of the important dialect *L*, a collective entity whose chief manifestations are the subdialects *L4*, *L5*, and *L6* (cf.

LYCOPOLITAN and LYCO-DIOSPOLITAN). (Besides what makes *İ* etc. a protodialect, most of the phonological characteristics of this dialect and its subdialects are those of one or another of the branches of *L*, or at least resemble them more closely than those of all the other Coptic idioms.) These qualities cause each witness of *İ* in particular, but also of *İ7* and *İ74*, to be of greatest interest for Coptology. One must all the more regret that up to now the texts attested by these manuscripts have been extremely brief and full of gaps (the total amount of text expressing *İ*, *İ7*, and *İ74* is scarcely 0.01 percent of all the Coptic texts known nowadays and 0.6 percent of those of the *L* dialect). This excessive briefness prevents any observation in many important sectors of *İ*. Any possible observations elsewhere being too isolated, this textual poverty causes useful generalizations to be quite problematic, rendering difficult a comparative orthographic system of rules necessary to compare *İ* with *L4*, *L5*, *L6*, *A*, and so on.

It is fitting here to specify that despite the fundamental systematic elements that can be observed in the texts, particularly with regard to the protodialectal quality and the major characteristics of the dialectal group *L*, each of the small texts expressing *İ* etc. remains a separate and special case under other aspects (as are moreover, in a lesser but not negligible measure, each of the texts expressing *L4*, *L5*, and *L6;* cf. LYCOPOLITAN and LYCO-DIOSPOLITAN). Here are these protodialectal texts, each with its (sub)dialectal attribution.

İ (= *pL*): All of Lacau (1946; a manuscript from the fourth century at the latest), with the exception of several words that, through oversight or ignorance, the scribe wrote with ⲫ instead of proto-Lyco-Diospolitan normal ⲡ̇. (These words are considered to belong, then, to *İ7;* cf. infra.)

İ7 (=*p'L*): The few words of Lacau (1946) mentioned above, not really typical of *İ*; furthermore, the texts of Leipoldt (1904; fourth century), and Goehring (1984; fourth century) if ⲟⲩⲣⲉϯ (cf. *L6*, *L5* ⲟⲩⲣⲓⲧⲉ; *L4*, *A* ⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ) can (or could) be a case connected with the rule of Edel (1961). Possibly Browne (1979, no. 6; fourth or fifth century), though unfortunately no lexeme covered by the rule of Edel (1961) is present. If these two last texts are not *İ7*, they are *İ74* (cf. below). One can be tempted to relate to *İ7* in a way the text of Crum (1934; from the second half of the third century, bought in Luxor), which indeed presents, by at least one of the typical central characteristics of *İ7*, a vulgar orthography that appears rather strange (indicated by the siglum *J* in Kasser, pp. 113–15). Consonants: The initial consonant ⲟⲩ /w/ is replaced by ⲃ /v/, and likewise all ⲫ /f/. Unfortunately this text has no example of ⲫ, thus lacking proof that Crum's text belongs to *İ* etc. (Perhaps it is only a particularly aberrant form of *A*, although *A* does not have the -ⲓ of Edel, 1961, with certain exceptions [Lacau, 1911], ϩⲓⲁ·ϯ·, ancestors, 2 Mc. 6:1, 6.) The consonant ϩ is always omitted. ϧ is maintained in a series of cases where *İ* and *A* have ϧ. ⲭ is retained nine times and replaced three times by ϫ (= /č/ rather than /x/; cf. ALPHABETS, COPTIC). ϭ is replaced by ⲕ. Stressed vowels: They frequently conform with those of *A* and *L* (56 percent), less often with those of *S* (44 percent). Unstressed vowels: Those of *L6* are preferred, since the -ⲓ of Edel (1961), missing in *L5* and *L4*, is regularly found in *İ* etc. and *L6*.

İ74 (= *p"L*): Possibly Goehring (1984) and Browne (1979, no. 6; cf. above); certainly Lefort (1939; from the fourth century at the latest). The text of Crum (1922; fourth or fifth century, origin unknown) could reasonably (in a sense) belong to *İ74* also because of certain chief characteristics, such as use of /x/ and /š/, as in *İ7* and *İ74* (cf. below). Yet one sees in it various spellings (sometimes systematic or nearly) that are very strange and far from *L* etc.; in Crum (1922) the normal ϲ is replaced by ⲫ (!) in six out of eight cases, such as ϩⲗⲫϭ†, painful. It also has a strong tendancy to replace the sonant (nasal) with /ē/ followed by the sonorant, having thus ⲏⲛⲧ-, to carry; ϧⲏⲛ-, in; and the negation -ⲧⲏⲙ-.

One will additionally note that *İ* (with *İ7* and *İ74*) is a protodialect with an impoverished alphabet. Indeed, each supplementary phoneme characterizing *İ* as a protodialect, *pL*, with regard to *L*, is not written with a special grapheme but with a grapheme common to *L*, supplied, however, with a diacritical sign in *pL*. Thus, /x/ is ϧ in *pL* (as it is in *A*), which is ϩ (the ordinary grapheme for /h/) supplied with a diacritical sign (and in fact, in the phonological evolution, *pL* > *L*, *pL* ϧ > *L* ϩ), whereas in **pS* (reconstructed on the analogy of DIALECT P, an alphabetically rich protodialect), /x/ is ϧ, used for nothing else. (One will here notice that in *A* ϧ /x/ and in *B* ϧ /x/ have no protodialectal function, since they belong to the alphabet and to the phonological stock of the dialect *A* and the language *B* themselves, according to their usual and traditional definition in Coptology.) Likewise, /ç/ is ⲡ̇ in *pL*, which is ⲫ (an ordinary grapheme for /š/) supplied with a diacritical sign (and in fact, in the phonological evolution *pL* > *L*, *pL* ⲡ̇ > *L* ⲫ), whereas in *P* (generally analogous to **pS*), /ç/ is ϣ, used for nothing else.

The essential characteristics of *İ*, qualifying it as a protodialect, are (1) the survival of /ç/ (arising from majority x_3; cf. PROTODIALECT), written ⲡ̇; (2) the sur-

vival of /x/ (arising from x_2, united with minority x_3; cf. PROTODIALECT), written ⲉ; (3) the survival of the final unstressed vowel -ⲓ in the cases described by Edel (1961; formerly *jw*), a survival also found in the *L6* branch of *L*.

One or more of these characteristics have disappeared in *İ7* or *İ74* (following an evolution that can summarily be represented as *İ* > *İ7* > *İ74* > *L*). *İ7* has the second and third characteristics only, while *İ74* has just the second.

The other phonological characteristics of *İ*, *İ7*, and *İ74* are not characteristics of protodialects but, rather, show their relation to (sub)dialects within the range of *L*'s subdialects (*L4*, *L5*, *L6*; cf. Kasser, 1984, p. 307). At this point, it will be interesting to add *A*, the Coptic language form whose vowels are the closest to *L*'s and *İ*'s vowels. *İ*, [*İ7*], *İ74*, *L6*, and *A* assimilate /s/ in /š/ before /č/: ϣⲉϫⲉ, *L4*, *L5* ⲥⲉϫⲉ, word. *İ*, [*İ7*, *İ74*], *L4*, and *A* have the potential final aleph: ⲟⲩⲉ, *L5* ⲟⲩⲉⲉ, *L6* ⲟⲩⲉⲉⲓ, one (masc.). Before the stressed vowel, *İ*, [*İ7*, *İ74*], *L5*, *L6*, and *A* have /f/: ϥ(ⲉ)ⲓ, *L4* ⲃⲓ, remove. *İ74*, *L5*, and *L6* have the final sonant, which on the contrary is the sonorant followed by /ə/ in *İ*, *L4*, and *A* [*İ7* lacks this form]: *İ*, *L4*, *A* ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ, *İ74*, *L5*, *L6* ⲥⲱⲧϯ, to hear. *İ*, *İ7*, [*İ74*], *L44*, and *A* lose /w/ with metaphony in the end stressed syllable that in *L4* (except *L44*), *L5*, and *L6* is /-ew/: *İ*, *İ7*, [*İ74*], *L44*, *A* ⲛⲟ, *L4*, *L5*, *L6* ⲛⲉⲩ, to see. Where *İ* and *L4* have the stressed final vowel in /-ō/, *İ74*, *L6*, and *A* have /u/ (a situation quite unclear in *L5*; *İ7* lacks this form): *İ*, *L4* ϫⲱ, *L6*, *A* ϫⲟⲩ, to say, but *İ74* ϩϥⲟⲩⲟⲩ, *A* ϩⲃⲟⲩ, *L4* ϩⲃⲱ, serpent (fem.). The end syllable's vocalization of the prenominal form of causative verbs with *t*-initial, /-ə/ [*İ*], *İ7*, [*İ74*], (*L4*), *L6*, and /-a/ *L5*: *İ7* (?) ⲧ[ⲁ]ⲛⲉ-, to create; cf. *A* ⲧⲁⲛⲟ- or ⲧⲉⲛⲉ-, *L5* ⲧⲉⲛⲁ-. Peculiar lexemes: *İ74* ⲙⲉϩϫⲉ, *L44* (and *L4*, which is rare) ⲙⲉϫⲉ, *L6* ⲙⲉϣϫⲉ, *L5*, *L4* ⲙⲉϣⲧⲉ (cf. *P* ⲙⲁϣⲧⲁ), *A* ⲙⲉⲉϫⲉ, ear. The particle of the prolepsis *İ*, *İ7*, *İ74*, *L6*, (*L5*), *A* ⲛⲉⲓ, (*L5*) ϫⲓ, *L4* ⲛϫⲓ, but (ⲛ)ⲅⲉ or ϫⲉ (*A*) sometimes also. *İ*, [*İ7*, *İ74*], *L4*, *L5*, *A* ⲧⲟ, *L6* ⲧⲟⲛ, where (interrog.); *İ* (?), *İ7*, *L5*, *L6*, (*A*) ⲁⲣϩ, *A* ⲉⲣϩ (or ⲉⲣϩⲧⲉ), but *L4* ϩⲉⲗϩⲏ (cf. *P* ϩⲉⲗⲗⲕ), to keep. Verbal prefixes: first future third sing. masc. etc. *İ*, *İ7*, [*İ74*], *L5*, *L6*, *A* ϥⲛⲁ-, *L4*, (*A*) ϥⲁ-. First perfect first sing. etc. *İ7*, *İ74*, *L4*, *L5*, *A* ⲁⲓ-, *İ* ⲁ(ⲉ)ⲓ- or ϩⲁ(ⲉ)ⲓ- (cf. *V* hybrid also, *M* exclusively ϩⲁⲓ-, etc.), *L6* ⲁⲉⲓ- or ⲁϩⲓ-. Relative perfect third sing. masc. etc. *İ*, *İ7*, [*İ74*], *L4*, *A* ⲉⲧⲁϥ-, *L5*, *L6* (ⲉ)ⲛⲧⲁϥ-.

The texts attesting *İ* etc. are unfortunately too brief to allow systematic observations in morphosyntactic and lexicologic fields. However, one should note forms such as *İ* ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲏⲉ, mouth, which has no known Coptic equivalent except *A* ⲡⲁⲩⲏⲉ; further, *İ* and *A* have ⲏⲃⲓⲣ, left (hand) (cf. *P* ⲕⲃⲓⲣ), while *L4* and *L5* have ⲏⲃⲟⲩⲣ, and *S*, *M*, and *F* have ϩⲃⲟⲩⲣ.

Finally, here are some typical examples of proto-Lycopolitan (*pL* or *İ* etc.): *İ7*, *L6* ⲕⲉⲕⲉⲓ, *L4*, *L5*, *A* ⲕⲉⲕⲉ obscurity; *İ*, *L44*, *A* ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲟ, *L4* (except *L44*), *L5*, *L6* ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ, that (one) *İ7*, *L4*, *L6*, *S* ⲥⲁϣϥ seven (masc.) (*L5* etc. fem. ⲥⲁϣϥⲉ, *H* ⲥⲁϣⲃⲓ), *B* ϣⲁϣϥ, *M* ⲥⲉϣϥ (and ϣⲉϣⲃ special dialectal [?] variant of B.M.Or. 5300(27), between *M* and *H* rather than *F*), *A* ⲥⲁϩϥ, *P* ⲥⲁϩϥ; *İ7*, *A* ⲁⲛϩ⁺, *L4*, *L5*, *L6* ⲁⲛ̄ϩ⁺ (and *L5* ⲁⲁⲛ̄ϩ⁺, John [Lond.], ⲁⲁϩ⁺, John [Dub.]), *B* ⲟⲛϧ⁺ (cf. *P* ϣⲗϧ), *S* ⲟⲛ̄ϩ⁺, *M*, *W*, *V*, (*F*) ⲁⲛϩ⁺, (*F*) *H* ⲁⲛⲁϩ⁺, living; *İ7*, *L4*, *L5*, *L6*, *S* etc. ϣⲛⲙ, *A* ϩⲛⲙ, *P* ϩⲛⲙ, little, *İ* ϣⲱⲡⲉ, *P* ϩⲱⲡⲉ, *A* ϩⲱⲡⲉ, *L4*, *L5*, *L6*, *S* etc. ϣⲱⲡⲉ, become; *İ7* ϩⲁⲗⲉ†, *İ74*, *L4*, *A* ϩⲁⲗⲧⲉ, *P* ϩⲁⲗⲁⲧⲉ, *S* etc. ϩⲁⲗⲁ(ⲁ)ⲧⲉ, birds; *İ*, *İ7*, *İ74*, *A* ϩⲛ̄-, *P* ϧⲛ̄-, *B* ϧⲉⲛ-, *L4*, *L5*, *L6*, *S* etc. ϩⲛ̄-, in; *İ*, *L6* ϫⲁⲥⲓ⁺, *L4*, *L5*, *A*, *M* ϫⲁⲥⲉ⁺, *P*, *S* ϫⲟⲥⲉ⁺, *B* ⲅⲟⲥⲓ⁺, *F*, *H* ϫⲁⲥⲓ⁺ (from [*İ* etc.], *L4*, *L5*, *L6*, *A*, *S*, *M* ϫⲓⲥⲉ, metadialectal *H* ϫⲓⲥⲏ, *V*, *F* ϫⲓⲥⲓ, *B* ⲅⲓⲥⲓ), exalted.

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DIALECT P (OR PROTO-THEBAN). The siglum for this dialect, *P,* comes from a Coptic biblical book of Proverbs in the form of a late-third-century parchment codex, P. Bodmer VI, the only existing document written in the dialect (Kasser, 1960). Its orthography exhibits phonological characteristics that allow one to consider it a PROTODIALECT. In brief though more precise terms, one could think of it as a proto-Theban that often resembles what can be known about a hypothetical proto-Sahidic, tentatively reconstructed (possibly a proto-Sahidic immigrant in the Theban region; cf. DIALECT, IMMIGRANT).

Alphabet of P

Even if it is of secondary importance to the study of dialects, it is worthwhile to examine the rather original alphabet used in *P,* which looks like the Old Coptic alphabets (see ALPHABETS, OLD COPTIC) and is incontestably the richest among the various Coptic alphabetic systems (many of the Coptic dialects and subdialects having their own varieties of the Coptic alphabet; see ALPHABETS, COPTIC and Kasser, 1980, pp. 280–81). Its thirty-five graphemes include three kinds of signs: (1) all twenty-four letters of the Greek alphabet, as in all Coptic dialects except *H;* (2) a ligature of Greek origin, ⲕ /cə/, in autochthonous Coptic words such as *P* ⲛⲕ = *S* ⲛⲉⲓ, the proleptic particle, and *P* ⲕ = *S* ⲫⲉ, therefore; this interesting grapheme perhaps possesses the same phonological value in the Copto-Greek vocabulary, where it however may be also /kai/, /kaj/, or possibly even /ke/ or /kə/ (apparently the case also in various Greek and Coptic documentary texts where it occasionally appears, always optionally); and (3) no less than ten graphemes that originated in demotic. (In contrast, Bohairic has but seven demotic characters and Sahidic only six.)

The simplest way to describe the alphabet of *P* is to compare it with the alphabet of Sahidic (*S*). Many graphemes of demotic origin that belong properly to *P* obviously represent phonemes that *S* also possesses but expresses by other combined or single characters. For instance, /k/ in *S* is ⲕ, whereas for *P* it is ϩ, a grapheme observed in two Old Coptic texts (Kasser, 1980, p. 259). However, /c/ in *S* is ϭ, while in *P* /c/ is ⲕ, for, as with virtually all Old Coptic texts, *P* refrains from using ϭ (Kasser, 1980, p. 258). Further, the two following signs of *P* no longer appear in P. Bodmer VI, except vestigially, being progressively forced out of usage by newer graphemic usages, in particular those of *S*. First, in a primitive state of evolution, *P* writes the sonant /n/ as –, like some Old Coptic texts (Kasser, 1963). Then it starts to write it as ⲛ, as in classical *S* later on. Also, in its primitive mode *P* appears to render graphically the tonic vowel as geminate (Kasser, 1985) and writes the voiceless laryngeal occlusive, aleph /'/, as ⊥. It probably derives from a combination of both similar demotic signs for *3* and *i* (du Bourguet, 1976, p. 3). Next, adopting the newer graphemic usages that will be those of *S* etc., *P* no longer geminates stressed vowels as such, but rather the tonic vowel is geminated when followed by aleph. For instance, for /taprȯ́/, meaning "mouth," the primitive *P* has ⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ̄ⲟ̄, while the logically secondary *P* and *S* have ⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ; for /čȯ́'f/, meaning "to say it," the primitive *P* has ϫⲟ⊥ⲫ, whereas the secondary *P* and *S* have ϫⲟⲟⲫ.

Other graphemes peculiar to *P,* however, constitute the written form of phonemes no longer in more evolved Coptic (*S* and most Coptic dialects). Therefore, in its usage of ϧ /x/, *P* comes into line with *B* etc., so *P* and *B* are graphemically opposed to *A* and *İ* where /x/ is ϩ, but *P, B, A,* and *İ* (and the

small subdialects *J* with ⲋ, and *B7* and *G* with ⲭ) are phonologically opposed to all the rest of the Coptic languages, dialects, and subdialects, where /x/ disappeared previously and no longer exists at all. But above all, in still using ϩ /ç/ (a sign found inverted in many Old Coptic texts; Kasser, 1980, pp. 258–60), *P* is phonologically opposed to all Coptic dialects and subdialects (except *İ* = *pL*, also a protodialect, where however /ç/ is ϕ̣). As for ϩ, the graphemic combination ⲭϩ is still seen in the final position after the tonic vowel: ⲙⲟⲩⲭϩ, mix; ⲛⲟⲩⲭϩ, sprinkle; ⲡⲱⲭϩ, beat flat. This combination ⲭϩ could render a palatalized affricate /č2/ or /ç̌/ corresponding to /tç/ as /š/ corresponds to /tš/, rather than /čç/. In those three lexemes, the other Coptic dialects have, as the case arises (see below), -ⲭⲁ in *S* and sometimes *A*; -ⲭⲕ in *S*; -ⲭⲧ in *S*, *L*, and sometimes *A* and *B*; -ⲭⲋ in *A*; -ⲭϥ in *B*; or simply -ⲭ in *S*. This forms a range of possible phonemic combinations so open and diverse that the interpretation of *P* -ⲭϩ is scarcely made any easier.

Phonological and Morphological Peculiarities

As far as dialectology is concerned, the alphabet is a decisive indicator only insofar as its graphemes are able to reveal the nature of its phonemes. Thus, it is the phonology of *P* that enables one to see it as a type of protodialect often identical with a reconstructed proto-Sahidic. On this subject, it should be noted that nothing in the consonant system of *P* is incompatible with that of *S* (which is common, moreover, to many Coptic dialects, namely, those most neutralized in this respect, basically *L*, *M*, *W*, and *V*). A comparison of the consonant system of *P* with that of *S* is given below.

As regards vocalization, it is undoubtedly advisable to assign a preeminent importance to stressed vowels, which manifest most of the characteristics that allow one to distinguish between Coptic dialects or subdialects. One discovers that the vocabulary of *P* agrees thus in 97 percent of the cases with that of *S*. Nearly half of the remaining cases (*P* ⲛⲁⲕ, large; ⲣⲓⲛ, name; ⲟⲩ̈ⲓ, one (masc.); ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈, rush; ⲁϩⲙ〃, quench; ϧⲣⲁⲩ, voice; and ⲫⲃⲁⲛ, wrath; cf. *B* ⲙⲃⲟⲛ, in Vycichl, 1983, p. 108b) can eventually be explained by etymology and the archaic state of the language rather than by the influence of other Coptic dialects, particularly from the south, such as *L* or *A*. (It will also be noted that the stressed-vowel agreement of *P* with *A* and *L*, when they are completely in accord, or with any special variety of *L* is only between 59 percent and 63 percent.)

In the remaining 1.5 percent of cases, the orthography of *P*, while distant from that of *S*, coincides with some other Coptic dialect (from Lower or Middle Egypt as well as Upper Egypt and thus having no particularly marked affinity with *L* or *A*). In class *i*, *P* always writes the stressed /ē/ before final /j/ (first-person singular pronoun suffix or any other element). Thus, *P* ⲛⲁⲧⲙⲏ̈, with me, corresponds to ⲛⲁⲧⲙⲏⲓ in *L5* and *L6*; ⲛⲉⲙⲏ̈ in *L4*, *F5*, *F56*, and *B*; ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲓ in *A*; ⲛⲉⲙⲉ̈ in *M* and *F4*; and ⲛⲁⲧⲙⲁ̈ in *S*. ⲛⲏ̈, to me, in *P*, *L4*, *W*, *V*, *F5*, *F56*, *F4*, (*F7*), and *B* corresponds to ⲛⲏⲓ in *L5*, *L6*, and *F7*; ⲛⲉ̈ in *M*, *F4*, and *F46*; ⲛⲉⲓ in *A*; and ⲛⲁ̈ in *S*. Also /j/ (not always final): for example, ⲁ̈ⲏ(ⲏ)ⲩ̈ⲧⲉ in *P*; ⲁ̈ⲉ̈ and ⲁ(ⲉ)ⲓⲉⲩ(ⲧⲉ), etc., in *A*; ⲁ̈ⲉⲩⲧⲉ in *A* and *L4*; ⲁⲉⲓⲉⲩ in *L6*; ⲁ̈ⲉⲓ in *M*; ⲁ̈ⲉ̈ in *F*, ⲁ̈ⲁ̈ in *S* and *B* all mean "to grow." ⲁⲫⲏ(ⲉ)ⲓⲧⲉ in *P*; ⲁⲫⲉⲉⲓⲧⲉ in *A*; ⲁⲫⲉ̈(ⲧⲉ) in *A* and *L4*; ⲁⲫⲉⲉⲓ(ⲧⲉ) in *L6*; ⲁⲫⲉⲉⲓ in *L5*; ⲁⲫⲉ̈ in *M*, *V*, and *F*; and ⲁⲫⲁ̈ in *S* and *B* all mean "to multiply." ⲙⲏⲉⲓⲛ in *P*; ⲙⲏⲏⲛ in *W* and *F*; ⲙⲏⲏⲛⲓ in *B*; ⲙⲉ(ⲉ)ⲓⲛⲉ in *A*; ⲙⲉⲏⲛⲉ in *L4*; ⲙⲉⲉⲓⲛ in *M*; and ⲙⲁⲉⲓⲛ in *L5*, *L6*, and *S* all mean "sign." ⲥⲏⲉⲓⲛ in *P*; ⲥⲏⲏⲛ in *F*; ⲥⲏⲏⲛⲓ in *B*; ⲥⲉ(ⲉ)ⲓⲛⲉ in *A*; ⲥⲉⲏⲛⲉ in *L4*; and ⲥⲉⲉⲓⲛ in *M* and ⲥⲁⲉⲓⲛ in *L6* and *S* all mean "doctor, physician." ⲟⲩⲭⲏ(ⲉ)ⲓⲧⲉ in *P*; ⲟⲩⲭⲉⲉⲓ in *A*, *L6*, and *L5*; ⲟⲩⲭⲉ̈(ⲧⲉ) in *A* and *L4*; ⲟⲩⲭⲉⲉⲓ(ⲧⲉ) in *L6*; ⲟⲩⲭⲉ̈ in *M* and *F*; ⲟⲩⲭⲁ̈ in *S* and *B* all mean "to be healed, saved." ϩⲣⲏ̈ in *P*, *A*, *L*, *M*, *W*, *V*, and *B*; ϩⲗⲏ̈ in *F*; and ϩⲣⲁ̈ in *S* all mean "upper part." ϧⲣⲏ̈ in *P* and *B*; ϩⲣⲏ̈ in *A*; ϩⲣⲏ̈ in *L*, *M*, *W*, and *V*; ϩⲗⲏ̈ in *F*; and ϩⲣⲁ̈ in *S* all mean "lower part." In this category alone, one finds that *P* reaffirms its originality. If one summarizes its points of contact with other Coptic dialects in the previous narrow category, one finds that its most pronounced affinities are with *B*, then with *F*, then with *L*, then with *A* and *M*, with *S* definitely coming last.

Some interesting observations can be made with unstressed vowels. -ⲉ is generally the unstressed vowel in *P*, as it is in *S*, but sometimes it is -ⲁ where the corresponding Egyptian word has a final 'ayin: for example, *P* ⲙⲏⲫⲁ, *S* ⲙⲏⲏⲫⲉ, crowd; *P* ⲙⲁⲫⲧⲁ, *S* ⲙⲁⲁⲭⲉ, ear; *P* ⲧⲏⲃⲁ, *S* ⲧⲏⲏⲃⲉ, finger; and *P* ⲕⲟⲟⲙⲁ†, *S* ⲕⲟⲟⲙⲉ†, twisted, crooked, perverse, vicious. On the one hand, it would be permissible to consider this differentiated vocalization as an archaism typical of *P* when compared to the more neutralized *S*. On the other hand, one finds that the dialectal regions of Egypt where this phenomenon is manifest are precisely Lower Middle Egypt and Lower Egypt. In fact, *F* (except for *F7*) and *V*, *W* having -ⲓ as the normal unstressed final vowel, have -ⲉ (*F7* even has -ⲁ, like *P*) in the 'ayin position mentioned earlier, and *B*

loses every final vowel in place of its normal -ⲓ (thus, *F7* ⲙⲏⲫⲁ, *F5* ⲙⲏⲏⲫⲉ, *W* ⲙⲏⲫⲉ, *B* ⲙⲏⲫ, crowd; *F7* ⲙⲉϫⲁ, *F5* ⲙⲉⲉϫⲉ, *V* ⲙⲉϫⲉ, *B* ⲙⲁⲫϫ, ear; *F5* ⲧⲏⲏⲃⲉ, *B* ⲧⲏⲃ, finger; but, e.g., *F7*, *F* ⲗⲱⲙⲓ, *W*, *V*, *B* ⲣⲱⲙⲓ, man; cf. Polotsky, 1931; Vergote, 1945, p. 88).

But one must not forget that the categories where *P* moves farthest away from *S* to approach *B* and especially *F* (or perhaps other dialects) remain quite restricted (tonic vowels above, 1.5 percent of the *P* vocabulary; atonic above, 1 percent), so that the result could hardly call in question the striking affinity that *P* and *S* have almost everywhere else (97 percent) as well as certain disagreements between the two in unstressed pretonic vowels (thus, *P*, *L*, *A* ⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ, *S* ⲗⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ, hell; *P*, *L*, *A* ⲉⲙⲁ₂ⲧⲉ, *S* ⲗⲙⲁ₂ⲧⲉ, seize; plur. *P* ⲉ₂ⲱ(ⲱ)ⲣ, *L*, *A* ⲉ₂ⲱⲣ, *S* ⲗ₂ⲱⲱⲣ, treasures; *P* ⲉ₂ⲟⲙ, *L*, *A* ⲉ₂ⲁⲙ, *S* ⲗ₂ⲟⲙ, sigh; *P*, *L*, *A* ⲗ-, *S* ⲉ-, toward; *P*, *L*, *A* ⲁⲛⲏ₂ⲉ, *S* ⲉⲛⲉ₂, eternity) or the fact that *P*, like *L5* and *L6*, writes /nə/ rather than final /n̥/ after /w/, but in this position only, while *A* and *L4* do not recognize this limitation (cf. *P* ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛⲉ, *L*, *A* ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ, *S* ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ̄, to know). Nor, finally, does the situation change much from the fact that *P*, as opposed to *S* (and therefore coming close to *A*, *L*, and other dialects), readily replaces a potential aleph after the final stressed vowel with /j/ or /ə/ (similiglide, Kasser, 1981b, p. 35), while the *S* orthography will refrain from indicating it. For example, ⲙⲉⲉⲓ of *P*; ⲙⲉ(ⲉ)ⲓⲉ of *A*; ⲙⲉⲩ̈ⲉ of *L4*; ⲙⲁⲉⲓⲉ of *L5* and *L6*; ⲙⲏⲩ̈ⲉ of *M*; ⲙⲏⲩ̈ of *W*, *V*, *F*, and *B*; ⲙⲉⲩ̈ of *B*; and ⲙⲉ of *S* all mean "to love." ⲙⲏⲩ̈ of *P* and *B*; ⲙⲓⲉ of *A*; ⲙⲓⲏⲉ of *L*; ⲙⲉⲉ̀ of *M*; ⲙⲉⲩ̈ of *W*, *V*, *B*, *F4*, and *F7*; ⲙⲉⲉⲓ of *F5* and *F56*; and ⲙⲉ of *S* all mean truth, justice. ⲛⲁⲉ of *P*, *A*, and *L*; ⲛⲉⲉ̀ of *M*; ⲛⲉⲩ̈ of *W*; ⲛⲉⲉⲓ of *F5* and *F56*; ⲛⲁⲩ̈ of *B*; and ⲛⲁ of *S* all mean "pity." ⲥⲁⲉ of *P*; ⲥⲁ(ⲉ)ⲓⲉ of *A* and *L*; ⲥⲉⲩ̈ of *F*; ⲥⲁⲩ̈(ⲉ) of *B*; and ⲥⲁ of *S* all mean "beauty." ⲟⲩⲉⲉ(ⲓ) of *P*; ⲟⲩⲉⲩ̈ⲉ of *A* and *L4*; ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲓⲉ of *L6*; ⲟⲩⲏⲩ̈ⲉ of *M*; ⲟⲩⲏⲏⲩ̈ of *F5*; ⲟⲩⲏⲩ̈ of *F7*; ⲟⲩⲉⲩ̈ of *B*; and ⲟⲩⲉ of *S* all mean "to be distant, far-reaching." ₂ⲉⲉ(ⲓ) of *P*; ₂ⲉ(ⲉ)ⲓⲉ of *A*; ₂ⲉⲩ̈ⲉ of *L4*; ₂ⲁⲉⲓⲉ of *L5* and *L6*; ₂ⲏⲩ̈ⲉ of *M*; ₂ⲏⲩ̈ of *V*, *F4*, and *(B)*; ₂ⲏⲏⲩ̈ of *F5*; ₂ⲉⲩ̈ of *B*; and ₂ⲉ of *S* all mean "to fall."

P's stressed vowels demonstrate, if not a complete identity with *S*, then at least a relationship close enough to consider it a regional dialectal variety very like a kind of "proto-Sahidic" (a reconstructed **pS*, cf. below). More precisely, it would be a **pS* that could have become a typical, local or regional variety of *S*, distinguished from classic *S* by only a few differences, but belonging, without doubt, to the Sahidic dialectal group (*P* is nearly as close to *S* as *L4* is to *L5* and *L6*, or *F4* to *F5*, *F7*, *F8*, and *F9* and conversely). Perhaps *P* was an immigrant variety of **pS*, some sort of **pS* from Thebes (cf. in some way the former hypothesis that *P* would be a Theban protodialect, Nagel, 1965; Kasser, 1982; on this, cf. especially *P* ₂ⲉ-, on; ⲉⲥⲧⲉ, behold, here is; ⲣⲓⲛ, name; ⲗⲃⲟⲗ, outside; ⲃⲱ₂, to throw). More precisely, it would not be an indication that *S* was principally of Theban origin, but native to a place further north (between *L* and *M*). *S*, as a common language spreading (many centuries before Coptic times) southward (also northward) and through the whole valley of the Egyptian Nile above the Delta, would be implanted first of all, very early on, in some great urban centers, following the course of that river (Kasser, 1982). *P* (as a variety of **pS*) could only be "Theban" by means of immigration (cf. DIALECT, IMMIGRANT).

The close relationship of *P* and *S* is confirmed in the consonants, where the evidence of the protodialectal character is clear (cf. PROTODIALECT). In fact, the phonemes still present in *P* and absent in *S* follow exactly the well-known line of phonological evolution from pharaonic Egyptian to Coptic (Vergote, 1945, pp. 122ff.). Thus, *P* still has /ç/ (from predominant x_3) written ϣ, and /x/ (from x_2, related to a minority x_3) written ϧ. These two phonemes are also present in dialect *Ḟ*, the only other Coptic protodialect known at present; this has an impoverished alphabet (/ç/ ϯ̈; /x/ ⲉ, as in *A*). The development of *P* as a protodialect near to a kind of **pS* becoming *S* is as follows: ϣ /ç/ > ⲱ /š/, and ϧ /x/ > ₂ /h/. For example, *P* ϣⲟⲣⲡ, first, in *S* is ⲱⲟⲣⲡ (*A* ⲉⲗⲣⲡ, *L* ⲱⲗⲣⲡ, etc.); and *P* ϧⲙ̄ϧⲗⲗ, servant, is *S* ₂ⲙ̄₂ⲗⲗ (*A* ⲉⲙ̄ⲉⲍⲗ, *L* ₂ⲙ̄₂ⲍⲗ).

As far as the vowels are concerned, the verbal prefixes of *P* also have points in common with those of *S*, but even more with *L* (especially *L4*). This should not be too much of a surprise, since they are all directly or indirectly pretonic unstressed vowels, and it is specifically in the pretonic unstressed vowels that *P* is often closer to *L*, and sometimes *A*, than it is to *S* (perhaps an early characteristic neutralized later in *S* or the influence of native Thebes dialect on immigrant **pS*, in accordance with the hypothesis offered above). With the consonants, however, *P* sometimes exhibits original solutions approximating also to *A* or *L* (as the case arises) when disagreeing with *S*. (As regards the morphological peculiarities of *P*, see especially the conjugation system below.)

Conjugation System

Except in special instances (conjunctive, etc.), the form cited here is only the third-person masculine singular and the corresponding prenominal form

("nom." = before nominal subject). The entire paradigm is not attested in all conjugations.

Unless specifically mentioned, the form is affirmative; "neg." = negative. Every basic tense (abbreviated hereafter to "basic") is followed (if attested) by its satellites, after "And": "circ." = circumstantial, "pret." = preterite, "rel." = relative, "II" = second tense. Forms between brackets [. . .] are reconstituted from very similar forms; "zero" = no verbal prefix or no particle.

1. Bipartite Pattern.

Neg. zero . . . ⲁ or ⲁ̀ (sic) (ⲛ̀- . . . ⲁⲛ *S*, (ⲛ̀-) . . . ⲉⲛ *L*, zero . . . ⲉⲛ *A*).

1.1. *Present* (basic) ⲫ- (= *S*, *L*, *A*), nom. zero (= *S*, *L*, *A*). And circ. ⲉⲫ- (= *S*, *L*, *A*), nom. ⲉⲣⲉ- (= *S*, *L*, (*A*), ⲉ- *A*); rel. ⲉⲧ- (= *S*, *L*, *A*) or [ⲉⲧⲉⲫ-] (= (*L5*), ⲉⲧⲫ- *S*, *L*, *A*, nom. [ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ-] (= *S*, *L4*, (*L5*), *L6*, (*A*), ⲉⲧⲉ- *L5*, (*L6*), *A*); pret. ⲛⲉⲫ- (= *S*, *L*, ⲛⲁⲫ- (*L6*), *A*), nom. [ⲛⲉⲣⲉ-] (= *S*, *L*, ⲛⲁ(ⲣⲉ)- *A*); pret. rel. ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲫ- (= *S*, *L*, ⲉⲛⲉⲫ- *S*, *L*, ⲉⲛⲁⲫ- *A*), nom. [ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲉ-] (= *S*, *L*, ⲉⲛⲉⲣⲉ- *S*, *L*); II ⲉⲫ- (= *S*, *L*, ⲁⲫ- *A*), nom. ⲉ(ⲣⲉ)- (ⲉⲣⲉ- *S*, *L*, ⲁ(ⲣⲉ)- *A*).

1.2. *Future* (basic) with -ⲛⲁ-: ⲫⲛⲁ- (= *S*, (*L4*), *L5*, *L6*, *A*), nom. zero . . . ⲛⲁ- (= *S*, *L*, *A*). And circ. ⲉⲫⲛⲁ- (= *S*, (*L4*), *L5*, *L6*, *A*), nom. [ⲉⲣⲉ- . . . ⲛⲁ-] (= *S*, *L6*, ⲉ- . . . ⲛⲁ- *L5*, *A*); rel. ⲉⲧⲛⲁ- (= *S*, *L*, *A*) or ⲉⲧⲉⲫⲛⲁ- (= (*L5*), (*L6*), ⲉⲧⲫⲛⲁ- *S*, (*L4*), *L5*, *L6*, *A*), nom. ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ- . . . ⲛⲁ- (= *S*, *L4*, *L6*, (*A*), ⲉⲧⲉ- . . . ⲛⲁ- *L5*, *A*); II ⲉⲫⲛⲁ- (= *S*, *L*, ⲁⲫⲛⲁ- *A*), nom. ⲉⲣⲉ- . . . ⲛⲁ- (= *S*, *L*, ⲁ(ⲣⲉ)- . . . ⲛⲁ- *A*).

1.3. *Future* (basic) with -ⲁ-: ⲫⲁ- (only Prv. 19:25) (= *L4*). And rel. (?) ⲉⲧⲉⲫⲁ- (only Prv. 6:29) (ⲉⲧⲫⲁ- *L4*).

2. Tripartite Pattern.

2.1 Tenses with special negations (if not II). Independent (sentence) conjugations.

2.1.1. *Perfect* (basic) ⲁⲫ- (= *S*, *L*, *A*, but twice sing. 1. ⲥⲓ- *P* = Prv. 7:15–16 [see Kasser, 1984], cf. ⲁⲥⲓ- etc. *L6* sometimes), nom. ⲁ- (= *S*, *L*, *A*, except *L6* Acta Pauli from Heidelberg, ⲥⲁ- [but ⲁⲫ-, like *P*, *S*, *L4*, *L5*, *A*], (ⲁⲥⲁ- rarely *L6*); neg. ⲙⲡⲧ- (= *S*, *L*, *A*, ⲙⲡⲉⲫ- (*L4*), (*L5*), (*L6*), nom. [ⲙⲡⲉ-] (= *S*, *L*, *A*, ⲛⲡⲉ- (*A*)). And circ. [ⲉⲁⲫ-] (*S*, *L*, *A*), nom. [ⲉⲁ-] (= *S*, *L*, *A*, except *L6* Acta Pauli from Heidelberg, ⲉⲥⲁ-); neg. [ⲉⲙⲡⲧ-] (= *S*, *L*, ⲉⲙⲡⲉⲫ- (*L4*), (*L6*)), nom. [ⲉⲙⲡⲉ-] (= *S*, *L*). Rel. ⲉⲧⲁⲥ- (= *A*, (ⲉ)ⲛⲧⲁⲥ- *L*; cf. Funk, 1984) or [ⲉⲧⲁⲫ-] (= *L4*, *A*, ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲫ- *S*, (*L6*), ⲛⲧⲁⲫ- (*S*), *L5*, *L6*, (ⲉⲧⲉ(ⲥ)ⲁⲫ- *L6*)), nom. ⲉⲧⲁ- (= *L4*, (*L6*), *A*, ⲉⲛⲧⲁ- *S*, (*L6*), ⲛⲧⲁ- (*S*), *L5*, (*L6*), (ⲛⲧⲁⲥⲁ-, ⲉⲧⲁ(ⲥ)ⲁ-, ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲁ- *L6*)), neg. [ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲡⲧ-] (= *S*, *L*, [*A*], ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲡⲉⲫ- *(L6))*, nom. [ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲡⲉ-] (= *S*, *L*, *A*). II [ⲉⲧⲁⲫ-] (= (*A*), ⲛⲧⲁⲫ- *S*, *L*, ⲛⲁⲫ- *A*, (ⲉⲁⲫ- *L6*), also ⲉⲣⲉ(ⲛⲧ)ⲁⲫ- with a causal sense *L6* Tractatus Tripartitus; cf. *P* ⲉⲣⲁⲥ- Prv. 6:3), nom. [ⲉⲧⲁ-] (ⲛⲧⲁ- *S*, *L*, ⲛⲁ- *A*); neg. zero . . . ⲁ (etc.).

2.1.2. *Completive* (basic) (affirmative substitute [ⲁⲫⲟⲩⲱ ⲉⲫ-] (= *S*, *L*, *A*); neg. (= *expectative*) ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲫ- (= *S*, *L*, [*A*]), ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉⲫ- (*S*), (*L4*)), nom. [ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ-] (= *S*, *L*, *A*). And circ. ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲫ- (= *S*, *L*, *A*, ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉⲫ- (*S*), (*L*)), nom. ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ- (= *S*, *L*, *A*).

2.1.3. *Consuetudinal* (or *aorist*) ϩⲁⲣⲫ- (ⲱⲁⲫ- *S*, *L*, ⲱⲁⲣⲉⲫ- (*L5*), (*L6*), ⲉⲁⲣⲉⲫ- *A*), nom. ϩⲁⲣⲉ- (ⲱⲁⲣⲉ- *S*, *L*, ⲉⲁⲣⲉ- *A*); neg. ⲙⲁⲫ- (= *L*, *A*, ⲙⲉⲫ- *S*), nom. ⲙⲁⲣⲉ- (= *L*, *A*, ⲙⲁⲣⲉ- *S*, ⲙⲁ- *A*). And circ. ⲉϩⲁⲣⲫ- (ⲉⲱⲁⲫ- *S*, *L*, [ⲉⲱⲁⲣⲉⲫ-] (*L5*), (*L6*), ⲉⲉⲁⲣⲉⲫ- *A*), nom. [ⲉϩⲁⲣⲉ-] (ⲉⲱⲁⲣⲉ- *S*, *L*, ⲉⲉⲁⲣⲉ- *A*); neg. [ⲉⲙⲁⲫ-] (= *L*, *A*, ⲉⲙⲉⲫ- *S*), nom. [ⲉⲙⲁⲣⲉ-] (= *L*, [*A*], ⲉⲙⲉⲣⲉ-*S*). Rel. ⲉⲧϩⲁⲣ- (without parallels elsewhere in Coptic) or ⲉⲧⲉϩⲁⲣⲫ- (ⲉ(ⲧⲉ)ⲱⲁⲫ- *S*, *L*, (ⲉⲧⲱⲁⲫ- *L6* once), ⲉⲧⲉⲁⲣⲉⲫ- *A*), nom. [ⲉⲧⲉϩⲁⲣⲉ-] (ⲉ(ⲧⲉ)ⲱⲁⲣⲉ- *S*, *L*, ⲉⲧⲉⲁⲣⲉ- *A*); neg. ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲁⲫ- (= *L*, *A*, ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲉⲫ- *S*), nom. [ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲁⲣⲉ-] (= *L*, [*A*], ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲉⲣⲉ- *S*). Pret. [ⲛⲉϩⲁⲣⲫ-] (ⲛⲉⲱⲁⲫ- *S*, *L4*, (*L6*), ⲛⲉⲱⲁⲣⲉⲫ- (*L6*), [ⲛⲉⲉⲁⲣⲉⲫ-] *A*), nom. ⲛⲉϩⲁⲣⲉ- (ⲛⲉⲱⲁⲣⲉ- *S*, [*L*], [ⲛⲉⲉⲁⲣⲉ-] *A*). II [ⲉϩⲁⲣⲫ-] (ⲉⲱⲁⲫ- *S*, *L*, [ⲉⲉⲁⲣⲉⲫ-] or ⲁⲉⲁⲣⲉⲫ- *A*), nom. ⲉϩⲁⲣⲉ- (ⲉⲱⲁⲣⲉ- *S*, *L*, ⲉⲉⲁⲣⲉ- or ⲁⲉⲁⲣⲉ- *A*).

2.1.4. *Futurum energicum* (or third future) ⲉⲫⲁ- (probably so, not second future) (= *L*, ⲉⲫⲉ- *S*, ⲁⲫⲁ- *A*), nom. ⲉⲣⲁ- . . . ⲁ- (ⲉⲣⲉ- . . . zero *S*, *L*, ⲁ- . . . (ⲁ-) *A*); neg. ⲛⲧ- (= (*L6*), ⲛⲉⲫ- *L*, *A*, ⲛⲛⲉⲫ- *S*), nom. ⲛⲉ- (= *L*, *A*, ⲛⲛⲉ- *S*). ⲉⲧⲉⲫⲁ-: see 1.3.

2.1.5. *Imperative:* infinitive unaccompanied (= *S*, *L*, *A*) or else preceded by ⲙⲁ- (= *S*, *L*, *A*, always causative verbs) or by ⲉ- (= *L6*, *A*, ⲁ- *S*, *L4*, *L5*); neg. ⲙⲛ̀- (= *A*, *L4*, *(L6)*, ⲙⲡⲧ- *S*, *(L4)*, *L5*, *L6*, (*A*), ⲙⲡⲱⲣ- (*L4*), (*A?*), ⲙⲡⲱⲣ ⲁ- (*L6*), (*A*)).

2.1.6. *Causative Imperative* ⲙⲁⲣⲫ- (ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲫ- *S*, *L*, *A*), nom. ⲙⲁⲧⲉ- (ⲙⲁⲣⲉ- *S*, *L*, *A*); neg. [ⲙⲛ̀ⲧⲫ-] (= *A*, ⲙⲛ̀ⲧⲣⲉⲫ- *L6*, ⲙⲡⲧⲣⲉⲫ- *S*, *L5*, ⲙⲡⲱⲣ ⲁⲧⲣⲉⲫ- *L6*, ⲙⲡⲧ[ⲧⲫ]- *A*), nom. ⲙⲛ̀ⲧⲉ- (= *A*, ⲙⲛ̀ⲧⲣⲉ- *L6*, ⲙⲡⲧⲣⲉ- *S*, *L5*, *L6*, ⲙⲡⲱⲣⲧⲉ- *L4*, *L6*, ⲙⲡⲧⲉ- *A*).

2.2 Tenses with neg. -ⲧⲙ-. Subordinate (clause) conjugations.

2.2.1. *Conjunctive* (sing. 1., 2. masc., [fem.], 3. masc., fem.; plur. 1., 2., 3., nom.) ⲛⲧⲁ- (= *S*, *L*, ⲧⲁ- *S*, *L*, *A*), -ⲥ- or ⊥ⲥ- (ⲛⲣ- *S*, (*L4*), (*L6*), ⲛⲕ- *L*, ⲕ- (*L4*), (*L5*), *A*), -ⲫ- or ⊥ⲫ- (ⲛⲫ- *S*, *L*, ⲫ- (*L4*), (*L5*), *A*, (ⲛⲧⲫ- *A* once)), ⊥ⲥ- (twice) (ⲛⲥ- *S*, *L*, ⲥ- *A*), ⲛⲧⲛ̀- (= *S*, *L*, ⲧⲛ̀- (*L4*), *A*), ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛ̀- (= *S*, *L*, ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̀- (*L4*), (*L5*), *A*), ⲛⲥⲉ- (= *S*, *L*, ⲥⲉ- *A*, (ⲥⲟⲩ- *A* once)), nom. ⲛⲧⲉ- (= *S*, *L*, ⲧⲉ- *A*).

2.2.2. *Future Conjunctive* ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲫ- (ⲧⲁⲣⲉⲫ- *S*, *L*, *A*), nom. [ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲉ-] (ⲧⲁⲣⲉ- *S*, *L*, *A*).

2.2.3. *Temporal* ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲫ- (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉⲫ- *S*, ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲉⲫ- *L*, (*A*), ⲧⲁⲣⲉⲫ- *A*), nom. [ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲉ-] (= *L*, *A*, ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ- *S*, ⲧⲁⲣⲉ- *A*).

2.2.4. *Limitative* (or conjunctive with ⲱⲁ-, until) ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲫ- (= *S*, (*L4*), (*L6*), ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉⲫ- *L4*, (*L6*), ⲱⲁⲧⲫ- *A*), nom. ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉ- (= *S*, *L*, (*A* once), ⲱⲁⲧⲉ- *A*).

2.2.5. *Conditional* ⲉⲫⲱⲁ- (= (*L4*), *L5*, (*L6*), (*A* once), ⲉⲫⲱⲁⲛ- *S*, *L4*, *L6*, ⲁⲫⲱⲁ- *A*), nom. ⲉⲱⲁ- (=

(*L4*), (*A*), ⲉⲣⲱⲗ- (*L4*), (*L5*), ⲉⲣⲱⲗⲛ- *S*, ⲉⲣⲉⲱⲗ- *L5*, (*L6*), ⲉⲣⲉⲱⲗⲛ- *L6*, ⲗⲱⲗ- *A*, ⲉⲱⲗⲛⲧⲉ- *L4*).

Characteristic Lexemes

Lexicographically, *P*, on the one hand, displays various notable isolated orthographical peculiarities (apart from those that occur more systematically and have been already shown above) and, on the other, has some rare or otherwise unknown lexemes:

ⲗ or ⲇ negative particle, cf. ⲁⲛ *S*, *B*, ⲉⲛ *A*, *L*, *M*, *W*, *V*, *F*.

ⲃⲉⲗⲗ (masc.) eyes, a plural not attested elsewhere in Coptic and corresponding to the singular ⲃⲁⲗ *P*, *S*, *B*, ⲃⲉⲗ *A*, *L*, *M*, *W*, *V*, *F*; ⲃⲁϩⲟⲩⲉ (masc.) eyelids, a plural not attested elsewhere in Coptic, corresponding to the singular ⲃⲟⲩϩⲉ *S*, ⲃⲱϩⲉ (*S*), *A*, ⲃⲟⲩϩⲓ *B*.

ⲉⲧⲃⲉ-: See ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲉ-.

ⲟⲟⲩⲣⲉ-, more than, with no parallels elsewhere in Coptic (Prv. 9:3, *κρείσσων . . . ἤ*, ⲛⲁⲛⲉ- . . . ⲟⲟⲩⲣⲉ- *P*, ⲛⲁⲛⲉ- . . . ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲗ- *A*, ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ . . . ⲉϩⲟⲩⲉ- *S*, ϥⲥⲟⲧⲙ . . . ⲉϩⲟⲧⲉ- *B*).

ⲕⲃⲓⲣ, left; cf. ⲏⲃⲓⲣ *A*, ⲏⲃⲟⲩⲣ *L*, ϩⲃⲟⲩⲣ *S*, *M*, *F*.

ⲙⲁⲱⲧⲁ, ear; cf. ⲙⲉⲱⲧⲉ *L5*, *L4* (except the Manichaean Homilies, and more rarely, the Manichaean Psalms and Kephalaia, ⲙⲉⲭⲉ), ⲙⲉⲱⲭⲉ *L6*, ⲙⲁⲱⲭ *B*, ⲙⲁⲗⲭⲉ *S*, ⲙⲉⲭⲉ *M*, *V*, ⲙⲉ(ⲉ)ⲭⲉ *F*; ⲙⲉϑⲓⲁ, to cure, without parallels elsewhere in Coptic (Prv. 12:18, *ἰᾶσθαι*, ⲧⲭⲟ *A*, ⲧⲁⲗⲟ *S*, *B*; cf. Bedja *mehēl*, to treat medically, Vycichl, 1983, p. 132a); ⲙⲟϩⲉ, to walk, go, cf. ⲙⲁ(ⲗ)ϩⲉ *A*, *L*, ⲙⲟⲟⲱⲉ *S*, ⲙⲟⲱⲓ *B*, ⲙⲁⲱⲉ *M*, *W* (sic), ⲙⲁⲱⲓ *V*, ⲙⲁⲁⲱⲓ *F*; ⲙⲟⲩⲭϑ, to mix, cf. ⲙⲟⲩⲭⲉ *A*, *S*, *L6*, also ⲙⲟⲩⲭⲧ *S*, *A*, (*L6*), *L4*, *B*, ⲙⲟⲭⲕ *S* (cf. Hebrew *māzag* and the demotic *mdg*, container, wine-bowl, *κρατήρ* (?), Vycichl, 1983, p. 133b).

ⲛⲓⲃ, all; cf. ⲛⲓⲃⲓ *W*, *V*, *F*, ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ *B*, ⲛⲓⲙⲓ *F7*, ⲛⲓⲙ *A*, *S*, *L*, *M* (demotic *nb*, Vycichl, 1983, p. 142b); ⲛ̄ⲕ proleptic particle, cf. ⲛ̄ⲅⲓ *S*, *A*, *L6*, (*M*) etc., ⲛ̄ⲅⲏ *M*, ((ⲛ̄)ⲅⲉ *A*), ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ *L4*, (*L6*), *W*, ⲭⲓ *L5* (Thompson, 1924), ⲛ̀ⲭⲉ (*L6*), (*M*), *V*, *F*, *B*; ⲛ̄ⲕⲧⲟⲟⲕ or ⊥ⲕⲧⲟⲕ, premature(ly), with no parallels elsewhere in Coptic (Prv. 10:6, *ἄωρος*, ⲛ̄ⲱⲗⲣⲗϩⲉ *A*, *S*, ⲛ̀ⲡⲁⲧⲉ ⲧϩⲟ† ⲫⲱⲙ *B*; Prv. 11:30, *ἄωρος*, ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲗⲣ ⲗϩⲉ *S*, ϩⲛ̄ etc. . . . *A*, ⲛ̀ⲡⲁⲧⲉ ⲧϩⲟ† ⲫⲱⲙ *B*, cf. demotic *gtg*, sudden(ly); Vycichl, 1983, p. 168a); ⲛⲁⲣⲟ, to see, very probably a back formation from ⲛⲁⲣⲟ〃, which is a contraction for ⲛⲁ⟨ⲩ ⲗ⟩ⲣⲟ〃 (cf. Černý, 1971); ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲉ- in ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲕ, so that is why, but elsewhere ⲉⲧⲃⲉ- (even ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ, Prv. 7:15), cf. ⲉⲧⲃⲉ- *S*, *A*, *L*, *M*, *W*, *V*, *F*, ⲉⲟⲃⲉ- *B* (demotic *r db3* etc., Vycichl, 1983, p. 47b); ⲛⲟⲩⲭϑ, to sprinkle, cf. ⲛⲟⲩⲭϩ *A*, ⲛⲟⲩⲭⲕ, ⲛⲟⲩⲭⲥ̄, ⲛⲟⲩⲭ *S*, ⲛⲟⲩⲭϭ *B* (cf. demotic *ndḥ* etc., Vycichl, 1983, p. 152b).

ⲛⲱⲭϑ, to smother; cf. ⲛⲱⲭϩ̄ *A*, ⲛⲱⲭⲥ̄, ⲛⲱⲭⲕ̄, ⲛⲱⲭⲧ *S*, ⲛⲱⲭ *S* (or *S*^{f}) (cf. demotic *pḏḥ*, Vycichl, 1983, p. 168a).

The archaic ⲡⲙ̄ⲉⲩ- (masc.), ⲡⲙ̄ⲉⲥ- (fem.), ⲡⲙ̄ⲉⲩ- (pl.), ⲡⲙ̄ⲉⲧ- (indefinite), and not (never) ⲡⲉⲩ-, the agent prefix common to all the Coptic dialects (ⲗⲉⲩ- *F*); such archaic forms only appear occasionally elsewhere or at least are always in a minority: ⲡⲙ̄(ⲙ)ⲉⲩ- *A*, ⲡⲱⲙ(ⲉ)ⲉⲩ-, ⲡⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ-, ⲡⲱⲙⲉⲧ- *L6* (Tractatus Tripartitus).

ⲧϣⲛⲟ etc., to beget, bring forth, acquire; cf. ⲧϩⲛⲟ *A*, ⲭⲛⲟ *L*, *S*, ⲭⲛⲁ *M*, (*W*), (*V*), *F*, ⲭⲫⲟ *B*.

ⲱ⊥ϧ (rarely ⲱⲱ⊥ϧ or ⲱ(ⲱ–ϧ), life; cf. ⲱⲛϩ *A*, ⲱⲛ̄ϩ *S*, *L4*, *W*, *V*, *F*, ⲱ(ⲱ)ⲛ̄ϩ *L6*, *L5* (except ⲱⲱϩ in the unpublished Gospel of John manuscript from Dublin; cf. Kasser, 1981a), ⲟⲛϩ *M*, ⲱⲛϧ *B*.

ϧⲓⲏ etc., road; cf. ϩⲓⲏ *S*, *L*, *M*, *V*, *F*.

ϩⲓⲗ, something; cf. ϩⲗⲓ *B*, ϩⲗⲉⲓ *A*, *L6* (very rarely), ϩⲓ *M*, *W* (always "someone"); *P* uses also ⲗⲗⲁϥ(ⲉ); ϩⲉⲗⲁⲕ, keep, the sole parallel for which in Coptic is ϩⲉⲗⲏⲅ *L4* (neither *P* nor *L4* uses the lexeme ϩⲁⲣⲉϩ *S*, *M*, ⲉⲣⲏϩ *A*, ⲁⲣⲏϩ *L5*, *L6*, ⲁⲣⲉϩ *W*, *V*, *B*, ⲁⲗⲉϩ *F*); ϩⲓⲛⲏⲙ, sleep, cf. ϩⲓⲛⲓⲃ *S*, *A*, *L*, *M*, *V*, *F*, ϩⲓⲛⲓⲙ *B*; ϩⲣ† in the expression ⲉϥϩⲣ ⲁⲣⲟϥ ⲁ, unawares (Prv. 6:15 *ἐξαπίνης*, ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲁ̄ⲛⲉ *A*, ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲱⲥ̄ⲛⲉ *S*, ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲉϫⲁⲡⲓⲛⲁ *B*; Prv. 13:23 reads rather ⲥⲉϩⲏ[ϥ]; cf. Kasser, 1973–1975, Vol. 2, p. 324b), should be connected with *S* ϩⲱⲣ to guard against, take heed (Crum, 1939, p. 697b); ϩⲥⲓⲙⲉ, woman, cf. (ⲥ)ϩⲓⲙⲉ *S*, *A*, *L*, *M*, ⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ *V*, *F*, *B*; ϩⲱ(ⲱ)ⲧⲙ, wither, fade, expire, be quenched, extinguished (should be connected with ϩⲱⲃⲃ̄, ϩⲃⲃⲙ̄-, etc. *S* (ibid., p. 744b); Prv. 10:7 and 13:9 *σβεννύναι*, ⲃⲱⲕ *A*, ⲭⲉⲛⲁ *S*, ⲃⲉⲛⲟ *B*; this ϩⲱⲃⲃ̄, *ϩⲱⲃⲙ̄ could at a stretch have been confused with ϩⲱⲧⲡ (ibid., p. 724b), in the sense of "be extinguished" like a star setting; *P* uses ϩⲱⲧⲡ only in the sense of "to be reconciled," Prv. 6:35 and 15:28a); connected with ϩⲟⲩⲟ is the expression corresponding to ⲛ̄ϩ(ⲟⲩ)ⲟⲉⲓⲧ ⲗ- or ⊥ϩ(ⲟⲩ)ⲟⲉⲓⲧ ⲗ-, more than, which corresponds to ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲗ- *A*, ⲉϩⲟⲩⲉ- *S*, ⲉ̀ϩⲟⲧⲉ- *B*; the *P* form seems close to ⲛ̀ϩⲟⲩⲁⲉⲓⲥⲧⲉ ⲉ-, ⲉ̀ϩⲟⲩⲁⲉⲓⲥⲧⲉ- *M*, ⲉϩⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲧ(ⲉ)- *V*, *F*, ⲉϩⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲧⲉ ⲉ- *F56*, ⲉϩⲟⲩⲁⲥⲧⲉ- *F7* (cf. exceptional ⲉϩⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲥⲧⲉ *S*, Crum, 1939, p. 736a).

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DIALECTS. The geographical characteristics of the habitable area of Egypt favored the subdivision of its language. One may note first of all two linguistic entities, "languages" rather than "dialects," of very wide scope and more than local—indeed, more than regional—character. The first of these corresponds to the Nile Delta and the second to the Nile Valley above the Delta. These are in turn (probably in the Delta, certainly in the valley) subdivided into smaller linguistic units (see especially, although with partially divergent opinions, Kahle, 1954, pp. 193–278; Kasser, 1982; Krause, 1979; Layton, 1976; Vergote, 1973, pp. 53–59; Worrell, 1934, pp. 63–82; and DIALECTS, GROUPING AND MAJOR GROUPS OF and GEOGRAPHY, DIALECTAL).

It appears very likely that BOHAIRIC (*B*) was the indigenous language common to the whole of the Nile Delta. It is called a "vehicular," or supralocal, language because it permitted the inhabitants of the different regions of this Delta (where each spoke his local dialect) to understand one another. (These lo-

TABLE 1. *Characteristic Lexemes in the Principal Coptic Dialects and Subdialects*

	"LANGUAGE"	"WITHOUT"	"AND"
A	éspe	at-	aóu
pL	[éspe]	at-	aóu
L	éspe	at-	auó
M	éspe	a(ei)t-	auó
V	[éspi]	at-	auó
F	[éspi]	at-	auó (áha)
F56	[éspi]	at-	auó
F7	[éspi]	a(ie)t-	áha (auó)
H	[áspi]	at-	auó
P	[áspe]	at-	auó
S	áspe	at-	auó
B74!	[áspi]	at-	ouóhe
B	áspi	at-	ouóh
		ath-	

The following may be observed with regard to *L: auó L4, L5, L6*, but also (especially) *áhan* or *áhm L4, ouáha* or *ouáhn*, etc. *L6; petaf- L4* is *pentaf- L5, L6; kó L4, L5* is *kóe L6; méie L4* is *máeie L5, L6; méeine L4* is *máein L5, L6*, with *S; nábe L4, L5* is *nábi L6*, with [*pL*]; *nji L4* is *ji L5, nci L6; péi L4* is *péei L5, L6; pei- L4* is *peei- L5, L6; ref- L4, L5, L6*, but also *rōmef- L6, rmmef- L6, rmef- L4* (rare) with *A* (rare) etc., and everywhere *rmef-*, etc. *P; sótme L4* is *sótm L5, L6; ouóshe L4, L6* is *ouósh L5; ónh L4* is *óō(n)h L5, ó(ō)nh L6; séje L4, L5* is *shéje L6; shéi L4* is *shéei L5, L6; jóme L4* is *jōōme* [*L5*], *L6; jáse L4, L5* is *jási L6*, with *pL*.

With regard to *M: at-* before certain words (e.g., *shéu*), and a little more frequently still *aeit-* before other words (the case of *atnée* or *aeitnée* is not yet attested); *pethaf-* or sometimes *petehaf-; ncē*, but also (fairly rare) *nje*, etc.

With regard to *V: petaf-*, also *pentaf-*, more rarely [*petehaf-*] *V*, but also *petehaf-* (rarely *pethaf-*) *W;* sometimes *náj* also *V4* (idiolectal?); *nje* (rarely *njī*) *V* is *nji* W; *sháp V4, W, sháap V5;* fairly often *shéji* also in *V4* (idiolectal?); *jóōme*, alone attested, but poorly, should be *jóme V4, W, jōōme V5*.

With regard to *F: auó F4, F5*, but also sometimes *áha F5; pentaf- F5, petaf- F4, (F5); méei F5* is *méi F4; néf F5* is *néf F4; péei F5* is *péi F4; tóh F5, tóh F4; sháap F5* is *sháp F4; jōōme F5* would be [*jóme*] *F4*.

With regard to *F7: áha*, but also sometimes *auó*.

With regard to *H:* [*kēmi*] *H* is *kēmē H!; rōmi H* is *rōmē H!; shōpi H* is *shōpē H!; sháji H* is *shájē H!* ([*jōmi*] or [*jōōmi*]) *H* is *jōmē H!; jási H* would be [*jásē*] *H!*.

With regard to *P: ō'ḥ* (ϣ-ϧ) three cases, *ōō'ḥ* three cases, *ōōnḥ* (ϣϣ-ϧ) one case.

With regard to *B: ath- B* before the (autochthonous) voiced consonants (b, l, m, n, r) and before the glides (i and (o)u with the phonological value of a consonant, for example, at the beginning of the word *iōt*, father, and ouósh, wish); but even in these cases *G* always has *at-; eból B* is *epól G; etemmáu B5* is *etemmá B4, B74; phái B* is *pái G; phē B* is *pē G; sōtem B* is *sódem G; thōḥ* or *thóh B* (two different etymologies; cf. Vycichl, 1983, p. 226); *ounóf B* is perhaps *ounōph G* (idiolectal[?]; probably to be pronounced *ounōf*); *ouósh B* is *bousz G* (probably to be pronounced *vóush*); *ouóh B5* is *ouóhe B4, B74* (and also *G* apparently); *hōb B* is *ōb G; jhí B4, B5* is *jí B74*. The majority of the other specific forms of *G* (probably without phonological consequences) will be found in DIALECT G.

cal idioms very probably existed there, as elsewhere, even if the paucity of discoveries of texts in the soil of the Delta, which is too damp, prevents detection of these dialects; one among them could be the mysterious DIALECT G.) On the other hand, it is certain that the vehicular language of the whole valley of the Egyptian Nile above the Delta was SAHIDIC (*S*, accompanied for some time in the Theban region by DIALECT P, a PROTODIALECT that often looks like what can be known about the logical predecessor of *S*, a tentatively reconstructed **pS*, proto-Sahidic), an autochthonous language dominating (then tending gradually to stifle) the multiple local and regional dialects of this habitable zone, relatively narrow but

TABLE 1. *(continued)*

	"WHAT?"	FIRST PERFECT, SING.3.MASC.	"TO, FOR"	"OUT(WARD)" ETC.	RELATIVE PERFECT, SING.3.MASC.
A	éḥ	af-	a-	abál	etaf- petaf-
pL	[éç]	af-	a-	abál	[etaf-] [petaf-]
L	ésh	af-	a-	abál	e(n)taf- pe(n)taf-
M	ésh	haf-	e-	ebál	ethaf- pethaf-
V	ésh	(h)af-	e-	ebál	et(eh)af- etc. pet(eh)af- etc.
F	ésh	af-	e-	ebál	entaf- pentaf-
F56	ésh	af-	e-	ebál	entaf- pentaf-
F7	ésh	af-	e-	ebál	entaf- pentaf-
H	[ásh]	ab-	[zero]	bál	tab- pēntab-
P	áç	af-	a-	aból	etaf- petaf-
S	ásh	af-	e-	eból	(e)ntaf- pentaf-
B74!	ásh	af-	e-	eból	etaf- [pḗ] etaf-
B	ásh	af-	e-	eból	etaf- phḗ etaf-

extending for nearly five hundred miles.

Moving upstream from immediately above the Delta (the land of the Bohairic dialectal group), among the various local dialects of the valley that have left sufficient traces in extant texts, this article will follow the chain that runs from classical *B* (to the north) to *A* (the so-called AKHMIMIC dialect, which is frequently considered the ancient local dialect of Thebes and thus the most southerly of the known Coptic dialects). The first to call for mention will be the various subdialects of FAYYUMIC. Chief among those with lambdacism are *F7*, a kind of "north Fayyumic" presenting interesting consonantal similarities with the Bohairic subdialect *B74*, a kind of "south Bohairic," a transition between the dialects of lower Middle Egypt and *B4* (cf. Kasser, 1981, p. 92), and *B5*, called "classical Bohairic," still further to the north; *F5*, Fayyumic of classical type, abundantly attested but relatively late; and *F4*, of more ancient attestation, with some similarities with *V*. Chief among the forms without lambdacism are *V*, also called "south Fayyumic"; and, at the extreme southern limit of the "Fayyumic" group and almost in the MESOKEMIC dialectal group, the idiom *W* (or "Crypto-Mesokemic with South Fayyumic phonology"). With Mesokemic, or Middle Egyptian (*M*), located immediately to the south of *W*, one is no longer in the Fayyumic dialectal group, Mesokemic being an independent group.

Should one then locate on the south of *M* (between *M* and *L*) the strange DIALECT H (also known as Hermopolitan or Ashmuninic)? In truth, it is rath-

TABLE 1. *Characteristic Lexemes in the Principal Coptic Dialects and Subdialects (continued)*

	CIRCUMSTANTIAL PRESENT, SING.3.MASC.	"MAKE, DO"	"PLACE, LEAVE" ETC.	"EGYPT" AND "EGYPTIAN"	"GUILE"	"LOVE"
A	ef-	éire	kóu	kḗme rmnkḗme	kráf	mé(e)ie
pL	ef-	[éire]	[kṓ]	[kḗme] [rmnkḗme]	kráf	[m]éie
L	ef-	éire	kṓ(e)	kḗme rmnkḗme	kráf	méie máeie
M	ef-	éire	kṓ	kḗme rmnkḗme	kráf	méie
V	ef-	íri	kṓ	[kḗmi] rmn[kḗmi]	[kráf]	mḗi
F	ef-	íli	kṓ	kḗmi lemnkḗmi	kláf	mḗi
F56	ef-	íli	kṓ	kḗmi lemnkḗmi	[kláb]	[mḗi]
F7	ef-	(é)ili	kṓ	kḗmi [lemn]kḗmi	[kláf]	mḗi
H	eb-	íri	kṓ	[kḗmi] rēm[kḗmi]	kráb	[mḗi (?)]
P	ef-	(é)ire	k̈ṓ	k̈ḗme rmnkḗme	k̈róf	méei
S	ef-	éire	kṓ	kḗme rmnkḗme	króf	mé
B74!	ef-	íri	kṓ	kḗmi remnkḗmi	króf	méi
B	ef-	íri	khṓ	khḗmi remnkhḗmi	khróf	méi

er difficult to locate exactly, despite the hypothetical name assigned to it; one must recall that some of its characteristics caused it to be considered formerly as a kind of Fayyumic, certainly very barbaric and, in any case, without lambdacism; however, many of its features also bring it close to *S*, in addition to its very evolved if not decadent structures (see METADIALECT). It is also very likely that the regional dialect that became the classical *S*, the vehicular language of the whole valley of the Egyptian Nile above the Delta, originated between *M* and *L*.

However that may be, according to the most common opinion of Coptologists, one then finds, further to the north of *M*, in the region of Asyūṭ and upstream, the different varieties of LYCOPOLITAN, or Subakhmimic. "Subakhmimic" is a rather deceptive name and has been almost completely abandoned: it stemmed from the belief, held for some time at the beginning of the twentieth century and soon revealed to be untenable, that *L* was a kind of subdialect of Akhmimic, *A*, which it certainly is not, in any of its varieties. The varieties of *L* are *L4*, attested by the Manichaean texts; *L5*, found above all in an important Johannine manuscript, published by Thompson (1924); and *L6*, known from the published non-Sahidic Gnostic texts and from the Heidelberg manuscript of the Acta Pauli, published by Schmidt (1904, 1909). (With regard to these Lycopolitan or, better, LYCO-DIOSPOLITAN varieties, including DIALECT İ, or proto-Lyco-(Dios)politan, *pL*, see

TABLE 1. *(continued)*

	"TRUTH" ETC. AND "THE TRUTH"	"THERE" AND "THAT"	"SIGN"	"PITY" AND "PITILESS"	"SIN"
A	míe	mmó	mé(e)ine	náe	nábe
	tmíe	etmmó		atnáe	
pL	míe	mmó	[méei]ne	[náe]	[nábi]
	tmíe	etmmó		at[náe]	
L	mée	mméu	méeine	náe	nábi
	tmée	etmméu	mácin	atnáe	nábe
M	mée	mmé	mécin	née	nábe
	tmée	etmmé		a(ei)tnée	
V	méi	mméu	mẽin	néi	nábi
	tméi	etmméu		atnéi	
	timéi				
F	mé(e)i	mméu	mẽin	néei	nábi
	tmé(e)i	etmméu		atnéei	
	timé(e)i				
F56	méei	mméu	[mẽin]	néei	nábi
	tméei	etmméu		atnéei	
	timéei				
F7	méi	mméu	[mẽin]	néi	nábi
	tméi	etmméu		a(ie)tnéi	
	timéi				
H	mẽei	máou	mácin	ná	nábi
	tmẽei	etēmáou		atná	
	tēmẽei				
P	mẽi	mmáu	mẽcin	náe	nóbe
	tmẽi	etmmáu		atnáe	
S	mé	mmáu	mácin	ná	nóbe
	tmé	etmmáu		atná	
B74!	mẽi	mmá	mẽini	nái	nóbi
	tmẽi	etemmá		atnái	
	timẽi				
B	mẽi	mmáu	mẽini	nái	nóbi
	thmẽi	etemmáu		athnái	
	timẽi				

Kasser, 1984; Funk, 1985; and PROTODIALECT.)

Still further to the south, probably around Akhmīm and perhaps even as far as Thebes (if not Aswan), seems to be the domain of Akhmimic, which was perhaps outflanked on the south (at Thebes and with *P*?) by some variety of *L*, which tended to function as a semivehicular, or supralocal, language (see DIALECT, IMMIGRANT); of this function *L* was to be dispossessed by the most vigorous and active vehicular language of the whole Egyptian Nile Valley to the south of the Delta—*S*.

It would be tedious to describe afresh here all these dialects and subdialects, each of which is treated, separately or in groups, in one or other of the special linguistic articles of this encyclopedia. Here, however, is a list of the sigla of these idioms, in alphabetical order and with mention of the article in which it is presented.

TABLE 1. *Characteristic Lexemes in the Principal Coptic Dialects and Subdialects (continued)*

	"EVERY"	"OF" (GENITIVE PREP.)	"TO HIM" (DATIVE PREP., SING.3.MASC.)	"GREAT, LARGE"	"THAT IS" (PROLEPTIC PARTICLE)	"THIS"	"THIS . . ."
A	nim	nte-	nef	nac	nci	pei	pei-
pL	[nim]	nte-	nef	nac	nci	pei	pei-
L	nim	nte-	nef	nac	nji	pe(e)i	pe(e)i-
M	nim	nte-	nef	nac	ncē	pei	pei-
V	nibi	nte-	nef	naj̈	nje	pei	pei-
F	nibi	nte-	nef̄	naj̈	nje	pei	pei-
F56	nibi	nte-	neb̄	naj̈	nje	pei	pei-
F7	nimi	nte-	nef	naj	nji	pei	pei-
H	nim	tē-	nab	naj̈	j̈i	pai	pēi-
P	nib	nte-	naf	nak	nk(e)	pai	pi-
S	nim	nte-	naf	noc	nci	pai	pei-
B74!	niben	nte-	naf	nishti	nje	pai	pai-
B	niben	nte-	naf	nishti	nje	phai	pai-

A See AKHMIMIC.

B Equals *B5* in agreement with *B4;* see BOHAIRIC.

B4 Bohairic subdialect; see examples below and Kasser, 1981, p. 92.

B5 Classical Bohairic, in contrast to *B4* in the rare cases of disagreement between *B4* and *B5*; see BOHAIRIC.

B74 A kind of south Bohairic; see examples below and Kasser, 1981, pp. 93–94.

B74! See below.

F Equals *F5* in agreement with *F4;* see FAYYUMIC.

F4 Fayyumic subdialect, presented with *F.*

F5 Classical Fayyumic, in contrast to *F4* in cases of disagreement between *F4* and *F5;* see FAYYUMIC.

F56 A variety of *F5* very often replacing ϥ by ϧ; presented with *F.*

F7 A kind of somewhat archaic "north Fayyumic"; presented with *F.*

G See DIALECT G.

H See DIALECT H.

H! See below.

İ See *pL.*

L Equals *L4* in agreement with *L5* and *L6;* see LYCOPOLITAN and LYCO-DIOSPOLITAN.

L4 Variety of *L* in the Manichaean texts; presented with *L.*

L5 Variety of *L* in the London papyrus of John, etc.; presented with *L.*

L6 Variety of *L* in the non-Sahidic Gnostic texts and the Heidelberg Acta Pauli; presented with *L.*

M See MESOKEMIC.

P See DIALECT P.

pL See DIALECT İ.

S See SAHIDIC.

V A kind of "south Fayyumic"; presented with *F.*

W A kind of "crypto-Mesokemic with South Fayyumic phonology"; presented with *F.*

To allow readers who are not Coptologists to sample in some way the "music," the sounds, of the Coptic language (truly an authentic form of the autochthonous Egyptian language) in its different dialectal varieties, it has seemed useful to present in Table 1 a list of some phonologically rather characteristic lexemes. These specimens illustrate the most striking characteristics of the dialects and subdialects. To make them more readily accessible, the Coptic is transliterated here, following the system chosen for the encyclopedia as a whole, but with the following remarks and adaptations.

The tonic accent of each word that has one is

TABLE 1. *Characteristic Lexemes in the Principal Coptic Dialects and Subdialects (continued)*

	COPULA SING. MASC.	POSSESSIVE ARTICLE: "HIS" (SING.MASC./SING. 3.MASC.), "THEIR" (SING.MASC./PL.3.)	"HE SAYS"	"MAN" "THE MAN" "THE MAN OF" "MAKER OF"	"NAME"	"VOICE"	"BROTHER"
A	pe	pf- pou-	pajéf	rőme prőme rm- ref-	rén	smí	sán
pL	pe	pf- pou-	pajéf	rőme prőme [rm-] ref-	[rén]	[smḗ]	[sán]
L	pe	pef- pou-	pajéf	rőme prőme rm- ref-	rén	smḗ	sán
M	pe	pef- peu-	pejéf	róme próme rm- ref-	rén	smḗ	sán
V	pe	pef- peu-	pejéf	rőmi p(i)rőmi rm- ref-	rén	smḗ	sán
F	pe	pef- peu-	pejéf	lőmi p(i)lőmi lem- lef-	lén	smḗ	sán
F56	pe	peb- peu-	pejéb	lőmi p(i)lőmi lem- lef-	lén	smḗ	sán
F7	pe	pef- peu-	[pejéf]	lőmi p(i)lőmi [lem-] lef-	lén	smḗ	sán
H	pē	pēb- pēu-	pējáb	rőmi p(ē)rőmi rēm- rēb-	rán	smḗ	[sán]
P	pe	pf- pou-	pajáf	rőme prőme rm- rmef-	rín	smē(-́)	són
S	pe	pef- peu-	pejáf	rőme prőme rm- ref-	rán	smḗ	són
B74!	pe	pef- pou-	pejáf	rőmi p(i)rőmi rem- ref-	rán	smḗ	són
B	pe	pef- pou-	pejáf	rőmi phrőmi pirőmi rem- ref-	rán	smḗ	són

TABLE 1. *Characteristic Lexemes in the Principal Coptic Dialects and Subdialects (continued)*

	"HEAR, LISTEN"	"WRITE"	"PURIFY"	"DISTURB, STIR"	"JOY"	"WILL" "THE WILL"
A	sṓtme	sḥéi	tbbouó	tṓḥ	ounáf	ouṓḥe pouṓḥe
pL	sṓtme	[sḥéi]	tb[bouó]	[tṓḥ]	[ounáf]	[ouṓçe] [pouṓçe]
L	sṓtm(e)	shéi	toubó	tṓh	ounáf	ouṓsh(e) pouṓsh(e)
M	sótm	shéi	toubá	tóh	ounáf	ouésh (pouésh (?))
V	sṓtm	shéi	tybbá	[tóh]	ounáf	ouṓsh p(i)ouṓsh
F	sṓtem	shéi	tybbá	tṓh	ounáf	ouṓsh p(i)ouṓsh
F56	sṓtm	shéi	tybbá	[tṓh]	ounáb	ouṓsh p(i)ouṓsh
F7	sṓtom	[shéi]	tybbá	tṓh	ounáf	ouṓsh p(i)ouṓsh
H	sṓtēm	[shái]	[tēbbá(?)]	[tṓh]	ounáb	ouṓsh p(ē)ouṓsh
P	sṓtm	sḥái	tbbó	tṓḥ	ounóf	ouṓç pouṓç
S	sṓtm	shái	tbbó	tṓh	ounóf	ouṓsh pouṓsh
B74!	sṓtem	shái	toubó	tṓh	ounóf	ouṓsh p(i)ouṓsh
B	sṓtem	sḥái	toubó	thṓḥ	ounóf	ouṓsh phouṓsh piouṓsh

noted by an acute accent placed above the vowel concerned. ⲃ b in *F56* and especially *H* is probably to be pronounced rather [v] (it is probably the same in *G*). ⲏⲏ and ⲟⲟ in *P* (when this vowel duplication indicates simply "one" vowel, but accentuated [see Kasser, 1985], and not the tonic vowel followed by /'/ [see ALEPH]) are rendered respectively by ē(◌́) and o(◌́) and not by ḗē or ṓō as everywhere else. In the autochthonous Coptic vocabulary of *P*, ⲕ is rendered by k and ⲋ by k̈ (the first possibly to be pronounced a little more to the back of the throat, somewhat like q *qoph*, the second rather to the front of the throat; but it remains most probable that the k in the autochthonous vocabulary *P* has the value of c in the other dialects, and the k̈ of the autochthonous *P* (like the k of Copto-Greek *p*) that of k elsewhere. ⲕ in *P* is rendered by k(e). ⲫ̇ in *pL* and ⲯ in *P* are rendered by ç (pronounced like the ch in German *ich*, or nearly like the initial h in English *human*, and thus to be distinguished from ⲫ sh, German sch). ⲯ in *P* is rendered by ' (which one must beware of confusing with the apostrophe ' which serves to distinguish s'h ⲥ₂ from sh ⲫ). Finally, one cannot render the polyvalent ⲅ of the various Coptic idioms uniformly by c, for though c fits for *A*, *L*, *M*, and *S*, ⲅ in *W*, *V*, *F4*, *F5*, and *H* has probably the value of j̈ (to be distinguished in pronunciation, without one's knowing exactly how, from j ⲝ), and ⲅ in *B5* and *B4* has the value of jh. (*P*, *F7*, and *B74* do not have any ⲅ.)

Only the thirteen principal Coptic idioms and (sub)dialects are presented in the table, some sup-

TABLE 1. *(continued)*

	"LIVE"	"BECOME" AND "BE"	"USE, VALUE"	"SAYING," WORD"	"SELF"	"WORK, THING"	"IN"
A	ṓnḥ	ḥṓpe ḥóop	shéu	shéje	hóuou ⫽	hṓb	ḥn-
pL	ṓnḥ	ç̣ṓpe ç̣ó⟨o⟩p	[shéu]	shéje	[hṓō ⫽]	[hṓb]	ḥn-
L	ṓ(ō)nh (ṓōh)	shṓpe shóop	shéu	séje shéje	hṓō ⫽	hṓb	hn-
M	ónh	shópe sháp	shéu	séje	hṓ ⫽	hób	hn-
V	ṓnh	shṓpi shá(a)p	shéu	séji (shéji(?))	hṓ[ō] ⫽	hṓb	hn-
F	ṓnh	shṓpi shá(a)p	shéu	shéji	hṓō ⫽	hṓb	hn-
F56	ṓnah	shṓpi sháap	shéu	shéji	hṓō ⫽	hṓb	hn-
F7	ṓnh	shṓpi sháp	[shéu]	shéji	hṓ ⫽	hṓb	hin-
H	ṓnah	shṓpi sháap	sháou	sháji	[hṓō ⫽]	hṓb	hēn-
P	ṓ'ḥ	ç̣ṓpe ç̣ó'p	sháu	sháje	(hṓ ⫽)	hṓb	ḥn-
S	ṓnh	shṓpe shóop	sháu	sháje	hṓō ⫽	hṓb	hn-
B74!	ṓnh	shṓpi shóp	sháu	sáji	hṓ ⫽	hṓb	hen-
B	ṓnḥ	shṓpi shóp	sháu	sáji	hṓ ⫽	hṓb	ḥen-

plementary linguistic forms appearing in addition in the footnotes to the table. Thus, *L4*, *L5*, and *L6* are noted in relation to one another (*L4* + *L5* + *L6* = *L*); *W* is noted in relation to *V* (= *V4* + *V5*); *F4* and *F5* are noted in relation to each other; *H!* is noted in relation to *H; B4* and *B74* (and even *G* when its forms are attested, in a few cases only) are noted in relation to one another and to *B*, which is almost always identical with *B5* (*B4* + *B5* = *B*). An exclamation mark indicates "metorthography"; thus, *H!* and *B74!* are, respectively, *H* and *B74* in metorthography. Metorthography is the new orthographic and phonological system toward which numerous copyists writing a dialect or subdialect are strongly tending; thus, in *H!* the final atonic vowel is ē rather than i; in *B74!* ḥ will be replaced by h and the aspiration typical of Bohairic, still vigorous in *B74* as in *B4* and *B5* (kh for k, ph for p, th for t, in certain well-defined conditions), will disappear (jh for j in *B4* and *B5* is already abandoned in *B74*).

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TABLE 1. *Characteristic Lexemes in the Principal Coptic Dialects and Subdialects (continued)*

	"THAT, BECAUSE"	"TAKE, RECEIVE"	"SAY"	"WRITTEN DOCUMENT, BOOK"	"BEGET, ACQUIRE"	"EXALT" AND "EXALTED, HIGH"
A	je	jí	jóu	jóu(ou)me	tḫpó	jíse jáse
pL	je	jí	jṓ	jṓme	[tçpó]	jíse jási
L	je	jí	jṓ	jṓme	jpó	jíse jási jáse
M	je	jí	jṓ	jóme	jpá	jíse jáse
V	je	jí	jṓ	jṓ(ō)me	jpá	jísi jási
F	je	jí	jṓ	jṓōme	jpá	jísi jási
F56	je	jí	jṓ	[jṓōme]	jpá	jísi [jási]
F7	je	jhí	jṓ	[jṓma]	jpá	jísi jási
H	jē	jí	jṓ	([jṓmi])	j̈pá	[jísi] jási
P	je	jí	jṓ	[jṓōma]	tçpó	jíse jóse
S	je	jí	jṓ	jṓōme	jpó	jíse jóse
B74!	je	jí	jṓ	jṓm	jpó	jísi jósi
B	je	jhí	jṓ	jṓm	jphó	jhísi jhósi

	"POWER, STRENGTH"	"VIOLENCE, INIQUITY"	"HAND"
A	cám	cáns	cíj
pL	[cám]	[cáns]	cíj
L	cám	cáns	cíj
M	cám	cáns	cíj
V	j̈ám	[j̈á]ns	j̈íj
F	j̈ám	j̈áns	j̈íj
F56	j̈ám	j̈áns	j̈íj
F7	jám	jás	jíjh
H	j̈ám	j̈ánēs	j̈íj̈
P	kóm	gko(-)ns	kíj
S	cóm	cóns	cíj
B74!	jóm	jóns	jíj
B	jóm	jóns	jíj

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DIALECTS, GROUPING AND MAJOR GROUPS OF. The discovery of many Coptic manuscripts in the latter half of the twentieth century has led to a multiplication in the identification (sometimes disputed) of Coptic idioms, dialects, and subdialects, an identification based mainly on phonology, the most convenient and generally used criterion (see DIALECT, IMMIGRANT). The most likely working hypothesis that has been agreed upon is that the phonology of these idioms can be determined by analysis of their different orthographic systems; in practice, this is the only viable approach, since Coptic is a dead language. The increase in the number of known idioms is quite obvious: Stern (1880) has only three "dialects," *S*, *B*, and *F;* Crum (1939) has five, *S*, *B*, *F*, *A2 (= L)*, and *A;* Kahle (1954) has six, *S*, *B*, *F*, *M*, *A2 (= L)*, and *A;* Kasser (1964) has seven or eight, *S*, *(G?)*, *B*, *F*, *M*, *A2 (= L)*, *A*, and *P;* Kasser (1966), has nine, *S*, *G*, *B*, *F*, *M*, *A2 (= L)*, *A*, and *P;* and Kasser (1973) reaches fifteen, of which, however, five are practically abandoned in Kasser (1981): *S*, *G*, *(D)*, *B*, *(K)*, *F*, *H*, *(N)*, *M*, *L*, *İ*, *A*, *P*, *(C)*, *(E)*.

This multiplicity has led to revision of the very concept of "dialect" and "subdialect" (which should be rigorously distinguished from an IDIOLECT) so as to eliminate certain idioms that are possible but too poorly or too doubtfully attested and (despite Chaîne, 1934, pp. 2–3, and Kasser, 1974) to clarify dialectic filiations (Vergote, 1973b; Kasser, 1979; this concept should not be understood in too literal a way). Above all, the multiplicity has led to a classification of the different idioms into families or groups of dialects (Kasser, 1981, pp. 112–18) and then into major groups, to avoid complicating in the extreme the view of the phonetic and phonological facts of Coptic Egypt and to allow its more convenient integration into an analysis (synchronic and diachronic) of the Egyptian language as a whole. (On the terminology here employed, see IDIOLECT, PROTODIALECT, METADIALECT, and MESODIALECT.)

Although presented through the medium of another terminology, such groups of dialects were distinguished by Stern (1880) when he contemplated the existence of two clearly distinct dialects, the Lower Egyptian and the Upper Egyptian, which elsewhere he preferred to call Bohairic and Sahidic, respectively, and when he defined *F* as "the third dialect, only a variant of Sahidic" and "of less importance." In the same way, Steindorff (1951) presented two groups of dialects: Upper Egyptian *(S, A, L, F)* and Lower Egyptian (*B*, and Bashmuric, a dialect practically unknown).

The grouping of "dialects" set out below is quite similar to that of Kasser (1981) but with some significant differences, the most important of which is the new valuation of *S* and *B:* they are no longer considered as "dialects" (as are, e.g., *A*, *L*, and *M*) but as "Coptic languages," that is, "vehicular," or supralocal, even supraregional common languages, which permitted the inhabitants of numerous Egyptian regions, where each spoke his own local dialect, to communicate easily and to understand one another. So *S* is recognized as the common speech of the whole valley of the Egyptian Nile above the Delta, and *B* (more hypothetically but nevertheless rather likely) is considered the language of the whole Nile Delta. Coptic (supralocal etc.) languages (in touch with many local and regional dialects, which influence and neutralize them appreciably) cannot be

compared without great caution with individual (local or regional) dialects.

According to this system, each group of dialects has a "chief," a dialect that is well represented in texts and is the one with the largest number of phonological (and, as far as possible, morphosyntactical) elements characteristic of its group. In principle, those idioms which have in common a large number of consonantal and vocalic isophones belong to the same dialectal group. Indeed, consonantal isophones are normally the same within a dialectal group, but they may sometimes differ, so long as the differences are tolerable and not decisive. Consonantal differences are tolerable if they fit into the pattern of the normal evolution of a dialect (progressive neutralization), as in $\underset{\cdot}{h} > /ç/ > /š/$ (the protodialect with /ç/ will belong to the same group as the dialect that has /š/ < /ç/ if their vocalic isophones are in large part the same; cf. Kasser, 1981, p. 114). On the other hand, a consonantal difference is not tolerable if it cannot be registered in a pattern of normal dialectal evolution. Thus, although the vocalic isophones of *A* and of some members of *L* are largely the same, the decisive difference between *A* and *L* consists in the striking fact that in *A* alone of all the Coptic dialects $\underset{\cdot}{h} > /x/$ everywhere and $\underline{h}$ also > /x/ steadily, and thus $\underset{\cdot}{h}$ and $\underline{h}$ merge into ⲉ = /x/ constantly and everywhere, whereas in all the other dialects almost all the $\underset{\cdot}{h} > /ç/ > /š/$ (merging with the other /š/ < *š*) and all the $\underline{h}$ (with a few $\underset{\cdot}{h}$) > /x/ > /h/ (merging with the other /h/ < *h*). This excludes any integration of *A* into the same schema as, for example, *P* and *S* (e.g., **A* > **P* > **S*). It is inconceivable that if in *A* $\underset{\cdot}{h}$ and $\underline{h}$ have merged into /x/, this distinction should reappear at a later stage, some of these /x/ > /ç/ > /š/ because they derive from $\underset{\cdot}{h}$ and other /x/ > /h/ because they derive from $\underline{h}$.

The six groups of dialects are listed below in an order assumed to correspond to their geographical order, from south to north. As a whole, this schema corresponds to a conception of dialectal geography (see GEOGRAPHY, DIALECTAL) wherein the situation of the chief of each group, thanks to comparison of the isophones (Vergote, 1973, Vol. 1a, pp. 55–56), may be determined in relation to at least two of the other chiefs (those closest to it), all these chiefs being practically placed on an equal footing vis-à-vis the criterion of localization constituted by their isophones. Since the approximate geographical situation of at least three of these chiefs seems relatively well known (from south to north, *A*, *F*, and *B*, leaving out a fourth, *M*, which poses a more delicate problem), it appears possible to determine that of the remaining two, *L* and *S*, with a high degree of probability: *L* stands between *A* and *S*, and hence to the north of *A*; *S* is a vehicular language (the southern koine of Egypt) in contact (near Memphis) with the second Egyptian vehicular language, *B* (the northern koine), and hence a strong vocalic similarity between *S* and *B* (probably due to the influence of some pre-*B* on some pre-*S* in pre-Coptic time; see Chaîne, 1934, pp. 13–18, and Satzinger, 1985). Nevertheless, most of the typical phonological and morphosyntactical features of *S* suggest that the particular pre-Coptic idiom that became *S* as a widespread common language (see DIALECT, IMMIGRANT) was located not directly near the Delta and *B*, but rather more to the south, between *L* and *M*.

In the following list of six groups, **//S** means "everywhere in contact with *S* as a supralocal vehicular language"; and **//B** means "for the subdialects *B4*, *B7*, *B74*, and probably *G*, if not for *K* and *K7*, everywhere in contact with *B* as a supralocal vehicular language." The presence of a question mark (?) indicates strong doubt as to the dialectal identity (i.e., the possibility that one is dealing with a "dialectoid").

Akhmimic Group (//S)

A: Dialect; chief of the group; further research will possibly permit the definition of some subdialects of *A* (one might in particular consider that 2 Mc. 5:27–6:21 in Lacau, 1911, somewhat archaic in a few of its peculiarities, attests very sporadically a kind of proto-AKHMIMIC [*pA*], a practically missing protodialect). See AKHMIMIC.

Lycopolitan Group (//S)

İ (or *pL*): Partly sporadic protodialect of *L* (LYCOPOLITAN or LYCO-DIOSPOLITAN; cf. DIALECT İ).

İ7: Subdialect of *İ*, through partial neutralization and evolution toward *L*.

L: Dialect; chief of group.

L4: Subdialect of *L*.

L5: Subdialect of *L*.

L6: Subdialect of *L*.

Sahidic Group (//S)

P: Partially sporadic protodialect; it can be considered a regional dialectal variety very like a kind of (reconstructed) proto-Sahidic, probably immi-

grant into the region of Thebes (southern region of *A* also, probably, and perhaps of some variety of *L*). See DIALECT P.

S: Language; chief of group. Further research will perhaps permit the definition of some (sub)dialects of *S*. See SAHIDIC.

Mesokemic Group (//S)

M: Dialect; chief of group. Further research will perhaps permit the definition of some subdialects of *M*. One might in particular consider that P. Mil. Copti 1 and the codex of the Psalms attest a variety of *M* that could be denominated *M4* and that the subdialect of Codex Scheide and Codex Glazier is *M5*. See MESOKEMIC.

W: See Fayyumic group.

Fayyumic Group (//S)

F: Dialect; chief of group.

F4: Subdialect of *F*.

F5: Subdialect of *F;* classical FAYYUMIC.

F7: Eccentric and somewhat archaic subdialect of *F;* possibly a marginal northern protodialect of a variety of *F* ill known and not attested later.

F8: Eccentric subdialect of *F*.

F9: Eccentric subdialect of *F*.

F4, *F5*, *F7*, *F8*, and *F9* all have the typical Fayyumic lambdacism.

V: Without lambdacism; mesodialect (between a dominant *F* and *W*, and further *M*) and in some ways a subdialect of *F4* etc. by neutralization.

W: Without lambdacism; mesodialect (between *V* and *M*). Has a typical FAYYUMIC orthography, on the one hand, but a typical Mesokemic morphosyntax, on the other hand; hence its name "crypto-Mesokemic." One might also associate it with the Mesokemic group.

Bohairic Group (//B)

B: Language; chief of group.

B4: (Sub)dialect of *B*, possibly rather marginal and to the south.

B5: (Sub)dialect of *B;* classical Bohairic.

B7: Eccentric and partially sporadic subdialect of *B*.

B74: Eccentric (sub)dialect of *B;* in some way subdialect of *B4*, and perhaps more to the south.

K: Mesodialect (between a very dominant *B* and *V* [or *S*]).

K7: Eccentric subdialect of *K* (still further removed from *V* than *K* is).

G: Partially sporadic mesodialect (between a very dominant *B* and *S* [?], with probably also a third component, perhaps partly Hellenic and difficult to determine).

Difficult to classify in any group remains *H*: mesodialect, on the one hand (between *S* and *M*, or rather *S* and *V*, itself a mesodialect associated with the Fayyumic group); on the other hand, a typical metadialect, but too poorly represented to allow one to define it at an earlier (classical) period. See DIALECT H.

As seen above, the distribution of the Coptic idioms into six dialectal groups and their geographical localization in relation to one another are essentially based on the comparison of the isophones of these idioms, consonantal, on the one hand, and vocalic, on the other. If, however, one observes that there are very few consonantal differences between the varieties of Coptic, that several of these differences can be put down to various degrees of progression of the late Egyptian consonantal evolution (Vergote, 1945, pp. 122–23) in the various Coptic idioms, and that the most neutralized idioms (*V*, still more *L*, and above all *S*) are the most difficult to situate in Coptic dialectal geography, then another method can be envisaged, producing different results and manifesting a different system of dialect grouping.

Based again (for want of anything better) on phonology as it is revealed by the various orthographic systems employed, this method would rely particularly on vocalic phonology, and especially the phonology of the tonic vowels. It thereby relegates to the level of secondary importance certain spectacular phenomena, such as the sonant atonal finals (phonologically vowels) in *S*, *M*, *L*, *B*, and *F* or the voiced consonants followed by /ə/ in *A* and in the *L4* Manichaean witnesses (Kasser, 1982c, p. 49, n. 5), and above all the ordinary atonal final vowels /ə/ *S*, *M*, *L*, *A* versus /i/ *B*, *F*, phenomena upon which one might have been tempted in the first place to base the most general divisions of Egypt into large supradialectal geographical zones. The result is that, setting aside certain phenomena of extension generally more limited (ibid., p. 50, n. 7) than the phenomena given the primary diacritical function, the observation of the vocalic constants noted in the systematic cases considered to have priority leads to a grouping of the six "classical" entities (two "languages," *S* and *B*, and four "dialects," *A*, *L*, *M*, and

F) two by two, and thus to a subdivision of the linguistic totality of Coptic Egypt not into six "dialectal groups" but into three "major dialectal regions":

I. The southern (dialects) major region (Upper Egypt), including *A* and *L* (and their subdialects, etc.).
II. The middle (dialects) major region (middle and lower Middle Egypt and the Fayyūm), including *M* and *F* (and their subdialects, etc., among them *V* and *W*).
III. The northern (dialects and vehicular language)–southern (vehicular language) major region (Lower Egypt [or the Delta], Middle Egypt, and Upper Egypt), including *B* and *S* (and their subdialects etc.). See Kasser, 1989.

By this process, one could work out a Coptic dialectal geography at one and the same time perhaps less precise and more nuanced than that tied to the conception of the six dialectal groups above. Even if one admits that the most neutralized idioms (*V*, still more *L*, and above all *S*) of the Egyptian Nile Valley above the Delta each had as principal antecedent some idiom that was in origin a local dialect, this tripartite system would envisage each of them in the Nile Valley as the vehicular language (potentially or effectively) of a given major region, without further specifying their origin (in contrast to *A*, *M*, and *F*). Thus, major region I would have as its only local dialect known at the present time *A* (Akhmīm and environs, perhaps fairly far to the south) but would have *L* as the semineutralized vehicular dialect of this whole region (viz., the zone of *A* and other zones to the south and north of it). Major region II would have as a local dialect *M* (environs of Oxyrhynchus?) and *F* (with various subdialects, the Fayyūm) but would have *V* as a slightly neutralized dialect tending to become vehicular for the region (viz., the zone of *M* and *F*, and some zone between *M* and *F*, and to the east of *F*). Major region III, superposing itself partially on major regions I and II, would have all the local dialects of these regions and both their supralocal dialects (potentially or effectively, *V* and *L*) and, above all, both the major Coptic vehicular languages, *S* and *B* (further in the Delta, of course, the local dialects or subdialects of Lower Egypt, and *K* and *K7* of lower Middle Egypt; see above, Bohairic group). One must remember here that *S*, being dominant throughout the Egyptian Nile Valley above the Delta, progressively stifled there *A*, *L*, *M*, *W*, *V*, and finally *F*.

Both systems (six groups of dialects or three major regions of dialects) are to be considered in the present state of knowledge in this field.

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DIALECTS, MORPHOLOGY OF COPTIC.

The existence of quite a number of differential traits in the fields of morphology and morphosyntax may serve to show that the Coptic literary "dialects" comprise not just different pronunciations and spellings, supported by slightly differing vocabularies, of the same linguistic system but, in fact, different normative systems of written communication reflecting more or less directly some of the locally, regionally, or even sometimes nationally balanced spoken idioms. To be sure, these literary dialects cannot be conceived of as mere transcriptional records of the spoken dialects behind them. One may safely assume that each of them had undergone various stages of balance and adjustment—be it through its "natural" usage as a regional or supraregional vernacular or through the exertion of some standardizing force in scribal centers—before it was found worthy of being employed as the literary standard whose specimens have survived. Yet these dialectal varieties still reveal so many diverging traits—phonological, grammatical, and lexical—that only if considered in their sustained proximity to each other can they be identified as varieties of one language. If only the records of, say, Bohairic and Akhmimic had survived as the two extremes of this continuum, one would hardly be able to treat them as "dialects" but would rather classify them as distinct, though closely related, languages.

If, as is usually done, the term "dialect" is taken to cover several more or less closely related varieties of Coptic (i.e. the varieties of Bohairic, Fayyumic, etc.), it seems that on the morphological and morphosyntactic levels, in general, there is greater similarity between dialects, but a lower degree of consistency (i.e., less standardization) within each dialect than there is on the phonological level. Quite a number of morphemic elements that would be typical of dialect D_1 may be used more or less regularly in a single text of dialect D_2: they are easily understood in this context not so much because they are supposed to be "known" from D_1 but because they may represent basic options of the Coptic language as a "diasystem." The higher a given phenomenon ranks in the system of Coptic grammar (or the closer it is to the fundamentals of Coptic syntax), the more does it seem to be capable of neutralization in terms of dialectal distinction, its remaining variability being influenced by communicative perspective, text type, and individual style.

As for the linguistic value of a given text or variety, what counts is not primarily its degree of accordance with any standards known from other sources (often termed "standardization") but its degree of *internal* standardization, which might be more adequately termed "normalization." If one takes a closer look at the actual dialectal varieties (i.e., grammatically homogenous corpora) of Coptic, it is remarkable to see that even in minor or marginal dialects, the degree of normalization in the morphological field is enormous. Both in terms of morphemic (syntactic) usage and the phonological representation of grammatical morphemes, the greater number of literary manuscripts and groups of manuscripts reveal a degree of normalization that is in no way inferior to their observation of general (morpheme-independent) phonological and orthographic norms. This normalized usage (or *état de langue*), notwithstanding all the inconsistencies so often deplored by scholars, should be one of the primary subjects of study with both major and minor varieties. *External* standardization, on the other hand, may be measured in terms of both the amount of manuscripts available for one variety and the amount of neighboring varieties shading into another central "dialect." Investigations of the latter sort (for a beginning, see Kasser, 1980–1981), which seem to be most promising in particular within the multiple-centered Akhmimic/Subakhmimic southern area and the more clearly triangular Bohairic/Fayyumic/Middle Egyptian northern area, will eventually contribute a great deal to the historical understanding of the dialect situation and development in Coptic Egypt and provide a safer ground for pertinent hypotheses (which they are so much in need of).

Taking into account the large number of "supplementing" dialectal varieties of Coptic that have become known through publications during the last

few decades or still await publication, and considering the deficient supply of information about the actual morpheme-stock in many of the crucial text editions, a review of the morphological relationship of Coptic dialects at the present time cannot exhaust the whole scale of known varieties. As a matter of fact, comprehensive comparative analysis will have to start by grouping and classifying the smallest discernible units of texts that follow a distinct linguistic norm and joining them gradually together into natural groups (major dialects), with the crucial isoglosses and differential traits being broadly discussed and accurately accounted for. This is one of the tasks of future research. What can be done in an article of the present format, however, is to provide a selection of standard varieties that are more or less typical of the six major literary dialects accepted so far by a greater number of Coptic scholars, *A*, *B*, *F*, *L*, *M*, and *S*, and a list of traits exemplifying their isoglosses, in an attempt to point out the complexity of the task before scholars.

The varieties referred to are, for *A*, the AKHMIMIC "medial" group of Exodus (Lacau, 1911), Epistula Apostolorum (Schmidt, 1919), and the Strasbourg Codex (Rösch, 1910); for *B*, biblical BOHAIRIC (in order to facilitate roughly "synchronic" comparability, only such traits as are in concord with the usage of the "old-Bohairic" manuscripts will be accepted here); for *F*, some representatives of classical FAYYUMIC proper (*F5*, second group in Asmus, 1904) such as St. John ap. Zoega, St. Mark (Elanskaya, 1969), Agathonicus (Erichsen, 1932), insofar as they are not discordant with earlier Fayyumic proper (*F4*, see, e.g., Kahle, 1954, pp. 286–90); for *L*, the Nag Hammadi type *(L6)* of Subakhmimic (i.e., LYCOPOLITAN or LYCO-DIOSPOLITAN), exposing its most valuable representative in Codex I, 2, The Apocryphon of James (Malinine et al., 1968; Kirchner, 1977); for *M*, St. Matthew (Schenke, 1981; see MESOKEMIC); and for *S*, biblical (in particular, New Testament) SAHIDIC. In order to round off the picture and facilitate taxonomical operations, two other important varieties shall be added: DIALECT P, the idiom of P. Bodmer VI (Kasser, 1960) for its outstanding characteristics, and the Manichaean type of Subakhmimic (or Lyco-Diospolitan), hereafter referred to as *L4*, that is to say, one variety of the group symbolized formerly as *L4* in Kasser (1980a, pp. 68–69, to the exclusion, notably, of Thompson's Gospel of John, *L5*), for its abundant corpus, with its most normalized representative being the Homilies (Polotsky, 1934). Of all the minor varieties whose representatives have been published so far, the latter two are without any doubt the most interesting. (Perhaps somewhat "less interesting" for the network of isoglosses are varieties such as that represented by St. John, ed. Husselman, 1962 [the most important member of Kasser's former *V*, now *W*], which does not reveal any single trait that is not shared by either *F* or *M*.)

"Morphological" traits, in the sense in which the term will be applied here, fall into three groups: (i) variables in terms of different phonological representations of the same Pan-Coptic, transdialectal morpheme, or "diamorpheme," which may be called "diamorphemic variables"; (ii) variables in terms of a different handling of allomorphic rules, or "allomorphic variables"; (iii) morphosyntactic variables, including some idiosyncratic grammatical morphs. While the latter two items seem to be fairly conclusive, some words of explanation may be needed with regard to (i).

To begin with, it must be noted that the majority of formal grammatical devices used in given paradigms and/or for given purposes are either phonemically and graphemically invariable for all Coptic dialects (in clear contrast to the majority of lexical morphemes) or their varying phonemic/graphemic representations are conditioned by general phonological rules. Such items cannot be the subject of a special morphological comparison. For instance, the vocalization of the stressed "stem" vowel in some prepositions *(status pronominales)* and the stressed personal pronouns strictly follows the general rules governing the vocalization of short stressed syllables, dependent on the type of the following consonant. Thus, for example, one finds for ⲟ:ⲁ:

A, L6, L4, M, F	*S, B*	
ⲁ/ⲉⲣⲁϥ	ⲉⲣⲟϥ	cf. ⲥⲁⲛ:ⲥⲟⲛ
ⲙⲙⲁϥ	ⲙⲙⲟϥ	ϩⲁϥ : ϩⲟϥ
(ⲛⲧⲁϥ)	(ⲛⲧⲟϥ)	

But with the suffix of 2nd fem. sing. /'/, one finds:

A, L6, L4, P/S, B	*F, M*	
ⲁ/ⲉⲣⲟ	ⲉⲣⲁ	cf. ϩⲟ : ϩⲁ
ⲙⲙⲟ	ⲙⲙⲁ	ⲧⲁⲕⲟ/ⲧⲉⲕⲟ : ⲧⲉⲕⲁ
(ⲛⲧⲟ)	(ⲛⲧⲁ)	ⲟ(ⲟ)ϩ : ⲁ(ⲁ)ϩ

Generally, with regard to suffixal pronouns, there is very little dialectal variation except for certain contexts (see the variables quoted below as nos. 6–10). Also, for instance, the different dialectal representa-

tions of such forms as ⲟⲩⲁ, one; ⲡⲁⲓ̈, this one; ⲉⲫⲱⲛⲉ, if; and other full-stress pronouns and particles can be easily reduced to general phonological rules.

The situation is thoroughly different with those morphemes that regularly occur in pretonic syllables, such as those establishing the basic syntactic relations in verbal sentences or connected in some way with the conjugation system. If used in pretonic positions, morphemes occupy slots that, with regard to vowel quality, are very little, if at all, determined by transparent (dialect-)phonological principles. It is rather the morpholexical identity of the form, usually balanced by a pan-Coptic norm, that determines the quality of these syllables. Compare for pretonic ⲉ in all dialects, the circumstantial converter; ⲉⲫⲱⲛⲉ, if; ⲉⲧⲃⲉ-, because of; ⲉⲥⲏⲧ, ground; ⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ, sheep; ⲭⲉⲣⲟ, kindle; etc.; and for pretonic ⲁ in all dialects, the perfect and aorist conjugation bases; ⲁⲛⲟⲕ/ⲁⲛⲟⲛ; ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ, honor; ⲁⲧ-, -less; ⲫⲁ-, toward; -ⲫⲁ(ⲛ)- condit. infix; etc.; but on the other hand, ⲉ *A, L6, L4, P* versus ⲁ *B, F, M, S* in certain *t*-causatives like ⲧⲁⲕⲟ, ⲧⲁⲗⲟ, ⲧⲁⲣⲕⲟ, ⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟ, ⲧⲁⲩⲟ, ⲧⲁϩⲟ, etc.; or ⲉ *A, L4, P* versus ⲁ *B, F, L6, M, S* in words like ⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ, prevail, and ⲁϩⲟ, treasure. If the distribution, in terms of dialects, of ⲉ versus ⲁ in a particular grammatical morpheme, say, a conjugation or converter base, is found to follow one of these latter groupings, it may well be classified as determined by some phonological (though less transparent) ratio. But if it shows a grouping of its own, different from any other phonological trait (as is the case with almost all grammatical morphemes unless they are invariable), it may *cum grano salis* be counted as a "morphological" trait, although it still features not the morphological "system" but its phonological representation (or the *plan de l'expression*).

This comparison cannot be based on the phonemic system relations within each dialect (especially for the vowel system) or the phonological rules applying for the transition from one dialect to another, since this would not provide a common basis for the comparison. Thus, its validity largely rests on the overall assumption that the phonetic (!) values of the vowel graphemes are approximately the same in all dialectal writing systems, or at least that a Sahidic ⲁ, for example, is remarkably more similar in quality to an Akhmimic or Fayyumic ⲁ than it is to Akhmimic or Fayyumic ⲉ or Akhmimic ⲟ. This cannot be proved, even after a careful phonemic analysis of the respective graphemic systems; it simply has to be assumed.

i. Diamorphemic Variables

Diamorphemic variables are not classified in respect of the reasons for their variation, e.g., the issue of historical sameness or heterogeneity, unless this reason is synchronically to be seen as a difference in structural principles.

Basic Elements in Connection with the Conjugation.

(1) Operator of negative aorist, ⲙⲡⲁ⁄ *B;* ⲙⲁ⁄ *A, L6, L4, P;* ⲙⲉ⁄ *F, M, S.*

(2) Operator of affirmative perfect, ⲁ⁄ *A, B, F, L4, P, S;* ϩⲁ⁄ *M;* ⲁϩ(ⲁ)⁄, ⲁ⁄ *L6* (depending on the suffix chosen; but not fully normalized).

(3) Operator (initial vowel) of energetic future, ⲁ⁄ *A;* ⲉ⁄ *B, F, L6, L4, M, P, S.*

(4) Operator of conditional, homonymous with second present and coinciding with vocalization of "imperfect," ⲁ⁄ *A, B, F, M;* ⲉ⁄ *L6, L4, P, S.*

(5) "Causative infinitive," presence versus absence of -ⲣ- (-ⲗ-), presence *B, F, L6, S;* absence *A;* nonnormalized *L4, M, P.*

Vocalization of Pronominal Suffixes.

(6) First singular with negative energetic future, (ⲛ)ⲛⲁ- *A, B, M, S;* (ⲛ)ⲛⲓ- *L6, L4;* nonnormalized *F* (?) (unknown for *P*).

(7) First singular with "causative infinitive," ⲑ/ⲧⲣⲓ- *B, F, L6;* ⲧ(ⲣ)ⲁ- *A, L4, M, S* (unknown for *P*).

(8) Second feminine singular with possessive article, ⲡⲟⲩ- *M, S;* ⲡⲉ- *A, B, F, L6, L4* (unknown for *P*).

(9) Third plural with possessive article, ⲡⲉⲩ- *F, M, S;* ⲡⲟⲩ- *A, B, L4, P;* nonnormalized *L6.*

(10) Third plural with causative infinitive (similarly with the negative energetic future), ⲧ(ⲣ)ⲉⲩ- *M, S;* ⲑ/ⲧ(ⲣ)ⲟⲩ- *A, B, F, L6, L4, P.*

Formation of Qualitative (Stative) Verb Forms. What should not be neglected in this connection is the basic morphemic change concerning the verbal lexeme, that is, that between infinitive and qualitative (or more particularly, the formation of the qualitative form: "long" or "short" form; presence or absence of final /-t/, etc.). However, there appears to be but little normalization in this field for quite a number of varieties, so that it seems impossible to give distinct specimens of variables at the present state of research. A special case is the qualitative form of ⲉⲓⲣⲉ:

(11) Vowel quality /a/ ~ /o/ versus /e/, *B, F, L6, M, P, S* versus *A;* nonnormalized *L4.*

(12) Presence versus absence of /-i(e)/, presence *B, F, L6;* absence *M, P, S;* nonnormalized *A, L4.*

Miscellaneous Grammatical Forms of Transdialectal Identity.

(13) Postdeterminer "each," ⲛⲓⲙ *A, L6, L4, M, S*; ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ *B*; ⲛⲓⲃⲓ *F*; ⲛⲓⲃ *P*.

(14) Full-stress pronominal object of second plural, -ⲑ/ⲧⲏⲛⲟⲩ *B, F, M*; -ⲧⲏⲛⲉ *A, L6, L4, P*; -ⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ *S*.

(15) Possessive pronoun, plural base, ⲛⲱ⸗ *A, F, L4*; ⲛⲟⲩ⸗ *B, L6, P, S*.

(16) Prefix negating infinitive, ⲧⲙ- (ⲧⲙⲛ-) *A, L6, L4, M, P, S*; ⲫⲧⲉⲙ- *B, F*.

(17) Infinitive connector; interfix of affirmative energetic future; preposition (ⲉ-/ⲉⲣⲟ⸗ etc.), ⲉ- *B, F, M, S*; ⲁ- *A, L6, L4, P*.

(18) Marker (initial vowel) of "special" imperatives such as ⲁⲛⲓ-/ⲁⲛⲓ⸗, ⲁⲛⲁⲩ, ⲁⲣⲓ-/ⲁⲣⲓ⸗, ⲁⲭⲓ⸗, etc., ⲉ(ⲣⲓ)- *L6, P*; ⲁ(ⲣⲓ)- *A, B, F, L4, M, S*.

(19) Proclitic particle of epistemic condition (ⲓⲥⲭⲉ *B*, ⲉⲱⲭⲉ *S*, . . . (ⲉⲓ)ⲉⲡⲉ *A*), second element, -ⲡⲉ *A, L6, P*; -ⲭⲉ *B, F, L4, M, S*.

(20) Interrogative adverb of place, presence versus absence of -ⲛ, ⲟ/ⲧⲱⲛ/ⲧⲟⲛ *B, F, L6, M, S*; ⲧⲟ/ⲧⲟⲩ *A, L4, P*.

Miscellaneous "Nonidentical" Forms Filling the Same (or Partially Same) Paradigms, i.e., Lexicogrammatical Traits.

(21) Indefinite pronoun (NP equivalent in nonaffirmative contexts), ⲗⲗⲁⲩ(ⲉ)/ⲗⲁ(ⲟ)ⲩⲉ *A, L6, L4, P, S*; ⲉⲗⲓ *B*; ⲗⲁⲛⲥ/ⲗⲁⲓⲧ† *F*; ⲉⲓ (personal), ⲛⲓⲛⲉⲓ̈ (nonpersonal) *M*.

(22) Prefix forming negative imperative, ⲙⲛ- *A, P*; ⲙⲡ(ⲉ)ⲣ- etc. *B, F, L6, L4, M, S*.

(23) Proclitic relative converter preceding perfect conjugation operator, ⲉⲧ- *A, B, F, L4, M, P*; ⲛⲧ- *L6, S*.

(24) Presence versus absence of a special augens form ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁ(ⲧ)⸗/ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧ⸗ beside the usual ⲟⲩⲁⲁ(ⲧ)⸗/ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧ⸗, etc., presence *B, S*; absence *A, F, L6, L4, M, P*.

ii. Allomorphic Variables

Allomorphic Expansion of Conjugation Bases. Allomorphic expansion by -ⲣⲉ- in prenominal conjugation forms is handled very much alike in all dialects, allowing for frequent variation in nonnormalized manuscripts, and with striking deviations occurring only in Akhmimic (see Polotsky, 1960, sec. 52–56). Dialect-specific expansion of presuffixal bases may pertain either to the whole paradigm (e.g., the Akhmimic affirmative aorist, see ibid.) or to particular combinations, such as (a) all third-person forms (fluctuations in the affirmative aorist paradigm in *L6* and *M*), (b) the second-person feminine singular, and (c) the second-person plural. The rationale to be recognized behind the outstanding Akhmimic usage seems to be a different "signaling" function of -ⲣⲉ-. While in all other dialects it serves to expand a (greater) number of base morphemes so as to make them more "conspicuous" with regard to certain kinds of subject expressions that follow it (in particular, nominal and second feminine singular), in Akhmimic it tends to give up its expanding function and become an invariable part of the base morpheme for a (smaller) number of bases, the rest (in particular, present converted bases) being left without any expansion at all. The result is stronger morphemic uniformity and less submorphemic alternation. The following instances in terms of isoglosses may be typical of the situation:

(25) Circumstantial present, prenominal form, ⲉⲣⲉ- (ⲉⲗⲉ-) *B, F, L4, M, S*; ⲉ- *A*; nonnormalized ⲉ-, ⲉⲣⲉ- *L6, P*.

(26) Second present, prenominal form, ⲉⲣⲉ-/ⲁⲣⲉ- (ⲁⲗⲉ-) *B, F, L6, L4, M, P, S*; nonnormalized ⲁ-, ⲁⲣⲉ- *A*.

(27) Affirmative aorist, all third-person forms, ⲉⲁⲣ(ⲉ)ⲫ-, etc. *A*, ⲉⲁⲣⲫ- *P*; ⲫⲁⲫ-, etc. *B, F, L4, S*; nonnormalized *L6, M* (both seem to prefer ⲫⲁⲫ- to ⲫⲁⲣⲉⲫ-).

(28) Circumstantial present, second present, imperfect, and conditional, before suffix of second plural (which then appears in different allomorphs accordingly), (ⲛ)ⲁⲣⲉ⸗/(ⲛ)ⲉⲣⲉ⸗ *B, L6*; (ⲛ)ⲁ⸗/(ⲛ)ⲉ⸗ *A, F, L4, M, P, S*.

Intradialectal Interference of Submorphemic Alternation. The generalization of an allomorph beyond the contextual scope it is otherwise strictly bound to is a phenomenon very close to grammatical error. In Coptic, as well as in other languages, it is rarely found to be characteristic of a literary standard variety of the language, within the same historical period. A case in point is the combination of the second-person plural pronominal (subject) suffix—that is, its two basic allomorphs -ⲧ(ⲉ)ⲛ and -ⲧⲉⲧ(ⲉ)ⲛ—with the various conjugation bases, which may be divided into "short" and "long" ones (depending on whether they contain -ⲣⲉ- or not). The general morphological rule of Coptic that says the short suffix only combines with the long bases and the long suffix only combines with the short bases is invalidated in dialects *A* and *M* in opposite directions (cf. Polotsky, 1960, sec. 56; Funk, 1981, sec. 1.4.1). This may be presented in terms of isoglosses as follows:

(29) Second plural suffix, short form: only with long bases *A, B, F, L6, L4, P, S*; also with short bases *M*.

(30) Second plural suffix, long form: only with short bases *B, F, L6, L4, M, P, S*; also with long bases *A*.

iii. Morphosyntactic Variables

Special "Portmanteau" Morphs.

(31) Special element /er-/ incorporating {rel} + {perf} + {third-person subj. pron.}, presence *M*; absence *A, B, F, L6, L4, P, S.*

(32) Special element /-ah-/ (preceded by relative converter ϵT-/NT-) incorporating {perf} + {third-person subj. pron.}, presence *A, L6, P*; absence *B, F, L4, M, S.*

(33) Special element -ϣⲁⲣ- /-çar-/ (phonologically corresponding in *P* to Sahidic -ϣⲁⲣ- /-šar-/ (preceded by relative converter ϵT-) incorporating {aorist} + {third-person subj. pron.}, presence *P*; absence *A, B, F, L6, L4, M, S.*

Special Conjugation Base.

(34) Presence versus absence of a special "temporalis" clause conjugation NTϵⲣϵϥ-/NTⲁⲣϵϥ- ("absence" implies the use of rel. perf. in the same paradigm), presence *A, L6, L4, P, S*; absence *B, F, M* (Fayyumic proper is split here; this notation accounts for the usage of biblical manuscripts).

Use of Different (Coexistent) Forms in the Same Paradigm.

(35) Prefix deriving Greek-loaned verb stems, (ϵ)ⲣ-/ϵⲗ- *A, B, F*; zero *S, M*; nonnormalized *L6, L4, P.*

(36) Nuclear element of NP-equivalent relative clauses (not fully normalized), ⲡⲏ, etc. *B*; ⲡ-, etc. *A, F, L6, L4, M, P, S.*

(37) Element forming "instans" verb form (to be used in bipartite conjugation to express "future"), stative verb Nⲁ versus infinitive connector ϵ-/ⲁ-, in particular after subject pronouns like K, ϥ, C, -Nⲁ-/-Nϵ- *A, B, F, L6, M, P, S*; -ⲁ- *L4.*

(38) Prenominal form of the "causative imperative" operator: {Mⲁ-} + {causative infinitive} versus prenominal analogue to MⲁⲣϵϥCⲱTM causative imperative, Mⲁ- Tϵ- *P*; Mⲁⲣϵ- *A, B, F, L6, L4, M, S.*

These dialectal isoglosses selected for a broad variety of morphological items may be used as a data basis to determine the degrees (and hierarchical order) of relationship between the eight dialectal varieties considered, by means of various "clustering" techniques supplied by modern numerical taxonomy. With a number of such methods having been applied successfully and yielding very similar results, a classification based on morphological traits might be suggested as shown in Figure 1 (neglecting, for the present purpose, the precise hierarchical level for the location of division nodes on the tree).

The primary division in the set of individual dialects turns out to be that between *A, L6, L4, P* and *B, F, M, S*, corresponding to only one trait (which then is the most typical differential trait), namely, the vocalic representation of the Egyptian preposition *r-* (as Coptic ⲁ- versus ϵ-) in its various grammatical paradigms (cf. item 14 above). Although nonmor-

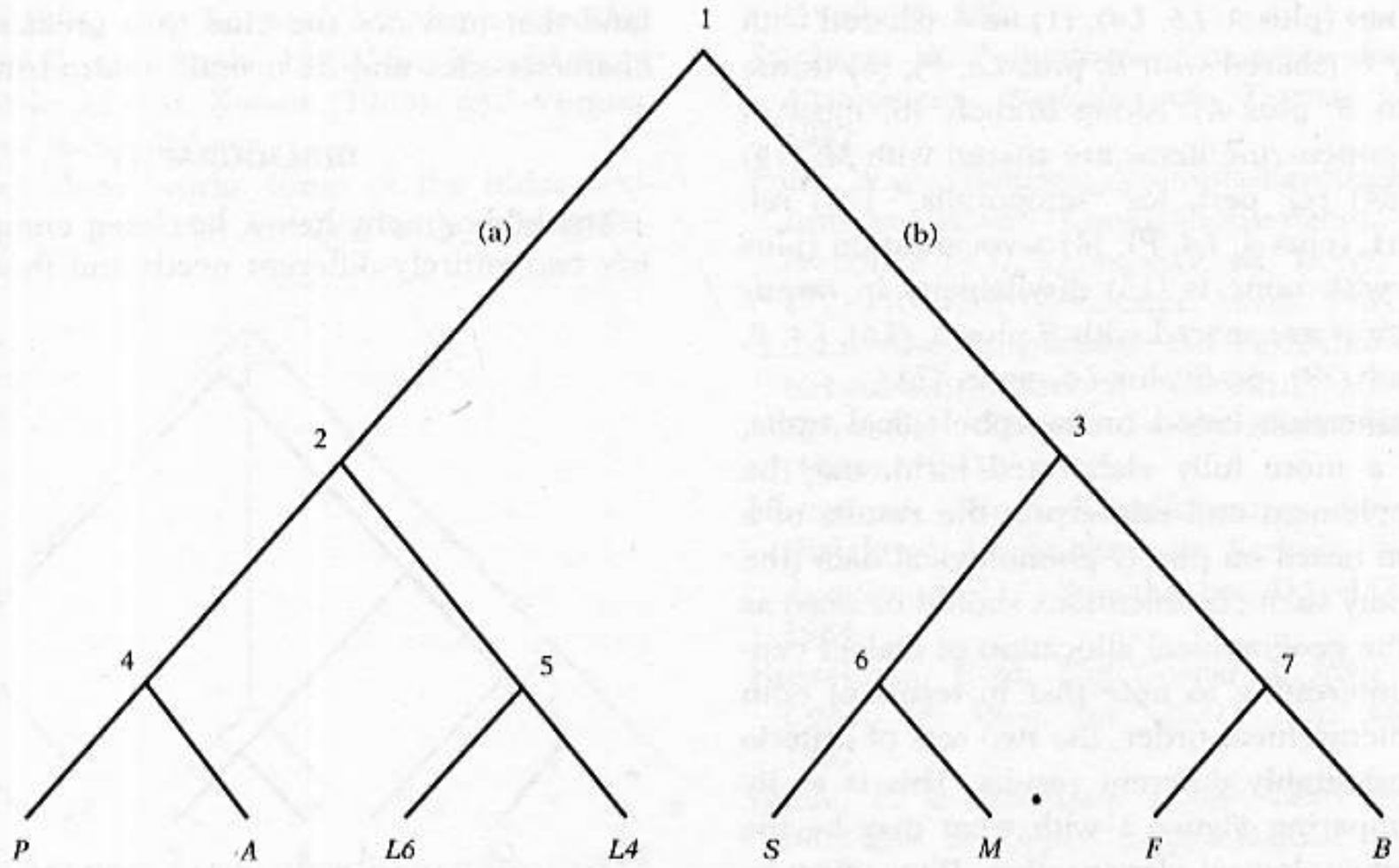


FIGURE 1. GROUPING OF EIGHT COPTIC LITERARY DIALECTS BASED ON MORPHOLOGICAL DATA.

phemic (and quasi-phonological) in nature, this trait seems to symbolize the most profitable division of the whole cluster of dialects into two subsets in terms of morphological isoglosses.

Some further traits of similarity along branch 1a are (14) -ⲧⲏⲛⲉ, (21) ⲗⲁⲁⲩ(ⲉ)/ⲗⲁ(ⲟ)ⲩⲉ (shared with *S*), (34) "temporalis" (shared with *S*), (16) ⲧⲙ- (shared with *M* and *S*), and (13) monosyllabic form of ⲛⲓⲙ/ⲛⲓⲃ (shared with *M* and *S*). Along branch 1b are (22) ⲙⲡ(ⲉ)ⲣ-, (27) aorist without -ⲣⲉ- extension (both shared with *L6* and *L4*), (20) ⲧⲱⲛ, etc. (shared with *L6*), (19) ⲉⲱϫⲉ, etc. (shared with *L4*), and (18) ⲁⲣⲓ-, etc. (shared with *A* and *L4*).

The differential traits at node 2 are (22) ⲙⲛ- *A*, *P* versus ⲙⲡⲣ- *L6*, *L4*, plus, perhaps, the presence or absence of -ⲣⲉ- extension with the aorist base, (27) ⲉⲁⲣ(ⲉ)〃 *A*, ⲟⲁⲣ〃 *P* versus ⲫⲁ〃 *L4*, *(L6)*. Some further traits of similarity within branch 2a are either shared with *L4*, as in (20) ⲧⲟ/ⲧⲟⲩ, (28) nonextended base (plus *F*, *M*, *S*), (2) perfect ⲁ〃 (plus *B*, *F*, *S*), and (23) rel. ⲉⲧ- with perfect (plus *B*, *F*, *M*), or shared with *L6*, as in (19) ⲉⲓⲉⲡⲉ, etc., and (32) -ⲁ2-. Within branch 2b, some further concurring items are (6) (ⲛ)ⲛⲓ-, (41) nonnormalized use of ⲣ- (shared with *P*), (4) ⲉ-vocalization (shared with *P*, plus *S*), and some other traits shared with either *P* or *A* plus *B*, *F*, *M*, *S*, as in (3), (30), and (38).

The differential traits at node 3 are (35) zero *M*, *S* versus ⲉⲣ-/ⲉⲗ- *B*, *F*, (16) ⲧⲙ- versus ⲫⲧⲉⲙ-, (7) ⲧⲣⲁ- versus ⲑ/ⲧⲣⲓ-, (8) ⲡⲟⲩ- versus ⲡⲉ-, (10) -ⲉⲩ versus -ⲟⲩ. Some further traits of similarity along branch 3a are (13) ⲛⲓⲙ (plus *A*, *L6*, *L4*), (1) ⲛⲉ〃 (shared with *F*), (15) ⲛⲟⲩ〃 (shared with *B*, plus *L6*, *P*), (6) (ⲛ)ⲛⲁ- (shared with *B*, plus *A*). Along branch 3b, most of the further concurring items are shared with *M*: (14) ⲑ/ⲧⲏⲛⲟⲩ, (34) rel. perf. for "temporalis," (23) rel. ⲉⲧ- with perf. (plus *A*, *L4*, *P*), (4) ⲁ-vocalization (plus *A*). Shared with none is (13) disyllabicity in ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ/ⲛⲓⲃⲓ; some traits are shared with *S* plus *A*, *(L6)*, *L4*, *P*, as in (2) and (29), or *S* plus *L6*, as in (5).

This classification based on morphological traits, perhaps in a more fully elaborated form, may be used to supplement and reinterpret the results of a classification based on purely phonological data (the more so, if any such classifications should be used as a guide to the geographical allocation of dialect centers). It is interesting to note that in terms of both serial and hierarchical order, the two sets of criteria lead to considerably different results. This is easily seen by comparing Figure 1 with what may be the result of a phonological classification. Depending on how much additional emphasis is put on the "natural" vocalization of stressed syllables (as compared with that of unstressed syllables and with consonant traits), either of the classifications shown in Figures 2 and 3 may be preferred. Since it has not yet been determined whether a binary division of the whole set of individuals is really appropriate here, even a third alternative might be worth considering, namely, that shown in Figure 4 (cf. also Hintze, 1984).

Irrespective of the actual hierarchy preferred, the difference between these classifications and the one based on morphological data is quite obvious. The most striking (though least surprising) detail is the differing allocation of *P*, not only changing its "nearest neighbor" affiliation but rather shuttling between poles (cf. earlier statements to similar effects in Polotsky, 1970, p. 561, n. 11; Kasser, 1960, pp. xxviii ff.). A satisfactory explanation of this phenomenon is not known to have been proposed so far. Of much greater bearing, however, taking into account the historical role of the various dialects and dialectal varieties, is the differing degree of relationship between Sahidic and Bohairic, on one hand (being remarkably stronger in the phonological than in the morphological field), and between either of these and Fayyumic or Mesokemic, on the other. Also, in terms of serial order, it is obvious that Sahidic is much closer to the southern dialects *(A, L6, L4)* in the morphological field than in the phonological, while the situation of *F* and *M* is the reverse. As far as Sahidic is concerned, it may well be the social nature and prehistory of this dialect as a suprare-gional vernacular rather than its geographical homeland that provides the clue to a greater part of its characteristics and its overall neutralizing behavior.

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The bibliography below has been compiled to satisfy two entirely different needs and thus comprises

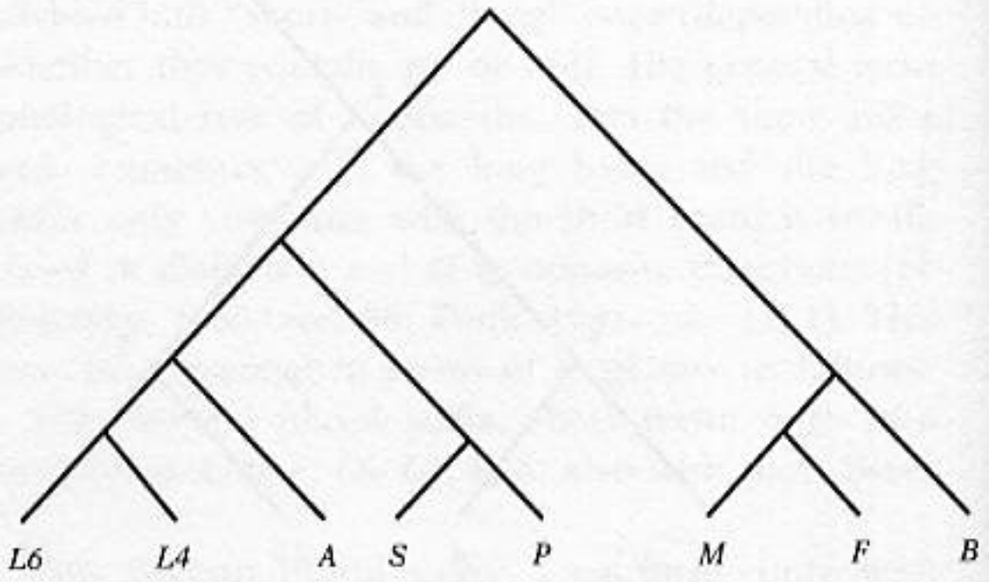


FIGURE 2. GROUPING BASED ON PHONOLOGICAL DATA, WITH EQUAL WEIGHTING FOR ALL VARIABLES.

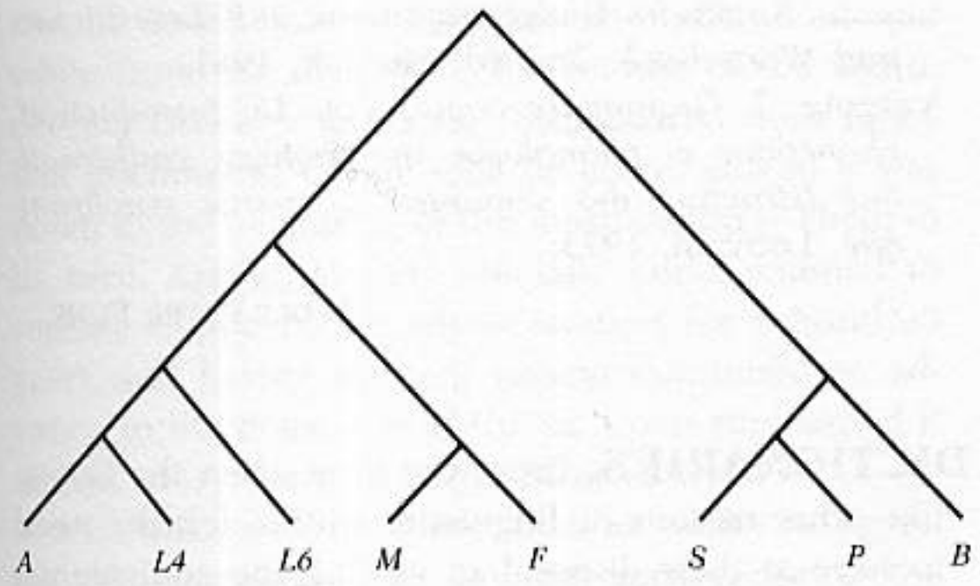


FIGURE 3. GROUPING BASED ON PHONOLOGICAL DATA, WITH HIGHER WEIGHTING FOR STRESSED VOWELS (BINARY SOLUTION).

references of two kinds: (a) a number of textbooks, research papers, and monographs providing basic information about the morphology of one or several Coptic dialects, and (b) editions of Coptic texts that have been used as main representative specimens of the dialectal varieties covered by this article, apart from "biblical" *B* and *S*. The latter group of items includes Elanskaya, Erichsen, Kahle (pp. 286–90), Kasser (1960), Kirchner, Lacau, Malinine et al., Polotsky (1934), Rösch, Schenke (1981), and Schmidt.

As to the particular dialects (especially the so-called minor dialects) covered by the present article, some basic information in the morphological field can be obtained from Till (1928) for *A;* from Asmus, and Till (1930), for *F;* from Chaîne (1934), Nagel, and Funk (1984) for *L4* and *L6;* from Quecke, Schenke (1978), and Funk (1981) for *M;* and from Kahle, Polotsky (1960), Kasser (1966), and Vergote for several of those dialects.

Apart from these works some of the older textbooks of Coptic grammar, dealing with several dialects, may still be used with profit to gain information about dialectal morphology. Among them are L. Stern, *Koptische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1880, repr. Osnabrück, 1971), and G. Steindorff, *Lehrbuch der koptischen Grammatik* (Chicago, 1951). Still of basic relevance and indispensable for dialectological work in the field of morphology are W. E. Crum's *Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1939) and R. Kasser's *Compléments au dictionnaire de Crum* (Cairo, 1964), as well as Kahle (1954). Westendorff's *Koptisches Handwörterbuch,* although offering an enormous amount of information based on more-recently published sources, does not in general guide the user back to the sources (as Crum does) and thus is informative on dialectal usage only for those who are content with the classification of dialects used therein. (Much the same applies to Till, 1961.) It should be noted that some of the text editions cited have introductory chapters providing useful information on the respective dialects.

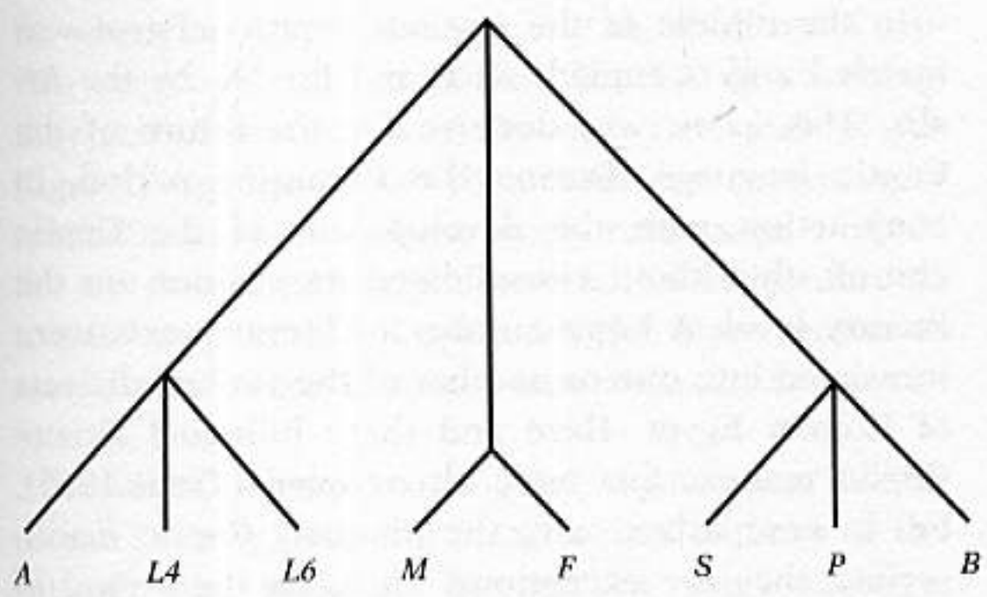


FIGURE 4. GROUPING BASED ON PHONOLOGICAL DATA, WITH HIGHER WEIGHTING FOR STRESSED VOWELS (NONBINARY SOLUTION).

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DICTIONARIES. From the time when the Copts, like other nations or linguistic entities, felt the need to have at their disposal in writing the equivalents, exact or approximate, of the words of their language, attempts were made to compose modest lists of bilingual vocabulary; these may justly be considered the ancestors of modern Coptic dictionaries. In general, these lists follow either the order of the words as they are found in the particular text that had to be translated, or a more or less "logical" order, with lexemes classed by subject or themes. Thus, although the Coptic language was only at the beginning of its literary existence, when Christianity began to spread into the segment of the population that was almost exclusively Coptic and unfamiliar with Greek, there was need for Greco-Coptic glossaries. (At first Christianity was diffused through works in Greek, and chiefly in Greek-speaking milieus.)

The oldest extant Coptic glossary is in a manuscript in the MESOKEMIC dialect that seems to be from the second half of the third century (Bell and Thompson, 1925). Later, if use certainly continued to be made of such glossaries (Bell and Crum, 1925, manuscript of the sixth century, idiolectal $S = S^{\alpha}$ or S^{1}), there may have been need also of Latin-Coptic or Latin-Greek-Coptic glossaries; one of them has been preserved by a manuscript of the first half of the sixth century (apparently Coptic language *S*; cf. Schubart, 1913).

In the middle of the seventh century, Egypt was invaded and occupied, once and for all, by the Arabs. This event was decisive for the future of the Coptic language. During the Byzantine period, in conjunction with the development of the Coptic church, this idiom consolidated its position on the literary level. A large number of literary texts were translated into one or another of the various dialects of Roman Egypt. Here and there bilingual Greco-Coptic manuscripts were also copied (Treu, 1965), but in comparison with the uniquely Coptic manuscripts, they are exceptions. Thus, on the arrival of the Arabs, Coptic was full of vigor. At first, the Arabs further enhanced its importance by proscribing the

use of Greek in the Egyptian administration; and while from the seventh to the middle of the eighth century Greek progressively disappeared from Egyptian documents, Coptic took its place, and so it was down to the beginning of the ninth century. Then, in its turn, Arabic, already officially commissioned to replace Coptic in the administration for a hundred years and having for that reason continued to advance to the detriment of Coptic, soon supplanted it almost everywhere in administrative texts.

With this new orientation of Arab policy in Egypt, the ninth century thus saw the appearance of the first measures that threatened the very existence of the Coptic language. The latter at first resisted with some success, but under constant pressure its resistance gradually crumbled and came to nothing. In the tenth century Arabic was taught to the Coptic clergy (Casanova, 1901). From the eleventh century on, in some regions of Egypt, Coptic was understood only imperfectly, and from the eleventh century to the fourteenth, Coptic men of letters sought to make good this neglect by compiling grammars and, above all, Copto-Arabic vocabularies (more rarely Greco-Copto-Arabic, older Greco-Coptic ones adapted to Arabic). Such a vocabulary was called a SULLAM (plural, *salālim*) or scala, and without a *sullam* these grammars could only be used with difficulty by those to whom they were to teach the Coptic language. Most of them give only BOHAIRIC, notably the celebrated *Scala magna* of Abū al-Barakat (fourteenth century; cf. Mallon, 1906–1907; Munier, 1930; van Lantschoot, 1948). Others, however, set SAHIDIC beside Bohairic, above all the lexicons placed after the famous grammar of Athanasius of Qūṣ (fourteenth century) and that of Anbā Yūḥannā of Samannūd (thirteenth century) in the Coptic codex 44 in the National Library, Paris. These vocabularies, like the earlier glossaries, make no distinction between Coptic words of Egyptian origin and those of non-Egyptian origin (for the most part Greek). In so doing, they are in perfect harmony with the spirit of the Coptic language in which, except for certain very specialized lexemes of extremely rare usage, most of the words of Greek origin were felt to be not foreign words but genuinely Coptic, for the same reason as words of pharaonic origin (see VOCABULARY, COPTO-GREEK).

However, European scholars, who from the fifteenth century, and still more from the dawn of the seventeenth, took an interest in this language, looked at it from a very different point of view. It was not so much Coptic in itself, a language practically dead, that attracted their attention but rather Coptic as the only accessible form, however evolved (degenerate and impoverished), of the ancient Egyptian language. It was through Coptic that they hoped one day to reach an understanding of the hieroglyphs, and indeed it was this road that finally led to the success of Champollion in 1822.

After the *Lingua Aegyptiaca Restituta* of A. Kircher (1643) and the manuscript dictionary of Fell at the end of the seventeenth century (the first in which the words were arranged alphabetically; cf. Quatremère, 1808), several important lexicons and dictionaries saw the light in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (above all, Lacroze and Scholtz, 1775, *S* and *B*; Tattam, 1853, *S*, *B*, and a little *F*). A work of clearly superior quality to what had appeared before was by Peyron (1835, *S*, *B*, and a little *F*); this book represents a remarkable advance in Coptic lexicography. For the first time, the autochthonous Coptic words were classified like those in the majority of Semitic languages, taking account of the consonants in the first place and of the vowels only in secondary fashion. This system allows the placing together, quite naturally, of the various dialectal forms of a single Coptic word, since they most often differ in their vowels, not in their consonants. For another thing, it makes consultation of Coptic dictionaries easier for their principal users, Egyptologists familiar with the pharaonic language, in which in general only the consonants are expressed in writing.

However, parallel with the development of Coptic studies in Europe, and no doubt also encouraged by the contacts established in Egypt between the Egyptologists and the Copts, several Coptic personalities attempted to revive this ancient language in the form of its Bohairic variety. Their work essentially stands in the tradition of the autochthonous grammarians of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but it could also render service to European Coptologists. The chief lexicons published within the frame of this genuinely Coptic activity appeared at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth (Barsum, 1882; Labib, 1915).

The twentieth century in Europe saw the appearance of the first Coptic etymological dictionary, which firmly established the link between the Coptic lexicons and their counterparts for pharaonic Egyptian (Spiegelberg, 1921; *S*, *A*, *L* [called A^2], *F*, and *B*); but this dictionary, concentrating on etymology, gives only very summarily the various written forms and meaning of the words. One may assume that,

knowing the preparations Crum was making for the publication of his great dictionary, Spiegelberg renounced in advance any thought of a work as rich as that of his rival.

Crum published his work in fascicles and completed it on the eve of World War II (1939; *S*, *A*, *L* [called A^2], *F*, and *B*). Although a little outmoded here and there (new and important manuscripts have been discovered since 1939), Crum's monumental work has scarcely aged, and one may affirm that it is even today by far the best Coptic dictionary (the richest and the most precise) at the disposal of Coptologists and Egyptologists. Thus, fifty years after its completion it has not yet been displaced. However, Coptic lexicographers have not remained inactive; they have sought in various ways to order the new material placed at their disposal since 1939 (through the Bodmer Papyri, the Nag Hammadi texts, and other Coptic witnesses of even greater interest, though less well known). This material reveals the existence of many dialects and subdialects hitherto quite unknown or known only in so deficient a way, so imprecise a form, that they could not be properly defined and systematically used before (Kasser, 1964, 1966). Spiegelberg's old *Handwörterbuch* has even been republished, though after a revision so thorough as to make of it practically a new work (Westendorf, 1977); this book, gathering up very completely, although sometimes without enough critical concern, the material available to its author, is of great service for rapid consultation. The fact remains that for those whose researches require consultation in somewhat greater depth, only Crum (1939) is really satisfactory. Coptology therefore has an urgent need for a new Coptic dictionary, complete and detailed, including autochthonous Coptic lexemes, Copto-Greek, and Copto-Arabic. Such a work is at present in preparation in Switzerland (Kasser, 1972). A new *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte* (Vycichl, 1983) has also been prepared in Geneva and published in Louvain.

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

In classical *B* the only letters marked with a *djinkim* are (1) any vowel forming a syllable by itself, such as ⲁϥⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, he went out, and ⲁ̀ⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ̀, sin; (2) the letters ⲙ and ⲛ when they are grammatical elements (prepositions, marks of the genitive, negation) or the first radical before another graphic consonant, as in ⲣⲉⲙⲛ̀ⲭⲏⲙⲓ, Egyptian; ⲙⲁⲛ̀ⲥⲱⲛ, prison; ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲛ, repose; and ⲛ̀ⲟⲟⲕ, thee (Polotsky, 1949, pp. 25–29). These are then, in each case, either a graphic vowel = a vowel in phonology also, or a (nasal) graphic consonant = a vowel too in phonology, more precisely a nasal sonant. Hence, each letter marked with a *djinkim* in classical *B* is a phoneme with a vocalic function and forming a syllable by itself.

In late *B,* in addition to the syllabic vowels and sonant nasals of classical *B* (cases 1 and 2 above), the following four categories are also marked with the *djinkim*: (3) the first of two consecutive consonants at the beginning of a word or within the word when it is a case of Greek compounds, as in ⲥ̀ⲥⲓⲙⲓ, woman; ⲭ̀ⲗⲟⲙ, crown; ⲭ̀ⲫⲟ, engender; ⲉⲕ̀ⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ̀, church; ⲡⲁⲣⲁ̀ⲡⲧⲱⲙⲁ, offense; and ⲁ̀ⲡⲟ̀ⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ, census; (4) the prefixes of the present I when they consist of a single consonant (2. masc. ⲕ̀-(ⲭ̀-), 3. masc. ⲫ̀-, 3. fem. ⲥ̀-) both before a consonant and before a vowel, as in ⲕ̀ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ, you hear; ⲭ̀ⲛⲁⲩ, you see; ⲫ̀ⲭⲏ, he is placed; ⲕ̀ⲉⲙⲓ, you know; and ⲥ̀ⲟⲛⲓ, she resembles; (5) the weak definite article masc. sing. ⲡ̀- (ⲫ̀-), fem. ⲧ̀- (ⲑ̀-), both before a consonant and before a vowel, as in ⲡ̀ⲱⲏⲣⲓ, the son; ⲫ̀ⲣⲱⲙⲓ, the man; ⲡ̀ⲱⲟⲩ, the glory; ⲧ̀ⲫⲉ, heaven; ⲑ̀ⲙⲁⲩ, the mother; and ⲧ̀ⲁ̀ⲫⲉ, the head; (6) the auxiliary ⲱ, be able: ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲱ ⲧ̀ⲱⲓ ⲉ́ⲣⲟⲥ, which cannot be measured (Polotsky, 1949, pp. 25–26). In all these cases, which are late and probably influenced by Arabic, the consonant marked by the *djinkim* never forms a syllable by itself. One may thus with reason consider them suspect from the point of view of Coptic phonology and exclude them from a comparative analysis limited to the investigation of the general value and varieties of usage of the genuinely Coptic *djinkim.*

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

In classical *M* (fifth-century, rather than sixth-century[?]) manuscripts, of which only one has been published so far (Schenke, 1981), the letters that use the *djinkim* (which has sometimes the appearance of a very short stroke, sometimes that of an actual point; Kasser, 1981, pp. 121–22) are as follows: (1) of vowels, only ⲁ and ⲉ when each forms a syllable by itself, in bradysyllabication, as in ⲁ̀ϩⲁ, treasure; ⲉⲓⲁ̀ⲡⲉ, trade, craft; ⲥⲟⲩⲁ́, wheat; ⲉ̀ⲣⲁ, king; ⲓⲉ̀ⲣⲁ, river; and ϫⲓⲟⲩⲉ́, steal; (2) (exactly as in point 2 in classical *B* and preclassical *M*) sonant ⲙ or ⲛ forming a syllable by itself, as in ⲙ̀ⲕⲉϩ, be sad; ⲛⲉⲙ̀ⲡⲧ-, the verbal prefix of the preterite of the negative perfect (no cases attested for final ⲙ̀); ⲛ̀ⲕⲁⲧ, to sleep; ⲙⲛⲛ̀ⲥⲁ, after; ⲟⲩⲛ̀, there is (Kasser, 1981).

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

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

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

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

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

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

remote villages that have not yet been surveyed. On the other hand, there are hundreds of colloquial words apparently of Coptic origin that cannot be identified at present because they have undergone significant change, such as by metathesis, by sound changes of a nonpredictable nature, or because their Coptic etymon has not yet been identified in any of the published documents.

Most of the Coptic words quoted are also attested in hieroglyphic (and/or demotic). For these etymologies see J. Černý (1976), W. Westendorf (1977), and W. Vycichl (1983).

In the following, Egyptian Arabic is rendered in a notation system that is phonological rather than phonetic. Thus, vowel length is often indicated where it is not realized, as in unstressed or in nonfinal closed stressed syllables. Note also that *q* is realized as [g] in Upper Egypt and as ['] in Cairo and large parts of Lower Egypt, and that *j* is realized as [g] in the latter areas.

The vocabulary items are discussed under the following headings:

I. Agricultural items: A. inundation, dams, and canals; B. lands, granaries, and stables; C. preparing the land; D. cultivating and reaping; E. interjections and work songs; F. tools; G. the plough; H. irrigating machines
II. Birds
III. Other animals
IV. Body: A. parts of the body; B. excretions of the body; C. diseases and swellings
V. Buildings and related terms
VI. Children: A. children's play; B. other words related to children
VII. Clothes
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IX. Fire, lamps, ovens, and related terms
X. Fish
XI. Food and drink
XII. Insects
XIII. Interjections and cries
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XV. Nautical terms
XVI. Groups and sorts of people
XVII. Plants
XVIII. Sacks and baskets
XIX. Speech, bluffing, silence, and noise
XX. Sticks and tools
XXI. Vessels and utensils
XXII. Other items.

Uppercase letters indicate the various basic Coptic dialects, as follows:

S = Sahidic
B = Bohairic
A = Akhmimic
F = Fayyumic
L = Lycopolitan (or Lyco-Diospolitan)

I. Agricultural Items

A. Inundation, dams, and canals: (1) *damīra,* inundation, from *S* ⲉⲙⲏⲣⲉ, preceded by feminine article; (2) *ṭamy,* silt, deposit of the Nile, from *S* ⲟⲙⲉ, *B* ⲟⲙⲓ, mud, clay, preceded by feminine article; (3) *ishṭūm,* dam, from *S* ϥⲧⲟⲙ, *B* ϥⲑⲟⲙ, closure; (4) *libsh,* brushwood bundle, reed, etc. (with derivates *libsha,* sheaf, *labbish,* to stack with reeds), from *S* ⲗⲉⲃϣ, *B* ⲗⲉⲡϣ, fuel, brushwood; (5) *fayy,* canal, from *B* ϥⲟⲓ, *SB* ϥⲱⲓ (the regular *S* form is ϥⲟ).

B. Lands, granaries, and stables: (1) *barūbiyya,* plural *barāyib,* land used for grain, stubble, from *S* (ⲁ)ⲣⲟⲟⲩⲉ, *B* (ⲁ)ⲣⲱⲟⲩⲓ, stubble, preceded by masculine article; (2) *sharāqi,* fallow, *sharaq,* drought, *sharriq* or *sharraq,* to be dry (land), from *S, B* ϣⲁⲣⲕⲉ, lack of water, drought; (3) *shūna,* granary, from *B* ϣⲉⲩⲛⲓ, barn.

C. Preparing the land: (1) *bitn,* ridge (between furrows), from *S* ⲓⲧⲛ, ground, preceded by masculine article; (2) *sikāya,* ploughing, from *S* ⲥⲕⲁⲓ̈, to plough; (3) *ṭāsh,* border, boundary (with derivate *ṭawwish,* to make a boundary), from *S* ⲧⲟϣ, *B* ⲑⲟϣ, border, etc.; cf. *S* ⲧⲱϣ, *B* ⲑⲱϣ, to be boundary.

D. Cultivating and reaping: (1) *taqqā,* to sow (corn-seed), from *S* ⲧⲱ(ⲱ)ⲅⲉ, to fix, to plant, or from *S, A, F* ⲧⲱⲕ, to throw; (2) *nabārī,* winter crop of maize (or other grains), from *S* ⲛⲁⲓⲣⲉ, grain, seed; (3) *waḥsa,* beams laid together, etc., from *A, L* ⲟⲩⲁ2ⲥⲁ, *S* ⲟⲩⲉ2ⲥⲟⲩ̈, *B* ⲟⲩⲁ2ⲥⲟⲓ, roof; literally, addition of beams.

E. Interjections and work songs: (1) *ōni,* in the song *ōni ōni ya ṭaḥūn ir-riḥāya* (o mill of the hand mill), from *B* ⲉⲩⲛⲓ, nether millstone; (2) *ēla hōb, hēla hōb,* used when lifting heavy articles: second element from 2ⲱⲃ, thing, work, etc.; various explanations possible; (3) *shōb,* hot wind, also in the verse *hōb hōb qatalnī sh-shōb* (the heat has killed me), from *S* ϣⲱⲃ2̄, ϣⲱ2ⲃ̄, *B* ϣⲱ2ⲛ, to be withered, hieroglyphic and demotic *šhb,* hot wind; (4) *hōb,* in the verse quoted above, item 3, and in *hōb ya hōb ya zarʿ in-nōb* (o sowing—seeds which bring forth—gold), from *S, B* 2ⲱⲃ, work, matter; the verse is said during the work of irrigating the field with the shadoof and is answered by the translation, *ya ḥāli ya ḥāli ya zarʿ id-dahab,* (o my business, o my business, o sowing gold); also cf. *hōb hōb ya shughl in-nōb* (o work of

gold), sung while threshing wheat (Sobhy, 1950); (5) *nōb*, gold (see above, item 4), from ⲛⲟⲩⲃ.

F. Tools: (1) *bihnāw*, flowering branch of palm, used for sweeping the floor, from *B* ϩⲛⲁⲩ, preceded by masculine article; (2) *ṭūrya* and variants, pick, hoe, etc., from *S, A* ⲧⲱⲣⲉ, *B, F* ⲧⲱⲣⲓ, spade, pick; also borrowed by Old Nubian and Sīwa Berber; (3) *hawjal, hōjal, hōjan*, wooden or iron rake, etc., from *S* ϩⲁⲩⲅⲁⲗ, *B* ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲗ, anchor, hook.

G. The plough: (1) *bajrūm, bijrūm*, name of a pole, part of the plough, from *S, A, L, F* ⲃⲉⲣⲱⲃ, *S, F* ⲃⲁⲣⲱⲙ, staff; called *balanja* (cf. Latin *planca*, plank, pale) in the Delta; (2) *baskha, biskha*, part of the plough, share-beam, from *S* ⲥϩⲟ, *B* ⲥϧⲟ, plough-share, preceded by masculine article.

H. Irrigating machines: (1) *jabād*, part of the shadoof, consisting of stick or palm-leaf stalk fixed by palm-fibers, from *L* ⲅⲁⲡⲉⲧ, *B* ⲭⲁⲫⲁⲧ, fiber of palm tree; (2) *shalāw*, part of the shadoof, formed by a system of two ropes to which the buckets are fixed, from *S* ⲱⲗⲗⲟⲟⲩ, ⲱⲗⲗⲁⲩ, implement or mechanism which turns, water-wheel; (3) *harmīs*, central post of the water-wheel, is found in a Coptic text as *S* ϩⲉⲗⲙⲓⲥ (Crum, 1939, 671a, 780a).

II. Birds

(1) *basharōsh*, flamingo, probably from the Egyptian root *dšr*, red, flamingo, though not directly from *B* ⲥⲑⲏⲱⲓ, flamingo; (2) *balshūm, balshūn, balashūn*, heron, from *S* ⲃⲗⲟⲱⲃ, preceded by masculine article; (3) *hība, hēba*, ibis, from *S, F* ϩⲓⲃⲱϯ, *S* ϩⲉⲃⲱϯ.

III. Other Animals

(1) *baqrūr*, frog, from *S* ⲕⲣⲟⲩⲣ, *B* ϫⲣⲟⲩⲣ, preceded by masculine article; (2) *timsāḥ*, 'crocodile,' from *S, B* ⲧ̄ⲙⲥⲁϩ, preceded by feminine article (as in proper names Θεμσαις, Θομσαεις, Τομσαεις); (3) *ḥandūs*, lizard, gecko, used as nickname for children and as personal name, from *B* ⲁⲛⲑⲟⲩⲥ, lizard, also as personal name ϩⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲥ; (4) *shalla*, scorpion, from *B* ⲥⲁϩ.

IV. Body

A. Parts of the body: (1) *bahmōt*, middle finger, current among old people in Karnak (Worrell, 1942, p. 335), from ϩⲟⲙⲧ̄, a variant form, typical of nonliterary texts from Thebes, of *S* ϣⲟⲙⲛ̄ⲧ, three, preceded by masculine article; (2) *ṭōra*, variant *dōra* (Upper Egypt), tetrad, group of four; handful, etc., from *S, A, L* ⲧⲱⲣⲉ, hand; (3) *falt*, thighs, hips, anus, from *S* ⲃⲓⲗⲧⲓ; (4) *kās*, in swearing by the beloved dead, as in *wi-kās abūk*, by the . . . of your father, from *S, B* ⲕⲁⲥ, bone, or from *S* ⲕⲱⲥ, corpse.

B. Excretions of the body: (1) *barbar*, to have a running nose, also *barbūr*, soft mucus of the nose, from *S* (ϩ)ⲃⲟⲣⲃⲣ̄, to be loosed, to fall to pieces, etc.; (2) *taff*, to spit, from *S* ⲧⲁϥ, *B* ⲑⲁϥ; (3) *taftaf, taftif*, to spit repeatedly, similarly *ṭafṭaf* (parallel to *rayyim*, to foam), from *B* ⲑⲟϥⲧⲉϥ, to let fall drop by drop; (4) *jukṣ*, crepitus ventris, from *B* ϫⲟⲕⲥⲓ; (5) *jīṣ*, (rectal) wind, and *jayyaṣ*, to break wind, probably from *B* ϫⲱⲥ, flatus ventris; (6) *zaraṭ*, to break wind, *zarraṭ*, to break wind repeatedly, *zurāt*, wind, from *S* ⲥⲣ̄-ⲣⲁⲧ, spread feet, so *ventrem purgare;* (7) *farr, farfar*, to cast off urine, from *B* ϥⲟⲣϥⲉⲣ, to cast off, to fall; (8) *naff*, to blow the nose, from *B* ⲛⲓϥⲓ, to blow, to breathe, to blow the nose.

C. Diseases and swellings: (1) *tāku*, as in *walad 'anduh tāku* (a boy who has . . .), used for acute cases of pneumonia among children (peasants in Minya), from *S, B* ⲧⲁⲕⲟ perdition; (2) *jiffa*, chill, from *S, B* ϫⲁϥ, *A, L* ϫⲉϥ, frost; (3) *kalaj*, to limp, from *S, B* ⲕⲱⲗϫ̄, to be bent, etc.; cf. proper name ⲕⲗ(ⲗ)ⲟⲩϫ, demotic *Ḳlwd*, whence Κολλουθης; (4) *kalkū'a*, lump, bubo, tumor, also *kalkala*, callus, blister, from *S* ⲕⲁⲕⲁ, *B* ⲕⲉⲗⲕⲁ, *S* ⲕⲉⲗⲕⲟⲩⲗⲉ, lump, pustule; (5) *mitaltil*, dripping in coryza, from *S* ⲧϫ̄ⲧϫ̄, *B* ⲧⲉⲗⲧⲉⲗ, to drip, to let drop; (6) *mikhamkhim*, used of a feverish person, from *S* ϩⲙⲟⲙ, *B* ϧⲙⲟⲙ, to be hot; (7) *nōsha*, (typhoid) fever, cf. *S* ⲛⲟ(ⲟ)ϣⲉ, qualitative, said of diseases and wounds, and hieroglyphic *nwḫ*, to heat, to be scorched.

V. Buildings and Related Terms

(1) *birba*, ancient temple, from *S* ⲡⲓⲉ, temple, preceded by masculine article; (2) *janāfōr*, roof, from *S* ϫⲉⲛⲉⲡⲱⲣ, *B* ϫⲉⲛⲉⲫⲱⲣ; (3) *shūsha*, small window, from *S, B* ϣⲟⲩⲱⲧ̄, window, niche; the final ⲧ was probably considered equivalent to the construct feminine ending in Arabic; (4) *ḍabba*, wooden lock, from *S* ⲉⲡⲟ, bolt, preceded by feminine article; (5) *ṭūba*, brick, Common Arabic, from Egyptian, cf. hieroglyphic *ḏbt* > *dbt*, demotic *tb*, Coptic *S* ⲧⲱⲱⲃⲉ, *S, A* ⲧⲱⲃⲉ; Arabic *al-ṭūba* passed into Spanish, etc., as *adobe*.

VI. Children

A. Children's play: (1) *all*, in *li'bit il-all*, a game with pebbles, from *S, A, B* ⲁⲗ, pebble, etc.; (2) *jull*, small ball, plural *jilūla*, probably from *B* ⲅⲁⲟⲓ, ball, cf. *S* ⲅⲱⲗ, to roll; (3) *sinnu*, the second round of the Egyptian peasant's ball game, from *S, B* ⲥⲛⲁⲩ, two; (4) *sīr*, a line drawn on the ground on which the

children stand while playing with small balls, from *S* ⲥⲓⲣ, line, stripe, hair; (5) *minnāw*, (from) there, from *B* ⲙⲛⲏ, there, thither; the diphthong *āw* appears possibly under influence of *S*, *B* ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ there; (6) *minnāy*, (from) here, from *B* ⲙⲛⲁⲓ, here, hence, hither.

B. Other words related to children: (1) *ala(h)*, child, boy, e.g. *khud yala(h)*, come on, o boy, from *A*, *B* ⲁⲗⲁⲩ, *S*, *B*, *F* ⲁⲗⲟⲩ, child; (2) *nannūs*, delicate, nice, mignonne, from *S* ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ, it is nice (ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ〃, plus suffix pronoun).

VII. Clothes

(1) *turāj*, piece of canvas used to cover the backs of asses (Dishna, Upper Egypt), from *B* ⲑⲟⲩⲣⲁⲝⲓ, part of monastic costume, from Greek *θωράκιον*, literally, breastplate; (2) *jallābiyya* (Egypt and Syria), a kind of upper garment, gown, flowing outer garment, from *S* ⲅⲟⲗⲃⲉ, *B* ⲅⲟⲗⲃⲓ, garment of wool, or both from *κολόβιον*? (Černý, 1976); (3) *shintiyān*, plural *shanātīn*, woman's ample trousers (now out of fashion), probably from *S* ⲱⲛ̄ⲧⲱ, sheet, robe of linen, cf. *σινδών*; (4) *farajiyya* (Post-Classical Arabic), loose robe, outer mantle of clerics and monks, probably from *B* ⲫⲱⲣⲕ, outer mantle of clerics, monks; (5) *fūṭah*, towel, napkin, apron, kerchief, *fūṭa* (Classical Arabic), waist-wrapper, cf. *S* ϥⲱⲧⲉ, to wipe, and also *S* ⲃⲗⲑⲱ, a garment or napkin, probably for *S*, *B* ϥⲗⲧ-ⲣⲟ (from *S* ϥⲱⲧⲉ and *S*, *B* ⲣⲟ, face), face-towel.

VIII. Ecclesiastic Terms

(1) *ajbiyya*, book of canonic hours, horologium, derived from *S*, *B* ⲁⲭⲏ, hour; (2) *amnūt*, sexton (Worrell, 1942, p. 331), from *S*, *L*, *B*, *F* ⲙⲛⲟⲩⲧ, porter, doorkeeper; (3) *anbā*, pronounced *amba*, a title for Coptic clergy, from *B* ⲁⲃⲃⲁ; (4) *jābānyōt*, Our Father, is *B* ⲭⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲓⲱⲧ; (5) *daqq*, to bake, baking of the holy bread, from *S*, *F* ⲧⲱⲕ, ⲧⲱⲅ, *B* ⲑⲱⲕ, kindle; bake; (6) *shūra*, *shūrya*, censer, from *S*, *B*, *F* ϣⲟⲩⲣϩ, censer, brazier, altar; (7) *ṭubḥāt*, prayers, plural of *ṭubḥ*, *ṭubḥa* from *S*, *B* ⲧⲱⲃ̄ⲣ̄, pray, prayer; (8) *hōs*, hymn, ode, from ⲣⲱⲥ song, hymn, ode; (9) *arībāmāwi*, remember me (in your prayer)!, is *B* ⲁⲣⲓ ⲡⲁⲙⲉⲩⲓ, remember me!; (10) *ayārmūw(w)i*, ecclesiastic term as a confession, is *B* ⲁⲓⲉⲣⲛⲟⲃⲓ, I committed sin; (11) *kō nāy awōl*, forgive me!, is *B* ϫⲱ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, forgive me!; (12) *shānrōmbi*, long live, is *B* ϣⲉ ⲛ̀ⲣⲟⲙⲏⲓ, hundred years.

IX. Fire, Lamps, Ovens, and Related Terms

(1) *takk*, to kindle, in *takk il-kibrīta*, he kindled the match, from *S*, *F* ⲧⲱⲕ, ⲧⲱⲅ, *B* ⲑⲱⲕ, kindle; bake; (2) *rāyka*, burning coal, from *S* ⲣⲁⲕⲣⲉ, *B* ⲣⲁⲕⲣⲓ, fuel; cf. ⲣⲱⲕⲣ, burning, fervor; fuel, firewood; (3) *fawwad*, to wipe, to clean the oven by rubbing (with a wet *fōda*, oven mop, or *fawwāda* [Upper Egypt]); also *fawwaṭ*, to wipe, clean or dry by rubbing, and *fawwāṭa*, oven mop, from ϥⲱⲧⲉ, to wipe.

X. Fish

(1) *būrī*, mullet, whiting, from *S* ⲃⲱⲣⲉ, *B* ⲫⲟⲣⲓ, a fish, *mugil cephalus*, *būrī*; (2) *rāy*, a kind of fish, *alestes dentex*, from *S*, *B* ⲣⲏ, a fish, *alestes dentex*; (3) *shāl*, plural *shīlān*, a Nile fish, from *S* ϫⲏⲗ, a fish, *shīlān*; (4) *shabār*, a fish, *tilapia nilotica*, from *S* ⲱⲁϥⲟⲩⲣ, *tilapia nilotica*; (5) *shilba*, a kind of Nile fish, bream, schilbe, *silurus mystus*, from *S* ϭⲗ̄ⲃⲟⲟⲩ, ϭⲉⲗⲃⲁⲩ, *B* ϫⲉⲗϥⲁⲩ, a fish, *silurus mystus*; (6) *ṣīr*, small fish, sardine, name of a fish species (Luxor), usually salted, from *S*, *B* ϫⲓⲣ, brine, small salted fish; (7) *qashu*, a fish (cf. Worrell, 1942, p. 338), from *S* ⲕⲁⲱⲱ, *B* ⲕⲁⲱⲟⲩ, among fish, *qashuwāt*, *qashwa* (Crum, 1939, 130b); possibly through iteration *qashqūsh*, a fish, sand smelt, silverside; (8) *qīl*, a kind of small fish, of species *shāl*, from *B* ⲕⲉⲗ, ⲕⲏⲗ, a fish (of species *shāl*); (9) *kalūj*, a kind of fish (cf. Worrell, 1942, p. 339), cf. *B* ⲕⲟⲩⲗⲁϫⲓ, a fish, *ἀβραμίς*; (10) *mishṭ*, plural *amshāṭ*, *tilapia nilotica*, *bulṭī* fish, from *S* ⲙⲉⲙⲉⲱⲅⲉ, a Nile fish, *tilapia (chromis) nilotica*.

XI. Food and Drink

(1) *biṣāra*, *baṣāra*, puree of beans, from *S* ⲟⲩⲣⲱ, ⲁⲣⲱ, beans, preceded by *S* ⲡⲓⲥ(ⲉ), thing cooked, or *S* ⲡⲁⲥⲉ, cooked food, in construct state (?); (2) *bōsh*, *būsh*, porridge, gruel, from *S* ⲟⲟⲩϣ, *B* ⲱⲟⲩϣ, gruel of bread or lentils, etc., preceded by masculine article; (3) *dibdāb*, *dabdūb*, *dibdib*, a kind of unleavened bread, cf. *S* ⲧⲱⲛⲉ, to taste; *S* ⲧ̄ⲃ̄ⲧ̄ⲃ̄, mixed (?) food; (4) *samīṭ*, white baked stuff, often strewn with sesame seed, from *S*, *B*, *F* ⲥⲁⲙⲓⲧ, fine flour, *σεμίδαλις*, the finest wheaten flour; from the latter, probably also Classical and Egyptian Arabic *samīd*, white or whitened flour, fine bread; (5) *kunāfa*, (pastry made of sweet) vermicelli (Post-Classical Arabic), cf. hieroglyph *ḳfn* to bake, kind of bread, demotic *ḳfn*, *ḳnf*, kind of bread, *B* ⲕⲉⲛⲉⲫⲓⲧⲉⲛ, (from *ⲕⲉⲛⲉϥⲓ plus Greek ending *-τιον*?), kind of loaf or cake; ⲕⲉⲛⲉⲫⲓⲧⲏⲥ, baker; (6) *marīsa*, date-wine, barley-wine, zythum; in Nubian and Sudanese Arabic a kind of beer, from *S* ⲙ̄ⲣⲓⲥ, new wine, must; (7) *manjūj*, baked, roasted food, from *S* ⲙⲁ ⲛⲅⲟⲩ, baked, roasted food; (8) *takhkh*, be drunken, in locution *shirib lamma takhkh*, he drank till he became drunken, from *S* ϯⲣⲉ, *B* ⲟⲓϧⲓ, to become, be drunken; (9)

shawwaḥ, to grill, broil, as in *shawwaḥ il-laḥma 'ala n-nār* (broiled the meat over fire), from *S* ϣⲱⲃϩ̄, ϣⲱⲟⲩϩ, to be withered, scorched, to scorch, wither.

XII. Insects

(1) *bība*, a biting insect, flea, from *B* ⲟⲩⲓ, flea, preceded by masculine article ⲡⲓ-; (2) *hallūs*, spider's web, from *S, L* ϩⲁⲗⲟⲩⲥ, *S, B* ϩⲁⲗⲗⲟⲩⲥ, spider's web.

XIII. Interjections and Cries

(1) *is*, behold, lo!, from *S, A, L* ⲉⲓⲥ, *B* ⲓⲥ; (2) *ō, ōh*, oh, interjection of pain or disgust, from ⲱ, an exclamation expressing surprise, joy, pain; (3) *ō*, o!, mostly together with the vocative particle *ya*, as, e.g., *ō ya-brāhīm*, o Abraham!, from *S, B* ⲱ, a particle used with the vocative for address; (4) *ujāy* and *jāy*, a cry for help, from *S, B* ⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ̈, to be whole, safe; (5) *shē*, shā, by, particle of swearing in vows, as in *shē-lla ya sitti ya 'adra*, by God, o my Lady the Virgin, from *S, B, F* ϣⲉ, *S, B* ϣⲁ, by, in swearing; (6) *shī*, gee!, gee-up!, from ϣⲉ, to go.

XIV. Dry Measures

(1) *ardabb*, measure of grain, from *S* ⲣ̄ⲧⲟⲃ, cf. demotic *rtb*, *ἀρτάβη*, all from Aramaic *ardab*, this perhaps from Persian; (2) *rafṭāw, rifṭāw, rufṭāw*, a measure of grain, a quarter of a *wēba* = a half of a *kēla* = 1/24 of an *ardabb*, from *S* ⲣⲉ-ϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ, a fourth, one quarter; (3) *wēba*, Post-Classical Arabic *waybah*, a measure of grain, from *S* ⲟⲉⲓⲡⲉ, ephah.

XV. Nautical Terms

(1) *ramrūm*, raft, bark, from *S, B* ⲙ̀ⲣⲱⲙ, raft; also cf. *maramma*, raft (Colin, 1920, p. 77); (2) *ṭiyāb, ṭayāb*, east wind, north wind, from ⲧⲏⲩ (*S, A, F* ⲧⲟⲩ-, *B* ⲑⲟⲩ-) wind, and *S* ⲉⲓⲉⲃ̄ⲧ, east; (3) *marīsī*, southern, south wind, derived from *S, B* ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲥ, Southern country, Upper Egypt. See also Section I, items (D-3), (E-2), (E-3), and (F-3).

XVI. Groups and Sorts of People

(1) *shilla, shulla*, group, coterie, clique, plural *shilal, shulal*, probably from *B* ϣⲗⲟⲗ, plural ϣⲗⲱⲗ, folk, people; (2) *baẓramīt*, fool, silly, probably from *S* ⲥⲁⲣⲙ̄-ϩⲏⲧ, literally, he whose mind goes astray, preceded by masculine article; (3) *bōn*, bad, wicked, as in *da rājil bōn*, he is a bad man, from *S* ⲃⲱⲛ, bad; (4) *tilim*, impudent, as in *mara matlūma*, woman of ill fame; *talāma*, forwardness, from *S, L* ⲧⲱⲗⲙ̄, *B* ⲑⲟⲗⲙ̀, to be defiled, to defile, and (noun) stain, pollution; (5) *kharyaṭ*, to be disordered in mind, from *S, B* ϣⲱⲣⲧ̄, to be demented, and *B* ϩⲟⲣⲧ, madman; (6) *nōsh*, enormous, something very big, as in *qadd in-nōsh* (as big or large as), *zayy in-nōsh* (like, as, such as), from *S* ⲛⲟⲩ, great, large.

XVII. Plants

(1) *arw*, cypress, from *B* ⲁⲣⲟ, cypress; (2) *barsīm*, clover, from *S* ⲃⲉⲣⲥⲓⲙ, clover? (found once, in manuscript of ca. 730); (3) *barnūf, conyza odorata*, from *S* ⲡⲉⲣⲛⲟⲩϥⲉ, a plant?; cf. demotic *pr-nfr*, a plant; (4) *rīta*, a plant, *sapindus*, used for cleaning stained clothes, from *B* ⲣⲓⲧⲁ, a plant; (5) *sanṭa, acacia nilotica*, cf. hieroglyphic *šnḏt*, thorn tree, demotic *snṯt*, *S* ϣⲟⲛⲧⲉ, thorn tree (*acacia nilotica*); passed as loanword into Akkadian, Hebrew, and Arabic (Černý, 1976); (6) *sawsan*, lily, iris, cf. hieroglyphic and demotic *sšn*, *B* ϣⲱϣⲉⲛ, lotus flower; also borrowed by Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Greek (*σοῦσον*); (7) *shirsh*, spray, especially the green sprays of carrots, from *S, F* ϣⲣⲁϣ, bundle, cf. hieroglyphic and demotic *ḫrš* (Černý).

XVIII. Sacks and Baskets

(1) *buqūṭī*, a small basket made of palm leaves, straw basket, also *baqūṭī, baqūṭah*, from *S, B* ⲕⲟⲧ, basket, preceded by masculine article; (2) *janba*, basket for dates, from *S* ϫ(ⲉ)ⲛⲟϥ, ϫⲉⲛⲟⲃ, *B* ⲅⲛⲟϥ, ϣⲛⲟ(ⲩ)ϥ, basket, crate; see also *shinf* (item 5 following); (3) *shalīta*, a large sack, probably through metathesis from *S* ϣⲁⲧⲓⲗⲁ, bag, etc.; (4) *shinda*, a grass mat or cloth in which curdled milk is kept to drain its whey and become cheese, from *S* ϣⲟⲛⲧⲉ, ϣⲛ̄ⲧⲉ, plaited work; (5) *shinf*, net sacks, singular *shinfa*, plural *shinaf; shanīf*, net sack for straw, from *B* ⲅⲛⲟϥ, ϣⲛⲟϥ, *S* ϫ(ⲉ)ⲛⲟϥ, basket, crate.

XIX. Speech, Bluffing, Silence, and Noise

(1) *balham*, to bluff, to lie, to speak jargon, to speak fast, from the name of the Blemmye people, known for their bluffing, *S* ⲃⲗ̄ϩⲙⲟⲩ (cf. Vycichl, 1983, 28); (2) *matmata*, speech, prattle, argument; *matmat*, to argue, cf. *S, A, L* ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ, speak, call, or rather hieroglyphic *mtmt*, to discuss, discussion; (3) *hawwash, hawwish*, to bluff (mostly by talking roughly), to bully, from *S* ϩⲟⲟⲩϣ, *B* ϩⲱⲟⲩϣ, to abuse, to curse; (4) *wazz*, tinnitus; *washsh*, from *S* ⲟⲉⲓϣ, ⲟⲉⲓⲥ, cry.

XX. Sticks and Tools

(1) *shōda*, stick (al-Matī'ah), from *S, B, F* ϣⲃⲱⲧ, rod, staff; (2) *darafs*, awl, spike, from *B* ⲑⲣⲁⲡⲥ, ⲧⲣⲁⲡⲥ; (3) *shqāl*, bell (province of Suhāj); *shqilqīl*,

from *S* ⲱⲕ(ⲉ)ⲗⲕⲓⲗ, ⲱⲃⲓⲗⲃⲓⲗ, and cf. *S* ⲱⲕⲏⲗ, anklet; (4) *shalīsh*, (iron) hook, from *S*, *A* ⲱⲗⲓⲃ, sharpened thing, spike; (5) *faṭs*, *fuṭs*, an iron wedge used by the carpenter in sawing, from *S* ⲡⲁⲧⲥⲉ, *B* ⲫⲁⲧⲥⲓ, piece, plank; (6) *qīl*, bell (Suhāj), cf. the reduplicated *B* ⲕⲁⲕⲓⲗ; (7) *washūr*, *warshūr*, saw, from *S*, *A*, *B* ⲃⲁⲱⲟⲩⲣ.

XXI. Vessels and Utensils

(1) *baqlūla*, pot, from *S* ⲕⲉⲗⲱⲗ, *B* ϫⲗⲟⲗ, pitcher, jar, preceded by masculine article; (2) *bukla*, an earthenware vessel with two handles used for water, from *S* ⲕⲁⲏ, *B* ϫⲁⲏ, vessel for liquid, preceded by masculine article; (3) *makro*, mortar (Bagūr), from *B* ⲙⲁⲕⲣⲟ, trough, mortar.

XXII. Other Items

(1) *ishbār*, wonder, in *ishbār 'alayya*, alas for me, from *S*, *A* ⲱⲡⲏⲣⲉ, wonder, amazement; (2) *amandi*, in the imprecation *dāhya twaddīk l-amandi*, may a tragedy take you to hell, from *S*, *A* ⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ, *B*, *F* ⲁⲙⲉⲛ†, hades; (3) *ihniyy*, anything, from *S* ⲉⲛⲁ(ⲁ)ⲩ, *A* ⲉⲛⲉ, vessel, thing; (4) *bāb*, grave, as in the name of the Valley of the Kings, *bāb il-mulūk*, etc., from *S*, *A*, *B*, *F* ⲃⲏⲃ, cave; (5) *baḥat*, to dig (also in Sudan), and *faḥat*, from *S* ⲡⲱⲧⲉ̄ (cf. qual. ⲡⲟⲉ̄ⲧ), to carve; (6) *barash*, to squat, to lie down, from *S*, *A*, *F* ⲡⲱⲣⲱ̄, to spread, to be spread; (7) *bursh*, mat, from *S* ⲡⲱⲣⲱ̄; (8) *bary*, new, as in *warrāna bary wary*, literally, he showed us something always new, from *S*, *A*, *L* ⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ, *B*, *F* ⲃⲉⲣⲓ; (9) *bushla*, *bashla*, bundle, as e. g. *bashlit fijl*, a bundle of radishes, from *S* ⲡⲟⲃⲗⲉ, *L* ⲡⲁⲃⲗⲉ, art or quantity of vegetables, cluster of vegetables or fruit (Černý, 1976); (10) *bilbila*, pill, small ball, probably from *S*, *L* ⲃⲁ̄ⲃⲓⲗⲉ, a single grain of mustard, etc.; (11) *talla*, to lift, to carry, from *S*, *A*, *B* ⲧⲗⲗⲟ lift, etc.; (12) *tūt*, as in the expression *tūt ḥāwi*, gather, come together for the magician, from *S* ⲧⲟⲟⲩⲧⲉ, *B* ⲑⲱⲟⲩ†, to gather, to be gathered; (13) *jarjar*, to frolic, from *S* ϫⲉⲣϫⲉ̄ⲣ̄, *B* ϫⲉⲣϫⲉⲣ, to live luxuriously, to frolic; (14) *ḥadā*, before, in the presence of, as e.g. *ḥadāk*, before thee, in thy presence, from *S*, *A* ϩⲏⲧ〃, as ϩⲏⲧⲕ, before thee; (15) *dāḥa*, to beseech, from *B*, *S* † ϩⲟ; (16) *daḥḥ*, to apply one's self to, from the preceding, meaning turn face, look; (17) *daghan*, to thrust, from *S* ⲧⲱⲅⲛ, to push; (18) *daqq*, to hammer, to insist, etc., from *S*, *A*, *L*, *F* ⲧⲱⲕ to strengthen, to confirm, to drive, hammer; (19) *dihna*, *dihni*, forehead, in *dihn(a) il-jabal*, the front of the mountain, from *S*, *A* ⲧⲉϩⲛⲉ, *B*, *F* ⲧⲉϩⲛⲓ, forehead (the hieroglyphic prototype, *dhnt*, meaning also mountain ledge); (20) *rawash*, to hurry, to worry; *rawsha*, concern, worry, from *S* ⲣⲟⲟⲩⲱ, *A* ⲣⲁⲩⲱ, to have care for, concern, worry; (21) *sās*, oakum, tow, from *S* ⲥⲁ(ⲁ)ⲥⲉ, *B* ⲥⲁϩⲥ, tow; (22) *stīm*, stibium, antimon, kohl, from *S*, *B* ⲥⲧⲏⲙ, *B* ⲥⲑⲏⲙ; (23) *sakk*, to draw, to protract the fast (as, e.g., *ṣōm Niwa yākhdu sakk wara ba'd*, he passes [the three days of] the fast of Nineveh in a continuous fasting), from *S*, *L*, *B*, *F* ⲥⲱⲕ, to draw, to protract the fast; (24) *shakshik*, to prick repeatedly, from *S* ϫⲟⲕϫⲕ̄, *B* ϫⲟⲕϫⲉⲕ, to prick, brand; (25) *shaknan*, to be enthusiastic or zealous, to act with a forced hardness; *shaknana*, energy, zeal, from *B* ⲱⲅⲛⲏⲛ, to strive, contend; (26) *shalla*, skein, hank, probably from *S*, *B* ⲱⲗ *S*, *L*, *F* ⲱⲗⲗ, bundle; (27) *shallūj* (South of Qena), *shallūd* (North of Qena, Farshūṭ), *shallūt* (Banī-Suef, Cairo), *sallūj* (Luxor through Aswan), kick; *shallat*, *shalli*, to kick, from *B* ⲅⲗⲗⲟϫ, *F* ⲅⲗⲗⲁϫ, foot, knee; (28) *shanaṭ*, to tie, knot (*shanaṭ dirā'u f-mandīl*, he hung his arm in a sling), verbal noun *shanṭ*; *shinēṭa*, running-knot, slip-knot, from *S*, *B*, *F* ⲱⲛⲧ, to plait; *S* ⲱⲟⲛⲧⲉ, ⲱⲛ̄ⲧⲉ, plaited work; (29) *ṣarīf*, rope of twine, of *ḥalfa* or vine twigs, from *S* ⲥⲁⲣⲫⲉ, ⲥⲁⲣⲃⲫ, vine twig; (30) *ṣafṭiyya*, ready, prepared, in *ṣafṭiyya n-nahār-da*, (our meal is already) preparing today, a polite way of refusing an invitation to lunch (Aswan), from *S* ⲥⲟⲫⲧⲉ, to be ready; (31) *ṣann*, *sann*, to wait, as in *ṣinn 'alēh ḥabba*, give him a little time, possibly from *S*, *A* ⲥⲓⲛⲉ, to pass by; (32) *ṭarash*, to throw one on his face; to oppress, as, e.g., *id-dinya ṭārshāni*, life is oppressing me, from *S* ⲑⲣ̄ⲱⲟ, to make heavy, to terrify; (33) *ṭannish*, to remain silent; to feign not to hear; to give a deaf ear to, from *B* ⲑⲟⲛⲱ (Crum, 1939, s.v. ⲑⲱⲃⲱ), to be astonished, to stare with astonishment; (34) *ṭahma*, invitation, from *S* ⲧⲱϩⲙ̄, *B* ⲑⲱϩⲉⲙ, to invite; (35) *fāt*, *fawwat*, to putrefy (food), to taint, from *S* ⲃⲱⲧⲉ, ⲫⲱⲧⲉ, to pollute, to befoul; (36) *kās*, pain, in *ya kāsi minnak*, o my pain from you; *kāyis*, run down, seedy, from *S*, *B* (ⲧ)ⲕⲁⲥ pain; (37) *karash*, to hurry; to flatter, to urge importunately (*id-dinya kārshāni*, life is hurrying me; *il-wiliyya di kārshāh . . . wākla dmāghu*, this woman is influencing him . . . she is eating his mind), from *S*, *A*, *B*, *F* ⲕⲱⲣⲱ̄, to request, persuade, cajole; (38) *laqash*, to sneer, to ridicule, from *S* (ⲉ)ⲗⲕ-ⲫⲁ, to turn up nose, to sneer; (39) *(i)mjakhkhim*, putrid, defiled, from *S*, *L* ϫⲱϩⲙ̄, *B* ϭⲱϧⲙ, to be defiled; (40) *makmak*, to hesitate, be reluctant, and verbal noun *makmaka* (*balāsh makmaka*, *ma-tibqāsh bi-mīt niyya w-fikr*, don't hesitate, don't let yourself have a hundred aims and ideas), from *S*, *B* ⲙⲟⲕⲙⲉⲕ, to think, ponder; (41) *nabbit*, to sew fine stitches, from *B* ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲧ, to weave; (42) *hammas*, *hammis*, to sit, from *S* ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ, *A*, *L* ϩⲙⲉⲥ, *B* ϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ, to sit, remain, dwell; (43) *hamsi*, sit down! (region of Balyana), from *B* ϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ, sit down!; (44) *wajba*, time, hour, period (*da qa'ad 'indina wajba*, he

remained with us for a while), from *B* ⲁϫⲡⲓ, ⲁϫⲛⲓ, hour, preceded by indefinite article; (45) *waḥas,* to embarrass, *waḥsa,* confusion, from *S* ⲟⲩⲥϩ-ϩⲓⲥⲉ, to give trouble; (46) *wary,* new, as in *da-hu wary ʿalēna,* this is something new for us, and *wirwir,* plural *warāwir,* young, fresh (especially chicks, radishes), from *S, A, L* ⲃⲣⲣⲉ, *B, F* ⲃⲉⲣⲓ, new, young; see also *bary* (item 8, this section); (47) *waḍḍab,* to arrange, to put in order, to prepare, probably from *S* ⲟⲩⲱⲧⲃ, to change, remove, transfer; (48) *ya,* either, or (*ya dī ya dā,* either this or that, *ya tuqʿud ya timshi,* you must either sit down or go away), from *S* ⲉⲓⲉ *S, L, B, F,* ⲓⲉ, or, whether . . . or.

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ETYMOLOGY. The Coptic language comprises an autochthonous vocabulary (see VOCABULARY OF EGYPTIAN ORIGIN and VOCABULARY OF SEMITIC ORIGIN) with an overlay of several heterogeneous strata (see VOCABULARY, COPTO-GREEK and VOCABULARY, COPTO-ARABIC). As a rule, etymologic research in Coptology is limited to the autochthonous vocabulary. Etymology (from Greek *etymos,* true, and *logos,* word) is the account of the origin, the meaning, and the phonetics of a word over the course of time and the comparison of it with cognate or similar terms.

In Coptic the basic vocabulary, as well as the morphology of the language, is of Egyptian origin. Egyptian shares many words and all its morphology (grammatical forms) with the Semitic languages.

Egyptian is transcribed with an alphabet of twenty-four letters in the following order: *3, i̯, ʿ, w, b, p, f, m, n, r, h, ḥ, ḫ, ẖ, z, s, š, ḳ* (sometimes transcribed *q*), *k, g, t, t̲, d, d̲.* All these letters represent consonants. The sign *3* is the glottal stop heard at the commencement of German words beginning with a vowel (*die Oper*) or Hebrew aleph; *i̯* is *y* in "yes," but sometimes pronounced like aleph; *ʿ* is called *ʿayin,* as in Hebrew, the emphatic correspondent to aleph (cf. Arabic *ʿAbdallāh*); *h* is the English *h*; *ḥ* is an emphatic *h,* as in Arabic *Muḥammad*; *ḫ* is the Scotch *ch* in *loch*; *ẖ* is like German *ch* in *ich* (between *ḫ* and *š̲*), and nearly like English *h* in human; *š* is English *sh* in "ship"; *t̲* is *ch* in English "child"; and *d̲* is English *j* in "joke."

The group *i̯i* is pronounced *y.* There is no particular sign for *l*; this sound is transcribed *3, r, n,* or *nr.* Late Egyptian uses the sign of a lion (*rw*) for *l.* There are no vowels written in Egyptian, but the original pronounciation may be reconstructed to some extent by the insertion of the Coptic vowels and by comparative studies. Thus, Egyptian *rmṯ,* man, which is *B* ⲣⲱⲙⲓ and *S* ⲣⲱⲙⲉ, is reconstructed **rōmeṯ* and was probably pronounced **rāmiṯ,* which is the form of a participle, as Egyptian Arabic **rāgil* (classical Arabic *raǧul*).

Egyptian shares many words with the Semitic languages, including Akkadian (Assyrian in northern Mesopotamia, Babylonian in southern Mesopotamia), Hebrew (language of the Bible), Aramaic (language of Jesus Christ), Arabic (language of the Qur'ān), and Ethiopian (language of Menelik, the legendary son of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, founder of the Ethiopian dynasty), among others.

Egyptologists pronounce Egyptian words by inserting *e* between the consonants: *sḏm,* to hear, is *sejem; ptr,* to look, is *peter.* The letters *3* and *ʿ* are pronounced *a*; *i̯* is *i*; and *w* may be pronounced as *u.* Thus, *ḥ3p,* to hide, becomes *hap*; *ʿnḫ,* to live, is *ankh*; *i̯ny,* to bring, is *ini*; and *mw,* water, is *mu. Ḫwfw,* the name of the builder of the Great Pyramid, becomes *Khufu* or, more often, *Cheops,* as the Greeks rendered it. This system provides an artificial

pronunciation as a practical means to read an Egyptian text, but not the true phonetic value of the words.

The meaning of Egyptian words shows that the primitive vocabulary of the language was to a large extent identical with that of Semitic tongues: for example, *ỉb* (Arabic *lubb*), heart; *sp.t* (Arabic *šif-a.t*), lip; *ỉdn* (Arabic *3udn*), ear; *ls*, written *ns*, but *B*, *S las* (Arabic *lisān*), tongue; *d*, hand, as value of the hand hieroglyph (Arabic *yad*); *šdy*, to suckle (Arabic *ṯady*, woman's breast); *db'* (Arabic *'iṣbā'*), finger; *gḥs*, gazelle (Arabic *ǧaḥš*, ass, gazelle); *ḳnd* (Arabic *ḳird*), ape; *z3b* (Arabic *di3b*), *jackal*; *sfḫ* (Arabic *sab'-a*), seven; *wsḫ* (Arabic *wasi'*) to be wide; *ỉwn* (Arabic *lawn*), color; *ḥsb* (Arabic *ḥasab*), to calculate; *mwt* (Arabic *mât*, *yamūt* : *mawt*), to die; *ḫmm* (Arabic *ḥamm*, *yaḥumm* : *ḥamm*), to be hot.

There are also many words in Egyptian that are not found in any Semitic language. One might suppose that they belong to the African substratum of the language. Examples of such words are *ỉn'*, chin; *fnd*, nose; *ḫ.t*, belly; *ỉnm*, skin, hide; *3bw*, elephant; *mmy*, giraffe; *mzḥ*, crocodile; *št3*, turtle; *mnw*, dove; *bny*, date (fruit); *ḫt*, wood; *mḥ'*, flax; *mdw*, to speak; *wnm*, to eat; *zwr*, to drink; *ḥmsy*, to sit; *w'b*, to be pure; *ỉb3*, to dance; *wḫm*, to repeat; and *ḫdb*, to kill.

The grammatical elements of Egyptian correspond to those of the Semitic languages. The original form of some of them has been reconstructed, such as *-a.t*, ending of feminine nouns; *-ū* (not written in ancient texts, later indicated by *-w*), ending of the masculine plural; *-ay* (written *-y*), ending of the dual; *-īy* (written *-y*) adjective ending (cf. Arabic *-īy* as in *'arab-īy*, Arabic; *hind-īy*, Indian; *turk-īy*, Turkish). The endings of the personal pronouns resemble those of Semitic (particularly of Akkadian), with the sole exception of *-f* (probably *-fi*) for the pronoun of the third-person masculine singular "his." The verbal prefix *s-* (pronounced *sa-*) forms causative verbs, such as *w'b*, to be pure, *s-w'b* (**saw'ab*), to purify, also written *s-'b* (**sō'ab*); compare this with the causative prefix *ša-* in Babylonian, *sa-* (Assyrian). The prefix *m-* (with different vowels) forms names of place (*nomina loci*), names of instruments (*nomina instrumenti*), and passive participles, as in *m-ḫr*, low-lying land, from *ḫr*, under; *m-ḫ3.t*, balance, from *ḫ3y*, to weigh; *m-ḫtm.t*, closed receptacle, from *ḫtm*, to close, to seal; *m-ḥrỉ*, dung (cf. *S* ϩⲟⲉⲓⲣⲉ; **ḥaỉr-a.t*, ancient **ḥarỉ-a.t*).

The position of Egyptian thus resembles that of Mbugu, a language spoken in Tanzania combining Bantu grammar with a largely non-Bantu vocabulary. In Mbugu "finger" is *ki-tshaa* (plural, *vi-tshaa*); in Bantu it is *ki-dole* (plural, *vi-dole*). The grammatical prefixes *ki-* (singular) and *vi-* (plural) are alike, but the words for "finger," *-tshaa* in Mbugu and *-dole* in Bantu (Swahili), are different. The specific Mbugu words derive from Somali, Iraqw, or other, still unknown languages (Tucker and Bryan, 1974).

Terminology

Coptic dialects are cited according to the system devised by Kasser (1980a–b, 1981): *A* is Akhmimic; *B* is Bohairic; *F* is Fayyumic; *L* is Lycopolitan or Lyco-Diospolitan; *M* is Mesokemic; *S* is Sahidic; and (not a dialect) O is Old Coptic.

"Radicals" are, as in the Semitic languages, the stem consonants of a word. Egyptian *wn*, to open, is a biradical verb, and *sḏm*, to hear, a triradical one. The radicals of a word are called a "skeleton": the skeleton of *B*, *S* ϣⲱⲧⲙ, to choose, is *stp*. "Emphatic" as a phonetic term means articulated with an action of the tongue toward the soft palate combined with a contraction of the vocal cords. As a grammatical term, "emphatic" means a durative or repeated action, an action carried out by several subjects or on several objects. *B* ϱⲁ, to do continually, is the emphatic form of *B* ⲓϫⲓ, to do.

Egyptian reconstructed forms are preceded by an asterisk: **náṯīr*, god; **naṯār-a.t*, goddess; **sāḏim*, to hear; **naḫát*, to be strong. Still older forms take a small circle: °*saḏm*, to hear; °*naḫāt*, to be strong. Archaic forms are preceded by quotation marks: "*saḏm-u*, to hear; "*naḫāt-u*, to be strong.

Periods of the Egyptian Language

The development of the Egyptian language comprises four main periods:

Proto-Egyptian (4000–3000 B.C.). Prehistoric civilizations of Amra (Negada I), Gerza (Negada II), Merimda, etc. Formation of the Egyptian language. No written documents.

Ancient Egyptian. Language of the Old Kingdom (approximately 3000–2100 B.C.). Short inscriptions, religious and biographic texts. The Pyramids, the most famous of which are those of Khufu (Cheops), Khafre (Chephren), and Menkure (Mykerinos), at Giza (2545–2457). Pyramid texts, beginning with Unas (Onnos) (2310–2290).

Middle Egyptian. Classical period of the Egyptian language, mainly during the Twelfth Dynasty (seven kings, called Amenemhet or Sesostris) (1991–1785 B.C.). After this dynasty, decline, invasion of the Hyksos (1650–1553 B.C.). The classical language remains in use for religious texts until the Roman period.

Late Egyptian, also called New Egyptian. Mainly the language of the Eighteenth Dynasty (kings named Thutmose and Amenophis, and queen named Hatshepsut or Ha-shpeswe) and the Nineteenth Dynasty. Late Egyptian shows more affinity with Coptic than the preceding periods of the language: definite and indefinite article, beginning of the analytic verbal forms. The Twenty-second Dynasty is Libyan (kings named Osorkon, Shoshenk, Takelot; 946–720); the Twenty-fifth Dynasty is from Kush, capital at Napata in Nubia, with small pointed pyramids (Shabako, Sebichos, Taharka; 713–655). Invasion of the Assyrians, then Persian domination (Cambyses, Darius I, Xerxes I, Darius II; 525–404) and, after a short period of independence, a second Persian domination (Artaxerxes III, Darius III; 342–332).

History of Coptic Etymology

The first attempts to establish the relations between Coptic and other languages were made by Ignazio Rossi (1808) before the decipherment of the hieroglyphs by Jean-François Champollion in 1823. Rossi, who was an excellent Semitist, compared Coptic words with related expressions in Semitic (Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic), Latin, and Greek. The correspondence of *S, B las,* tongue, to Hebrew *lāšōn* and Arabic *lisān* was first noted by him.

The fundamental work was done by Champollion, whose *Grammaire égyptienne* (1836–1841) contains hundreds of etymologies. He even transcribed Egyptian words not with the Latin but with the Coptic alphabet. As the Egyptians wrote no vowels, the Egyptian form is often shorter than the Coptic one: Egyptian *rn,* but Coptic *ran,* name.

Champollion's successors transcribed Egyptian words with Latin letters, a system that was several times modified. The system presently used is the transcription system of the *Berlin Wörterbuch* (Erman and Grapow, 1926–1931), with the sole exception of the sibilants (*s* voiced = *z*, *ś* voiceless = *s*). Spiegelberg's *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (1921) groups together all the then available etymologies. It is arranged in three columns. The first column contains the Coptic words and forms according to the different dialects (Old Coptic and four dialects: *A, B, F, S*); the second, the meaning, as well as the constructions and compositions; and the third, the hieroglyphic or demotic prototypes. So *B* ⲁϥⲱϥ (masc.), giant (plural, ⲁϥⲟϥⲓ) is derived from Egyptian *ʿ3pp,* Apophis dragon, in hieroglyphic script with the specific determinative (dragon with many twistings, each twisting cut by a knife).

Though Westendorf's *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (1977) is just called a dictionary, it contains all the etymologies known at that time. It is far richer and more exact than Spiegelberg's work and distinguishes Old Coptic and five Coptic dialects (*A, B, F, A2, S*). Etymologies are given in Egyptian, demotic, Semitic languages (Akkadian, Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic, etc.), and African languages (Nubian, Berber, Beḍauye, etc.) as well as in European languages.

Jaroslav Černý's *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* (1976) contains many new etymologies. The author was a well-known specialist in Late Egyptian and demotic. Exploring the countless works of early Egyptologists in order to find out who had first succeeded in identifying the ancient Egyptian or demotic ancestor of a Coptic word, Černý added Dévaud's notes to his own material. His guiding principle was to adopt only etymologies that he considered certain, probable, or at least possible.

Vycichl's *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte* (1983) is mainly concerned with the phonetic and semantic changes that Coptic words have undergone during their history. Thus, *B* ⲙⲱⲟⲩ, and *S* ⲙⲟⲟⲩ, water, comes from Egyptian *mw,* which derives from the skeleton *m-w-y,* also found in all Semitic languages. *S, B* ϫⲟⲛ, brother, is not considered a biradical noun (**san*), but a triradical one (**sanyaw*). So is *S* ϩⲟⲟⲩ, day, deriving from **harw-aw,* later **ha3w-aw* (cf. plural *A* ϩⲣⲉⲩ from **hariw-w-ū*). Reconstruction of the Egyptian prototypes of Coptic words: *S* ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ, god: **nátīr,* *S* ⲛⲧⲱⲣⲉ (fem.), goddess: **natār-a.t,* a so-called "internal" feminine (vowel change *ī:ā* as in Ethiopian *ṭ'abīb,* wise, *ṭ'abbāb* [fem.]). Etymologies include Egyptian, Semitic, African, and some Greek and Latin.

Egyptian and Coptic Forms

Autochthonous Coptic words derive from Egyptian prototypes written in hieroglyphic script, as a rule without vowels. Coptic vowels help to reconstruct the ancient forms. Thus, *B, S* ⲣⲁⲛ, name, corresponds to Egyptian *rn* (written without vowel). But the primitive form was, it is now known, not **ran* but **rin,* as ancient *i* developed in closed syllables into *a* (cf. VOCABULARY OF SEMITIC ORIGIN). A comparison of some Egyptian and Coptic forms follows:

ỉr.t, eye	*L* ⲓⲅⲓⲣⲉ
dr.t, hand	*B* ⲧⲱⲣⲓ
Km.t, Egypt	*B* ϫⲏⲙⲓ
ms(y).t, to give birth	*B* ⲙⲓⲥⲓ
zy.t-ḥym.t, woman	*B* ϲ-ϩⲓⲙⲓ

nḫt, to be strong	*B* ⲛϣⲟⲧ
rmṯ, man	*B* ⲣⲱⲙⲓ
sn, brother	*B* ⲥⲟⲛ
sn.t, sister	*B* ⲥⲱⲛⲓ
znf, blood	*B* ⲥⲛⲟϥ

Sethe (1899, pp. 16–18) combined in his "Verbum" the Egyptian consonants and the Coptic vowels. This procedure allowed a better understanding of the primitive word forms. It must, however, be borne in mind that there may be a gap of more than three thousand years between the consonants and the vowels. The structure of the above words can be represented as follows: *ỉīre.t*, eye; *dōre.t*, hand; *Kēme.t*, Egypt; *mīse.t*, to give birth; *ḥ(y)īme.t*, woman; *ĕnḫót*, to be strong; *rōmeṯ*, man; *son*, brother; *sōne.t*, sister; *ĕznóf*, blood.

Long and Short Vowels: a and ā

Sethe discovered that there was a relation between vowel quantity and syllable structure—stressed vowels were long in open syllables and short in closed ones, thus:

OPEN	CLOSED
dō-re.t, hand	*ĕn-ḫót*, to be strong
rōmeṯ, man	*són*, brother
sō-ne.t, sister	*ĕz-nóf*, blood

B ϧⲱⲧⲃ is "to kill" and *B* ⲁϥ-ϧⲟⲟⲃⲥϥ is "he killed him." *B* ϧⲱⲧⲃ has a long *o* in an open syllable, and *B* ϧⲟⲟⲃⲥϥ a short one in a closed one. The vowels ⲟ and ⲱ derive from ancient *a*-sounds, as can be seen from cuneiform transcriptions of the Middle Babylonian period (before 1000 B.C.).

As a matter of fact, most of the examples quoted are more complicated to explain than they seem at first glance. Here one must just mention that the radicals of *ỉr.t*, *Km.t*, and *sn* were not simply *ỉr*, *km*, and *sn* but *ỉry*, *kmm*, and *sny*. ⲥⲟⲛ does not derive from **son*, ancient **san*, but from **sanyaw*, and so on.

The i-Vowels

Another correspondence of short and long vowels is found in the following cases:

(a) short *a*: long *ē*:

ḥr-k, thy face: *S* ϩⲣⲁⲕ	*ḥr-ṯn*, your face: *S* ϩⲣⲏⲧⲛ
n-k, to thee: *S* ⲛⲁⲕ	*n-ṯn*, to you: *S* ⲛⲏⲧⲛ
ỉrm-k, with thee: *S* ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲕ	*ỉrm-ṯn*, with you: *S* ⲛⲙⲙⲏⲧⲛ

(b) short *a*: long *ī*:

ms.t-f, to give him birth: *S* ⲙⲁⲥⲧϥ	*ms.t*, to give birth: *S* ⲙⲓⲥⲉ
rn, name: *S* ⲣⲁⲛ	*rn-f*, his name: *S* ⲣⲓⲛϥ
ṯz.t-f, to lift him: *S* ϫⲁⲥⲧϥ	*ṯz.t*, to lift: *S* ϫⲓⲥⲉ

Tentative reconstructions: **eḥ-rak*, thy face, and **eḥ-rē-ṯen*, your face; **nak*, to thee, and **nē-ṯen*, to you; **nem-mák*, with thee, and **nem-mē-ṯen*, with you; **más-tef*, to give him birth, and **mī-set*, to give birth; **rán*, name, and **rī-nef*, his name; **ṯáz-tef*, to lift him, and **ṯī-zet*, to lift.

The difference between ⲏ = *ē* and ⲓ = *ī* has to be explained, as both vowels stand in open syllables. ⲏ = *ē* derives from ancient *ī*, as in the ending of the nisba-adjectives, while ⲓ = *ī*, equally long, was primarily a short vowel and but secondarily lengthened in open syllables.

There is no doubt that the vowel was primarily not *a*, as ancient *a* is represented by *o* in closed syllables and by *ō* in open ones. It is now known that the primitive vowel was (1) long *i*, (2) short *i*. It was a long *i* as in the ending of the nisba-adjectives: *ḥ3.t-y*, heart: *S* ϩⲏⲧ; *ḥ3.t-y-f*, his heart: *S* ϩⲧⲏϥ (cf. Arabic ending *-īy*). On the other hand, *S* ⲥⲓϥⲉ, pitch, derives from **zīfet*, ancient form *zift* (cf. Arabic *zift*). The Egyptian word *zft* is not attested, but is found in Berber languages, for example, Kabyle *ṯi-zefṯ*, pitch (Algeria), from ancient **ṯa-zift* (*ta-* former definite article, with metaphony *ti-*).

The u-Vowels

The vowels corresponding to ancient *u* were more difficult to detect, but it is certain that *S*, *B* ⲙⲛⲧ, ten, corresponds to cuneiform *mu-ṯu*. The real pronunciation of the *u* in this word must have been *ö* as in German *höflich*, *eu* as in French *feu*, or *ir* as in British *bird*. Another case of an ancient *u* is found in the word for "woman," **ḥ(y)ū-me.t* (plural, **ḥyúm-we.t*), cf. *S* ⲥ-ϩⲓⲙⲉ (plural, ϩⲓⲟⲙⲉ). The *ū* in the singular was pronounced like *ü* in German *für* and *u* in French *pur*. Another good example is *S* ⲧⲣⲓⲣ, oven (cf. Akkadian *tinūr-u*, from **tirūr-u* or sim.). *Rmy-y.t*, tear, is *S* ⲣⲙⲉⲓⲏ, the plural of which is ⲣⲙⲉⲓⲟⲟⲩⲉ with ⲟ and, in *A*, ⲣⲙⲉⲓⲉⲩⲉ with ⲉ, probably an old *ö* (short). These examples show that *u*-vowels can be represented in Coptic by ⲉ, ⲟ, ⲏ, and ⲓ.

Semantic Changes

In many cases, the meaning of a word changes in the course of time; thus, *B* ⲁⲙⲉⲛϯ and *S*

ⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ, which always appear without an article as a proper noun to mean "hell," derive from Egyptian *imn.t-y.t* (probably **yamín.t-ī.t*), west, where the sun sets, site of the underworld, the empire of the deceased, the realm of Osiris, judge of souls. In Coptic the word is employed in the Christian sense of "hell." In Egyptian *imn* signifies "right, dexter" and "western," while *i3b.t-y* is "left, sinister" and "eastern": the Egyptians looked southward to take their bearings.

Old Coptic ⲃⲁⲓ, soul, and *S*, *B* ⲃⲁⲩ, night raven (*nycticorax*) or screech owl, derive from Egyptian *b3* (probably **bi3*, then **bē*), soul, represented by the hieroglyph of the *jabiru* (*Mycteria ephippiorhynchus senegalensis*), a big storklike bird now found in the Sudan and recognizable by his wattles. This notion of "soul" was so closely connected with Egyptian paganism that the word was replaced in Christian times by *S*, *B* ⲯⲩⲭⲏ (as in Greek), traditionally pronounced *ebsīka*.

B ⲭⲏⲙⲉ, *S* ⲕⲏⲙⲉ (fem.), Egypt, always without a definite article, is related to *B* ⲭⲙⲟⲙ, *S* ⲕⲙⲟⲙ, become black. Thus, Egypt is the "black one," that is, the "black land," so called after the black Nile mud of the inundation, as opposed to *dšr.t*, the "red one" or "the red land," meaning the desert. The radicals of the verb were *k-m-m*, and *B Khēmi* or *S Kēme* derives from the adjective **kumm-a.t* or **kömm-a.t*, then **Kōm-a.t* (fem.), black. The name of the desert was probably **dašr-a.t* (fem.), red.

B ⲙⲁⲯⲭ, *S* ⲙⲁⲁⲭⲉ (masc.), ear, derives from Egyptian *m-sḏr*, ear, from the verb *sḏr*, to sleep, because it is on the ear that one sleeps. *M-sḏr* employs the prefix *m*, which is used to signify place (*nomina loci*), as in Semitic languages (Arabic *maktab*, office, from *katab*, he wrote). The primitive word for "ear" still occurs in the Coffin Texts as *iḏn* (cf. Arabic *'uḏn*, Hebrew *'ózen*, Aramaic *'eḏn-ā*).

B, *S* ⲙⲉⲫⲁⲕ, perhaps, comes from Egyptian *bw rḫ-k*, thou dost not know, later pronounced *m(w) 3ḫ-k*.

B ⲛⲟⲩϥⲓ, *S* ⲛⲟⲩϥⲉ, good (adj.), derives from Egyptian *nfr*, beautiful, good. The word is written with the hieroglyph for "the *heart* and the *windpipe*" (Gardiner, 1927, p. 465, Sign list F 36). Horapollon, a Greek author who wrote a book on hieroglyphs, explains the sign as *kardía* and *pharynx* (*Hieroglyphica* 2.4). The author is not sure that Gardiner's translation is correct. In Greek, *kardía* signifies the "heart" or "the upper opening of the stomach," and *pharynx*, "esophagus" or "windpipe." Gardiner's translation is improbable, as there is in fact no connection between the heart and the windpipe, while "esophagus" and "(upper opening of) stomach" makes good sense. In spite of this, it is possible that *nfr* may have meant "windpipe" too because a similar word is found in Arabic, *nafīr* meaning "trumpet," this latter term being related to Akkadian *nipru*, which means "offshoot, sprout" or "descendant, son." *Nfr* primarily meant "young"; note *nfr-w* adolescents, and *nfr.t*, maiden; in Berber (Shilḥa, southwestern Morocco) *šbāb*, beautiful, come from Arabic *šabāb*, youth.

B nūfi and *S nūfe* derive from **nāfir*, **nāfiʾ* (verbal adjective = present participle). One might expect *B* **nōfi*, and *S* **nōfe*, but the vowel (*ū* instead of *ō*) is due to postnasalization. The feminine form is *B nofri* or *S nofre*, advantage, from *°nāfir-a.t*, then **nafr-a.t* (neutral meaning of the feminine form).

B ⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ, *S* ⲡⲓⲉ (masc.), temple, today *birbā* in Egyptian Arabic (plural, *barābī*), derives from *r3-pr* or, more exactly, from **r3pr(y.t)*, door of coming out (i. e. the "false door" of Egyptian mastabas representing the deceased coming out of his tomb to receive the offerings brought by his relatives). The verbal noun *B -pei*, *S -pe* is the regular form of **piry-a.t*, coming out, later pronounced **pi3y-a.t*. Coptic has two forms: (1) *B* ⲫⲓⲣⲓ, *S* ⲡⲉⲓⲣⲉ from **pīri.t*, (2) *S* ⲡⲣⲣⲉ from **piry-a.t* where the *r* has been reconstituted by analogy. The original meaning of the word is "funerary temple" with a "false door," and not the *ḥw.t nṯr*, god's house.

S, *B* ⲥⲉ, yes, derives from Egyptian *s.t*, it (neuter pronoun), probably derived from *sy* (**siya*), she. One may compare Provençal *oc*, yes, in southern France from Latin *hoc*, that one. Also French *oui*, yes, derives from *hoc illud* or a similar form (Dauzat, 1938, p. 520).

B ⲟⲩϩⲃ, *S* ⲟⲩϩϩⲃ (masc.), priest, comes from Egyptian *w'b*, priest, from *w'b*, to be pure, which equals *S*, *B* ⲟⲩⲟⲓ from *°wa'āb*, **wa'áb*. The *w'b* priests were the lower priests and the *ḥm nṯr*, god's servant, was a "prophet." *B* ⲟⲩϩⲃ and *S* ⲟⲩϩϩⲃ are Christian priests, while *B*, *S* ⲍⲟⲛⲧ is but a pagan priest.

B ⲟⲩⲓⲛⲁⲙ *S* ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ (fem.), right hand (noun), right, dexter (adj.), is from the old verb *wnm*, to eat, which is in Coptic *B*, *S* ⲟⲩⲱⲙ. The primitive meaning of the word was the "eating hand" as opposed to the left hand, which was used for unclean purposes. There are two different nominal forms in Coptic: *B* ⲟⲩⲓⲛⲁⲙ derives from an emphatic participle *°wanīm*, then **wanním*, while *S* ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ derives from a simple participle *°wanīm*, then **waním*, eating (hand). There are many African languages that call the right hand the "eating hand," such as Logone *zëmi*, right,

from *zëm*, to eat, Fulani *dyuŋgo nyamo*, eating hand (i.e., the right hand), Ewhe *ŋu-ɖu-si*, right hand (literally, the hand [*si*] that eats [*ɖu*] something [*ŋu*]), Swahili *mkono wa kulia*, right hand (literally, hand of eating).

B ϩⲎⲔⲓ, *S* ϩⲏⲕⲉ, poor (adj), derives from Egyptian *ḥḳr*, to be hungry, which is *B*, *S* ϩⲕⲟ. A "hungry man" is a "poor man." In Egyptian Arabic one finds the same idea: *nās ǧa'ānīn*, hungry people, are the "poor" and *nās šabᶜānīn*, satiated people, are the "rich." The form *ǧaᶜānīn* stands for **ǧōᶜānīn* (*ǧawᶜānīn*).

B ϩⲑⲟ, *S* ϩⲧⲟ (masc.), horse, comes from Egyptian *ḥtr*, which primarily means a "yoke of oxen," from *ḥtr*, to fix, to attach; compare Arabic *ḥatar*, to tighten (a knot, etc.). After the Hyksos period, *ḥtr* signifies also a pair of horses and even a horse. The radicals of the word were *ḥtr*, then *ḥtỉ*, hence *B* ϩⲑⲟ. An older form, **ḥty*, has been kept in Beja, a Hamitic language spoken between the Nile Valley and the Red Sea, as *hatāy*.

Some Examples of Phonetic Changes

Influence of ỉ, ', ḥ, ḫ, ẖ. The preceding short vowel is always *a*, as in *S* ⲥⲁⲁⲛⲱ̄, to bring up, nourish, Egyptian **sa'naḫ*, to make live *(s-'nḫ)*; compare *S* ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲧⲛ̄, to erect, Egyptian **sadwan*, to make stretch (*s-dwn*, then *s-wdn*, with metathesis).

Nasalization. In most cases the groups ⲙⲱ and ⲛⲱ are replaced in Coptic by ⲙⲟⲩ and ⲛⲟⲩ. This is due to the nasalizing influence of *m* and *n* in an earlier period of the language, as in Vai, a language now spoken in Liberia. In many languages, nasalized *ã* becomes *o*, as in Provençal *femo*, wife, and *vaco*, cow, from Latin *feminam* (acc.) and *vaccam* (acc.). The intermediary forms were **femã*, **vacã*, or sim. In Coptic, exceptions are rare, among them *S* ⲣⲁⲙⲱⲛⲉ, door post, from Egyptian **rammān-a.t* (fem.), carrier; and the *S* ending -ⲱⲧⲛ̄, you, as in ⲙⲙⲱⲧⲛ̄, you (acc.).

Influence of Final -r. In most cases late Egyptian *-ār* corresponds in Coptic, not, as one might expect, to -ⲱⲣ, but to -ⲟⲩⲣ, as in *S* ϩⲣⲟⲩⲣ, to be quiet, from **harāraw;* compare *B* ϩⲉⲣⲓ, to be quiet, qual. *B* ϩⲟⲩⲣⲱⲟⲩ, from **harw-āw-ey*, then **hawr-āw-ey*. Exceptions due to dialectic influences include *S* ϩⲱⲣ, Horus; *S* *ⲡⲱⲣ, house, in *S* ϫⲉⲛⲉⲡⲱⲣ, roof (literally, head of house); and verbal nouns such as *S* ⲥⲱⲣ, to display, spread out.

Influence of Final ḥ. In Bohairic, sometimes also in other dialects, final -ⲏϩ and -ⲱϩ are replaced by -ⲉϩ and -ⲟϩ with long and open vowels, here transcribed ē and ō, as in *S* ⲡⲱϩ, *B* ⲫⲟϩ, to reach, arrive, qual. *S* ⲙⲏϩ, *B* ⲫⲉϩ.

Influence of w and y in Diphthongs.

S ⲛⲁ ỉ, to me = *nay: B* ⲛⲓⲓ = *ney* (with short *e*)
S ⲙⲁⲅⲓⲛ, sign = *mayn: B* ⲙⲏⲓⲛⲓ = *meyni* (with short *e*)
S ⲙⲟⲅⲓⲧ, way = *mɔyt: B* ⲙⲱⲓⲧ = *moyt* (with short *o*)
S ⲙⲟⲟⲩ, water = *mɔw: B* ⲙⲱⲟⲩ = *mow* (with short *o*)

Note that final *-ɔy* remains unchanged: *S* ⲉⲣⲟⲓ, to me = *erɔy* = *B* ⲉⲣⲟⲓ = *erɔy* (with ɔ = short open o). The case of *S* ϩⲟⲟⲩ, day, is different. This word derives from Egyptian **harwaw* (written *hrw*), then *ha3waw*. In this case, *a* and *w* were not in *direct contact* and therefore *B* ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ, (probably ⲉ-, to + *B* ϩⲟⲟⲩ) = phon. *ho3w*.

Change from n to y. The group *ns* or *nš* may be replaced by *ys* or *yš*, as in *S* ⲡⲣⲁⲛⲱ̄ = *S* ⲡⲣⲁⲉⲓⲱ, from Egyptian *pr 'nḫ*, usually translated "house of life" but probably "house of documents." Also, *S* ϩⲛⲏⲥ, Ahnās (*nomina loci*); compare modern *Ahnāsīya al-Madīna*, the ancient *Ḥw.t nn Ny-sw.t*, House of the Prince, Assyrian cuneiform (*ālu*) *Ḫī-ni-in-ši* = phon. **Ḥininsi*, then **Ḥiniysi* = *Ḥinīsi* = *S* ϩⲛⲏⲥ.

Metathesis (Change of Position: AB:BA). Examples are Egyptian **sadwan*, to make stretch, then **sawdan* = *S* ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲧⲛ̄, to erect, *"ridy-u-fi*, his foot, then *°rid(y)-u-f* = *S* ⲣⲁⲧϥ̄, his foot. But *A* ⲣⲏⲧϥ̄, his foot, derives from *°riyd-u-f* = *°rīd-u-f* and the variant *A* ⲣⲉⲉⲧϥ̄, from *°ridy-u-f*, *°ridd-u-f*, then **ri3d-u-f*.

Diphthong development in Coptic feminine and plural forms. *B* ϫⲁⲙⲟⲩⲗ (masc.), camel, *B* ϫⲁⲙⲁⲩⲗⲓ (fem.), she-camel, *B* ⲥⲛⲁϩ, bond, fetter, plural, ⲥⲛⲁⲩϩ. *B* ⲃⲏϫ, (masc.), falcon, had a feminine form **bayki;* compare the feminine proper noun *Thbaikhis* (*Θβαῖχις*) in Greek. The plural of *S* ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ, god, Egyptian *nāṯīr*, is *S* ⲉⲛⲧⲏⲣ and ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲓⲣ, from **naṯīr-ū*.

The Group tr After Stressed Vowels. Examples of the development of Egyptian *tr, rr, 3r* follow:

ỉtrw, canal: *B* ⲉⲓⲟⲣ, *S* ⲉⲓⲟⲟⲣ
mtr.t, noon: *B* ⲙⲉⲣⲓ, *S* ⲙⲉⲉⲣⲉ
ptr-f, to see him: *B* ⲫⲟⲣϥ, *S* *ⲡⲟⲟⲣϥ

Reconstruction: **yatraw*, then **yarraw* (written *yrw* in the Eighteenth Dynasty), then **ya3raw* or sim., **mitr-a.t*, then **mirr-a.t*, then **mi3r-a.t*, **patr-u-f*, then **parr=u-f*, **pa3r=u-f*, or sim. *B* ⲫⲱⲣ, *S* ⲡⲱⲱⲣⲉ, to dream, is a reconstitution after **patr-*, the *status pronominalis*.

[*See also:* VOCABULARY, AFRICAN CONTACTS WITH AUTOCHTHONOUS COPTIC: VOCABULARY, COPTO-ARABIC; VO-

CABULARY, COPTO-GREEK; VOCABULARY, CUNEIFORM TRANSCRIPTIONS OF PROTOTYPES OF AUTOCHTHONOUS COPTIC; VOCABULARY OF EGYPTIAN ORIGIN, AUTOCHTHONOUS COPTIC; VOCABULARY OF SEMITIC ORIGIN, AUTOCHTHONOUS COPTIC.]

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FAYYUMIC. The name "Fayyumic dialect" (*F*) is usually given to a typical variety of the Coptic language belonging with *M*, *W*, and *V* to the middle Coptic major group (see DIALECTS, GROUPING AND MAJOR GROUPS OF and MESOKEMIC). Contrary to many others, this dialectal variety appears to be located geographically with some certainty, in the region of the ancient oasis of the Fayyūm (hence its name; cf. GEOGRAPHY, DIALECTAL). This terminology was inaugurated by Stern (1880), but only became established in the course of the first decades of the twentieth century. Before Stern, this idiom was readily described as BASHMURIC when it appeared in a "pure" state, while the preference was to designate it "Middle Egyptian" when its forms were less typical and could be considered the hybrid result of contamination by some neighboring dialect, above all SAHIDIC (*S*) (this is particularly frequent within *F5*, the chief subdialect of *F*, four-fifths of the whole). It was then supposed that Bashmuric was more especially the language of the central and western part of the Fayyūm, while to Middle Egyptian was attributed perhaps the eastern fringe of the Fayyūm and still more probably the portion of the Nile Valley to the east of the Fayyūm (also to the northeast and southeast). After Stern, the term "Bashmuric" rapidly fell into disuse, but "Middle Egyptian" (designating from that time the whole of *F*) maintained itself for some time longer, until the beginning of the twentieth century; then it gave way to the present terminology.

The study of Fayyumic is unfortunately seriously complicated by the fact that its texts are published in the most widely dispersed places. In addition, as will be seen later and as was already remarked at the dawn of this century (Asmus, 1904), central *F* itself is manifold and multiform, just as much as the editions mentioned above, at least if one takes into account some of its secondary characteristics, so that modern research distinguishes in it several subdialects (which, if need be, may be subdivided in turn). There can be no question of entering into all

these details here, and this article will confine itself to presenting the chief varieties of *F:* these are *F4* (of limited attestation and the oldest, fourth–sixth [seventh?] century; principal texts published in Crum and Kenyon, 1900; Gaselee, 1909; some *F46* fragments, among others, in Stern, 1885, pp. 30, 34, 35, 39, and *F8*, p. 42); and *F5*, habitually considered by the grammarians as Fayyumic par excellence (e.g., Till, 1930), a variety very widely attested (four-fifths of all *F* = *F4* + *F5*) but the documents of which are relatively late (sixth–eighth [ninth?] century; editions are very scattered and numerous; only some appear in the bibliography below; for *F56*, see Müller, 1962). Anyone who wishes information on the subdivisions of *F4* and *F5* (*F46;* and *F55*, *F56*, *F58*, respectively) or on the minuscule and very marginal *F8* and *F9*, which will be mentioned only exceptionally below, will find some rudiments on the subject in Kasser (1981, pp. 101–102) and, above all, in Diebner and Kasser (1989).

It is appropriate to distinguish from "central" *F* (= *F4* + *F5*) the following entities (which some persist in indiscriminately calling "Fayyumic"): the subdialect *F7* (sometimes called "ancient Fayyumic," as in Crum, 1939, p. vi, n. 3), which is clearly peripheral in relation to central *F* (edition of its sole witness, Diebner and Kasser, 1989) and, if not specifically protodialectal as a whole, at least somewhat archaic in a few of its peculiarities. Dialect *V*, or Fayyumic without lambdacism (sometimes also called "South Fayyumic"), is still more remote from *F* because it does not show lambdacism, the chief characteristic of *F* (important text published in Lefort, 1952, pp. 32–34; the longest witness of *V*, P. Mich. Inv. 3520, is still unpublished). Dialect *W* (or "crypto-Mesokemic with South Fayyumic phonology") is without lambdacism, like *V*, and presents close morphosyntactic affinities with *M* (edition of its only text, Husselman, 1962). Finally, DIALECT H (or Hermopolitan or Ashmuninic; its sole witness, P. Morgan M 636, is unpublished) is an entity more outside than inside the Fayyumic dialectal group, being at once a MESODIALECT (between *V* and *S*?) and a METADIALECT (a manifestation of the Coptic language typically evolved to the extreme). This advice will not appear useless to one who notes that several authors, still following Crum (1939), continue to describe indiscriminately as "Fayyumic" a vocabulary that it would be preferable to classify under the rubrics *F7*, *V*, *W* and *H*.

As for *M* (MESOKEMIC, or Middle Egyptian), the vocabulary of which was also formerly confused with that of *F* etc., but which saw its dialectal originality and identity recognized by Kahle (1954, pp. 220–27), no one today thinks any longer of making it Fayyumic (after the lexicographical publications of Kasser, 1964 and 1966, and, above all, the meticulous dialectal studies of Quecke in Orlandi, 1974, pp. 87–108, and Schenke, 1978 and 1981).

1. Phonology

In Fayyumic, as in other dialects of the Coptic language (a dead language and hence known today only from the texts), the majority of the characteristics perceptible appear at the level of phonology, which is expressed through orthography.

1.1 Consonants (Not Including Glides). The stock of the consonants in Fayyumic is that of the majority of the Coptic idioms (*S* with *L* and *M;* see ALPHABETS, COPTIC, Synoptic Table). In its autochthonous vocabulary, *F* thus does not have the /ç/ of *P* and *İ*; the /x/ of *P*, *İ*, *A*, and *B;* or the aspirated occlusives /kh/, /ph/, and /th/, and the aspirated affricate /čh/, all typical of *B*. It will be noted that some subdivisions of *F* (*F56* in a majority of cases, *F46* everywhere, as in *H*) replace ⲫ /f/ by a ⲃ, which probably has the value of /v/ rather than /ƀ/ (see several examples further on). Furthermore, *F* (with *V* but not *M*; no example in *W*) assimilates /s/ to /š/ before /š/, as in *F*, *V* ϣⲱϣⲓ, field, but *M* ⲥⲟⲱϩ (and *S* etc. ⲥⲱϣϩ); *F*, *V* ϣϩⲱⲓ†, bitter (cf. *B* ϣⲁϣⲓ†), but *M* (and *S* etc.) ⲥⲓϣϩ bitterness. *F* (contrary to *V*, *W*, *M*, with *L4*, *L5*, *B*) assimilates /s/ to /š/ before /č/, as in *F* ϣϩϫⲓ, to speak (cf. *S* ϣⲁϫϩ, *A*, *L6*, ϣϩϫϩ), but *V*, *W* ⲥϩϫⲓ, *M* (and *L4 L5*) ⲥϩϫϩ (*B* ⲥⲁϫⲓ).

F as well as *V*, *W*, *M*, and *H* (and almost all the other Coptic idioms; see ALPHABETS, COPTIC) have in their alphabet at once ϫ /č/ and ϭ /c/ (*B*, *B7* ϭ /čh/); however, *F7* has only ϫ everywhere, even sometimes writing ϫ₂ where the rest of Fayyumic etc. writes ϫ (for example, *F*, *V*, *W*, *M*, *H* ⲛⲁϭ, large, but *F7* ⲛⲁϫ; *F*, *V*, *M* ϭⲓϫ, hand, but *F7* ϫⲓϫ(₂) [and sometimes also ϫⲓϫ in *V*, it is true; then one will note the surprising ϭⲓϭ of *H*]; see Diebner and Kasser, 1989). However, the truly typical characteristic of *F* is its lambdacism: while in the autochthonous vocabulary of all the other Coptic idioms (including *V*, *W*, and *H*) the proportion of use of ⲗ /l/ and ⲣ /r/ is /l/ 30 percent and /r/ 70 percent, in *F* (with *F7*) it is /l/ 80 percent and /r/ 20 percent. This means that many words written with ⲣ in *S*, *M*, *W*, *V* etc. are written with ⲗ in *F4*, *F5*, *F7*, (and *F8*, *F9*) alone, as in *S* ⲣⲱⲙⲉ, *M* ⲣⲟⲙⲉ, *W*, *V* ⲣⲱⲙⲓ, man, but *F4*, *F5*, *F7*, ⲗⲱⲙⲓ and *F8* ⲗⲟⲙⲓ; (cf. *F9* ⲥⲧⲁⲧⲟⲗ†, troubled, from *F5* ϣⲧⲁⲗⲧⲉⲗ, *M* ϣⲧⲁⲣⲧⲣ, *S* etc. ϣⲧⲟⲣⲧϯ, to trouble).

As regards the presence or absence of ALEPH (presence marked by vocalic gemination in the orthography; see GEMINATION, VOCALIC), *F* and the subdialects of its group are profoundly divided: *F5*, *F56*, *F58*, *F46*, with *V5*, *H* (and *İ*, *L* etc., *A*, *P*, *S*) have aleph; *F4*, *F55*, *F7*, with *V4*, *W*(?) (and *M*, *B* etc., *G*) do not have it (see various examples further on).

1.2 Glides. The glides are the least consonantal of the consonants. Fayyumic has /j/ and /w/, as do all the Coptic dialects. In any position /j/ is written ⲓ in *F* (cf. Kasser, 1983a), as in ⲓⲱⲧ, father; ϩⲓ, way, road; ⲁⲓ̈ⲕ, bread; ϩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲓ, some; ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲁ, to honor; ⲁⲓ†, being. However, /w/ is always written ⲟⲩ at the beginning, as in ⲟⲩⲱⲙ, to eat; but elsewhere orthographic procedures diverge, and now ⲟⲩ will be written, now ⲩ (see Diebner and Kasser, 1989): *F* ⲉⲁⲩ, glory; *F* ⲧⲁⲟⲩⲁ (more often than ⲧⲁⲩⲁ), to produce; *F* ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲛ, to know; *F4*, *F5*, *F56* (more rarely *F46*, *F5* ⲙⲙⲉⲟⲩ) ⲙⲙⲉⲩ, there; *F* ⲙⲉⲟⲩ, mother; *F4* ⲟⲉⲩϫ, hands; *F* ⲁⲗⲏⲟⲩ, each other; *F* ⲙⲏⲟⲩⲓ̈, to think; *F* ⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ, brothers; *F* ⲉⲣ(ⲣ)ⲱⲟⲩ, kings.

1.3. Tonic Vowels (Not Including Sonants). As a general rule, when the tonic vowels are long, the orthography of *F* is no different from that of the other Coptic dialects (e.g., ⲗⲱⲙⲓ, man; ⲙⲟⲩⲛ, to rest; ⲕⲓⲙ, to move; ⲕⲏ†, being; an exception is *F*, *F7*, *V*, *M* ⲣⲉ, sun, but *S*, *L*, *B* ⲣⲏ and *A* ⲣⲓ). On the contrary, *F* is more clearly distinct in the orthography of the short tonic vowels, as outlined below.

Class o. Short normal when not final, e.g., ⲥⲁⲛ, brother *F*, with *F7*, *V*, *W*, *M* (and *L*, *A*, but ⲥⲟⲛ *S*, *B*); before /'/ not final (in the dialect or subdialect that preserves it), e.g., ⲱⲗⲗⲏ†, being *F5*, *F56*, *F46*, with *V5* and *H* (without /'/ ⲱⲗⲏ† *F4*, with *F7*, *V4*, *W*, and *M*; but ⲱⲟⲟⲡ† *L*, *S*, ϩⲟⲟⲡ† *A*, and without /'/ ⲱⲟⲡ† *B*); ⲟⲩⲉⲃⲏ†, holy *F5*, *F56* (without /'/ ⲟⲩⲉⲃⲉ† *F4*, with *F7* and *V*, *M*; but ⲟⲩⲗⲗⲏ†, *H* and *L5*, *L6*, *S*, ⲟⲩⲗ(ⲗ)ⲃⲉ† *L4*, *A* and without /'/ ⲟⲩⲗⲃ† *B*); before final /h/, e.g., (ⲉ)ⲙⲕⲉϩ, pain *F* with *F7*, *V*, and *M* (but ⲉⲙⲕⲗϩ *H* and ⲙⲕⲗϩ *L*, *A*, *S*, *B*); before (potential) final /'/, e.g., ⲙⲉ, place *F*, with *F7*, *V*, *W*, and *M* (but ⲙⲁ ⲛ-, place of *F*, *F7*, [*V*], *W*, *M*; ⲙⲁ *H* and *L*, *A*, *S*, *B*) before /(')/ or /'/ or /'j/ ⲱⲉⲉⲓ, to rise (of a star), festival *F5* (ⲱⲉⲉ́, *M*, without /'/ but with /j/ ⲱⲉⲓ *F7*, *V*, *W*; but ⲱⲗ(ⲉ)ⲓⲉ *L*, ϩⲁⲉ *A*, ⲱⲁⲓ *B*, ⲱⲗ *S*). As a final (esp. causative verbs), e.g., ⲧⲁⲕⲁ, destroy *F* with *F7*, *V*, *W*, and *M*, *H* (but ⲧⲉⲕⲟ *L*, *A*, ⲧⲁⲕⲟ *S*, *B*).

Class i. Short normal, e.g., ϩⲉⲧ, silver *F* with *F7*, *V*, and *M* (and *L*, *A*, but ϩⲁⲧ *S*, *B*); before pronominal suffix /j/ (first-person sing.), e.g., ⲛⲏⲓ̈, to me *F4*(?), *F5*, *F56*, *V*, *W*(?) (with *P*, *B*, and ⲛⲏ(ⲉ)ⲓ *L*), but ⲛⲉⲓ̈ *F46* with *M* (and *A*, and ⲛⲁⲓ̈ *H* and *S*); all the other persons of this preposition with its suffixes, except the second- and third-person plural, being vocalized, however, in /ē/ *F5*, /e/ *F4*, *V*, *W*, *M*, *L*, *A*, /a/ *H*, *S*, *B*: thus *F5* (and *F56*) ⲛⲏⲓ̈, ⲛⲏⲕ, ⲛⲏ, ⲛⲏⲩ (ⲛⲏⲃ *F56*), ⲛⲏⲥ, ⲛⲏⲛ, ⲛⲏⲧⲉⲛ, ⲛⲏⲟⲩ, *F4* ⲛⲏⲓ̈, ⲛⲉⲕ, ⲛⲉ, ⲛⲉⲩ, ⲛⲉⲥ, ⲛⲉⲛ, ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛ, ⲛⲉⲩ, *F46* similarly (but very incomplete) ⲛⲉⲓ̈, ⲛⲉⲕ, [. . .], ⲛⲉⲃ, ⲛⲉⲥ, [. . .], *V*, *W*(?) ⲛⲏⲓ̈ (*M* ⲛⲉⲓ̈), *V*, *W*, *M* ⲛⲉⲕ, ⲛⲏ (*M* alone), ⲛⲉⲩ, ⲛⲉⲥ, ⲛⲉⲛ, ⲛⲏⲧⲉⲛ, *V*, *M* ⲛⲉⲩ (*W* ⲛⲁⲩ), *H* ⲛⲁⲓ̈, ⲛⲁⲕ, [. . .], ⲛⲁⲃ, ⲛⲁⲥ, ⲛⲁⲛ, [. . .], ⲛⲁⲟⲩ; likewise, *F5* ⲛⲉⲙⲏ〃, with, *F4* ⲛⲉⲙⲉ〃, etc.; before /j/ followed by another consonant, most often /n/, e.g., ⲙⲏⲓ̈ⲛ, sign *F*, *W*, cf. ⲙⲏⲉⲓⲛ *P*, ⲙⲏⲓⲛⲓ *B* (but ⲙⲉⲉⲓⲛ *M*, ⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ *L4*, ⲙⲉ(ⲉ)ⲓⲛⲉ *A*, and ⲙⲁⲉⲓⲛ *H*, *L5*, *L6*, *S*; a case apart is ϩⲗⲏⲓ̈, upper part (or also "lower" except in *A*, *P*, *B*) *F*, *F7*, ϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ *V*, *W*, *M*, *L*, *A*, *P*, *B*, ϩⲣⲁⲓ̈ *H* and *S*; before /h/, e.g., ⲛⲉϩⲥⲓ *F* (with *B*, and ⲛⲉϩⲥⲉ *L*, *A*, *S*; cf. ⲛⲏϩⲥⲥ[ⲓ] and [ⲛⲏ]ϩⲥⲥⲓ *F7*).

Class e. Short normal (including final), e.g., ⲱⲏⲏⲗⲓ, daughter *F5*, ⲱⲏⲗⲓ (or ⲱⲏⲗⲉ?) *F7*, cf. ⲱⲏⲣⲉ *M* (but ⲱⲉⲉⲣⲉ *L5*, *L6*, *A*, *S*, ⲱⲉⲣⲉ *L4*, ⲱⲉⲣⲓ *B*); ⲙⲉⲧⲣⲏ, witness *F*, *V*, *W*, *M* (and ⲙⲏⲧⲣⲏ *H*, but ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉ *L*, *A*, *S*, ⲙⲉⲟⲣⲉ *B*); before /h/, e.g., ⲙⲉϩ†, full *F5*, *F4*, *F46*, *F7*, *V4* (with *B*, and sometimes *S*), but ⲙⲏϩ† *F56* (with *H* and *M*, *L*, *A*, *S*); ⲉⲛⲉϩ, eternity *F*, *F7*, *V*, *W* (with *M*, *S*, *B*, but ⲉⲓⲛⲏϩ *H* and ⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ *L*, *A*, *P*).

1.4 Tonic Sonants. The sonants (/b̥/, /l̥/, /m̥/, /n̥/, /r̥/) are the least vocalic of the vowels. At the beginning, *F* has no tonic sonant, and it is replaced by its phonematic substitute, the corresponding sonorant (/b̆/, /l̆/, /m̆/, /n̆/, /r̆/), preceded by ⲉ; it is the same in *V*, partly also in *F7*; the case is not attested in *W*; this sonant is, however, characteristic of *M* (thus, *F*, *V* ⲉⲛⲧⲩ, to carry it; *F7* ⲛ̈ⲧⲩ or ⲉⲛⲧⲩ, *H* ⲏⲛⲩ, *M* ⲛ̈ⲧⲩ). Elsewhere it will be found that *F5* (like *F7* and *H*, *B* but differing from *V*, *W*, *M* and of course from *L*, *A*, *S*) has no tonic sonant. *F4* shows a single case of ⲱⲙⲱⲓ, to serve (without inverse cases clearly belonging to *F4*), which leads one to think that on this point *F4* occupies a position intermediate between *F5* (without this sonant) and *V*, *W* (which have now the sonant, and now its substitute; thus, *V* ⲁⲙⲛ̄†, hell; *W* ⲱⲛ̄ⲱⲓ or ⲱⲉⲙⲱⲓ, serve; *W* ⲃ̄ⲣⲓ, new; *V* ⲉⲛ̄ⲧ〃, to find; *V* ⲕⲉⲙⲧⲥ or ⲕⲙⲧⲥ obscurity; *W* ⲕⲣⲉⲙⲣⲉⲙ, grumble, murmur).

1.5 Atonic Vowels (Not Including Sonants). These vowels are evidently always short. In several categories of the atonic vowels, significant differences appear between *F* and *F7* and between *F* and *V*, *W*, without mentioning *H* and *M* and the other Coptic idioms.

The case of the initial atonic vowel does not call for any particular commentary: e.g., *F*, *F7*, *V*; ⲗⲗⲟⲩ, child; *F5* ⲁⲙⲏⲛ†, hell, *F7* ⲁⲙⲓⲛ† (ⲓ by assimilation?), *V* ⲁⲙⲛ̄†, *H* ⲁⲙⲏⲛⲧⲓ, *M* ⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ; *F*, *F7*, *V*, *W*, *M* ⲉⲥⲏⲧ lower part, ground, *H* ⲏⲥⲏⲧ (always in close liaison ⲡⲏⲥⲏⲧ).

More instructive and interesting are certain cases of the vocalization of the atonic syllable when its vowel is neither initial nor final (this vocalization may occur by means of a sonant in place of a corresponding voiced sonorant preceded by a vowel, graphically most often ⲉ; see below); it may be remarked here that several of the atonic "syllables" in question are in fact "subsyllables" (i.e., syllables only in bradysyllabication; see SYLLABICATION).

One will notice below only the cases that manifest differences between *F*, *F7*, *V*, *W*, and *M* (manuscripts of the Gospel of Matthew and of Acts, here always making use of the sonant; *M* of the Pauline letters has for its part some ⲉ followed by the sonorant; see Kasser, 1987; with regard to the characteristics of *H*, see DIALECT H).

After an open tonic syllable, in a closed atonic syllable with a sonorant as the final, *F* vocalizes with ⲉ, *F7* probably also (except for some cases where it uses ⲓ), except when this syllable follows tonic ⲱ and ends in ⲃ or ⲙ (*F7* then vocalizes in ⲟ, e.g., ⲥⲱⲧⲟⲙ, to hear, and ϩⲱⲧⲟⲃ, to kill). *V*, *W*, *M* make use of the sonant (e.g., *V*, *W* ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄, *M* ⲥⲟⲧⲙ, *M* ϩⲟⲧⲃ; likewise, *V* ⲥⲱⲣⲙ, to go astray; it will be noted that *F56* also sometimes uses Ø, e.g., ⲥⲱⲧⲙ and, likewise, ⲧⲱϩⲙ, to summon).

After a closed tonic syllable, in a closed atonic syllable with a sonorant as the initial only, *F*, *F7*, *V*, and *W* vocalize in ⲉ, while *M* has the sonant (thus, e.g., *F*, *V*, *W* ϩⲁⲧⲃⲉϥ, to kill him, and likewise, *F7* ⲛⲉϩⲃⲉϥ, yoke).

After a closed tonic syllable, in a closed atonic syllable with a sonorant as the final, *F* and *F7* vocalize in ⲉ, while *M*, *W*(?), and *V* have the sonant (thus, e.g., *F5* ⲕⲗⲉⲙⲗⲉⲙ, to grumble, murmur, *W* ⲕⲣⲉⲙⲣⲉⲙ or [ⲕⲣⲉ]ⲙⲣⲙ̄, *M* ⲕⲣⲙⲣⲙ; *F5* ⲫⲧⲁⲗⲧⲉⲗ, to trouble, *H* ⲫⲧⲁⲣⲧⲏⲣ, *V*, *M* passim ⲫⲧⲁⲣⲧⲣ, except for a *M* ⲫⲧⲁⲣⲧⲉⲣ in Acts 9:22).

Before a tonic syllable, in a closed syllable with a sonorant as the final, *F* vocalizes in ⲉ, except between ⲧ and ⲃ, where *F5* vocalizes in ⲩ (*F4* is lacking); *F7* vocalizes rather in ⲓ (it also has several ⲉ), except before ⲃ (but not specially after ⲧ), where it generally writes ⲩ; *W* and *M* (most often), and probably also *V*, have the sonant (thus, e.g., *F5* ⲃⲉⲗⲗⲏ, blind, *W*, *M* ⲃⲗⲗⲏ; *F* ⲗⲉⲙϩⲏ, free, *M* ⲣⲉⲙϩⲏ (sic); *F5* ⲗⲉⲙ(ⲙ)ⲉⲗ, rich, *F7* ⲗⲓⲙⲙⲁ or ⲗⲉⲙ(ⲙ)ⲁⲁ, *V* ⲣⲙ(ⲙ)ⲁⲁ; *F5* ⲧⲩⲃⲛⲏ, cattle, *F7* ⲧⲉⲃⲛⲏ (sic), *M* plural ⲧⲃⲛⲁⲟⲩⲉ̀; *F5* ϩⲉⲃⲥⲱ, clothing, *F7* ϩⲩⲃⲥⲱ, *M* ϩⲃⲥⲱ).

Generally speaking, the final atonic vowel is ⲓ in *F* as it is in *F7*, *V*, *W*, and *H* (and finally in *B*), while it is ⲉ in *M* (as in *L*, *A*, *S*). This rule however knows a significant systematic exception in Fayyumic, with or without lambdacism. When this final corresponds to an ancient Egyptian ' ('AYIN), we find final ⲉ in *F*, *V*, *W* (and semievolved and logically secondary *F7*), final ⲁ in *F7* (primitive), as in DIALECT P; *B* then omits any vowel. It may, however, happen that we find, above all in *F5* (where this is among others the chief characteristic of the subdialect *F58*), more rarely in more evolved *F7* and evolved *F4*, *V*, forms of this category which have levelled their atonic final in ⲓ (thus e.g. from *mš'* *F5* ⲙⲏⲏⲫⲉ, crowd, *F4*, *F7*, (semievolved) *W* ⲙⲏⲫⲉ, *F7* [ⲙⲏ]ⲫⲁ (like *P* ⲙⲏⲫⲁ), and finally *B* ⲙⲏⲫ; from *mšd'* *F5* ⲙⲉⲉⲭⲉ, ear, *F4*, *V* ⲙⲉⲭⲉ, *F7* (primitive) ⲙⲉⲭⲁ (compare *P* ⲙⲁⲫⲧⲁ), finally *B* ⲙⲁⲫⲭ).

1.6 Atonic Sonants. In an initial position, if they are systematically absent from *F5*, the atonic sonants appear in *F4* as in *F7*, and in *V*, *W* as in *M* (and in *S*, *L*, *A*, even *B*). But if, in the area of Middle Egypt, they appear immutable in *V*, *W*, they may still be replaced by their substitute, the corresponding sonorant preceded by a vowel (ⲉ everywhere except in *F7*, which prefers here ⲓ), when the phenomenon of "close liaison" (Polotsky, 1949, pp. 29–30) is produced. This takes place in *F4* (as in *F7*, *M*, also in a certain fashion in *H*) only when the word, beginning with the sonant is preceded by the definite article (ⲡ- etc.), which is so closely linked with what follows that the sonant is no longer considered as an initial, and the corresponding sonorant preceded by ⲉ (etc.) is substituted for it (in *B* the possibilities for "close liaison" are much more numerous). One will then have *F4*, *F7*, *M* ⲙⲡⲉϥⲉⲙⲧⲁ ⲉⲃⲁⲗ, in his presence (and immutable, *F5* ⲙⲡⲉϥⲉⲙⲧⲁ ⲉⲃⲁⲗ, on the one hand, *V* [*W* probably the same] ⲙⲡⲉϥⲙⲧⲁ ⲉⲃⲁⲗ, on the other); in close liaison one finds, in contrast, *F4*, *F5*, *M* ⲙⲡⲉⲙⲧⲁ ⲉⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ-, in presence of, *F7* ⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲧⲁ ⲛ- . . . (ⲉⲃⲁⲗ) (and immutable, *F5* ⲙⲡⲉⲙⲧⲁ ⲉⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ-, on one hand, *V* ⲙⲡⲙⲧⲁ ⲛ [- . . . ⲉⲃⲁⲗ], on the other; and similarly *W* ⲡⲙϩⲉⲩ, the tomb, John 11:38, according to what the manuscript itself shows).

As regards the atonic sonants within a word or as finals, see what was said above with reference to the atonic vowels in these positions: such sonants are systematically lacking in *F4*, as in *F5* and *F7* (and also in *H* and *B*), but they appear regularly in *M*, very often in *W* also, and in *V* finally more frequently than their substitute (ⲉ followed by the corresponding sonorant).

2. The Conjugation System

Except in special cases (conjunctive, etc.), the form cited here is the third-person singular masculine only, as well as its corresponding prenominal

form (nom. = before nominal subject). The complete paradigm is not attested in all conjugations. Only the most specific form(s) for each dialect (*F*, *V*, *W*, *H*) or subdialect (*F4*, *F46*, *F5*, *F56*, *F7*) are given here.

Except where specially mentioned, the form is affirmative (neg. = negative). Every basic tense (hereafter abbreviated "basic") is followed (if attested) by its satellites, after "And": circ. = circumstantial, rel. = relative, pret. = preterite, II = second tense; ant. = with pronominal antecedent. Forms between brackets [. . .] are reconstructed from very near forms; zero = no verbal prefix. Except where specially mentioned, *F56* (not *F46*) is included in *F5*; *F4* and *F5* together are *F*.

2.1 Bipartite Pattern. Neg. ⲛ- . . . ⲉⲛ *F, F46, F7, V, W*, zero particle . . . ⲁⲛ *H*.

2.1.1. Present (basic) ϥ- *F, F7, V, W*, ⲃ- [*F46*] *H*, nom. zero. And circ. ⲉϥ- (neg. ⲉⲛϥ- . . . ⲉⲛ etc.) *F, F7, V, W*, ⲉⲃ- *F46, H*, nom. ⲉⲗⲉ- *F, F46, F7*, ⲉⲣⲉ- [V], W, ⲉⲣϩ- H; rel. ⲉⲧⲉϥ- *F5*, [*F56*], *F7*, ⲉⲧϥ- *F4*, (*F7*), [*V*], *W*, nom. ⲉⲧⲉ(ⲗⲉ)- *F*, ⲉⲧⲉ- *F7, V*, ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ- *W*; pret. (= imperfect) ⲛⲁϥ- *F, F7*, [*V*], *W*, [ⲛⲁⲃ- *F46*], nom. ⲛⲁⲗⲉ- *F*, ⲛⲁⲣⲉ- *V, W*; II ⲁϥ- *F, F7, V, W*, [ⲉⲃ- *H*], nom. ⲁⲗⲉ- *F, F7*; ⲁⲣⲉ- [*V*], *W*.

2.1.2. Future (basic) ϥⲛⲉ- *F, F7, V, W* [ⲃⲛⲉ- *F46*], ⲃⲛⲁ- *H*, nom. zero . . . ⲛⲉ- *F, F46, F7, V, W*, zero . . . ⲛⲁ- *H*. And circ. ⲉϥⲛⲉ- (neg. ⲉⲛϥⲛⲉ . . . ⲉⲛ etc.) *F*, [*F7, V*], *W*, nom. ⲉⲗⲉ- . . . ⲛⲉ- *F*; rel. ⲉⲧⲉϥⲛⲉ (neg. ⲉⲧⲉⲛϥⲛⲉ . . . ⲉⲛ etc.) *F*, ⲉⲧϥⲛⲉ- [*F4*], *F7*, [*V, W*], nom. ⲉⲧⲉⲗⲉ- . . . ⲛⲉ- *F*, ⲉⲧⲉ- . . . ⲛⲉ- *F7*, [*V*], (*W*), [ⲉ]ⲧⲉⲣⲉ- . . . [ⲛⲉ-] (*W*); pret. ⲛⲁϥⲛⲉ- *F4*, nom. ⲛⲁⲣⲉ- . . . ⲛⲉ- *W*; II ⲁϥⲛⲉ- *F*, [*F7*], *V*, (*W*), nom. [ⲁⲗⲉ- . . . ⲛⲉ- *F, F7*], ⲁⲣⲉ- . . . ⲛⲉ- *V*, [*W*], ⲉⲣϩ- . . . ⲛⲁ- *H*.

2.2 Tripartite Pattern.

2.2.1. Tenses with special negations (if not II):

2.2.1.1. *Perfect* (basic) ⲁϥ- *F, F7, V*, ⲁⲃ- *F46, H*, ⲥⲁϥ- (*V*), *W*, nom. ⲁ- *F, F46, F7, V*, ⲥⲁ- (*V*), [*W*]; neg. ⲙⲡⲉϥ- *F, F7, V*, ⲙⲡⲉⲃ- *F46*, [ⲡⲏⲃ- *H*], nom. ⲙⲡⲉ- *F*, [*F46*], *F7*, [*V*], *W* [ⲡⲏ- *H*]. And circ. ⲉⲁϥ- *F, F7*, [(*V*)], ⲉⲁⲃ- [*F46*] *H*, ⲉⲥⲁϥ- [(*V*)], *W*, nom. ⲉⲁ- *F*, [*F46, F7*, (*V*)], [ⲉⲥⲁ- (*V*), *W*]; neg. ⲉⲙⲡⲉϥ- *F*, [*F7, V, W*], nom. [ⲉⲙⲡⲉ- *F, F7, V, W*]; rel. ⲛⲧⲁϥ- (ant. ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥ-) *F5, F7*, (*V*), ⲛⲧⲁⲃ- *F46*, ⲧⲁⲃ- (ant. ⲡⲏⲛⲧⲁⲃ-) *H*, ⲉⲧⲁϥ- *F4*, (*F7*), (*V*), ⲉⲧ(ⲉ)ⲥⲁϥ- *W*; nom. ⲛⲧⲁ- (ant. ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁ-) *F5*, ⲛ̈ⲧⲁ- *F7*, [*V*], ⲧⲁ- (ant. ⲡⲏⲛⲧⲁ-) *H*, ⲉⲧⲁ- *F4*, [(*V*)], ⲉⲧ(ⲉ)ⲥⲁ- *W*; neg. ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲡⲉϥ- *F5, F7*, nom. [ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲡⲉ- *F5, F7*]; II ⲁⲁϥ- *F5*, [ⲛⲧⲁⲁϥ- *F4*? ⲛⲁϥ- *F4*?], ⲛⲧⲁϥ- *F5*, [*V*?], ⲧⲁⲃ- *H* (ⲁϥ- *F7*?), ⲁⲥⲁϥ- *W*; nom. ⲁⲁ- *F5*, (ⲛⲧⲁⲁ- *F4*?), ⲛⲁ- *F4*, (*V*?), [ⲧⲁ- *H*], (ⲁ- *F7*?), [ⲁⲥⲁ- *W*]; neg. with ⲛ- . . . ⲉⲛ *F, F46, F7, V, W*, zero . . . ⲁⲛ *H*.

2.2.1.2. *Expectative* (or completive) (basic = neg.) ⲙⲡⲁⲧ(ⲉ)ϥ- *F5, V*, [*W*], ⲡⲁⲧⲏⲃ- *H*, [ⲙⲡⲁϥ- *F7*], nom. ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ- *F5*, [*V, W*]. ⲡⲁⲧⲏ- *H*, ⲙ̈ⲡⲁ- *F7*.

2.2.1.3. *Consuetudinal* or *aorist* (basic) ⲫⲁϥ- *F, F7, V*, [*W*], ⲫⲁⲃ- *F46, H*, nom. ⲫⲁⲗⲉ- *F*, [*F46*], *F7*, ⲫⲁⲣⲉ- *V, W*, ⲫⲁⲣϩ- *H*; neg. ⲙⲉϥ- (*F4*), [*F5*], *F7, V, W*, ⲙⲙⲉϥ- (*F4*), (*F7*?), [ⲙⲉⲃ- *F46*], ⲙⲏⲃ- *H*, nom. ⲙⲉⲗⲉ- (*F4*), *F5*, [*F46, F7*], ⲙⲉⲣⲉ- [*V*], *W*, [ⲙⲏⲣϩ- *H*]. And circ. ⲉⲫⲁϥ- [*F*], *F7*, [*V, W*], [nom. ⲉⲫⲁⲗⲉ- etc.]; rel. ⲛⲫⲁϥ- *F*, (ⲉⲫⲁϥ- *F5*? *V*?), ⲉⲧⲉⲫⲁϥ- (*F5*), *F7*, [ⲉⲫⲁⲃ-] (ant. ⲡⲏⲫⲁⲃ-) *H*, nom. [ⲛⲫⲁⲗⲉ- *F*], [(ⲉⲫⲁⲗⲉ- *F5*? *V*?)], ⲉⲧⲉⲫⲁⲗⲉ- (*F5*), *F7*, [ⲉⲫⲁⲣⲉ- *V*?, ⲉⲫⲁⲣϩ- *H*]; neg. ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲉϥ- *F5, F7*, ([ant. ⲡⲏⲧⲏⲙⲏⲃ- *H*]), [nom. ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲉⲗⲉ-, etc.]; pret. [ⲛⲛⲉⲫⲁϥ- *F5*], nom. ⲛⲛⲉⲫⲁⲗⲉ- *F5*; II [ⲛⲫⲁϥ- *F5*, nom. ⲛⲫⲁⲗⲉ- *F5*].

2.2.1.4. *Futurum energicum* or *third future* (basic) ⲉϥⲉ- *F, F7*, [*V*], *W*, ⲉⲃⲉ- *F46*, [ⲉⲃⲏ-] (ⲭⲏⲏⲃⲏ- with ⲭⲏ, in order that, ant.) *H*, nom. ⲉⲗⲉ- *F*, [*F46*], *F7*, [ⲉⲣⲉ- *V, W*, ⲉⲣϩ- *H*]; neg. ⲛⲛⲉϥ- *F*, (*F7*), *V*, [*W*], ⲛⲉϥ- *F7*, ⲛⲏⲃ- *H*, nom. ⲛⲛⲉ- *F*, (*F7*), [*V*], (*W*?).

2.2.1.5. *Causative imperative* (basic) ⲙⲁⲗⲉϥ- *F, F7*, [ⲙⲁⲗⲉⲃ- *F46*], ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥ- *V, W*, ⲙⲁⲣⲏⲃ- *H*, nom. ⲙⲁⲗⲉ- *F*, [*F46, F7*], ⲙⲁⲣⲉ- *V, W*, ⲙⲁⲣϩ- *H*; neg. ⲙⲡⲉⲗⲧⲣⲉϥ- *F5*, [ⲙ̈ⲡⲓⲗⲧⲗⲉϥ- or ⲙ̈ⲡⲉⲗⲧⲗⲉϥ *F7*], [ⲙⲡⲉⲗⲧⲉϥ- *F46*], ⲙⲡⲉⲣⲧⲉϥ- *V*, [*W*?], [(ⲙⲉⲛⲧ(ⲉ)ϥ- *F7*)], [ⲛⲏⲕⲧⲣⲏϥ- *H*], nom. ⲙⲡⲉⲗⲧⲣⲉ- *F5*, [ⲙⲡⲉⲗⲧⲉ- *F4*], ⲙ̈ⲡⲓⲗⲧⲗⲉ or ⲙ̈ⲡⲉⲗⲧⲉ- *F7*, ⲙⲡⲉⲣⲧⲉ- *V*, [*W*?], [ⲛⲏⲕⲧⲣϩ- *H*].

2.2.2. Tenses with neg. ⲫⲧⲉⲙ- *F* or ⲧⲙ- *V*, W, ⲧⲓⲙ- or ⲧⲉⲙ- *F7*:

2.2.2.1. *Future conjunctive* (basic) [ⲧⲁⲗⲉϥ-] or ⲛⲧⲁⲗⲉϥ- *F5*, [ⲧⲁⲗⲉϥ- F4], nom. ⲧⲁⲗⲉ- [or ⲛⲧⲁⲗⲉ-] *F5*, [ⲧⲁⲗⲉ- *F4*].

2.2.2.2. *Conjunctive* (basic) (sing. 1., 2. masc., 3. masc., fem., pl. 1., 2., 3.) (ⲛ)ⲧⲁ-, ⲛⲕ-, ⲛⲧⲉ-, ⲛϥ-, ⲛⲥ-, ⲛⲧⲉⲛ-, ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛ-, ⲛⲥⲉ- *F, F7, V, W*, ⲧⲁ-, ⲧⲉⲕ-, [ⲧⲉ-], ⲛⲃ-, [ⲛⲥ-], ⲧⲉⲛ-, [ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛ-], ⲧⲟⲩ- *F46*, [ⲧⲁ-], ⲕ-, ⲧⲏ-, ⲃ-, [ⲥ-], [ⲧⲏⲛ-], (ⲧⲏⲧⲛ-?), ⲥⲏ- *H*, nom. ⲛⲧⲉ- *F, F7, V, W*, ⲧⲉ- *F46*, [ⲧⲏ- *H*]. And with ⲫⲁ-, toward (= limitative) ⲫⲁⲛⲧⲉϥ- *F*, [*F7*], *V*, [W], ⲫⲁⲛⲧⲏⲃ- *H*, nom. ⲫⲁⲛⲧⲉ- *F, F7*, [V, W], ⲫⲁⲛⲧⲏ- *H*.

2.2.2.3. *Temporal* (basic) ⲛⲧⲉⲗⲉϥ- *F5*, [*F7*?], ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥ- [*V*?] *W*, ⲧⲏⲣⲏⲃ- *H*, ⲉⲧⲁϥ- *F4*, ⲉⲧⲉⲁϥ- (*F5*?), [ⲉⲧⲥⲁϥ- (*W*)], nom. ⲛⲧⲉⲗⲉ- *F5*, [*F7*?], ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ- [*V*?], *W*, ⲧⲏⲣⲏ- *H*, ⲉⲧⲁ- *F4*, [ⲉⲧⲉⲁ- *F5*?], ⲉⲧⲥⲁ- *W*.

2.2.2.4. *Conditional* (basic) ⲁϥ- [*F4*, (*F5*) with neg., *F7*, [*V, W*] with neg.], ⲁϥⲫⲁⲛ- *F4*, [(*F56*)], (*F7*), (*V*), [*W*], ⲁϥⲫⲁ- (*F7*), (*V*), ⲉϥⲫⲁⲛ- *F5*, ⲉⲃⲫⲁⲛ- *H*, nom. ⲁⲗⲉ- [*F4*, (*F5*) with neg.], *F7*, [(*V*) with neg.], *W* with neg., ⲁⲗⲉⲫⲁⲛ- [*F4*], (*F56*), ⲁⲣⲉⲫⲁ- *V*, ⲁⲣⲫ̣[ⲁ]ⲛ- *W*, ⲁⲫⲁ- (*F7*), ⲉⲗ(ⲉ)ⲫⲁⲛ- *F5*, ⲉⲣⲫⲁⲛ- *H*.

3. Vocabulary

The lexical stock of *F4*, *F5*, *F7*, *V*, and *W* (not to speak of *H*) presents a certain number of units not found elsewhere in Coptic (or only in a single idiom, or only in two, etc.). They cannot all be presented

here (cf. Crum, 1939, and Westendorf, 1977), and only some examples will be listed.

F5, F46, F7 ⲁ2ⲁ, and, to be compared with *B4, B74, G* ⲟⲩⲟ2ⲉ (and *B* ⲟⲩⲟ2), etc., *L6* ⲟⲩⲁ2ⲁ, *L4* ⲁ2ⲛ̄, ⲁ2ⲁⲛ (Kasser 1983b). *F7* ⲁⲭⲱ (pl. ⲁⲭ2ⲁⲩⲓ̈) viper, serpent, cf. ⲁ́ⲭⲱ *B* (the other Coptic dialects prefer ⲥⲟϥ, a word that *F7* also knows).

ⲃⲱⲕ, servant, once in *F5*, a word current in *B* (which does not have ⲥⲙ2ⲗⲗ, a word current, with ⲥⲉⲗ, in *F5*); ⲃⲱⲕ is absent from the other Coptic dialects. *F7* ⲃⲱⲣⲉ, ⲃⲁⲣⲉ, repulse, cf. *S* ⲃⲱⲱⲣⲉ, ⲃⲟⲟⲣ〃, etc.

F ⲉⲙⲉⲫⲏⲓ̈ ⲉ-, except, is lacking elsewhere in Coptic. Note *F5, S* ⲉⲣⲡⲱ, branch (?), Isaiah 34:4.

F5 ⲕⲁⲥ, roaring, clamor, is lacking elsewhere in Coptic (Epistle of Jeremiah 31).

F ⲗⲁⲛⲥ, something, is lacking elsewhere in Coptic, but may be compared with *B* ⲗⲁⲛⲥⲓ, to bite, a mouthful; on the other hand, one can only make the same comparison for *F, F7, V* ⲗⲁⲓϯ, something (cf. ⲗⲁⲓⲧ once or twice in *F7*) if one supposes a ⲗⲁⲛϯ derived graphically from ⲗⲁⲛⲯ, an explanation that remains doubtful (ϯ /ti/ confused with the ancient ϯ = ⲯ /ps/; see ALPHABETS, COPTIC).

F5 ⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩⲓ̈, *F4, V* ⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈, new, has its only correspondent in ⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈, which appears once only in *S* (Kahle, 1954, p. 701, 11), if the etymology sometimes suggested (e.g., Černý, 1976, p. 79) from *S, B* ⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈, island is set aside (Vycichl, 1983, pp. 108–109). The parallel with *M* ⲙⲁⲓ̈ (Husselman, 1965, p. 85) remains very doubtful. *F5* ⲙⲁⲧⲉⲙ, winnowing fan, is lacking elsewhere in Coptic (Is. 30:24). *F* ⲙⲫⲓⲫ, vengeance, appears also in *B*, but not elsewhere.

F7 ⲛⲏⲛⲓ, honeycomb, cf. *B* ⲛⲏⲛⲓ (a rare word). *W* ⲛⲓⲛⲉⲓ̈, nothing, cf. *M* ⲛⲓⲛⲉⲓ̈. ⲛⲟⲩⲉ-, see ⲟⲩⲉ-, against, below. *F7* ⲛⲟⲩⲫⲥ, strike with amazement, cf. *S* ⲛⲟⲩⲫⲥ etc.

F7 ⲡⲓⲁ〃, awaken, unknown elsewhere in Coptic (Sg. 2:7 and 8:5). *F7* ⲡⲁⲣⲕ', chiseled, cf. *B* ϥⲱⲛⲕ with the same significance (in truth, rather remote from those of *S* etc. ⲡⲱⲛ̄ⲕ etc., draw, heap up, etc.). *F7* ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲗⲉⲥϥⲓ, dream(er) (Eccl. 5:2), is probably to be resolved into ⲗⲉⲥϥⲓ, cf. *F5* ⲗⲉⲥⲃⲓ, *S* ⲣⲁⲥⲟⲩ, dream, and ⲡⲁⲛⲁ- cf. *S* etc. ⲡⲱⲛ etc. *B* ϥⲉⲛ ⲣⲁⲥⲟⲩⲓ, Crum, 1939, p. 263b,3; 268a,15). Vulgar *F5* ⲡⲉⲧⲃⲓ, avenger, *F46* ⲡⲉⲧⲃⲏ, cf. *S* ⲡⲉⲧⲃⲉ.

F5 ⲥⲁⲕⲃⲓ, sprinkle (?), unknown elsewhere in Coptic. *F5* ⲥⲛⲁⲧ, to fear, cf. *S* ⲥⲛⲁⲧ. *F7* ⲥⲓⲧⲃⲉⲓ2, tool, utensil, weapon, etc., Eccl. 9:18, cf. *S* ⲥⲧⲉⲃⲁⲉⲓ2, *B* ⲥⲑⲃⲁⲓ2 etc., is a rare word.

F5 ⲧⲕⲁⲛ, impulse, force (?), cf. *M* ⲧⲕⲁⲛ, *A* ⲧⲕⲏⲛ (Kasser, 1979). *F7* ⲧⲁⲓⲙ to aid, *V* ⲧⲁⲉⲓⲙ, cf. *M* ⲧⲁⲉⲓⲙ. *W* ⲧⲣⲟⲩⲣ, haste, cf. *M* ⲧⲣⲟⲩⲣ.

F5 ⲟⲩⲉ- in (ⲛ)ⲛⲟⲩⲉ- etc., against, cf. *M* and *S* ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉ- etc., alongside ⲟⲩⲃⲉ- etc. in *S* and other Coptic idioms (including *F7*).

ⲫⲕⲓⲗ, curl (of hair), cf. *S* ⲫⲕⲓⲗ. *V5* ⲫⲉⲉⲣ, price, cf. *S* ⲫⲁⲗⲣ. *F5, F7* ⲫⲧⲁ, thicket, copse, cf. eventually *S* also? (Crum, 1939, 595a). *F7* ⲫⲱⲭⲓ, whisper, whistle (?), Eccl. 2:15–16, is probably found nowhere else in Coptic and could be onomatopoeia.

F5 ⲥⲉⲓ, here, behold, cf. *M* ⲥⲓ and perhaps also *F* ⲥⲉⲓⲧⲉ, *F5* etc. ⲥⲉⲓⲧⲉⲥ. ⲥⲗⲗⲗ, darkness, cf. *B* ⲥⲗⲟⲗ etc. *F4, F7* ⲥⲗⲁϯ, descendants, children, Lam. 4:10, *V* ⲥⲣⲁϯ, 1 Jn. 3:7, 18, cf. *B* ϩⲣⲟϯ. *F5* ⲥⲧⲉⲓ in ⲥⲓ ⲥⲧⲉⲓ, deceive, cf. *S* ⲥⲓ ⲥⲧⲁⲓ̈.

F7 ⲭⲓⲗⲗⲉⲓ, shield, buckler, cf. *S* ⲭⲉ. *F5* ⲭⲁⲟⲩⲧ†, base, without value, cf. *S* ⲭⲟⲟⲩⲧ†, e.g., 2 Cor. 13:5–6.

F5 ⲫⲉⲗⲃⲉⲥⲓ, purple, *F7* ⲭⲉⲗⲃⲉⲥⲓ, appears nowhere else in Coptic. *F5* ⲫⲉⲗⲙⲁⲫⲓⲛ, pitcher, *H* ⲫⲏⲗⲙⲁⲓ, cf. *S* ⲫ(ⲉ)ⲗⲙⲁ(ⲉ)ⲓ(ⲛ) etc. *F5, V4* ⲫⲗⲗⲁⲭ, foot, *F* pl. ⲫⲁⲗⲁⲩⲭ, *F7* ⲭⲗⲗⲁⲩⲭ(ⲥ), cf. *B* ⲫⲗⲗⲟⲭ, pl. ⲫⲁⲗⲁⲩⲭ.

One may finally recall here various lexical or morphological peculiarities that make *W* (as distinct from *V*) very close to *M*: the first perfect prefix (nom., etc.) *W, M* ⲥⲁ- (rare in *V*) in opposition to *V, F* ⲁ-, etc.; *W, M* ⲛⲓⲛⲉⲓ, nothing; only *M* ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁ〃, to do that, or *W* ⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ〃 in opposition to *V, F*, where there is a choice between ⲓⲣⲓ ⲙⲙⲁ〃 and ⲣⲁ ⲙⲁ〃; ⲫⲉ ⲛⲉ〃, to go, so almost always in *W, M*, while *V*, like *F*, writes simply ⲫⲏ (without the "dative" preposition); in *W* and *M* the Copto-Greek verbs are not preceded by the auxiliary (ⲉ)ⲣ, etc., and do not have the Greek final -ⲛ, which sets them against those of *V* or above all *F*, where one may observe rather the contrary.

4. Grammar

The Fayyumic subdialects are either too poorly attested or attested in too irregular a fashion (this is especially the case with *F5*) for one to be able to establish with any ease or precision the syntax characteristic of each of them or even what might be more modestly and vaguely considered the "Fayyumic syntax" in general. At least, investigations in this area have not as yet been sufficiently advanced for a *status quaestionis* to be given here (what can be found in Till, 1930 and 1961, remains very elementary and not distinctive).

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RODOLPHE KASSER

GEMINATION, VOCALIC. Fairly frequently, Coptic manuscripts present examples of graphic vocalic gemination (duplication of various graphV= graphemes called "vowels": ⲁ, ⲉ, ⲏ, ⲓ, ⲟ, (ⲟ)ⲩ, and ⲱ; to be distinguished from V = vocalic phonemes, which, in addition to /a/, /e/, /ə/, /ē/, /i/, /u/, and /ō/, include the sonants /ḇ/, /l̩/, /m̩/, /n̩/, and /r̩/). This article will ignore the nonsystematic cases, arising from causes that produced the IDIOLECT of some scribe insufficiently trained and incapable of adhering unreservedly to *one* well-defined orthographic system, to *one* dialect (cf. Worrell, 1934, pp. 110–11; Kasser, 1980, pp. 78–82). The discussion here is restricted to the series of cases that have a systematic cause.

Two types of graphic vocalic gemination are found (graphV + same graphV), each belonging to certain particular dialect(s) or subdialect(s), of which it is one of the fundamental characteristics.

The first of these types of gemination is exceptional. It may be observed in the examples of the most archaic orthography of the text of P. Bodmer VI, the only existing witness of DIALECT P, which is either possibly a kind of proto-Sahidic according to Vergote (1973b), or (looking indeed often very like a kind of reconstructed proto-Sahidic) is rather another variety of Coptic PROTODIALECT, perhaps some sort of proto-Theban (Nagel, 1965; Kasser, 1982a), if not a kind of proto-Sahidic immigrant in the Theban region and strongly influenced by the local (nonliterary) Theban idiom (see Kasser, 1985, and DIALECT, IMMIGRANT). Whatever it may be, that type of gemination only appears sporadically in these examples, being always under strong competition from examples of a more evolved orthography (see below).

There, the tonic vowel of the lexeme is systematically duplicated. (These forms remain very much in the minority, about 2 percent of the whole, to which may be added 3 percent of forms in which an unusual gemination of the consonant immediately preceding or following the tonic vowel or the first consonant of the syllable containing the tonic vowel seems to have been produced through negligence instead of the vocalic gemination mentioned above.) Contrary to what happens in regard to the second type of vocalic gemination (see below), the first is not motivated by any etymological factor; the formula for this first type is thus graphV + same graphV = tonic V. Here are some characteristic examples: *P* ⲁⲁ₂ⲉ, existence; ⲟ̄ⲟ̄ⲥⲉ (sic), loss; plur. ⲛⲏⲩ̄ (sic), houses; plur. ⲓⲟ̄ⲟ̄ⲧⲉ (sic), fathers, parents; ⲓⲱⲱⲧⲉ, dew; ⲗⲟⲟⲉⲓⲣⲕⲉ, pretext; ⲡⲱⲱϫϩ, to smooth; ⲁⲡⲉ̄ⲉ̄ (sic) or ⲁⲡⲉⲉ, head; ⲃⲉⲁⲉⲉ, wages; ⲥⲙⲏⲏ (sic), voice; ϧⲓⲏⲏ (sic), road, way; ⲧⲉⲩ̄ⲟ̄ (sic), to produce; ⲫⲟⲩ̄ⲱⲱ (sic), to empty; and even the Copto-Greek ⲡⲛⲟⲏⲏ (= *πνοή*), breath.

Readers will have noted the supralinear stroke that quite often joins the top of these graphV; appearing perhaps at a late stage to distinguish (in *P*) these geminations from those of the second type (see below), which are phonologically very different, this stroke could well have here, as it usually does elsewhere in Coptic, a syllabic significance, indicating that this gemination of graphV does not express a "broken vowel," a "hiatus," or any analogous phenomenon, and this no more in bradysyllabication (corresponding to slow speech) than in tachysyllabication (corresponding to natural, rapid speech; see SYLLABICATION); it expresses a single V (= vocalic phoneme) simply tonic (= stressed).

The second, much more common type of vocalic gemination appears systematically (or nearly so) in the least archaic forms of the dialect *P*, as well as the dialect *İ* (= *pL*, protodialect of *L*), and especially the idioms *A*, *L4*, *L5*, *L6*, *V5*, *F5*, and *S* (but not in *M*, *W*, *V4*, *F4*, *B* and its subdialects, and *G*). The purely vocalic aspect of this gemination is deceptive, since its formula is graphV + same graphV = tonic vowel + consonant (the demonstration will be found under ALEPH). Those who have sought to analyze this gemination phonologically have in fact very soon realized that its appearance in Coptic most often coincides with the disappearance of an older Egyptian radical consonant. (Some lexemes not affected by this disappearance later took on the vocalic gemination by simple analogy with lexemes that were superficially similar.) However, the conclusions of these investigators have not, from the outset, been unanimous (Kasser, 1982c).

Stern (1880, p. 54): "We understand it [the duplication] as a breaking of the vowel, and compare the stem affected with the Semitic roots expanded by א י ו (mediae quiescentis)." But if one notes that for this author the Coptic "breaking of the vowel" seems indeed to be a kind of diphthongizing; that for him (pp. 34–35) the diphthong is the (syllabic) combination of a vowel with (after it) a semivowel (= glide); that he states (pp. 29–30) that ancient Egyptian had three semivowels (*j* = Coptic /j/ = (ⲉ)ⲓ, *w* = Coptic /w/ = (ⲟ)ⲩ, and finally ʿ), which often became the second element of a vocalic gemination

in written Coptic; and that, broadly speaking, one may thus say that all these semivowels appear as graphV in Coptic, then one may suppose that Stern tended, if not always, at least frequently, to identify the second element of the vocalic gemination in Coptic phonologically as an /'/. Lacau (1910, pp. 77–78), while analyzing the phenomenon with much finesse and perspicacity, nevertheless seems to have admitted tacitly that the duplication of the vowel caused by the dropping of the consonant *i*, *ʿ*, *r*, or *t* is equally a vocalic duplication on the level of superficial phonology, the second V of this gemination replacing those consonants which have effectively disappeared and for which nothing has been substituted, not even some /'/ derived from them (which seems acceptable in bradysyllabication, but debatable in tachysyllabication).

Steindorff (1930, pp. 34–35) presented a distinctly different position: "In Sahidic, in those syllables which have been opened through the suppression of a following consonant . . . , the short medial vowel is frequently doubled: . . . *šeere* "daughter" for **šer-i̯t, *šer-ʾᵉt, *še-rᵉ(t)* . . . This process is called a compensating duplication; it is a substitute for the lengthening of a short vowel which appears in an open syllable." Later Steindorff (1951, pp. 34–35) adopted a less clear position, apparently seeking to harmonize his earlier explanation, in modified form, with other explanations that come into play; thus, he subsequently distinguished the cases of compensating duplication from those of "vowel assimilation," on the one hand, and those of "breaking the vowel," on the other (see above).

Kuentz (1934) examined these various possibilities and finally proposed the idea of a compensating (vocalic) lengthening (*Ersatzdehnung*, not *Ersatzverdoppelung*); in reply to the objection that in Coptic ⲱ and ⲏ are the long forms of ⲟ and ⲉ, and hence that instead of, for example, ⲙⲟⲟⲛⲉ, pasture, feed, one ought to find *ⲙⲱⲛⲉ, Kuentz supposed that "at some undetermined period the old opposition of quality became an opposition of timbre; no doubt ⲱ and ⲏ, representing old long vowels, became closed vowels, while ⲟ and ⲉ were open vowels. Thenceforth the graphic duplication of the various vowels examined is naturally interpreted as a notation for long vowels, whether open or closed, at the period when this system of writing was put into use."

Till (1929) was the first to express clearly the idea that the second element (graphV) of the graphic vocalic gemination examined here must represent a consonantal phoneme, without, however, venturing to say which. Later Till (1955, p. 46) became more precise (though still ambiguous): "'Aleph and 'Ajin are still present in Coptic, although no special letters for them exist. Both may have been expressed alike (probably '), although ' in some circumstances has a different effect on neighbouring vowels from *3*." And Till (1961, p. 10) wrote that "the vowel written double is to be understood as a simple vowel + Aleph or Ajin." This author (perhaps under the influence of Vergote, 1945, pp. 89–91) thus very clearly comes close to the solution most generally admitted today, according to which it is always ALEPH that the second element in the vocalic gemination renders (Till seems to have seen there sometimes /'/, sometimes /ʿ/, but then it is a /ʿ/ practically pronounced /'/); however, the ambiguity of his position suddenly appears again in a different fashion in his suggestion (Till, 1955, p. 46) that this /'/ "was evidently no longer felt to be a consonant" and in his transcription of ⲃⲱⲱⲛ by *bō'n* (p. 46) but of ϩⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ by *hitoᵒtīf* (p. 259).

Edgerton (1957, pp. 136–37) adopted a position resolutely opposed to that of Till, refusing to admit the phonological survival of /'/ or /ʿ/ in Coptic, from the time when they were not represented by any grapheme of their own (the problem of the CRYPTOPHONEME): "It seems simplest to explain the non-existence of signs for 'aleph and 'ajin in Coptic writing by assuming the non-existence of these phonemes in Coptic speech."

Finally, Vergote (1945, pp. 87–96; 1973, Vol. 1a, pp. 12–15, and Vol. 1b, pp. 31–37) clearly demonstrated that aleph is the consonantal phoneme best suited for replacing ancient *i̯*, *ʿ*, *r*, and *t* (and even *j* or *w*), which have disappeared. His opinion was entirely shared by Kasser (1982c), who, however, thought that the graphic aspect (graphV + same graphV) of this gemination (the orthography corresponding largely to br/syl. = bradysyllabication, an artificially slow articulation, in which this gemination is effectively vocalic even in phonation [V tonic + same V atonic]) is to be distinguished radically from its phonetic and phonological expression in normal articulation (in t/syl. = tachysyllabication, where this gemination renders a tonic vowel followed by /'/): thus, ⲕⲁⲁϥ, to put it, t/syl. '/kȧ'f/' (monosyllabic, cf. Vergote, 1973, Vol. 1a, p. 45), but br/syl. /kȧaf/ (disyllabic); or ⲙⲁⲁⲭⲉ, ear, /mȧ'če/ (disyllabic) but '/mȧače/' (trisyllabic). The transition from t/syl. to br./syl. would entail a kind of "echo effect" resulting in this vocalic gemination which appears in Coptic orthography: thus, for example, /mȧ'če/ > */mȧ'ače/ > '/mȧ a če/' (an idea the first expression of which could already be found in

Vergote, 1945, p. 91, and which, taken up a little differently, is developed in Kasser, 1981, pp. 7–9; 1982b, p. 29, n. 23; 1982c, pp. 33–34).

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RODOLPHE KASSER

GEOGRAPHY, DIALECTAL. A description of Egypt in terms of dialectal geography must take as its basis its physical and especially hydrogeographical characteristics. Egypt is most commonly divided geographically into two elements comparable in area, number of inhabitants, and economic and political importance, but starkly contrasted on the political and linguistic levels. On the one hand, there is the Nile Delta, the vast triangle, practically flat and often marshy, about 125 miles (200 km) on each side and bordered by the sea along its whole northern flank; its geographically open configuration favored a rather undivided (or at least not much divided) linguistic shape. On the other hand, there is the long, threadlike valley of the Nile upstream from the Delta as far as the First Cataract, a little to the south of Aswan, extending nearly 560 miles (900 km), a strip of fertile ground about 8–12 miles (12–20 km) wide in the north, but only 0.6–3 miles (1–5 km) wide in the south; it is locked between two desert plateaus of rock and sand that differ in height. The ancient oasis of the Fayyūm may be considered an appendage of the valley, since an irrigation canal from the Nile could have been dug as early as the pharaonic period. Such a geographical configuration could not but favor the development of divergent dialects within the Egyptian language, whether ancient (pharaonic) or more recent (Coptic).

In traditional terminology, the Delta is generally called "Lower Egypt," and the valley upstream from the Delta either is called as a whole "Upper Egypt" or is subdivided into "Middle Egypt" (roughly from Cairo [Heliopolis-Memphis] to al-Ashmūnayn [Hermopolis] or somewhat further south) and "Upper Egypt" (comprising everything south of Middle

Egypt from Dayrūṭ or possibly Asyūṭ [Lycopolis], or even Ṭimā and Qaw, south of Asyūṭ, as far as Aswan). Clearly this terminology is not without ambiguity.

It has also been suggested (Kasser, 1980a, pp. 74–76) that Egypt be divided, moving downstream, into five regions: (1) the Upper Valley, or the upper and middle parts of Upper Egypt in the strictest sense of the term (that is, from about Aswan and Philae to Ṭahṭā, north of Akhmīm [Panopolis]); (2) the Middle Valley, or the lower part of Upper Egypt, in the strictest sense, and the upper part of Middle Egypt (from about al-Badārī [Qaw] to north of al-Bahnasā [Oxyrhynchus]); (3) the Center (so called because its situation makes it a crossroads between the Middle Valley, the Fayyūm, and the Delta), or the middle and lower parts of Middle Egypt (from south of Banī Suef, to the west of which is Heracleopolis, to north of Cairo [Heliopolis], i.e., all the territory of the Nile Valley to the east and a little to the northeast and the southeast of the Fayyūm); (4) the Fayyūm; and (5) the Delta.

Since Coptic, like pharaonic Egyptian, is a dead language, it is not possible to know its dialects by direct observation of the language as it is spoken, as would be done for a living language. Only texts allow one to attain ultimately a knowledge of the dialects of a dead language. One may observe, whenever occasion affords, systematic morphosyntactical and lexical differences linked to this or that region; as regards Coptic, these differences certainly seem to exist, but for the most part they remain very modest, to the point that they do not of themselves convey the impression of true dialectal differences. But it is known that the most striking divergences between the dialects are generally of a phonological kind. To observe them in a dead language, one must admit (as the majority of linguists do) that the orthography of the language has a phonological value sufficiently precise to allow one to discover, from the various systematic graphic variants, various dialectal phonological systems. Certainly pharaonic Egyptian, in its various written forms, allows one to know the consonantal structure of the ancient Egyptian lexemes but scarcely or not at all their vocalic structure. The latter appears very clearly in Coptic, in which all the graphemes called vowels, or graphV (ⲁ, ⲉ, ⲏ, ⲓ, ⲟ, (ⲟ)ⲩ, and ⲱ), are of Greek origin. This allows one to observe in the Coptic texts divergent orthographic systems, which have always been considered by Coptologists (with some modern exceptions) as having put into writing their phonological systems in a manner still perceptible. Without this working hypothesis, by far the most probable, it seems impossible to work out any dialectal geography of Coptic Egypt whatsoever. On this basis, various systems of dialectal geography have been elaborated; mention will be made here only of those that have been set out in extenso and chiefly the most recent among them (cf. Vergote, 1973, Vol. 1a, pp. 53–59, and the maps herein).

Worrell (1934) divided Egypt into six dialectal regions: (1) the Delta (at least the western Delta), the land of BOHAIRIC, or *B*; (2) the valley from Cairo as far as the Fayyūm (to north of Heracleopolis), SAHIDIC, or *S*; (3) the Fayyūm, FAYYUMIC, or *F*; (4) the valley from the Fayyūm as far as Qaw and Ichqau (south of Ṭimā, to the south of Asyūṭ), also *S* (Worrell did not yet know the existence of MESOKEMIC, or *M*, called by some "Oxyrhynchite"); (5) the valley from Qaw to Thebes, AKHMIMIC, or *A*; and (6) the valley south of Thebes, *A* again. As for LYCOPOLITAN, or *L*, Worrell placed it, rather vaguely, north of *A* and south of *S* (region of Asyūṭ and Ṭimā?).

The distribution proposed by Kahle (1954) is often different: (1) the Delta, land of *B* (properly speaking), except for Alexandria, which could possibly have been the homeland of *S*; (2) Worrell's region 2 (to Heracleopolis), a variety of *B* particularly close to *S* ("semi-Bohairic"; cf. ibid., pp. 377–80; Kasser and Satzinger, 1982); (3) the Fayyūm, *F*; (4) the valley, from Heracleopolis to the north of al-Ashmūnayn, *M*; (5) the valley from Ashmūnayn to the north of Nag Hammadi, *L*; and (6) the valley from Nag Hammadi as far as the region to the south of Thebes, *A* (which very soon advanced toward the north, establishing itself in particular at Akhmīm).

Vergote (1973, Vol. 1a) proposed a solution that on certain points may be considered a compromise between the two preceding: (1) the Delta, *B*; (2) the valley from Cairo to Heracleopolis, *S*; (3) the Fayyūm, *F*; (4) the valley from Heracleopolis to the north of al-Ashmūnayn (a little farther to the north than for Kahle), *M* (called *O*, or Oxyrhynchite, by this author); (5) the valley from al-Ashmūnayn to a zone between Qaw and Akhmīm, *L* (called *A2*, or Subakhmimic, by this author); and (6) the valley from Akhmīm as far as the regions to the south of Thebes, *A*.

It can be seen that Coptology is still far from having reached any certainty concerning all points of its dialectal geography. It is therefore not unreasonable to take up again briefly the various problems of this domain. One may recall first of all (an obvious fact, the full implications of which are not, however, always drawn) that Coptic is now a dead language, so that the investigator must adapt himself to the inconvenience linked to this fact. Moreover, it

has been a dead language for a very long time, unfortunately from a period largely prior to the first attempts at observation and scientific study of its philology (seventeenth century). Under these conditions, it is very often extremely difficult to localize its dialects, known almost solely from the evidence of literary manuscripts. These are liable to travel far, and since the majority have survived as the result of clandestine excavation one cannot even know exactly where they were found. (The place where they were sold is often very distant from that of their discovery, precisely to discourage investigation, whether by the police or by scholars: the "laws" of this illegal traffic require that the sources be shrouded in the most absolute secrecy, so that the stories of discovery which some inquirer thinks he has been fortunate enough to gather may well be no more than fables intended to lull his indiscreet curiosity; and if by chance one actually comes to know the place of discovery, it may well not be the place where the manuscript was copied and such an idiom was in use.)

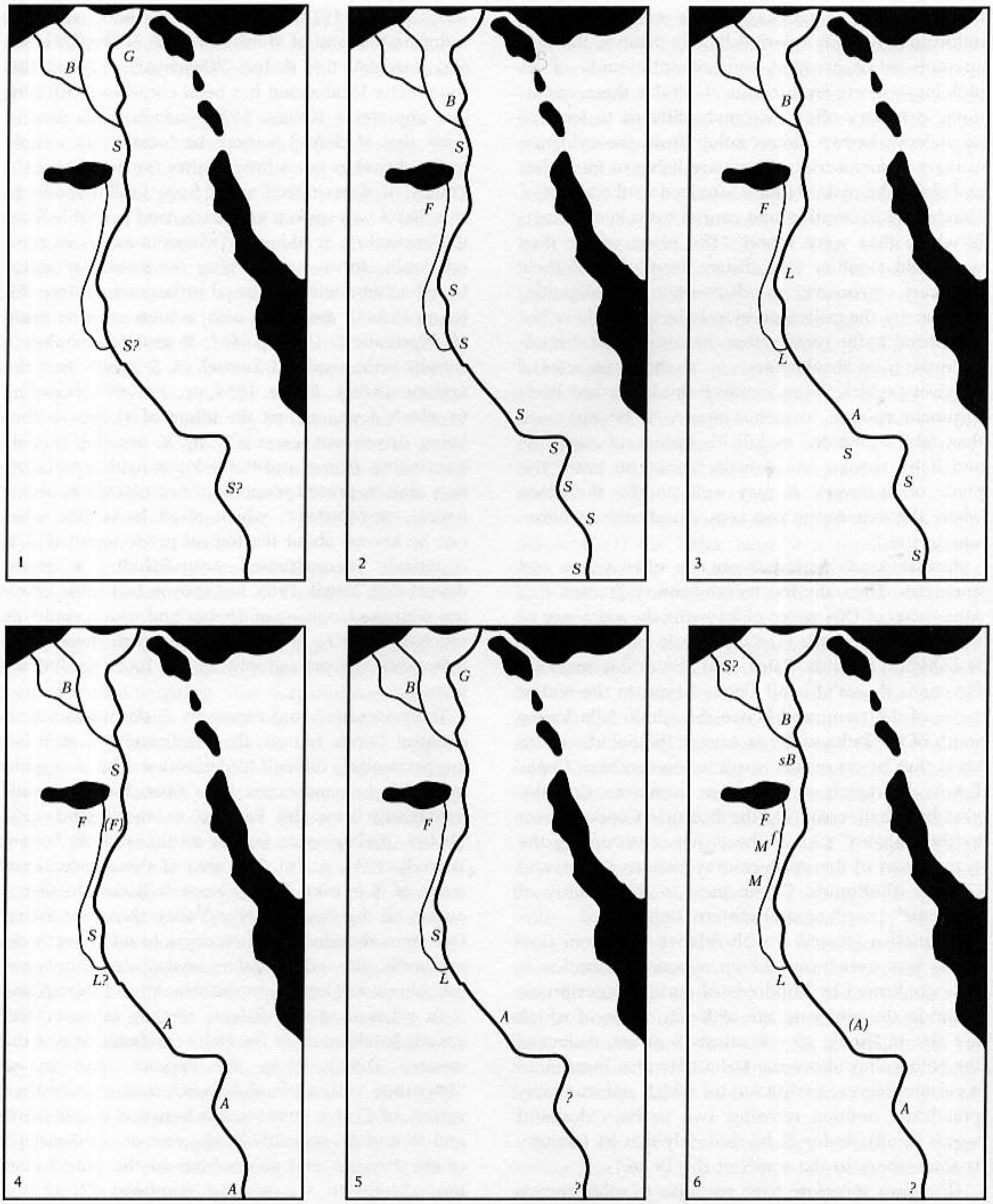
Further, traditional data are too often vague and uncertain. Thus, the fourteenth-century grammarian Athanasius of Qūṣ wrote of knowing the existence of three Coptic idioms: (1) "the Coptic of Miṣr, which is Sahidic" (Miṣr is Cairo, and for Arabic-speaking Egyptians the *sa'id* is all Upper Egypt, in the widest sense of the term, and hence the whole Nile Valley south of the Delta as far as Aswan; the Sahidic country is thus by no means restricted to southern Upper Egypt, the region of Thebes, as numerous Coptologists have believed); (2) "the Bohairic Coptic known by the Boḥaira" (this is the province occupying the greater part of the north-central western Delta); and (3) "the Bashmuric Coptic used in the country of Bashmur" (north-central eastern Delta).

Athanasius located *B* with relative precision. (Bohairic is a well-known idiom, whose localization is now confirmed by hundreds of parietal inscriptions found in the monastic site of Kellia, some of which are also in Greek; no one attests *S* or any dialect of the Nile Valley above the Delta.) He also located, to a certain degree, BASHMURIC (of which unfortunately practically nothing remains: two perhaps doubtful words in all). As for *S*, he said only that its territory is somewhere to the south of the Delta.

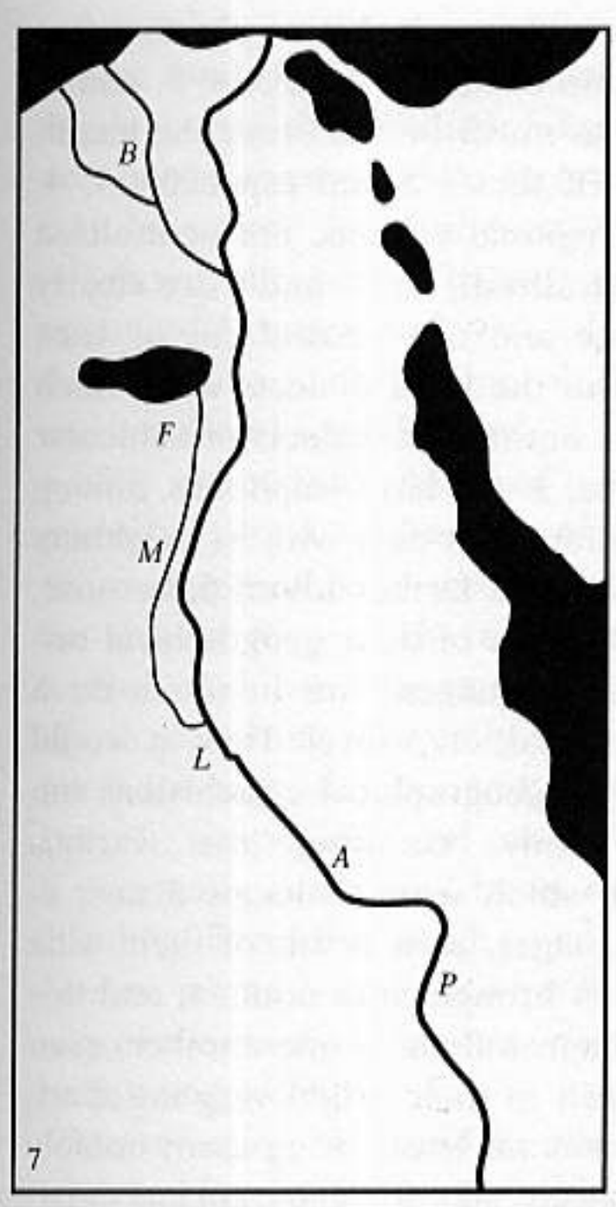
One must therefore have recourse to other means of locating the majority of the Coptic dialects, but unfortunately such indicators are often lacking. Certainly, the large quantity of nonliterary *F* texts found in this region allow one to believe that the cradle of this dialect is the Fayyūm. Various phonemic and graphic resemblances between an Old Coptic manuscript (Osing, 1976) and the *M* texts have led some to locate the land of *M* in the region of Oxyrhynchus and thus call this dialect "Oxyrhynchite," but this too-precise localization has been contested with serious arguments (Osing, 1978), which leads one to think that *M* should perhaps be located not exactly at Oxyrhynchus but a little farther north (or south?). Finally, it does indeed seem from graffiti found in situ that *A* was spoken very early, and probably from the beginning, at Akhmīm (whose name in its present Arabic form with /x/ after the initial /a/ seems to reflect an ancient dialectal orthography *ⲁϧⲙⲓⲙ, differing from *S* ϣⲙⲓⲙ, but also written ϧⲙⲓⲛ or ϧⲙⲓⲙ, cf. Westendorf, 1977, p. 481; *B* ϣⲙⲓⲛ is certainly a simple orthographical revival of *S* ϣⲙⲓⲛ). But the arguments (e.g., Kahle, 1954, pp. 198–99) according to which *A* was at first the idiom of Thebes, before being driven out, especially by *S*, are not entirely convincing. (Crum and Kahle knew neither DIALECT i as a dialect, proto-Lycopolitan, nor DIALECT P, also a typical PROTODIALECT, which often looks like what can be known about the logical predecessor of *S*, a tentatively reconstructed proto-Sahidic; a proto-dialect that, Nagel, 1965, has shown, had some affinities with the language of Thebes and which could, as much as *A* or *L*, or at least along with them, have influenced the orthography of the local nonliterary texts.)

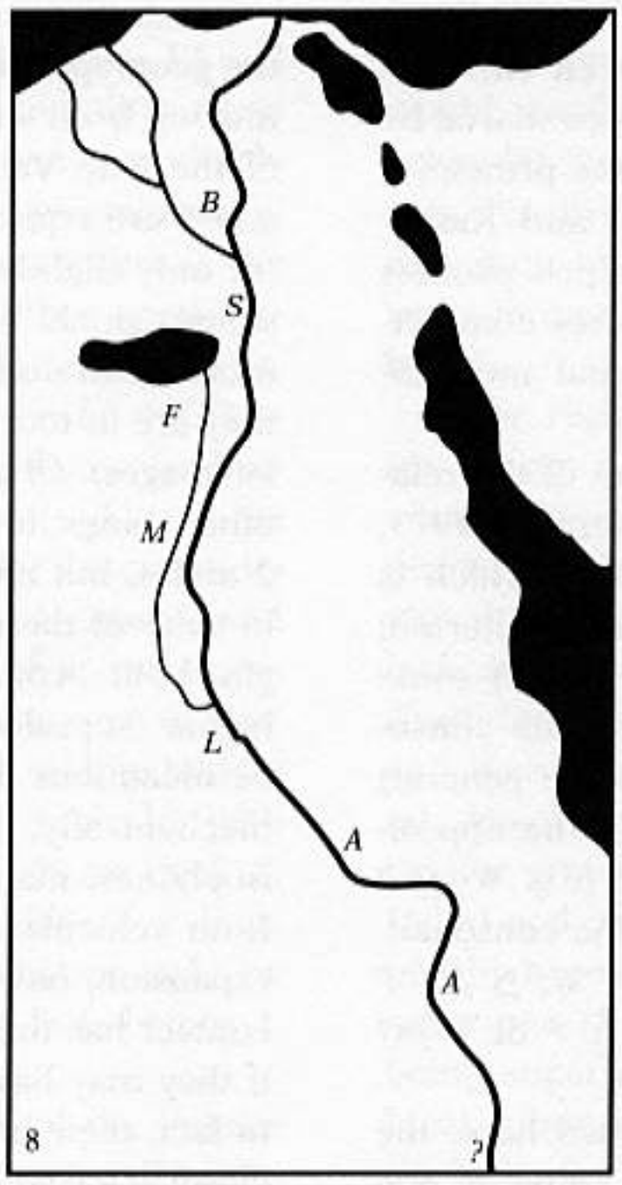
There remain *L* and especially *S*, the most neutral classical Coptic idioms, the localization of each being particularly difficult to determine. The area within which *L* manuscripts have been found extends apparently from the Fayyūm to the region near Thebes (perhaps even farther south, as far as Aswan; Worrell, 1934, p. 74). The area of the attested existence of *S* is even larger, since it is certain that it covers all the Egyptian Nile Valley above the Delta. One must therefore have recourse to other methods, especially the comparative analysis of isophones (phonemic isoglosses), in the attempt to locate *L* and *S* in relation to the dialects already more or less exactly localized: *B* in the Delta (probably at first the western Delta); *F* in the Fayyūm (and *V*, or "Fayyumic without lambdacism," a semineutralized variety of *F* or a MESODIALECT between dominant *F*, and *W* and *M*, probably in the east or southeast [?] of the Fayyūm and somewhere in the Nile Valley immediately to the east or southeast [?] of the Fayyūm); *M* in the neighborhood of Oxyrhynchus in Middle Egypt; *A* in the center (and south) of Upper Egypt.

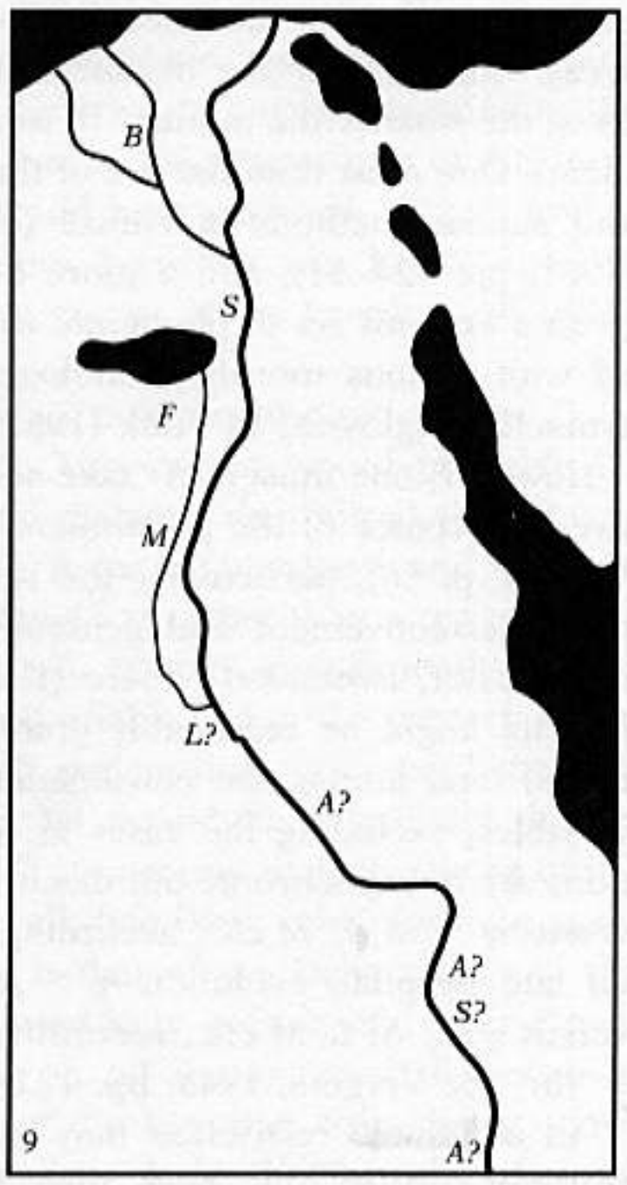
To turn to the phonemic isoglosses (or isophones) is to admit as a general principle (Vergote, 1973, Vol. 1a, p. 56) that "the numbers of isophones are

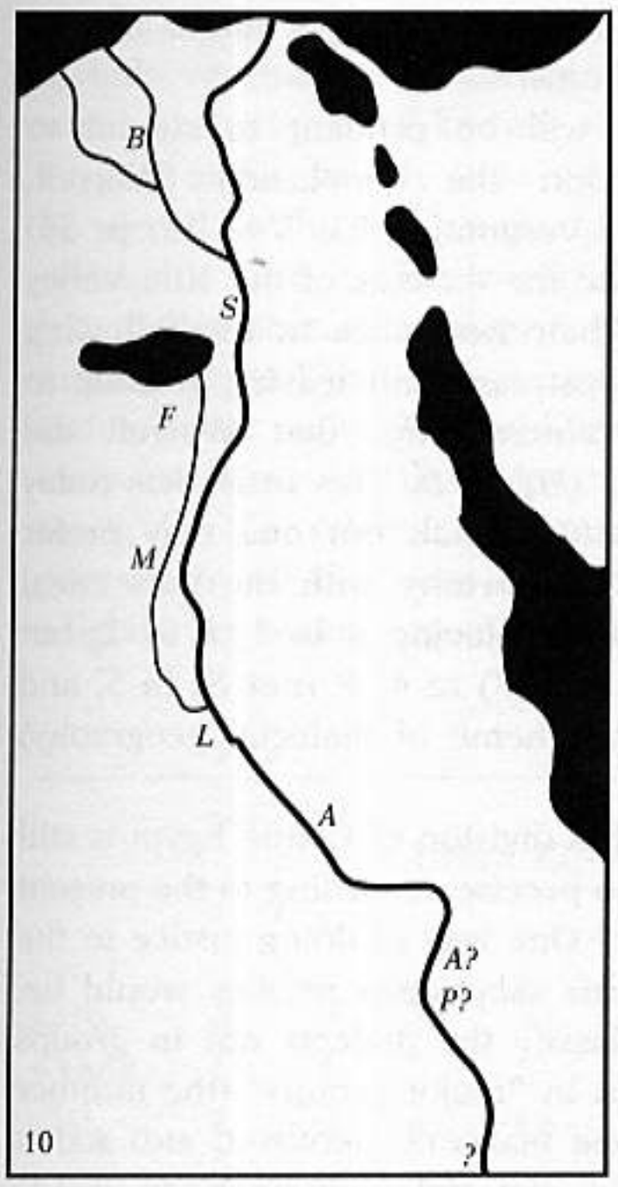


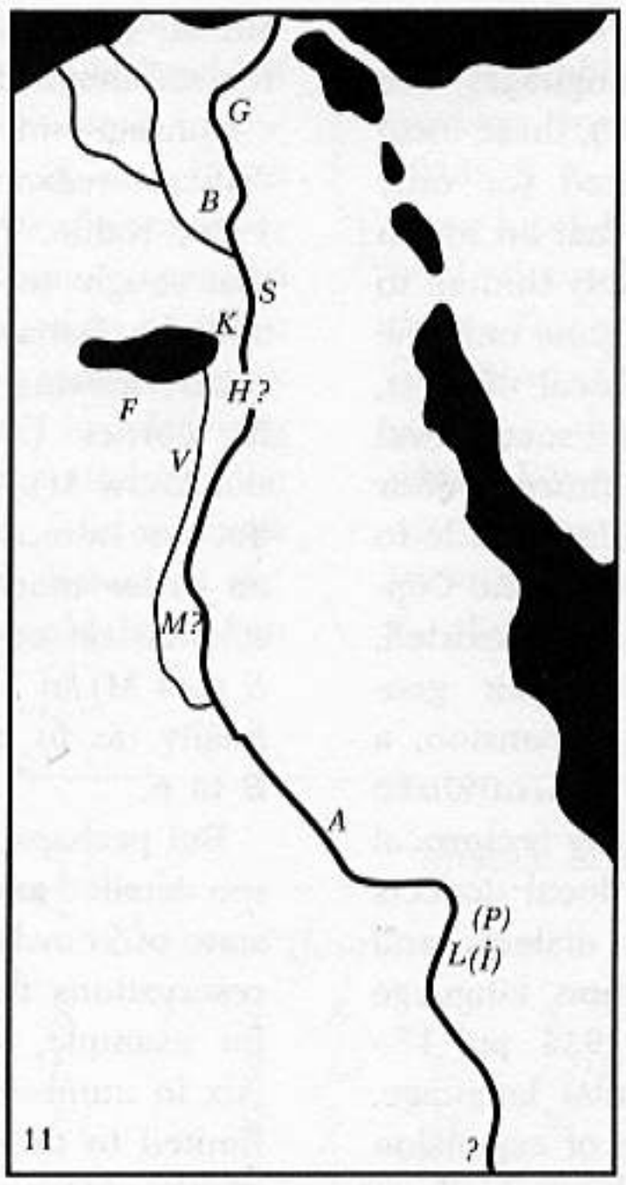
PROPOSED DIALECTAL GEOGRAPHIES OF COPTIC EGYPT: **1.** Athanasius of Qūṣ, fourteenth century. **2.** Stern, 1880. **3.** Chaine, 1934. **4.** Worrell, 1934. **5.** Steindorff, 1951. **6.** Kahle, 1954. **7.** Nagel, 1965 and 1972. **8.** Vergote, 1973a. **9.** Layton, 1976. **10.** Krause, 1979. **11.** Kasser, 1982. **12.** Funk, 1988, and Kasser, 1989. (In parentheses: sigla for rather problematically located dialects etc.) [In brackets: supplementary sigla for dialects etc. accepted by Kasser, 1989,

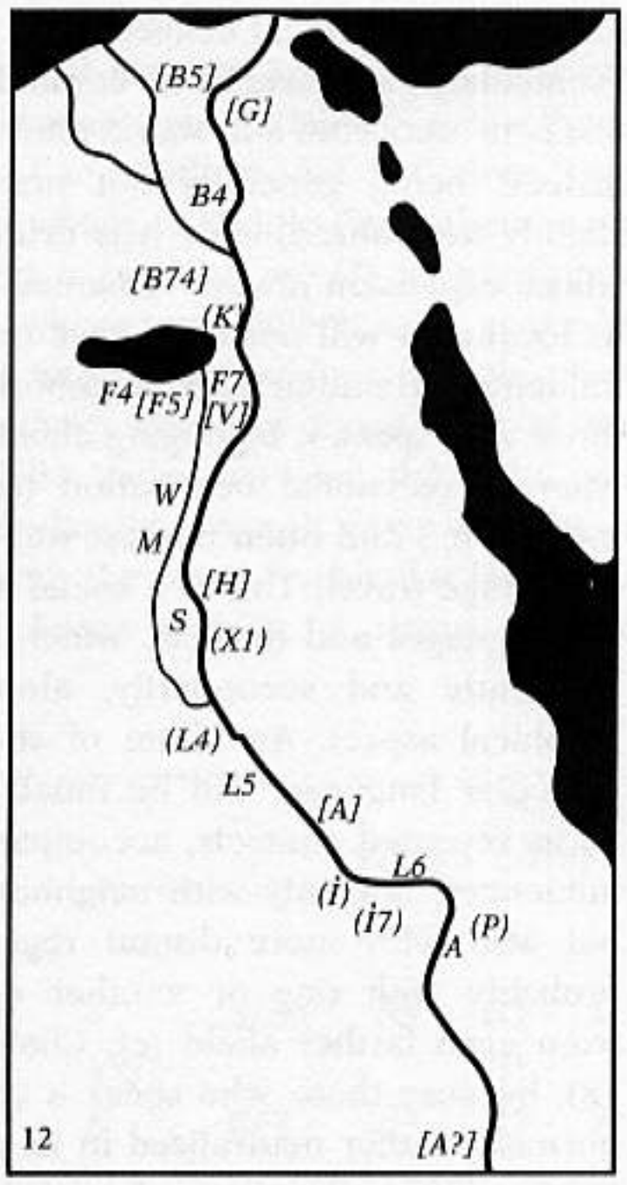












not by Funk, 1988.] Funk, not Kasser, takes account of the "early varieties of Coptic" only (dialects, etc., attested by manuscripts no later than the sixth century), putting provisionally aside the "later" but sometimes very abundantly attested varieties of Coptic (*B5* or "classical" Bohairic, *F5* or "classical" Fayyumic, etc.).

proportional to the distances between the dialectal areas" (the greater the distances between two dialects, the smaller the number of isophones shared by them). One must note the use of the same principles and similar methods in Hintze (1984) and Kasser (1981, pp. 124–31), and a more developed process (with a copious set of phonemic isoglosses completed with various morphophonological and morphosyntactic isoglosses) in Funk (1988).

However, one must also "take account of the relative importance of the phenomena" (Vergote, 1973, Vol. 1a, p. 56), particularly the isophone (which is the most convenient and generally used criterion; see DIALECT, IMMIGRANT); there (Kasser, 1987) some priority might be reasonably granted to the consonantal (and among the consonantal to the general) variables, excluding the cases in which the oppositions are not synchronic but diachronic (e.g., ϩ /ç/ *P* versus ϣ /š/ *S, L, M* etc., according to the consonantal late Egyptian evolution *ḫ* > /ç/ > š/; ϧ /x/ *P* versus ϩ /h/ *S, L, M* etc., according to *ḫ* > or = /x/ > /h/; see Vergote, 1945, pp. 122–23).

An additional restriction may be added here: the preceding rules only have their full value if one compares idioms that are really all of the same nature—that is, local dialects (and not, like *S* and *B*, "vehicular," supraregional common languages; see DIALECTS, GROUPING AND MAJOR GROUPS OF), these local dialects being generally not neutralized (or only slightly neutralized)—for it is evident that an idiom whose expansion always remained strictly limited to its local area will normally have undergone only the influence of similar and neighboring local dialects, those who speak it belonging chiefly to a social level where professional occupation (agriculture, minor trades, etc.) and often modest way of life do little to encourage travel. This is a social aspect of the Coptic languages and dialects, which no doubt existed, frequently and secondarily, alongside their geographical aspect. An idiom of strong expansion, a vehicular language, will be much more neutralized by its repeated contacts, accompanied by reciprocal influences, not only with neighboring local dialects but also with more distant regional dialects and probably with one or another common language from even farther afield (cf. Chaîne, 1934, pp. 17–18), because those who speak a vehicular language, normally rather neutralized in its zone of expansion (hence outside its region of origin), belong chiefly to a social level where professional occupation (major trades, industry, commerce, higher administration, etc.) and a relatively comfortable way of life encouraged travel.

Consider now a semitheoretical example. Suppose the geographical chain of idioms 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, moving from south to north in this order the length of the Nile Valley. Of these, 2 and especially 1, 4, and 5 are typically regional dialects, not neutralized (or only slightly neutralized); and 3 and 6 are clearly supraregional idioms and are neutral (or at least more neutralized than the local dialects with which they are in touch, as immigrant dialects or vehicular languages). Of course, 3 will have isophones, among other things, in common not only with its neighbors 2 and 4, but also with the farther idiom 6, because, in spite of the remoteness of their geographical origin, both "common languages" are in touch on a higher (supralocal, social, etc.) level. Thus, it would be incautious to draw geographical conclusions too mechanically, by only counting the various isophones, many of which seem to locate 3 near 6. Both vehicular languages, as a result of their wide expansion, have been brought into contact, and this contact has made them influence one another, even if they may have been in their origin very far apart; in fact, their isophones (at least) bring them notably closer. One might easily take for geographical proximity what is probably no more than a sign of their similar nature as common languages and as neutral (or semineutral) idioms.

Consequently, it will be prudent to submit to critical reexamination the conclusion (Worrell, 1934; Kahle, 1954; Vergote, 1973, Vol. 1a, p. 59) that sought to locate the dialects of the Nile Valley and the Delta by their isophones in the following order, moving downstream and leaving *F* aside in its corner (and remembering that Worrell did not know *M*): *A, L,* (*M*), *S, B*. This order has today become almost conventional, but one may prefer an order more in conformity with the theoretical schema set out above, placing *A* in 1, *L* in 2, but *S* (not *M*) in 3, *M* (not *V*) in 4, *V* (not *S*) in 5, and finally (as in every scheme of dialectal geography) *B* in 6.

But perhaps such a division of Coptic Egypt is still too detailed and too precise according to the present state of knowledge? One way of doing justice to the reservations that this skepticism implies would be, for example, to classify the dialects not in groups (six in number) but in "major groups" (the number limited to three; see DIALECTS, GROUPING AND MAJOR GROUPS OF) and, in dialectal geography, to divide Egypt into three main regions only (cf. Kasser, 1982); this would be a way of returning, by and large, to the tripartite division most commonly accepted as regards Egypt in general.

According to this schema, major region I would be the land of the "major (dialectal) group I" and would correspond to Upper Egypt (including Asyūṭ and maybe upper Middle Egypt). It would probably take in several local dialects, little neutralized, of which only *A* is known today, used in any case in the region of Akhmīm and probably in other areas further south (e.g., the region of Thebes). In addition, major region I would include *L* (= *L4* + *L5* + *L6*) as a fairly neutralized cluster of (sub-)dialects, used regionally at least in the area of Asyūṭ (= Lycopolis) and widespread as a second vehicular language by the side of *S*, over the same area, of course, and further south over the various areas of *A*, and possibly, though more discreetly and weakly, even further north (in parts of upper and a part of middle Middle Egypt?), temporarily and everywhere in rivalry with *S*. Gradually confronted by its most serious rival, *S*, invading from the north (and possibly also from Thebes, where *S* could have infiltrated very early, by way of the river), *L* finally perished, a little before *A*, both being stifled by *S*.

Major region II would be the land of the "major (dialectal) group II" and would correspond, if not to upper Middle Egypt, at least to middle and lower Middle Egypt and the Fayyūm. This region would include several local dialects, little neutralized, of which the only ones known are *F* (located in the Fayyūm and relatively little neutralized) and *M* (to be placed in the neighborhood of Oxyrhynchus or perhaps a little further north), in some respects a little better neutralized than *F*. Hemmed in between major regions I and III, and perhaps culturally less active, major region II would find itself invaded very early and traversed throughout, above all from the south, by the vehicular language *S* (and perhaps partially by *L*, the most neutralized dialect of the neighboring major region), which would leave but little chance of development for its own most, if little, neutralized Fayyumic subdialect *V*, which would possibly have tried to gain acceptance as the vehicular language over the greater part of this territory. Finally, *V* would have perished, with *W* and *M* and probably before *F* (which was better fitted to resist in its remote corner of the Fayyūm), all stifled by *S*.

Major region III would correspond to the Delta (or Lower Egypt). This region would probably include several local dialects, neutralized to different degrees, in which *B* (as a supralocal and suprare-gional vehicular language rather than a regional dialect; see LANGUAGE(S), COPTIC) is sufficiently known (from the first, well established in the western Delta, and then gradually penetrating throughout the Delta). Major region III would be essentially that of "major group III," connecting dialects (those of the Delta) and, above all, two large vehicular languages, of which one (*B*) is that of the Delta also, and the other one (*S*) is used only outside of Lower Egypt, being superposed on all the regional dialects and local subdialects of the Egyptian Nile Valley above the Delta (i.e., chiefly *A, L, M, W, V*) in the whole of major regions I and II.

As is shown by the majority of the typical (nonvocalic!) *S* phonological features and by the most numerous morphosyntactical variables (see Funk, 1988), it is at least most likely that *S* derives from some local dialect of upper Middle Egypt (between a kind of pre-*L* and a kind of pre-*M*) in pre-Coptic times. This pre-*S*, whose tonic vowels were generally like those of pre-*L* and pre-*M*, became, probably very early on, the southern koine of Egypt, that of the whole Egyptian Nile Valley between the Delta and Aswan. As a vehicular language, it came in contact (near Memphis) with the second vehicular language, *B*, the northern koine—hence, a strong vocalic

	[SOUTH]															[NORTH]
	UPPER EGYPT						/	MIDDLE EGYPT						/	LOWER EGYPT	
Schema I (fourth century)																
Lang.	*S*	*S*	*S*	*S*	*S*	*S*	/	*S*	*S*	*S*	*S*	*S*	*S*	*S/B5*	*B5*	*B5*	*B5*
s-Lang.	*L?*	*L*	*L*	*L*	*L*	*L*		*S*	*L?*	*L?*	*L?/V*	*V*	*V?/?*			*B5*	
dial.	?	*A*	*A*	*L6*	*L5*	*L4*		*S*	?	*M*	*W*	*V*	*K*	*B74*	*B4*	*B5*	?
Schema II (eighth century)																
Lang.	*S*	*S*	*S*	*S*	*S*	*S*	/	*S*	*S*	*S*	*S*	*S*	*S*	*S/B5*	*B5*	*B5*	*B5*
dial.	—	?	—	—	—	—		*S*	*H*	—	—	?	—	—	?	*B5*	*G*

Lang., common language; s-Lang., semicommon language; dial., local dialect or subdialect.

(stressed vowels) similarity between *S* and *B* (probably the influence of some pre-*B* on some pre-*S* about five centuries B.C.; cf. Chaîne, 1934, pp. 13–18, and, more clearly, Satzinger, 1985). One might also suppose that *S* penetrated very soon, by way of the river traffic, to Thebes, where it would have established a center of expansion more and more active into the very heart of major region I (developing at the same time a variety of proto-*S* moving into the Theban region and bearing the phonological marks of this implantation, according to a former hypothesis; cf. Nagel, 1965, and Kasser, 1982).

The sequel seems better known and may be deduced from what is recorded of *S* in the classical Coptic period: pre-*S*, if not *S* itself, would have ended by occuping the whole Nile Valley (but not the Delta) to the detriment of its local dialects, invading in particular major region I from the north (and possibly from Thebes; cf. above), eliminating *L* and then *A*, and finally reducing the last pockets of resistance in major region II by the elimination of *V*, *W*, and *M*.

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RODOLPHE KASSER

GREEK TRANSCRIPTIONS. The rendering of Egyptian proper names into Greek characters was a first step toward the writing of Egyptian in an alphabetical script, that is, toward the creation of the Coptic script (see PRE-COPTIC). These proper names are mainly thousands of Egyptian anthroponyms, toponyms, and temple names, as well as names of gods, divine epithets, and sacerdotal titles, written in the Greek alphabet in order to adapt them to, and insert them into, a Greek context.

Apart from Homer (ninth century B.C.), where one finds, for instance, the first mention of the term Αἴγυπτος, the oldest real examples are from the Saite period (Twenty-sixth Dynasty), when Greek mercenaries and merchants were present in Egypt. To this early period belongs the famous Greek graffito of Abu Simbel (on Egypt's southern border), which dates back to 589 B.C. and which contains, among other things, the name of a well-known Egyptian general, rendered as Ποτασιμτο (see Dittenberger, 1915, no. 1). As early as Herodotus, who must have visited Egypt around 430, the language problem the Greeks had to cope with in Egypt appears clearly in the evidence. Writing for Greeks, Herodotus gave several Egyptian gods the names of Greek counterparts (e.g., "Hephaestos" for "Ptah," and "Aphrodite" for "Hathor"), but he had to transcribe the "barbarian" personal names into Greek characters. Apart from a number of words adopted in the Greek vocabulary (e.g., ἶβις, ἔβενος, ὄασις; see Pierce, 1971), there are only a few, quite exceptional cases of indigenous generic names that are transliterated into Greek, such as πιρωμις (Herodotus 2.143), corresponding to the Bohairic ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ, the man, the human being.

Following the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great (332 B.C.), a large number of Greeks settled in the Nile Valley, and with the establishment of Ptolemaic rule, Greek became, along with Egyptian, a commonly spoken tongue. The increasing contact between natives and Greek-speaking people in everyday life and on a more intellectual level led to rather widespread bilingualism on the upper levels of native Egyptian society (see, e.g., Peremans, 1982). A number of Greek words were even adopted by demotic (see Clarysse, 1984); they can be considered distant forerunners of the Copto-Greek vocabulary (see VOCABULARY, COPTO-GREEK). Throughout the Roman occupation (from 30 B.C. onward) and until the ARAB CONQUEST OF EGYPT (640 A.D.), Greek remained the language of the administration.

The innumerable Greek documentary texts from the end of the fourth century B.C. and later (contracts, letters, tax lists, inventories, etc., written mostly on papyrus, ostraca, or wooden tags) contain numerous Egyptian proper names written in Greek letters, usually provided with a Greek ending to integrate them better into the Greek context. It is clear that the Greek phonological system was quite different from the Egyptian and that the Greek alphabet was not an ideal means to render Egyptian. Thus, the schwa had to be rendered by *ε* or *ο* (see Lacau, 1970, pp. 131–36) and consonants such as *d̲* or *t̲*, unknown in Greek, were written in various ways (see Quaegebeur, 1973, p. 99). Although the graphic transposition can vary widely, detailed study clearly reveals some systemization in the transliterations. Many of the scribes of Greek documents were Egyptians, so one need not be surprised that attempts were made to write sequences of words, short sentences, or formulas in the Greek alphabet. Since the intention here is less restricted than, and different from, the purpose of the Greek transcriptions of Egyptian proper names, and since it concerns here only a temporary stage in an evolution, these cases merit separate treatment (see PRE-OLD COPTIC).

From the first century A.D. onward, there appeared Egyptian texts, most of a magical or related nature,

in which the Greek alphabet was enlarged with a varying number of supplementary signs derived from demotic (see OLD COPTIC). One can also notice in Greek transcriptions of Egyptian proper names, especially from the later Roman period, that occasionally supplementary signs were used to render phonemes that do not occur in Greek, such as *š* and *ḫ*. Since they were incorporated in Greek texts (often without Grecization), these cases are also regarded as Greek transcriptions. Greek texts containing transcriptions of Egyptian proper names continued to appear along with Coptic until about the eighth century (i.e., even after the Arab conquest).

A special case is the collection of texts published by Crum (1939b). These documents of the eighth century or later in the Coptic language are written in a cursive hand making exclusive use of the Greek alphabet. They are much too late to be considered Pre-Old Coptic and seem to represent a particular idiom related to BOHAIRIC (see DIALECT G).

The importance of the Greek transcriptions for the study of Coptic is apparent from, among others, Crum (1939a), Černý (1976), and Vycichl (1983). The toponyms in Greek transcription mentioned by Crum have also been registered in a separate index (see Roquet, 1973), but for the numerous anthroponyms incorporated in his dictionary, there is no index. In this field, indeed, much work remains to be done (see, e.g., Quaegebeur, 1981). A comparison of Coptic with the data of the Greek transcriptions can be important for various research aspects. Thus, for instance, Coptic orthography sometimes reveals the influence of Greek transcriptions, such as ⲯ for *pš* (ⲡϣ). As for the study of phonetics, the occasional rendering of *f* by (*o*)*υ* can be mentioned: for example, *-ευτημις* alongside *-νεφθιμις*, and ϩⲓⲡⲡⲉϥ for *ἱππεύς* (see Quaegebeur, 1974, p. 417, and 1978, p. 255). With Coptic and, for much earlier periods, cuneiform transcriptions, Greco-Egyptian onomastics also supply interesting information on the vocalization of Egyptian, which in its own written form noted only the consonants; mention can be made of research on word accent and word formation (see Fecht, 1960; Vergote, 1973; Osing, 1976). Finally, the study of spoken dialects and their dispersion must be undertaken for the Pre-Coptic period in the light of present knowledge of Coptic dialects. A methodical investigation in this field (of which the first results, Quaegebeur, 1975, were challenged by Brunsch, 1978, on—in the view of this author—inadequate and insufficient grounds) is being continued.

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JAN QUAEGEBEUR

IDIOLECT. An "idiolect" is, by definition, a linguistic entity that may be contrasted with the "dialect." Dubois et al. (1973, p. 144) wrote, "The 'dialect' is a form of a language which has its own lexical, syntactic and phonetic system, and which is used in a more restricted environment than the language itself." Thus, every dialect appears in the form of a "system." On the other hand, they added (p. 249, slightly modified on the suggestion of Vergote; cf. Kasser, 1980, p. 78), "By 'idiolect' we denote the totality of the data produced by a single person, established by reference to linguistic constants which subtend them, and which are envisaged as specific idioms or systems; the idiolect is then the totality of the uses of a language peculiar to a given individual at a fixed time." Thus, despite the preferential uses that can be observed in it, always fluctuating and essentially transitory, the idiolect does not present itself to the observer in the form of a stable system; it is, rather, the accidental and nonsystematic combination, by a single individual at a fixed time, of elements deriving from authentic systems (dialects). One may then say that these systems "subtend" the idiolect, but they never succeed in really regularizing its expression to the point of making a system of it.

To grasp firmly the phenomena "idiolect" and "dialect" in their apparent complexity, one must endeavor to perceive the chief psychological motivations of their users. It is known that a language is essentially an instrument of social relations, a means of communication between people; that is why the users of a language try in principle to speak or write an idiom comprehensible to their interlocutors, as far as possible the same idiom, the very language of the group to which the latter belong, and this all the more when the interlocutor in view is not simply the intended recipient of a letter (i.e., an individual whose idiolect is possibly to some extent known) but is, on the contrary, indeterminate or collective, as is the totality of the readers of a book, for which its author wishes a very wide diffusion. Of course, each individual, tempted to obey the "principle of least effort," will have a natural tendency to express himself in an idiolectal manner, but he will combat that tendency as soon as he wishes to facilitate the effective diffusion of his thought, conscious of the fact that in intellectual communication between people the dialect is a road where the idiolect is an obstacle. One could not then imagine that a reasonable author would voluntarily choose to express himself in an idiolect, which is peculiar to himself alone, rather than in the dialect of his interlocutors (a dialect that may on occasion be the idiom of a quite small group, like the semisecret language that allows the members of a minority to communicate among themselves, sheltered from the indiscretions and the threats of the surrounding world, but nonetheless a dialect because it is the language of a group in the course of a period of its history and not simply the idiolect of a strictly unique individual at a strictly unique moment of his life).

Thus, even if each or nearly every person at certain moments of his daily life, following unconsciously his natural tendency, in speaking or even in writing, departs more or less seriously from the dialect to fall into the idiolect, this deviation is rarely conscious and in all cases always involuntary.

Several causes may provoke the formation of idiolects (Chaîne, 1933, p. xxiii; Till, 1955, pp. 36–37; Kasser, 1964, pp. xi–xiv). Probably among those most current in Coptic Egypt (and even in the modern world) was the literary productions of a man of letters speaking from birth a certain dialect and then carrying on his activity in a region where another dialect was the natural speech. In a more general way, one may recall the phenomena of linguistic hybridization that irresistibly develop in any territory that has its own autochthonous dialect, on which is superimposed (in certain social classes, generally influential) an immigrant dialect (see DIALECT, IMMIGRANT), dominating its area, and becoming in a way there and in the adjacent regions their vehicular language.

If, then, the dialect is a linguistic phenomenon whose immediate origin is collective and relatively simple—a convention that is fixed by a group and to which the individual adheres insofar as he is capable of overcoming his individual tendencies by means of sufficient intelligence and an effort of his will—the idiolect is, in contrast, a phenomenon whose immediate origin is strictly individual and clearly complex; that is, it arises from the relative and involuntary incapacity of an individual to overcome his individual tendencies in order to adhere to a given dialectal convention, whether from serious intellectual inadequacy, which prevents him from mastering even his mother dialect, at least in its conventional written expression and apart from any influence of other dialects, or from a moderate inadequacy, in the context of an insufficient knowledge of various dialects (his mother dialect, that of his place of work, that of the text to be copied, etc.), which

prevents him mastering them so that he does not confuse them in oral or written expression.

In either case, what subtends the idiolect is the elements that are opposed one to another, whose presence creates a state of tension in the text (whether oral or in writing). In fact, if it has been thought possible to differentiate two "dialects" from one another in Coptic, a dead language, it is because in them can be distinguished two (orthographic, morphosyntactic) systems, which because of their reciprocal oppositions cannot as a whole be reduced one to another, and the copyist who is subjected (unconsciously) to the contradictory influence of these two dialects finds himself in a state of tension, of linguistic instability (and so also if he attempts to conform to a single standardized dialect, but does not know very well the standardized orthography of this dialect). One might then say that "the idiolect is the result of a tension provisionally resolved." It is a point of balance achieved today (different from the balance achieved yesterday or the one that will be achieved tomorrow) between (1) what the individual has of necessity had to learn, or may have learned, of the dialect of the society in which he lives (a dialect related to his mother dialect and in which he intends and thinks to express himself) and (2) what he has for the moment ceased to learn, because his vernacular form of expression (his mother dialect) is sufficient for him to make himself understood by the society, to some extent alien, in which he lives.

Most frequently, this state of tension remains unknown to the conscious subject, so that it should rarely be understood as a state of crisis, painful and dramatic. Indeed, with a Shenute, a very strong personality, one may imagine a calm assurance and a kind of pride in speaking and writing Sahidic with some touches of Akhmimic, which make this language, already vigorous on his lips, even more lively. Each case of an idiolect is the result of a personal situation, and there are as many such situations as there are individuals. If, then, the language of Shenute is an idiolect (weakly idiolectal), so is that (often very idiolectal) of many nonliterary documents of the Theban region and of the copies of literary works that have survived; for example, the majority of the Bodmer papyri are not very idiolectal, but the Nag Hammadi manuscripts and other literary copies from the fourth and fifth centuries are generally much more so. At any rate, the orthographic anomalies in these copies (in relation to one or another of the dialects that have been, or are on the way to being, standardized) are never truly systematic, so that it would be a mistake to classify the linguistic expression of these texts among the "dialects" or subdialects, all of which require the presence of a minimum of systematization.

Thus, an idiolect by its nature has several components, of which one is the mother dialect of the individual. Another may be either his profound ignorance of any particular dialectal orthographic convention (including that of his mother dialect) or his knowledge of other dialects combined with his inability to master this knowledge to the point of sufficiently distinguishing them in their conventional written expression.

Theoretically, the oral and written expression of an individual can only be idiolectal, in varying degree. But in texts written by individuals with adequate intellectual capacity and strength of will, the idiolectal proportion (in relation to the dialect chosen as the means of expression) is so weak that it may be neglected; there the idiolect in no way obscures the dialect, which can be sufficiently known through these texts (if they are long enough and varied enough). Here one may speak of a "transparent" idiolect.

In other texts, the idiolectal expression is more "opaque." It then demands from the investigator an effort of analysis to decode what is hidden by the phenomena of hypocorrection and hypercorrection, in particular, and to succeed in identifying the components of the idiolect, among which he will be specially interested in the dialects that subtend the idiolect.

It will be convenient to designate idiolectal lexemes by indicating, first, their principal component with an italic capital and then their secondary component(s) with an italic lower-case superscript; for example, S^a signifies Sahidic influenced phonetically (and to some extent, but irregularly, phonologically) by Akhmimic.

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LANGUAGE(S), COPTIC. Coptic is the last stage of the Egyptian language in the course of its very long existence and slow evolution (we can observe it over a period of more than four thousand years, a quite exceptional phenomenon in linguistics). Since Coptic is today a dead language, and has been for several centuries, the death of Coptic has therefore meant the death of ancient Egyptian. Will the Copts of today have enough faith, devotion, perseverance, and perspicacity to succeed in reviving the glorious language of their ancestors, one of the most beautiful, most cleverly structured, and most musical in the world? Those inspired by the love of Egypt can only hope so.

Although people habitually speak of "the" Coptic language, it must be stated that in reality there are two Coptic languages (cf. Kasser, 1984a, pp. 261–62; Vycichl, 1987, pp. 67–68), each of which is accompanied by various regional dialects, themselves the successors in some fashion of the dialects of PRE-COPTIC.

The first is Sahidic (*S*), which is the common speech, or "vehicular language," supralocal and supraregional, of the valley of the Egyptian Nile above the Delta, after having probably (but in what distant past?) itself been a local dialect that may have issued from some region of upper Middle Egypt without direct contact with the second language, Bohairic (*B*), as a local dialect, but probably in touch with Bohairic in the region of Memphis as a common language reaching the boundary of the neighboring common language (see DIALECTS, GROUPING AND MAJOR GROUPS OF). The most ancient *S* manuscript is of the end of the third century A.D.; the latest are of the fourteenth century, a period at which Sahidic (as indeed already from the eleventh century) was no longer anything more than a language virtually dead, surviving only artificially in the ecclesiastical milieus of some communities in Upper Egypt which had not yet been won to the exclusive use of Bohairic.

The Bohairic language is the supraregional vehicular language of the Nile Delta, having been, it seems, the principal regional dialect of the western Delta. Like Sahidic, Bohairic ceased to be a truly living language from the eleventh century. Its survival in the course of the following centuries remains a phenomenon in large part artificial, a means of communication particularly esteemed among clerks of the church (a very closed institution, turned in upon itself and much preoccupied, and indeed with good reason, with its survival in the midst of a hostile environment), a language above all religious. In this regard the testimony of the writer al-Maqrīzī (fifteenth century) is not very significant: he affirmed that in his time the Christians of Upper Egypt still spoke Coptic (and even Greek!) among themselves; one may receive with the same circumspection what is reported by the Jesuit Vansleb (seventeenth century), who said he met in Egypt an old man who still knew how to express himself in Coptic. For a long time, in fact, and throughout the country, Arabic had become the only living language and the sole means of communication among all its inhabitants, Christian as well as Muslim.

It is stated that the oldest *B* manuscripts are of the fourth century A.D.; the latest are of the nineteenth (!) century, and one might even say of the twentieth if one admitted to this category the copies of old Coptic manuscripts made by Copts to study them or to aid them in one way or another to save their ancestral language from oblivion. Bohairic was the living language of the Delta exclusively before the eleventh century, a period after which Coptic as a whole became a dead language among the Egyptian people, even Christians, and survived only in purely ecclesiastical milieus and usages. Bohairic then spread rapidly throughout the valley, as far as the southern extremities of Upper Egypt, but as a liturgical language, artificially practiced by the clergy alone (and the officiants who accompanied them). Even so, Bohairic's very restricted role does allow the ear to hear the sounds of the Coptic language, expressed by Coptic mouths and throats, beneath the ceilings and the domes of the Coptic churches. Bohairic is a survival, then, of ancient Egyptian in a very particular form, regrettably restricted and deprived of its original life and creative capacity, but despite everything a survival. However, even this feeble remnant of the ancient treasures of Coptic intellectual life is threatened in modern Egypt. In fact, from one side certainly and for more than a century, certain Copts inspired by their faith have been working with an admirable perseverance and devotion to revive *B*, teaching it to the Coptic people (Vycichl, 1936; Vergote, 1973, Vol. 1a, pp. 1–2; Barsum, 1882; Labib, 1915; cf. the work of the modern teachers, among whom the admirable popular savant Emile Maher stands out). But, from another side, some

partisans of a religious renewal in the ancient Coptic church are pressing the church to Arabize its whole liturgy, in which, alongside brief Greek passages, some fairly long sections in Bohairic have survived: the essential thing is, they say, that the people of the church, who know only Arabic, should understand "everything" that is said and chanted in the liturgy. One may understand and approve this reasoning on the religious level, but unfortunately its consequences deal a mortal blow to what, after ten centuries of exhaustion, had in some fashion survived of the public use of the Coptic language. Egyptologists and Coptologists cannot but deplore this complete effacement (projected or realized) of liturgical Coptic.

The word "Coptic" thus describes, especially today, the totality of Sahidic and Bohairic, as well as the local dialects that they cover (Kahle, 1954; Kasser, 1980–1981). There is no need to repeat here all that has been written elsewhere in this regard; see in general DIALECT, IMMIGRANT; DIALECTS; DIALECTS, MORPHOLOGY OF COPTIC; GEOGRAPHY, DIALECTAL; METADIALECT; OLD COPTIC; PRE-COPTIC; PRE-OLD COPTIC; PROTODIALECT; and in particular AKHMIMIC; BOHAIRIC; DIALECT G (OR BASHMURIC OR MANSURIC); DIALECT H (OR HERMOPOLITAN OR ASHMUNINIC); DIALECT İ (OR PROTO-LYCOPOLITAN); DIALECT P (OR PROTO-THEBAN); FAYYUMIC; LYCOPOLITAN (OR SUBAKHMIMIC); MESOKEMIC (OR MIDDLE EGYPTIAN); and SAHIDIC.

The word "Copt" itself derives from the same word as "Egypt" and "Egyptian," a term the origin of which appears to be authentically Egyptian: *Ḥt k3 Ptḥ* (Vycichl, 1983, p. 5) or *Ḥwt k3 Ptḥ* (Krause, 1979, p. 731), "the house of the spirit of [the god] Ptah" (that is, Memphis, several kilometers south of modern Cairo). This *Ḥt k3 Ptḥ* became in Greek Αἴγυπτος, Egypt, whence Αἰγύπτιος, Egyptian. Ptah was the god of the town of Memphis, and the local theology considered him the creator of the world. Distorting to some extent Αἰγύπτιος (the name of the ancient inhabitants of the country, then of those among them who remained Christians), the Arabs (conquerors of Egypt from 642) made of it *(Ai)gypti(os);* then *gypti* became *qubṭi* (Vergote, 1973, Vol. 1a, pp. 1–6; Stern, 1880, pp. 1–6, who cites the Coptic forms of this name ⲅⲩⲡⲧⲓⲟⲥ, ⲕⲩⲡⲧⲁⲓⲟⲥ; cf. also Gardiner, 1957, pp. 5–6; Layton, 1976; Mallon, 1907, pp. 1–7; Steindorff, 1930, pp. 1–5, and 1951, pp. 1–6; Till, 1955, pp. 29–39). Krause (1979, p. 731) notes that the form *gibtith* is already found in various passages of the Talmud in the second century A.D.

The Copts of the classical period (before the Arab invasion) called themselves by another name in Sahidic: ⲣⲙ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲏⲙⲉ (transcribed in Greek ἐρμοχύμιος), which means "the inhabitants [or "men," ⲣⲙ̄-] of the Black Land [ⲕⲏⲙⲉ]," an allusion to the dark color of the sediment which forms the cultivable and habitable land along the Nile and in its Delta, in opposition to the yellowish or reddish colors of the deserts, sterile and uninhabitable areas where the Egyptian did not feel in any way at home.

How can one affirm that Coptic is authentically Egyptian, when it has so much a Greek air at first sight? In fact, anyone not forewarned who approaches a Coptic text for the first time notices at once that its alphabet is four-fifths Greek in *S*, indeed a little less (68 percent) in dialect *P* or proto-Theban but actually much more in other idioms (up to 100 percent in dialect *G*, or Bashmuric or Mansuric, and up to 83 percent in dialect *H*, or Hermopolitan or Ashmuninic; cf. ALPHABET IN COPTIC, GREEK and ALPHABETS, COPTIC). Furthermore, one encounters many Copto-Greek words in the Coptic texts (cf. VOCABULARY, COPTO-GREEK). Nevertheless, these appearances ought not to deceive: Coptic in all its essential structures (Polotsky, 1950) and at a profound level (syntax, etc.) is an authentic form of the Egyptian language.

Building above all on Gardiner (1957, p. 5), one may distinguish five successive stages in the long evolution of this language over several thousand years: (1) Ancient Egyptian (from the First to the Eighth Dynasty, about 3180–2240 B.C., or 940 years); (2) Middle Egyptian (from the Ninth to the Eleventh Dynasty fully, to the Eighteenth Dynasty less clearly, about 2240–1570 B.C., or 670 years); (3) Neo-Egyptian (from the Eighteenth to the Twenty-fourth Dynasty, about 1570–715 B.C., or 855 years); (4) demotic (from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty to the third century A.D., Egypt being from this time Roman after having been Greek, and even as far as the reign of the Byzantine emperor Leo I if one takes account of certain sporadic extensions of the use of demotic during the first Coptic centuries, hence from about 715 B.C. to 470 A.D., or 1185 years, or only 965 years if we stop at the beginning of the Coptic period); (5) Coptic (not counting Old Coptic, which preceded it and was not yet properly Coptic), a stage that one might arbitrarily and approximately reckon to begin in the middle of the third century A.D. and the end of which is difficult to fix with any precision (there are no nonliterary Coptic documents from the eleventh century on, and it is artificially that this language still survived for some time, say to the thirteenth century if one may fix a limit there, again arbitrarily, for convenience in chronological evaluation, and

even though the slow agony of Coptic during the Middle Ages is difficult to discern with precision); one may thus admit that the Coptic stage could have lasted approximately a thousand years (cf. Kasser, 1989).

However that may be, Coptic (in its two principal forms, *S* and *B*) is indeed the last state of the Egyptian language. It might have been the last but one, as some investigators would have it, if the Coptic language had not failed, for want of vigor, in the last of the metamorphoses it was undergoing locally and endeavoring to undertake from the eighth century on.

On the basis of Gardiner's scheme, one may try to imagine more concretely the succession of these stages of the Egyptian language. It is known that every language constantly evolves, and it is very probable that Egyptian is no exception to this rule. But if the spoken language is in perpetual evolution, the written language, on the contrary, strives to remain stable—or rather, the intellectual class, that of the scribes, which could not carry out its work in conditions of unduly accentuated orthographic (chiefly), lexical, and morphosyntactic instability, strives for a clear definition and fixing of orthography and related matters, for a strict control of all impulses toward evolution, to immobilize them as far as possible. The result is that although the orthography corresponds fairly well to the pronunciation of the spoken language at the time the rules of orthography become fixed, it is no longer the same after a number of centuries; then the distance between the written and the spoken languages becomes ever greater, and the orthography becomes more and more arbitrary in relation to what is spoken; it thus becomes more and more difficult to learn, to the point where the difficulty becomes intolerable and the tension leads to rupture. People then proceed to a reform of the orthography, adapting it to the contemporary spoken language.

When the language studied is a language entirely dead, as is Egyptian, a language known only from texts that no modern scientific observer has ever heard pronounced by a man who spoke it as his proper living language, then the scheme sketched above remains a hypothesis, however probable it may be. The investigator, instead of being able to grasp the spoken language in its constant evolution, lays hold only of the texts, showing that the first stage of the Egyptian language (Ancient Egyptian) is quite suddenly succeeded by the second (Middle Egyptian), then the third (Neo-Egyptian, rather different from Middle Egyptian), then the fourth (demotic, rather different from Neo-Egyptian), and finally the fifth (Coptic, rather different from demotic). But by comparison with what he can observe in other languages, today still living, he knows that the evolution of the spoken language (which is the "true" language) ought not to be confused with the irregular progress shown by the written language, with its abrupt mutations.

The result of these considerations may be a slightly more nuanced vision of this evolution. The one that Vergote (1973, Vol. 1b, pp. 3–4) presents is very illuminating. First of all, he admits (with B. H. Stricker [1945]) that Middle Egyptian is further removed from Neo-Egyptian that it is from Ancient Egyptian, so that one may bring together Ancient Egyptian and Middle Egyptian in a "line I"; similarly, Neo-Egyptian is further removed from Middle Egyptian than it is from demotic, so that one may bring Neo-Egyptian and demotic together in a "line II"; Coptic, by itself, forms "line III." (Vergote adds a line IV, of which no account will be taken here: it is the Greek of Egypt, contemporary with the autochthonous stages of the Egyptian language from about the sixth and seventh centuries B.C.).

On the other hand, Vergote considers that at the time when the orthography and related matters become remote from the spoken language to such a point that the rupture takes place, entailing a reform of the orthography, this reform is never accepted at a stroke by the whole intellectual class, in all its milieus and in all the literary genres. There are then always some more conservative circles which, at least for some very particular usages to which an archaizing style is especially appropriate, tend to make the ancient state of the language endure, and for as long as possible and as intact as possible in the midst of an environment henceforth greatly changed. Thus, an ancient stage of a language may survive for several centuries, or even millennia, alongside stages that logically have succeeded it (somewhat as, in Coptic, a protodialect may have survived for some time alongside the dialect that, in the logic of dialectal evolution, has succeeded it).

The scheme that results from these considerations (Vergote, 1973, Vol. 1b, p. 3) thus shows a line I ("written classical Egyptian" is equated with Ancient Egyptian followed by Middle Egyptian) which starts from the beginnings of the third millennium B.C. (or even a little earlier), deviates perceptibly from the line of the spoken language toward [-2400], and nevertheless extends down to the middle of the third century A.D. (+250). Next is a line II ("written vulgar Egyptian" being Neo-Egyptian followed by demotic)

starting from the middle of the second millennium B.C. (or even a little earlier, toward [-1800]), which deviates perceptibly from the line of the spoken language toward [-1200], and nevertheless extends beyond the middle of the fifth century A.D. (+470). Finally, there is a line III (Coptic), a simple prolongation of the line of the earlier spoken language (after its separation from line II), starting from the middle of the third century A.D. (+250), which no doubt also deviated to some extent from the line of the spoken language at a certain point (but this does not appear in Vergote's scheme) and which extends approximately down to the end of the first millennium. In this scheme, then, in the third century A.D. the three stages of Egyptian happen to exist simultaneously: line I (very close to extinction), line II (on the way to decline, but still capable of enduring for another two centuries), and line III (still very close to its birth).

This very nuanced conception of the evolution of the Egyptian language, from Ancient Egyptian down to Coptic (the Coptic languages *S* and *B*, with the various regional dialects that accompany them) appears the most probable in the present state of knowledge in this field. It may be represented as in Figure 1.

The "Coptic" of this scheme is in fact the totality of the two "Coptic languages" (*S* and *B*) with the various regional dialects which accompany them (*A*, *L*, *M*, *W*, *V*, *F*, *H*, *G*, not to speak of the protodialects *P* and *İ*). Does this signify that each of these idioms is the direct prolongation of a like earlier dialectal form which existed in Egypt already in Neo-Egyptian and in demotic (not to speak of Ancient and Middle Egyptian)? A "prolongation" probably yes, but perhaps not quite "direct," in the sense that one might be tempted to give it in a rather simplistic fashion (cf. Chaîne, 1933, p. xviii, and 1934, pp. 2–3, which must, however, be adapted to the present knowledge of matters of Coptic dialectology). The Coptic dialects (and languages) are idioms of late Egyptian that appeared in the middle of the Greco-Roman period and are particularly perceptible thanks to the Coptic documents, which in contrast to the older Egyptian documents provide information not only about the consonants but also about the vowels. It is thus extremely difficult to compare these idioms with this or that orthographic or semisystematic variant encountered in the Pre-Coptic Egyptian texts, in the hope of thus effecting a comparison between the Coptic and the Pre-Coptic Egyptian dialects.

Certainly the latter must have existed; that is highly probable. But how is one to know them? Prudence in any case advises one to keep some distance from the optimistic hypothesis that would consider each Coptic dialect as the direct descendant of a pharaonic Egyptian dialect corresponding to it. Certainly each historical period in Egypt must have seen the manifestation of numerous local idioms existing side by side (a circumstance evidently favored by the geographical conditions of the country), but one cannot simply affirm that each of them was content to perpetuate itself, if it could, in a linear fashion, reappearing from one period to another in rejuvenated form. Considering the relative orthographic uniformity of the successive pharaonic Egyptian languages, in all probability Egypt also knew periods in which there was something like a linguistic leveling; as a result of reciprocal interferences that had accrued or under the constraining action of a "dia-

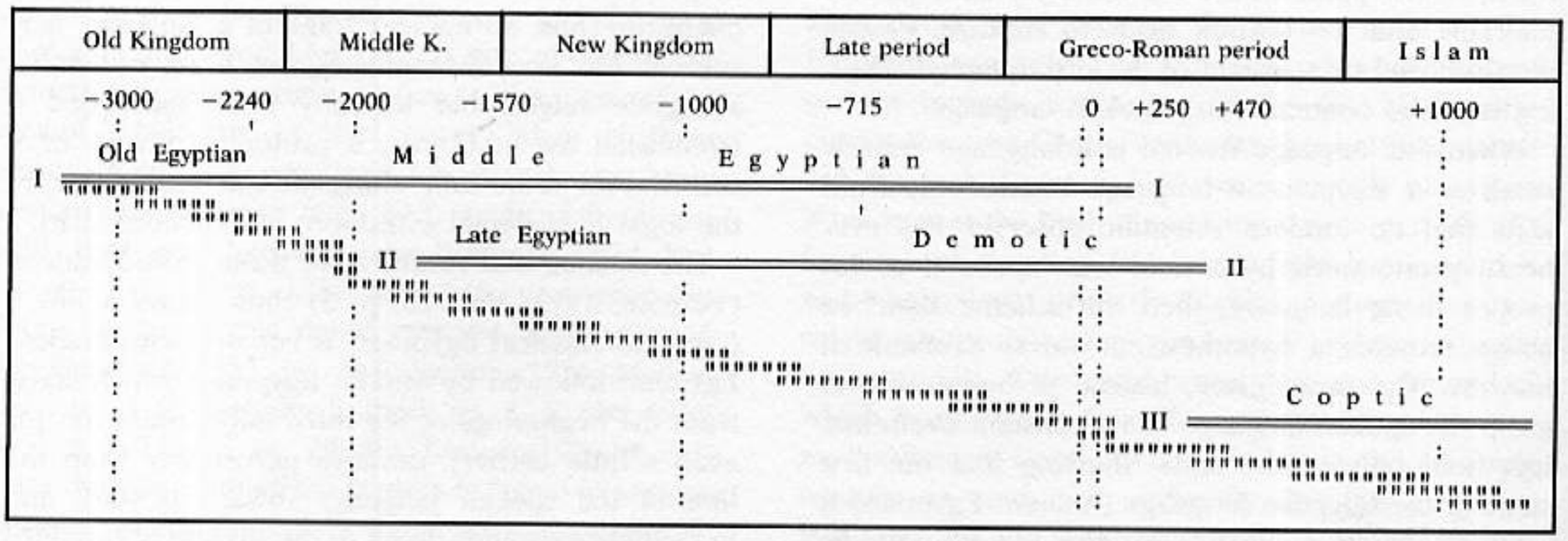


FIGURE 1. EVOLUTION OF THE EGYPTIAN LANGUAGE. Adapted and simplified from Vergote, 1973, Vol. 1b, p. 3, and Lüddeckens, 1980, p. 251.

lect" that had acquired some supremacy in its field of influence (geographic or social)—for example, becoming a supraregional vehicular language—there must have been formed several times over in the course of Egyptian history a kind of koine whose influence extended itself over the greater part or even the whole of one or the other of the halves of Egypt (the Nile Delta, on the one hand, and the valley of the Egyptian Nile above the Delta, on the other). This koine may have been able to eliminate certain local idioms, profoundly inhibiting and radically modifying the others in such a way as to efface the greater part of the differences that constituted their originality. Thus, each local dialect when it reappears after such a leveling is the synthesis of two different currents. Like a son in whom one finds certain features of his father associated with others coming from his mother, the reemergent dialect has quite certainly something of the dialect formerly used in the same region but also bears very strongly the mark of the koine that, at least on the literary level, has supplanted the earlier dialect. The relation between the Coptic idiom and its putative ancestor cannot then be other than ambiguous.

Anyone who examines the scheme above will note that the passage from language I (Ancient Egyptian and Middle Egyptian) to language II (Neo-Egyptian and demotic) represents a "leap" much less great than that from language II to language III (Coptic). Despite their by no means negligible differences, II is easily compatible with I, and there is no doubt the reason for their long coexistence (over about two millennia). III, on the contrary, is much less easily compatible with II (and with I), and that no doubt is the cause of the rapid and, so to speak, catastrophic disappearance of II as soon as III has reached its zenith (reducing their coexistence to some two centuries only; the coexistence of III with I was chronologically zero, or nearly so).

The writing expressing I and II is purely Egyptian and, on the level of phonology, shows only the consonants. The writing of III, on the contrary, is about four-fifths Greek and, in comparison with I and II, presents the immense advantage of showing not only the consonants but also the vowels. The slight inconvenience linked to this advantage is that henceforward the same orthography can no longer, as formerly, be common to all the dialects, thus veiling their existence on the level of writing.

It is thought that the idea of writing Egyptian by means of graphemes fixing not only the consonants but also the vowels could have been born in the bosom of certain bilingual social groups in Egypt who desired to practice magic with greater security. The majority of the texts called Old Coptic are in fact magical texts, disparate essays from the first to the fifth centuries A.D. that logically, if not always chronologically, preceded the first truly Coptic texts.

Certainly the idea of using, even for Egyptian, an alphabet showing the vowels also had already been in the air for several centuries. More than once, and above all from the second century A.D., some man of letters had tried to apply it for his personal use, and this evidently with recourse to Greek, a script with which every Egyptian was confronted every day (and whose convenience he well knew), since it was that of the Greek language, the administrative language of the country over a very long time and thus omnipresent in the innumerable documents that one of necessity had to have written or be able to read to get out of difficulty in the face of the authorities in everyday life.

Such initiatives were taken in the Greco-Egyptian milieus in Egypt above all when it was a case of writing in a manner comprehensible for a Greek some magic formula that brought healing or life to oneself or a friend or suffering and death to a hated enemy. A Greek in Egypt endeavoring to read aloud a text in Ancient Egyptian would perhaps have pronounced his consonants correctly, but he would probably have been mistaken several times in articulating his vowels, since they do not appear in the hieroglyphs or in demotic. Now the demons whom the magician invokes to employ positively in his service or to unleash against an enemy are like fierce dogs accustomed to obeying precise orders. If the formula is ill pronounced, however slightly, their reflexes make them act in a manner impossible to foresee. If they are content to remain asleep and inactive, that is still a lesser evil; but the far worse risk is that they may awake, excited and bewildered by the incomprehensible order, the magic phrase ill pronounced: in fury, they will turn against their bungling master and tear him to pieces. Egyptian written in Greek letters (consonants and vowels, with some additional letters for special sounds) permitted a much more sure pronunciation and thus seemed to protect the Greco-Egyptian magician against regrettable "technical accidents."

Taking up and systematizing better the idea of these isolated predecessors (each of whom had invented his own recipe without knowing too much of those of others), the Copts then decided to adopt the popular Egyptian of their time, and since their language had some phonemes that did not exist in Greek, they completed their alphabet by adding

some supplementary graphemes (between six and ten, depending on the Coptic dialects; cf. ALPHABETS, COPTIC).

An admirable reform of the orthography, one will say, but why did no one think of it sooner? Yes indeed, but a reform as dangerous as it was admirable. In fact, in any language, the more fundamental a reform of the orthography is, the more it produces revolutionary and destructive effects, including above all a radical incision in the very heart of the national culture. The "old" literature, that from before the reform, becomes immediately incomprehensible, hence more than difficult, impossible of access, for all those who have been intellectually molded according to the "new" principles (to the exclusion of the old principles, quickly fallen into desuetude and forgotten). We know how many projects for reform of the orthography of numerous modern languages have failed in the face of this formidable obstacle.

The obstacle can only be surmounted if the partisans of fundamental reform are animated by a revolutionary spirit, little disposed to be hampered by scruples about a despised and hated past. If the champions of the new system are ready without regret to see the ancient literature of their people sink into oblivion and disappear, its centuries-old or millennial traditions (at that period evidently above all religious traditions), they will not hesitate to sacrifice to the "progress" that they proclaim a whole cultural heritage; not only have they no esteem whatever for its value, but they probably even judge it inauspicious, dangerous, deserving of being destroyed.

So aggressive and destructive an attitude is evidently very remote from the more respectful state of mind that animated the promoters of the cultural reform which permitted the Egypt of the second millennium B.C. to create its language II and to use it in parallel with its language I (in no way threatened with disappearance on the occasion of the birth of this rival); it was no doubt found convenient and appropriate to be able to employ II alongside I for certain preferential usages, but nobody desired the death of I on the occasion of this innovation.

This revolutionary and iconoclastic attitude appears, on the contrary, to have been that of the promoters of the cultural reform which in the third century A.D. provoked the birth and the prompt flowering of III, on the one hand, and the rapid decadence and soon the extinction of I and II, on the other. The partisans of the old system of Egyptian writing, the "conservatives," were the pagans of Egypt, particularly attached to their thousand-year-old traditions of a dazzling richness. But over against them were arrayed, in ever-increasing numbers, the creators and partisans of the new system of Egyptian writing, the Coptic alphabet; for these Christians of Egypt, revolutionaries so convinced that they scarcely troubled themselves with nuances, the whole pagan past of their country was not only without value, but also inauspicious, diabolical, to be extirpated from their civilization for reasons of mental hygiene. The Copts then did not shed a single tear, rather the contrary, over the death of the hieroglyphic Egyptian preserved in the written cultural language I or over the definitive disappearance of Neo-Egyptian, above all in its demotic form as it then still appeared in the written cultural language II. For them, these means of expression were indissolubly linked to the manifold and at all points monstrous phenomenon of a diabolical and detested paganism, which struck fear into the simple soul and provoked the horror of the Christian. Far from regretting the treasures of their own civilization sinking henceforth into general incomprehension and oblivion, the Copts on the contrary applauded what they considered a salutary intellectual cleansing: the triumph of the Truth.

One must keep equally present in memory this dramatic aspect of a choice now seventeen centuries old, brutal as every revolutionary choice is; a cruel choice, but nonetheless one of genius, since it was only through Coptic that Egyptology was able in 1822, thanks to the perspicacity of Champollion, to attain to a real knowledge of the ancient Egyptian (pharaonic) language, and it is through Coptic that even now Egyptology can "hear" in a manner certainly approximate but nevertheless concrete and, beyond hypothesis and the dry conventional notation, nevertheless gripping, the true "sounds" of a mysterious language, the voice of antique Egypt.

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LYCO-DIOSPOLITAN. A new dialectological designation connected to the siglum *L* (see LYCOPOLITAN [OR LYCO-DIOSPOLITAN OR SUBAKHMIMIC]), now considered as appropriate and accepted by several Coptologists. Indeed, not only Lycopolis (Asyūṭ) and its area but virtually every place between this area in the north and the area of Diospolis Magna (Thebes, Luxor) in the south must be taken into consideration as a possible home of the *L* dialects (*L4*, the Mani dialect; *L5*, the John dialect; *L6*, the Nag Hammadi non-Sahidic dialect).

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LYCOPOLITAN (OR LYCO-DIOSPOLITAN OR SUBAKHMIMIC).

The traditional view of the "Lycopolitan dialect" (also called "Subakhmimic") has become increasingly disputed in recent years, and the question arose if Lycopolitan in fact existed as a distinct dialect.

1. Research History and Problems

1.1 Attempted Definition. A group of Coptic subdialects (or, better, dialects) is usually classed together as Lycopolitan or Lyco-Diospolitan (siglum *L* or, in earlier years and even sometimes today, *A2*) or Subakhmimic (more rarely and in former times Asyutic). Each Coptic (sub)dialect is composed of a number of individual texts (see IDIOLECT) and groups of texts whose uniform designation (linguistically and in terms of dialectal geography; see GEOGRAPHY, DIALECTAL) seems somewhat difficult. The entire group of *L* (sub)dialects and connected idiolects can justifiably be given a collective description only in terms of the linguistic center stretching from Qaw to Asyūṭ (Lycopolis), with various possible extensions to the south and north, and in terms of the linguistic traits that place *L* among the dialects of Upper Egypt but that both as a whole and in relation to their distribution cannot be assigned either to Akhmimic (*A*) or to Sahidic (*S*). Furthermore, because of diversification

and subdivision within *L*, it cannot be described as a "neutral" dialect.

1.2 Unity or Diversity of L. The original assumption of relative uniformity of *L* (or *A2*) has been called into question by the increasing number of texts, some of which await publication. The first textual witness to become known was the Acta Pauli (AP. Heid.), which Carl Schmidt published from the Heidelberg Papyrus Collection (1904 and a further folio in 1909). In 1924 Sir Herbert Thompson published extensive fragments of St. John's Gospel in a dialect very close to the AP. Heid. but showing some characteristic peculiarities. In the same year, a letter of the Meletian archives (Crum, in Bell, 1924, no. 1921), the sole nonliterary text thus far known in *L*, was edited and was considered by the editors as belonging to "the later type of Achmimic [Acta Pauli]." Since 1933 the comprehensive corpus of Coptic-Manichaean texts from Madīnat Māḍī has become known and has been published to a great extent. This was followed in 1945 by the discovery of the Nag Hammadi library, of which the codices I, X, and XI once again reveal a new variety of Subakhmimic. Publication began in 1956 with the Gospel of Truth (Evangelium Veritatis) from Codex I. While publication of the Nag Hammadi finds has almost been completed, a wide range of Coptic Manichaean texts is still unpublished. Fragments outside the Nag Hammadi library, but belonging to it in content, were published in 1975; the Sahidic parallel version to these is in Nag Hammadi Codex II, 5. In 1978 fragments of the Letter to Philemon and of Hebrews from the Sir Herbert Thompson Collection (now in Cambridge University library) were published (but these are peculiar in their dialect and seem to be wrongly described as Subakhmimic). One text from the Sir Chester Beatty Collection in Dublin (parts of the Gospel of John) and one from the Bibliotheca Bodmeriana in Geneva (parts of the Acta Pauli, or AP. Bod.) are still unpublished. These two texts are not identical either codicologically or linguistically with the texts published by Sir Herbert Thompson and Carl Schmidt.

1.3 Texts and Editions. The *L* texts now known are almost without exception literary and belong to various categories.

1.3.1. Biblical texts:

JoL = Gospel of John, London manuscript (Thompson, 1924). Provenance: Qaw, fourth century.

JoD = fragments from the Gospel of John (10:18–11:43), Dublin manuscript (unpublished). Transcript: R. Kasser. End of the third century.

Yet a little different from every (sub)dialect of *L* (i.e. *L4*, *L5*, or *L6*, see below) and not too far from *M* and *V* is the dialect of the following fragments of the Pauline Epistles (ed. Bellet, 1978, pp. 45–47; perhaps provenance Suhāj [Dayr al-Abiad], end of fifth century; see Funk, 1986, and Kasser, 1986):

Hbr = fragment of Hebrews (Heb. 5:5–9, 11–14).

Phm = fragment of Philemon (Phlm. 6:15–16).

The language of Hbr and Phm is not taken into account here.

1.3.2. Apocrypha:

AP. Heid. Acta Pauli manuscript in Heidelberg (Schmidt, 1904, 1909). Source: Akhmīm antique dealer; perhaps from Edfu, fifth century.

AP. Bod. = Acta Pauli manuscript fragments in Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, Geneva (unpublished). Incomplete transcript: R. Kasser. Provenance: east of Nag Hammadi (but not with Nag Hammadi library or near Dishnā), fourth century.

1.3.3. Coptic Manichaean texts:

ManiH = Manichaean Homilies (Polotsky, 1934). Provenance: Madīnat Māḍī, in the Fayyūm (but perhaps from Lycopolis[?]; see 1.4), fifth century.

ManiK = Manichaean Kephalaïa (Polotsky and Böhlig, 1940; Böhlig, 1966). Provenance: same as for ManiH, fourth–fifth century.

ManiP = Manichaean Psalter (Allberry, 1938). Provenance: same as for ManiH, fourth–fifth century.

1.3.4. Coptic Gnostic texts:

With one exception (OW; see below) all these texts are Nag Hammadi texts (NagH), so called because they were discovered east of Nag Hammadi but not in the same place as AP. Bod: Their numeration follows that of the Nag Hammadi codices and the sequence of the individual tractates in each codex:

I,1 = Prayer of the Apostle Paul (Kasser et al., 1975b; Attridge, 1985). Fourth century.

I,2 or EpJac = Apocryphal Letter of James (Malinine et al., 1968; Kirchner, 1977; Attridge, 1985). Fourth century.

I,3 or EV = Gospel of Truth (Malinine et al., 1956 and 1961; Till, 1959; Attridge, 1985). Fourth century.

I,4 or Rheg = Tractate on the Resurrection or Letter of Rheginos (Malinine et al., 1963; Layton, 1979; Attridge, 1985). Fourth century.

I,5 or Trip. = Tripartite Tractate (Kasser et al., 1973a, 1975a, and 1975b; Attridge, 1985). Fourth century. The folio with the Prayer of the Apostle Paul later turned out to be a flyleaf of Codex I and is now reckoned as NagH I,1. The language of Trip. is taken into account here only with regard to mor-

phology, not orthography and phonemics, as it is clearly a unique phenomenon (wild orthography, oscillation between *S* and *L*, a series of syntactical errors that are not only irregularities or exceptions) and is perhaps not the work of someone whose mother tongue was Coptic.

X,1 or Mar = Marsanes (Pearson, 1981). Fourth century.

XI, 1 or Inter = Interpretation of Gnosis, pp. 1–32. Copied by W.-P. Funk. Fourth century.

XI, 2 or Exp = Valentinian Exposition, pp. 33–39. Copied by W.-P. Funk. Fourth century.

Appendix = five Valentinian prayers, pp. 40–44.

RhInEx = collective designation for Rheg, Inter, and Exp (NagH I, 4—XI,1.2.).

OW = On the Origin of the World (Oeyen, 1975). Provenance: unknown. According to Oeyen (p. 134) the London fragment shows an older stage in the development of the text than the Sahidic version of NagH II,5, but this does not allow one to draw any direct conclusions as to the age of the manuscript, which Kenyon (in Crum, 1905, no. 522) puts in the fourth century.

1.3.5. Nonliterary texts:

Mel = Letter of the Meletian Archive, no. 1921 (Crum, in Bell, 1924, pp. 94–97). Provenance: antique trade; approx. 330–340 A.D.

Note that there is still a number of texts that are closely related linguistically to the *L* texts but use the grapheme ⲋ for /x/; for this reason, they were previously—and wrongly—described as "Akhmimic" or "Akhmimic with Sahidic influences" because they use this ⲋ only in part, as *A* does. These preliminary stages (to some extent) in the development of *L* (Kasser, 1979 and 1982a) are dealt with under DIALECT i (with its subdialects, especially *i7;* see also Funk, 1987).

1.4 Date, Place of Discovery, and Place of Origin. The *L* texts for the most part date from the fourth and fifth centuries (Nag Hammadi and JoL, fourth century; ManiK and ManiP, fourth–fifth centuries; ManiH and AP. Heid., fifth century). On the other hand, the unpublished Gospel of John in Dublin (JoD) seems to be much earlier, even from the end of the third century. It is interesting to see that the witnesses of *L* are written on papyrus, whereas the fragments with the Pauline Epistles (Hbr and Phm), which are to be excluded from *L* for linguistic reasons, are written on parchment.

In some cases (Nag Hammadi and Mani texts, and JoL), the place of discovery is certain, but Crum's dictum is to be kept in mind: "Place of finding is not necessarily place of origin." The Mani texts were discovered in Madīnat Māḍī, a place where the *L*-dialect never had been spoken. Rather, the place of origin of the Coptic Manichaean texts seems to have been Lycopolis (Asyūṭ). For a long time it was regarded as a hiding place for the Manichaean "heresy" (Schmidt and Polotsky, 1933, pp. 12–14). In the case of JoL, there is no compelling reason why the place of discovery should not be considered the same as the place of origin (Qaw/Antaiopolis). As the Nag Hammadi Library resulted from the purposeful collection of various texts, the place of origin of the *L* texts of Nag Hammadi is not guaranteed. As they, however, represent a different type of *L* from Mani and JoL, they should be placed further south.

After the fifth century no textual witness of *L* is attested, and one may conclude that by that time *L* had gone out of use as a literary language.

1.5. Descriptions of Dialect and Geographical Location. The alternating descriptions of "dialect" *L* throw light on the history of the problem of *L* and on Coptic dialectology as a whole. Carl Schmidt, the editor of AP. Heid., characterized the dialect of this manuscript as "a dialect related to the Akhmimic texts." Its consonants are consistently identical with those of the Sahidic, while the vowels show the peculiarities of Akhmimic (Schmidt, 1904, p. 14). Rösch (1909) interpreted this observation to the effect that the AP. Heid. represented the transitional stage from the (older) Akhmimic to the (later) Sahidic ("late" or "new" Akhmimic; similarly, Crum, in Bell, 1924, p. 94, wrote of "the younger type of Achmimic" with regard to the Meletian letter no. 1921). H. Thompson grouped the dialects of AP. Heid. and JoL under the designation "sub-achmimic," which established itself subsequently (JoL, p. xx). He subscribed to Schmidt's view that Subakhmimic stood between Akhmimic and Sahidic, but he raised the fundamental question whether that intermediate position should be interpreted in terms of chronology or dialectal geography. Chaîne (1934) preferred the geographical view, describing the dialect as "Assiutic" (Asyutic, siglum *A2*). The view that Akhmimic was replaced by Sahidic by way of Subakhmimic had already been dismissed by Till (1928, p. 3), who said that *A*, *A2*, and *S* had "basically come into being independently of each other . . . and [had been] spoken at an earlier period simultaneously, and alongside each other, in various districts of Upper Egypt." Nevertheless, the term "Subakhmimic" was retained (Till, *passim;* Schmidt and Polotsky, 1933; Worrell, 1934; Kahle, 1954; and even Vergote, 1973–1983, Vol. 1a).

Worrell (1934, pp. 63–74, map p. 65, region V), assumed that the region of Pbow in the south as far as the al-Ashmūnayn–Antinoë line in the north was the area in which *A* and *A2* spread, but rejected the idea of a more circumscribed localization. Kahle (1954, pp. 206ff.) placed *A2* between Akhmimic and MESOKEMIC, or Middle Egyptian, and considered the region from Abydos to al-Ashmūnayn to be the original area in which *A2* spread (basically in agreement with Worrell). He envisaged for the first time a grouping within *A2* on a broader textual basis, leading to three main groups: (1) JoL, AP. Heid, Mel, OW (Kahle partly other sigla: OW = BM522; Mel = J. & C. 1921); (2) the Mani texts; and (3) the Nag Hammadi texts (still unpublished at the time and not taken further into account by Kahle). *A2*-Mani was, according to him, characterized by Akhmimic influences, while *A2*-AP. Heid. and *A2*-JoL represented "much more truly the ancient Subachmimic" (p. 219). Polotsky (in Schmidt and Polotsky, 1933, p. 11) had already noted that the Manichaean *A2* was closest to the Akhmimic and also drew attention to agreements of Mani-JoL against AP. Heid. These observations were not taken into account by Kahle. Although Kahle's first main group cannot stand up to scrutiny, one is nevertheless indebted to him for many fine individual observations on *A2*.

According to Vergote, 1973–1983, Vol. 1a, p. 4, sec. 5), *A2* was spoken in a region stretching from Akhmīm-Eshqāw in the south to al-Ashmūnayn–Antinoë in the north with Asyūṭ (Lycopolis) as center. As against Kahle, it may be regarded as a backward step that *A2* is treated by Vergote as a dialectal unity. From Worrell to Vergote, there is agreement that the al-Ashmūnayn–Antinoë line is the northern frontier while the frontier for expansion southward remains open, so to speak.

Recognition that *A2* is an independent "dialect" in relation to *A* and *S* is contradictory to the still rather widely current description of the dialect as "Subakhmimic," which, like the siglum *A2*, tends to lead one to assume a subdialect or collateral dialect of Akhmimic, or *A*, even if the terminology is only used conventionally. Hence, in a series of publications since 1972, Kasser has proposed instead of "Subakhmimic" the dialectal designation "Lycopolitan" (*L*), to correspond to the linguistic center of this dialect, or, more exactly, of an important branch of this dialect (see especially Kasser, 1982b and 1984). This description adapts a variant of Chaîne's "Assiutic" and has the advantage that the siglum consists of just one sign, corresponding to the signs of the other main dialects of Coptic. For a rather long time, various indices were used to designate the individual branches or types of *L*. Since 1986, however, a general agreement has been reached among Coptologists. Now numerical indices are preferred: thus, *L4* rather than *L*-Mani, *L5* rather than *L*-JoL, *L6* rather than *L*-NagH (see also LYCO-DIOSPOLITAN).

Far more important is the question of the particular type of *L* to which the textual witnesses can be allotted, the more so since practically every manuscript exhibits peculiarities and even inconsistencies, as *L* in fact is not a thoroughly standardized dialect in any of its branches. The individual groups will be denoted below in accordance with their main characteristics.

1.6 Means of Dialectal Subdivision. Like the Coptic dialects in general, the individual representatives and branches of *L* (as an *L* group) are also mainly distinguished from each other phonetically (insofar as this can be recognized from the orthography) and in specific areas of morphology. Except for Funk (1985), where some primary elements of the kind are already shown, there have been until now no available investigations for differences in the lexical and syntactical field (see, however, DIALECTS, MORPHOLOGY OF COPTIC and AKHMIMIC). These *L* branches are designated as follows:

L4 (or *L*-Mani) (all Mani texts)
L5 (or *L*-JoL) (JoL, JoD and AP. Bod.)
L6 (or *L*-NagH) (all Nag Hammadi *L* texts, and also AP. Heid)

2. The Phonemic Inventory of Lycopolitan

As usual, consonants and vowels will be treated separately.

2.1 Consonants. The *L* consonantal phonemes and graphemes (according to Vergote, 1973–1983, Vol. 1a, p. 13) are those of most Coptic dialects and therefore also of *S*, *M*, *W*, *V*, and *F* (apart from *F7*) (see Table 1). There are sixteen graphemes matching the seventeen consonantal phonemes of Lycopolitan. The laryngeal stop phoneme /ʾ/ has no sign of its own but is expressed, or is recognizable, by the break in the vowels (e.g., ⲕⲁⲁ ⸗ ϥ, to place him *or* it), as in *S* (with *pS*) and also *A*, as in most of the *F* branches.

The use of some of these consonants, especially ⲃ/ϥ and ⲥ/ⲫ, is indicative of a difference within the *L* dialect (see 2.3.1.3 and 2.3.2.1).

2.2 Vowels. A comprehensive description of the vowel phonemes of Lycopolitan can be found in Vergote, 1973–1983 (Vol. 1a, p. 41). The vowel indicators of Lycopolitan are important because they

TABLE 1. *Consonantal Phonemes and Graphemes*

	BILABIALS	LABIODENTALS	DENTALS	PREPALATALS	POSTPALATALS	LARYNGEALS
Voiceless stops	/p/ ⲡ		/t/ ⲧ	/č/:/c/ ϫ:ⳅ	/k/ ⲕ	/'/ e.g., ⲁⲁ
Voiceless spirants		/f/ ⲫ	/s/ ⲥ	/š/ ⲯ		/h/ ϩ
Voiced spirants	/w/ (ⲟ)ⲩ	/b/ ⲃ		/j/ (ⲉ)ⲓ		
Nasals	/m/ ⲙ		/n/ ⲛ			
Laterals/vibrants			/l/ ⲗ, /r/ ⲣ			

often show and clarify relationships with *A* and deviations from, on the one hand, *M, F,* etc. and, on the other, *S, B,* etc. (see Till, 1961, pp. 8–11; Kasser 1982b, p. 58) and because they emphasize differences within *L* and so are indispensable in defining *L4, L5,* and *L6,* as the case may be.

2.3 Indicators of Differences Within Dialect L. These differential markers between *L4, L5,* and *L6* are mostly vocalic but sometimes can be consonantal.

2.3.1. L4 versus L5 and L6:

2.3.1.1. The characteristic that most clearly distinguishes *L4* from the other *L* branches is the treatment of the syllable /CR/ (= voiceless consonant + voiced consonant or son[or]ant) and /i̱/ + voiced consonant, or /'R/ (= /'/ + voiced consonant or son[or]ant), in the final position after an open tonic syllable. In these cases, as in Akhmimic, an anaptyctic vowel -ⲉ /(ə)/ follows the voiced consonant at the end of the syllable:

MANI =*L4*	*L5, L6*	
ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ	ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄	to hear
ⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ	ⲙⲁⲉⲓⲛ	sign
ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ	ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲓⲛ	light
ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ†/wa'b(ə)/ (rarely ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃⲉ†)	ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ	to be holy

Only when /wn/ closes a syllable is the anaptyctic vowel found in all the *L* texts: ⲥⲁ(ⲟ)ⲩⲛⲉ (cf. ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛⲉ), recognize. Note also that in the spelling of the Mani texts, the anaptyctic vowel after /CR/ is not completely standardized. Listing the lexeme "to hear" in ManiK I, the results are ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ (seventy-four) and ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ (twenty-four). In all comparable instances, the orthography with the anaptyctic vowel predominates.

After a closed tonic syllable /CR/ does not produce any anaptyctic vowel: *L* ⲧⲁⲛⲧⲛ as opposed to *A* ⲧⲁⲛⲧⲛⲉ, to be equal to. The orthography ⲫⲧⲁⲣⲧⲣⲉ in ManiK 4,3 is unique (ⲫⲧⲁⲣⲧⲣ̄ twenty-five times in ManiK I).

2.3.1.2. The short tonic vowel before the /i̱/ opening a syllable appears in *L4* as ⲉ and in the other *L* branches as ⲁ:

MANI = *L4*	*L5* AND *L6*	
ⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲉ	ⲙⲁⲉⲓⲉ	to love
ϩⲉⲓ̈ⲉ	ϩⲁⲉⲓⲉ	to fall

When /i̱/ closes the syllable, then ⲉ appears uniformly: ⲥϩⲉ(ⲉ)ⲓ, to write; ϩⲉ(ⲉ)ⲓ, husband.

2.3.1.3. The labial spirant at the beginning of words before the tonic vowel becomes in *L4* voiced ⲃ /b/ and in the other *L* branches voiceless ⲫ /f/:

MANI = *L4*	*L5* AND *L6*	
ⲃⲓ	ⲫⲓ	to carry
ⲃⲱⲉ	ⲫⲱⲉ	hair
ⲃⲱⲧⲉ	ⲫⲱⲧⲉ	to annihilate
ⲃⲱⲅⲉ	ⲫⲱⲅⲉ	to jump

2.3.1.4. With the verb ⲛⲁ, ⲛⲏⲩ†, to come, the non-Manichean texts (*L5, L6*) show nasal gemination: ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ, ⲛ̄ⲛⲏⲩ.

2.3.2 L4 and L5 Versus L6. In a number of phonological phenomena *L4* and *L5* stand together as against *L6.*

2.3.2.1. The alveolar spirant is shown as ⲥ /s/ or ⲯ /š/ when ϫ /č/ is involved:

L4 AND *L5*	*L6*	
ⲥⲉϫⲉ	ⲯⲉϫⲉ	to speak
ⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ	ⲯⲁϫⲛⲉ	counsel
ⲥⲱϫⲛ̄	ⲯⲱϫⲛ̄ (b)	to be left over
ⲥⲁⲓ̈ϫ (a)	ⲯⲁⲉⲓϫ (b)	warrior

(a) no evidence for JoL; (b) no evidence for AP. Heid.

2.3.2.2. In the unstressed syllabic finale a significant difference occurs between the two groups. Wherever the old initial *j* has become syllabic (vocalic) *-i* through the dropping of the ending *-w*, -ⲓ is retained at the end of the word in *L6* (*t̲ˇsjw* > ϫⲁⲥⲓ†); if, on the other hand, another weak consonant has fallen out, then -ⲉ appears in this position. This Edel's law of finales (Edel, 1961) takes effect only in *L6;* in *L5* and *L4* one also finds -ⲉ in the conditions formulated by Edel (see Table 2).

2.3.2.3. In the case of ⲕⲱ, to set, to place < *ḫ3ʿ*, the original laryngeal finale in *L6* (NagH, AP. Heid.) is retained as the anaptyctic vowel -ⲉ: ⲕⲱⲉ (likewise OW 3,3). In *L4* and *L5* (Mani JoL) the anaptyctic vowel (or laryngeal) does not emerge, and the long back vowel is shown differently: ManiHK ⲕⲱ, ManiP ⲕⲟⲩ (1), JoL ⲕⲱ (5), ⲕⲟⲩ (9).

The stable opposition is the presence of the anaptyctic vowel (AP. Heid. and NagH = *L6*) as against its absence (Mani = *L4*, JoL = *L5*). There is no other example of that kind available in Coptic lexicography.

From the above, one should distinguish the syllabic finale /sibilant or labial consonant + long back vowel/, where an original nonlaryngeal consonant has fallen out. The vowel in finale is shown consistently as -ⲟⲩ only in *L6* (NagH), whereas otherwise no uniform group formation is recognizable (for texts other than NagH, cf. Kahle, 1954, p. 209):

ⲥⲱ < *swr*, to drink:
ⲥⲱ JoL(9), ManiP (7), ManiHK;
ⲥⲟⲩ JoL(1), ManiP (4), AP. Heid. NagH

ⲥⲃⲱ < *sb3w.t*, teaching:
ⲥⲃⲱ JoL (4), Mani, AP. Heid. (!);
ⲥⲃⲟⲩ JoL (4), NagH

ϫⲱ < *dd*, say:
ϫⲱ JoL (plur.), ManiP (plur.), ManiHK;
ϫⲟⲩ JoL (2), ManiP (1), AP. Heid., NagH

ⲥⲃ̄ⲥⲱ < *ḥbsw.t*, garment:
ⲥⲃ̄ⲥⲱ Mani;
ⲥⲃ̄ⲥⲟⲩ JoL, NagH < ⲥⲃ̄ⲭⲟⲩ Inter 11,38.

2.3.3 L6 Versus L4 and L5. The feature of *L6* that most strikingly distinguishes it from the other branches of *L* is on the morphematic level, especially in the perfect conjugation (both affirmative and relative), where the *L6* texts (including Trip.) exhibit ⲥ before prenominal ⲁ- and the pronominal actor expressions (see 3.2.1.1 and Funk, 1984).

3. The Conjugation System

The summary of the system is based on Polotsky (1960) and Funk (1981). Except in special instances (such as the conjunctive), the form cited here is only the third-person masculine singular and the corresponding prenominal form (nom. = before nominal subject). The entire paradigm is not attested in all conjugations.

TABLE 2.

L4 (MANI)	L5 (JOL)	L6 (AP. HEID.)	NAGH	
ⲁⲥⲉ	—	ⲁⲥⲓ	ⲁⲥⲓ	damage
ⲉⲃⲉⲧⲉ	—	—	ⲉ[ⲃ]ⲁ†	months (OW 3, 6)
—	—	—	ⲉⲕⲉⲓⲁ†	drachmae (EpJac 8, 9)
ⲕⲉⲕⲉ	ⲕⲉⲕⲉ	ⲕⲉⲕⲉⲓ	ⲕⲉⲕ(ⲉ)ⲓ	darkness
ⲗⲁⲃⲉ†	—	—	ⲗⲁⲃⲓ†	to be mad (Inter 20, 39)
ⲛⲁⲃⲉ	ⲛⲁⲃⲉ	ⲛⲁⲃⲓ	ⲛⲁⲃ(ⲉ)ⲓ	sin
ⲥⲁⲛⲉ	ⲥⲁⲛⲉ	ⲥⲁⲛⲓ	ⲥⲁⲛⲓ	robber
ⲥⲁϣⲉ†	—	ⲥⲁϣⲓ†	ⲥⲁϣⲓ†	to be bitter
ϫⲁⲥⲉ†	—	ϫⲁⲥⲓ†	ϫⲁⲥⲓ†	to be high, sublime
ϩⲁⲥⲉ†	—	ϩⲁⲥⲓ†	ϩⲁⲥⲓ†	to be suffering
ϩⲁⲗⲉⲧⲉ	—	—	ϩⲁⲗⲉ†	birds
but:				
ⲟⲩⲉ	ⲟⲩⲉⲉ (passim) ⲟⲩⲉ (2) ⲟⲩⲉⲉⲓ (2)	ⲟⲩⲉⲉⲓ	ⲟⲩⲉⲉⲓ	one (numeral)

Unless specifically mentioned, the form is affirmative; neg. = negative. Every basic tense (abbreviated hereafter to "basic") is followed (if attested) by its satellites, after "And": circ. = circumstantial, rel. = relative, pret. = preterite, II = second tense. Forms between brackets [. . .] are reconstituted from very similar forms; zero = no verbal prefix; 1.sg. = first-person singular, 2.m.sg. = second masculine singular, 3.f.sg. = third feminine singular, 1.pl. = first plural, 2.pl. = second plural, 3.pl. = third plural; *L* = *L4* with *L5* and *L6*. AP. Heid. = Schmidt (1904 and 1909); Trip. = Kasser et al. (1973 and 1975a); *L6*(. . .) = *L6* without AP. Heid. and Trip.

3.1 Bipartite Pattern: Neg. ⲛ- . . . ⲉⲛ.

3.1.1. Present (basic) *L* ϥ-, nom. *L* zero. And circ. *L* ⲉϥ- (twice *L6* Trip. ⲁϥ-, and 1.sg. *L4* ⲉⲓ̈-, *L5*, *L6* ⲉⲓ-, 2.pl. *L4*, *L5* ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄-, (*L5*), *L6* ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲛ̄), nom. *L* ⲉⲣⲉ- (also sometimes *L5*, *L6* ⲉ-, once *L6* Trip. ⲁⲣⲉ-); rel. *L* ⲉⲧϥ- (also sometimes *L* ⲉⲧⲉϥ-, once *L6* Trip. ⲉⲧⲁϥ-, and 2.pl. *L* ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄-), nom. *L4*, (*L5*), *L6* ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ- (twice *L6* Trip. ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉ-), (*L4*), *L5*, (*L6*) ⲉⲧⲉ-; pret. ⲛⲉϥ- ((*L6*) Trip. ⲛⲁϥ-, and 1.sg. *L4* ⲛⲉⲓ̈-, *L5*, *L6* ⲛⲉⲓ-, 2.pl. *L5* ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄-, *L6* ⲛⲉⲣⲉⲧⲛ̄-, no attestation of 2.pl. in *L4*), nom. ⲛⲉⲣⲉ-; pret. circ. *L* ⲉⲛⲉϥ- (1.sg. *L6* ⲉⲛⲉⲓ-, 2.pl. *L5* ⲉⲛⲉⲣⲉⲧⲛ̄-); pret. rel. *L* ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉϥ- ((*L6*) Trip. ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁϥ-, and 1.sg. *L4* ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲓ̈-); II *L* ⲉϥ- (1.sg. *L4* (*L6* Trip. once) ⲉⲓ̈-, *L5*, *L6* (without Trip.) ⲉⲓ-, 2.pl. *L4* (*L5*) (*L6*) ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄, (*L5*), (*L6*) ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲛ̄-), nom. *L* ⲉⲣⲉ-.

3.1.2. Future (basic) (*L4*), *L5*, *L6* ϥⲛⲁ-, *L4* ϥⲁ- (2.pl. *L4*, *L5*, (*L6*) ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁ-, (*L6*) ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁ-), nom. *L* zero . . . ⲛⲁ-. And circ. (*L4*), *L5*, *L6* ⲉϥⲛⲁ-, *L4* ⲉϥⲁ- (1.sg. *L5* ⲉⲉⲓⲛⲁ-, 2.pl. *L4* ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁ-), nom. *L6* ⲉⲣⲉ- . . . ⲛⲁ-, *L5* ⲉ- . . . ⲛⲁ-; rel. (*L4*), *L5*, *L6* ⲉⲧⲟⲛⲁ-, (*L5*), (*L6*) ⲉⲧⲉϥⲛⲁ-, *L4* (*L6* once) ⲉⲧϥⲁ- ((*L6*) Trip. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁ-, and 2.pl. *L4*, *L5* ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁ-), nom. *L4*, *L6* ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ- . . . ⲛⲁ- ((*L6*) Trip. ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉ- . . . ⲛⲁ-), *L5* ⲉⲧⲉ- . . . ⲛⲁ-; pret. (*L4*), *L5*, *L6* ⲛⲉϥⲛⲁ-, (*L4*) [ⲛⲉϥⲁ-] (1.sg. *L5*, *L6* ⲛⲉⲉⲓⲛⲁ-, 2.m.sg. *L4* ⲛⲉⲕⲁ-, 2.pl. *L5* ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁ- or ⲛⲉⲣⲉⲧⲛⲁ-), nom. *L4*, *L5* ⲛⲉⲣⲉ- . . . ⲛⲁ-; pret. circ. *L6* Trip. once ⲉⲛⲉϥⲛⲁ-, but once also 3.f.sg. ⲉⲛⲁⲥⲛⲁ- . . . ⲛⲉ; II *L* ⲉϥⲛⲁ-, (*L4*), (*L5*) ⲉϥⲁ- (1.sg. *L4*, (*L5*) ⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲁ-, *L5*, *L6* ⲉⲉⲓⲛⲁ-, (*L4*) ⲉⲓ̈ⲁ-, 3.m.sg. *L6* with Trip. ⲉϥⲛⲁ-, *L6* Trip. once ⲁϥⲛⲁ-, 1.pl. *L* ⲉⲛⲁ-, 2.pl. *L4*, *L5* ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁ-, *L5*, *L6* ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲛⲁ-), nom. *L* ⲉⲣⲉ- . . . ⲛⲁ-.

3.2 Tripartite Pattern.

3.2.1 Tenses with special negations (if not II). Independent (sentence) conjugations.

3.2.1.1. *Perfect* (basic) *L* ⲁϥ- (1.sg. *L4* ⲁⲓ̈-, *L5*, *L6* ⲁⲉⲓ-, also *L6*(. . .) ⲁ2ⲓ-, 1.pl. *L* ⲁⲛ-, also *L6*(. . .) ⲁ2ⲛ̄-, 2.pl. *L* ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄-, 3.pl. *L* ⲁⲩ-, also *L6*(. . .) ⲁ2ⲟⲩ-; cf. Shisha-Halevy, 1977, p. 113), nom. *L* ⲁ- (but *L6* AP. Heid. prefers ⲉ2ⲁ-, once also in Trip., also rarely *L6*(. . .) ⲁ2ⲁ-); neg. *L* ⲙⲡϥ- or ⲙⲡⲉϥ- (2.pl. *L* ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄-), nom. ⲙⲡⲉ-. And circ. *L* ⲉⲁϥ- (1.sg. *L4* ⲉⲁⲓ̈-, *L5* ⲉⲁⲉⲓ-, *L6*(. . .) once ⲉⲁ2ⲓ-, 1.pl. *L* [ⲉⲁⲛ-] no attestation, *L6*(. . .) once ⲉⲁ2ⲛ̄-, 2.pl. *L4* ⲉⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄-, 3.pl. *L* ⲉⲁⲩ-, *L6*(. . .) once ⲉⲁ2ⲟⲩ-), nom. *L* ⲉⲁ- (but *L6* APh. ⲉ2ⲁ-, perhaps once also in Trip., *L6*(. . .) once ⲉⲁ2ⲁ-); neg. *L4*, *L6* ⲉⲙⲡϥ- or ⲉⲙⲡⲉϥ- (2.pl. *L6* once ⲉⲙ[ⲛ]ⲉⲧⲛ̄-), nom. *L* ⲉⲙⲡⲉ-; rel. *L4* (and (*L6*) Trip.) ⲉⲧⲁϥ-, *L5*, *L6* ⲛⲧⲁϥ-, *L6* Trip. (and (*L6*) elsewhere) ⲉⲛⲧⲁϥ-, (also (*L6*) Trip. ⲉⲧⲉⲁϥ-, once ⲉⲧⲉ2ⲁϥ-) (1.sg. *L4* ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈-, *L6* Trip. ⲛⲧⲁⲓ̈- or ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲓ̈-, (*L6*) ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲓ̈-, *L5*, *L6* ⲛⲧⲁⲉⲓ-, also *L6*(. . .) ⲛⲧⲁ2ⲓ-, 2.f.sg. *L4* ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉ-, *L5* ⲛⲧⲁ-, *L6*(. . .) ⲛⲧⲁ2ⲁ-, 1.pl. *L4* (and (*L5*), *L6* Trip.) ⲉⲧⲁⲛ-, *L5*, *L6* ⲛⲧⲁⲛ-, (*L4*), (*L6*) ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲛ-, (also (*L6*) Trip. ⲉⲧⲉⲁⲛ-), also *L6*(. . .) ⲛⲧⲁ2ⲛ̄-, 2.pl. *L4* ⲉⲧⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄-, *L5*, *L6* ⲛⲧⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄-, also *L6*(. . .) once ⲛⲧⲁ2ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄-, 3.pl. *L4* (and (*L6*) Trip.) ⲉⲧⲁⲩ-, *L5*, *L6* ⲛⲧⲁⲩ-, (*L4*), (*L6*) ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩ- (also (*L6*) Trip. ⲉⲧⲉⲁⲩ-), also *L6*(. . .) ⲛⲧⲁ2ⲟⲩ- (or ⲉⲛⲧⲁ2ⲟⲩ-)), nom. *L4* (and (*L6*) Trip.) ⲉⲧⲁ-, *L5*, (*L6*) ⲛⲧⲁ-, *L6* Trip. (and (*L6*) elsewhere) ⲉⲛⲧⲁ-, *L6* AP. Heid. sometimes ⲛⲧⲁ2ⲁ- but prefers ⲛⲧⲁ- (also (*L6*) Trip. ⲉⲧⲉⲁ-, once each one ⲉⲧⲁ2ⲁ-, ⲉⲧⲁⲁ-, ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲁ-), also *L6*(. . .) ⲛⲧⲁ2ⲁ- (or ⲉⲛⲧⲁ2ⲁ-); neg. *L4*, *L6* ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲡϥ- or ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲡⲉϥ- (2.pl. *L6* ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄-), nom. *L6* ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲡⲉ-; pret. *L5*, *L6* ⲛⲉⲁϥ-, nom. *L5* ⲙⲉⲁ-, *L6* AP. Heid. ⲛⲉ2ⲁ-; neg. (3.pl. *L6* ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲟⲩ-), nom. *L6* ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲉ-; pret. circ. = Irrealis *L4*, *L6* ⲉⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁϥ- (2.pl. *L5* ⲉⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄-); neg. = Irrealis (1.sg. *L5* ⲉⲛⲉⲙⲡⲓ-, 3.pl. *L4* ⲉⲛⲉⲙⲡⲟⲩ-), nom. *L5* ⲉⲛⲉⲙⲡⲉ-; II *L* ⲛⲧⲁϥ- (also (*L6*) Trip. once ⲉⲛⲧⲁϥ-, twice ⲉⲁϥ-, and 1.sg. *L4* ⲛⲧⲁⲓ̈-, *L5* ⲛⲧⲁⲉⲓ-, *L6*(. . .) perhaps once ⲛ̣[ⲧ]ⲁ2ⲓ̈-, 2.pl. *L5* ⲛⲧⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄- (or ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄-)), nom. *L* ⲛⲧⲁ-.

3.2.1.2. *Completive* (basic) (affirmative substitute *L* ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱ ⲉϥ-, nom. ⲁ- . . . ⲟⲩⲱ ⲉϥ-); neg. *L* ⲙⲡⲁⲧϥ- (also *L4* ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉϥ-, and 2.pl. *L5* ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄-), nom. *L5*, *L6* ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ-. And circ. neg. *L4*, *L6* ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉϥ-, *L5*, *L6* ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧϥ-, nom. *L* ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ-; rel. neg. *L6* ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧϥ nom. *L6* ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ-; pret. neg. *L5*, *L6* ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧϥ-, nom. *L6* ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ-.

3.2.1.3. *Aorist* (basic) *L4*, (*L5*), *L6* ϣⲁϥ-, *L5*, (*L6*) ϣⲁⲣⲉϥ- (1.sg. *L4* ϣⲁⲓ̈-, 2.pl. *L6* ϣⲁⲣⲉⲧⲛ̄-), nom. *L* ϣⲁⲣⲉ-; neg. *L* ⲙⲁϥ- (1.sg. *L4* ⲙⲁⲓ̈-), nom. *L* ⲙⲁⲣⲉ-. And circ. *L4*, (*L6*) ⲉϣⲁϥ-, *L5*, (*L6*) [ⲉϣⲁⲣⲉϥ-] (1.sg. *L4* ⲉϣⲁⲓ̈-, 3.f.sg. *L6* ⲉϣⲁⲥ-, 3.pl. *L5*, (*L6*) ⲉϣⲁⲣⲟⲩ-), nom. *L4* ⲉϣⲁⲣⲉ-; neg. *L4*, [*L5*, *L6*] ⲉⲙⲁϥ- (3.f.sg. *L5*, *L6* ⲉⲙⲁⲥ-), nom. *L4* ⲉⲙⲁⲣⲉ-; rel. (*L4*), [*L5*], *L6* ⲉϣⲁϥ- (*L6* once ⲉⲧϣⲁϥ-), *L4*, ([*L5*]), [*L6*] ⲉⲧⲉϣⲁϥ- (1.sg. *L4* ⲉⲧⲉϣⲁⲓ̈-, 3.f.sg. *L6* once ⲉⲧⲉϣⲁⲥ-, 3.pl. (*L4* once), (*L6* once) ⲉϣⲁⲩ-, *L4*, (*L5* once?) *L6* ⲉⲧⲉϣⲁⲩ-, *L5* (*L6*) ⲉϣⲁⲣⲟⲩ-, (*L6* Trip. ⲉⲧϣⲁⲣⲟⲩ- once, ⲉⲧⲉϣⲁⲣⲟⲩ- once), nom. (*L4* once?) *L5* ⲉϣⲁⲣⲉ-, *L4*, *L6* ⲉⲧⲉϣⲁⲣⲉ-; neg.

(*L6*) [ⲉⲙⲁϥ-], *L4*, *L6* ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲁϥ- (3.pl. *L6* once ⲉⲙⲁⲩ-, *L4*, *L6* ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲁⲩ-, (*L6* once) ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ-), nom. *L4*, *L6* ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲁⲣⲉ-; pret. (3.pl. *L4*, *L6* [no attestation Trip.] ⲛⲉⲱⲁⲩ-, *L6* Trip. ⲛⲉⲱⲁⲣⲟⲩ- once); II *L4*, *L6* ⲉⲱⲁϥ- (3.pl. *L4* ⲉⲱⲁⲩ-, *L6* Trip. ⲉⲱⲁⲣⲟⲩ- once), nom. *L4* ⲉⲱⲁⲣⲉ-.

3.2.1.4. *Futurum energicum* (or third future) (basic) *L* ⲉϥⲁ- (1.sg. *L4*, *L5* ⲉⲓⲁ-, (*L5*), *L6* ⲉⲉⲓⲁ-, 2.pl. *L6* once ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲛⲁ-, once ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲛ̄-, 3.pl. *L* (without Trip.) ⲉⲩⲁ-, *L6* Trip. once ⲁⲩ(ⲁ)-), nom. *L4*, *L5* ⲉⲣⲉ-; neg. *L4*, *L5*, (*L6*) ⲛⲉϥ-, (*L6*) ⲛϯ-, (*L6* AP. Heid.) ⲉⲛⲉⲣ- (1.sg. *L5* ⲛⲁ-, *L6* AP. Heid. ⲉⲛⲉⲉⲓ- or ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ-, *L6* also ⲛⲓ-, 2.pl. *L5* ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄-, 3.pl. *L* ⲛⲟⲩ- but *L4* also ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩ-, ⲛⲉⲩ-, ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ-, *L6* AP. Heid. ⲉⲛⲟⲩ-), nom. *L4*, *L5* ⲛⲉ-; rel. (3.pl. *L6* Trip. once ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲁ-).

3.2.1.5. *Imperative*, e.g., *L4*, *L5* ⲁⲛⲉⲩ (*L4* no attestation from Polotsky, 1934), *L6* once ⲉⲛⲉⲩ, see; or *L* infinitive; or *L* ⲙⲁ + ⲧ-causative; neg. (*L4*?), (*L6* once) ⲙⲛ̄-, *L* ⲙⲡⲣ- (*L4* once, Polotsky, 1934, p. 5, 20) ⲙⲡⲱⲣ-, *L6*(. . .) ⲙⲡⲱⲣ ⲁ-.

3.2.1.6. *Causative imperative L4*, *L5*, (*L6*?) ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥ-, nom. *L* ⲙⲁⲣⲉ-; neg. *L5* ⲙⲡⲣⲧⲣⲉϥ-, *L6* once ⲙⲡⲱⲣⲁⲧⲣⲉϥ-, once ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉϥ-, (*L4* 1.sg. ⲙⲡⲣⲧⲁ-, 1.pl. ⲙⲡⲱⲣⲧⲛ̄-), nom. *L4* ⲙⲡⲱⲣⲧⲉ-, *L5*, *L6* (AP. Heid.) ⲙⲡⲣⲧⲣⲉ-, *L6* (not AP. Heid.) once ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉ-.

3.2.2 Tenses with neg. ⲧⲙ̄-. Subordinate (clause) conjugations.

3.2.2.1. *Conjunctive* (singular 1., 2. m., f., 3. m., f., plural 1., 2., 3.) *L4*, *L5* ⲛⲧⲁ- or ⲧⲁ-, *L* ⲛⲕ- (or (*L4*), *L6* ⲛⲅ-, (*L4*), (*L5*) ⲕ-), *L* ⲛⲧⲉ- (or *L4* ⲧⲉ-), *L* ⲛϥ- (or (*L4*), (*L5*) ϥ-, (*L4* once), (*L6* once) ⲛⲧϥ-), *L* ⲛⲥ-, *L* ⲛⲧⲛ- (or (*L4*) ⲧⲛ-), *L* ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛ- (or (*L4* once), (*L5* once) ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄-, *L* ⲛⲥⲉ-, nom. *L* ⲛⲧⲉ-.

3.2.2.2. *Future conjunctive L4* ⲧⲁⲣⲉϥ- (1.pl. *L4* ⲧⲁⲣⲛ̄-), nom. *L4* ⲧⲁⲣⲉ-.

3.2.2.3. *Temporal L* ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲉϥ- (1.pl. *L4*, *L6* ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲛ̄-, (*L6* once) ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲉⲛ-), nom. ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲉ-.

3.2.2.4. *Limitative* ("until . . . ") *L4*, (*L6* Trip. once) ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉϥ-, (*L4*), (*L6* AP. Heid.) ϣⲁⲛⲧϥ-, (*L6* Trip. ϣⲁⲧⲉϥ- twice?), (1.pl. *L4* once ϣⲁⲧⲛ̄-, 2.pl. *L4* once ϣⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄-, 3.pl. *L* ϣⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩ- (*L4* once) ϣⲁⲧⲟⲩ-), nom. *L* (with Trip.) ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉ- (*L6* Trip. once ϣⲁⲧⲉ-).

3.2.2.5. *First conditional L4*, *L6* ⲉϥϣⲁⲛ-, (*L4*), *L5*, (*L6*) ⲉϥϣⲁ- (1.sg. *L4* ⲉⲓϣⲁⲛ-, *L5* ⲉⲉⲓϣⲁ-, *L6* ⲉⲉⲓϣⲁ(ⲛ)-, 2.pl. *L4* ⲉϣⲁⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄-, *L5* ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ϣⲁ-, (*L5*) ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲛ̄ϣⲁ-, *L6* ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲛ̄ϣⲁⲛ-), nom. *L4* ⲉϣⲁⲛⲧⲉ-, (*L4*), (*L5*) ⲉⲣϣⲁ-, (*L4* Psalms of Thomas) ⲉϣⲁ-, *L5*, (*L6*) ⲉⲣⲉϣⲁ-, *L6* ⲉⲣⲉϣⲁⲛ-.

3.2.2.6. *Second conditional L6* [ⲉϥ-], neg. *L4* ⲉϥⲧⲙ̄- (1.sg. neg. *L5* ⲉⲉⲓⲧⲙ̄-, 3.pl. *L6* ⲉⲩ-, neg. *L5*, *L6* ⲉⲩⲧⲙ̄-), nom. *L6* ⲉⲣⲉ-, neg. *L5* ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲙ̄-.

3.2.2.7. *Causative infinitive L* -ⲧⲣⲉϥ-, *L4*, [(*L6*)] -ⲧϥ-, (1.sg. [*L4*], *L5*, (*L6* AP. Heid. once?) -ⲧⲣⲁ-, *L4* -ⲧⲁ-, *L6* APh. -ⲧⲣⲓ-, 1.pl. *L* -ⲧⲣⲛ̄-, 2.pl. *L6* -ⲧⲣⲉⲧⲛ̄-, 3.pl. *L* -ⲧⲣⲟⲩ-, *L4*, (*L6*) -ⲧⲟⲩ-), nom. *L* -ⲧⲣⲉ-, *L4* -ⲧⲉ-.

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MEMPHITIC. What was formerly called the Memphitic dialect (an appellation now abandoned) was one that Egyptologists and Coptologists long sought to identify and get to know, thinking that it must have been one of the principal dialects of Coptic Egypt. It was in fact known that Memphis had been one of the two very great metropolises of pharaonic Egypt; it was therefore natural that, soon after the beginnings of the science which was to become Coptology and which was at first considered essentially an auxiliary of Egyptology, attempts were made to discover the idiom of ancient Memphis and that scholars endeavored to identify this dialect with one of the dialects found in those texts believed to have been found at Memphis, or at least in a region not too distant from it.

ATHANASIUS OF QŪṢ, a grammarian of the fourteenth century, in listing the Coptic dialects known in his time, spoke of "Sahidic," "Bohairic," and "Bashmuric" (Kasser, 1973, pp. 76–77). Since the first Coptologists were above all Egyptologists, they naturally sought to find in the Coptic idioms attested by the documents at their disposal a reflection of Egyptian "dialects," which corresponded to the two (or three) centers of the political and cultural life of pharaonic Egypt: Upper Egypt (Thebes) and Lower Egypt (Memphis), with sometimes the intermediate region of Middle Egypt. In trying to superimpose

these two triads, scholars had no difficulty in understanding the "Coptic of Miṣr" or "Sahidic" as *S*, and they soon located it in the upper third of Upper Egypt (the upper Nile Valley; cf. GEOGRAPHY, DIALECTAL), in the region of Thebes. Likewise, "Bohairic" was evidently *B*, and if the center of this dialect was the western Delta, it was conjectured that its region could be practically identified with the whole of the Delta; to meet the needs of the case, Lower Egypt could even annex to itself lower Middle Egypt (the region of Memphis). Along the same lines, "Bashmuric" was identified with *F*. The first of these identifications still has its defenders today, for it is certain that *S* was spoken at Thebes, if not probably at the origins of this dialect, at least in the period of its greatest extension (classical Coptic; see DIALECT, IMMIGRANT). The third identification quickly encountered great difficulty and was already rejected by Quatremère (1808, pp. 147–228).

Since the second identification (of *B* as "Memphitic") is more probable, although also erroneous, it endured for a little more than a century (1777–1908). It was proposed for the first time by Woide in 1777 (according to Stern, 1880, p. 12, n. 1) and Tuki in 1778, after whom we may mention Mingarelli (1785), Quatremère (1808), Zoega (1810), Engelbreth (1811), Peyron (1835 and 1841), Schwartze (1850), Tattam (1852), Uhlemann (1853), Abel (1876), Rossi (1878), and finally Stern. (Stern, however, expressly rejected it (1880, p. 12): "Earlier scholars called Lower Egyptian 'Coptic' *κατ ἐξοχήν* and when Upper Egyptian gained in significance for scholarship Woide 1777 proposed for it the name Memphitic. This name is not appropriate, because the language of Memphis, which is preserved, e.g., in the papyri from the monastery of Abba Jeremias and the Bible translation of which Tuki still knew and cited as *Memphiticus alter*, is rather 'Middle Egyptian.' I would have no objection to the description of the Lower Egyptian dialect as Bohairic, since it bears this name in Arabic, while the Coptic texts themselves call it ⲧⲁⲥⲓⲛ ⲛⲣⲉⲙⲛⲉⲙ̀ⲛⲧ 'the northern language.'" Moreover, he required the siglum *M* for "Middle Egyptian," which is Fayyumic in the widest sense of the term; Fayyumic in the strict sense (with regular lambdacism, etc.) was for him "*F* (fayyûmisch)." But it took a dozen years before other Coptologists (Krall, 1892) followed Stern's example, so that one finds Maspero (1886) and Ciasca (1889), among others, still calling *B* "Memphitic."

It was apparently Steindorff (1894) who succeeded in persuading the majority of Coptologists to give up calling Bohairic pure and simple "Memphitic," no doubt by presenting to them a siglum *M* corresponding to a "Memphitic" that was certainly the language of Memphis but quite different from *B*, and in fact an idiom that corresponds rather well with Stern's "Middle Egyptian" *M*, either F^a in modern terminology or F^b (?) or even S^f. After him, the use of the term "Memphitic" in Wessely (1908, p. 185) appears as no more than an isolated survival. The siglum *M* is used today for the MESOKEMIC dialect, at least by those who have not been put off by the recollection of the diverse significance formerly given to this siglum in Coptic dialectology and who distrust the identification, still disputed, of Mesokemic and the autochthonous speech of Oxyrhynchus.

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MESODIALECT. If the term "dialect" is confined to idioms whose originality, when compared to others, is strongly characterized (by a large number of phonological and morphosyntactical oppositions of a cogent quality) and if the term "subdialect" is confined to idioms whose originality in relation to others is but weakly characterized (by a small number of oppositions of uncompelling or inconclusive quality) (cf. DIALECTS, GROUPING AND MAJOR GROUPS OF), there would still remain a residue of idioms that one would hesitate to class either with the independent dialects proper (because their originality seems too weak) or with the subdialects (because their originality seems too strongly pronounced). One could thus (Kasser, 1980, p. 103) call this last group mesodialects—that is, quasi-dialects, situated almost midway, phonologically and perhaps also geographically, between other dialects—and assign them, following due consideration, to the dialect group to which they nevertheless stand closest.

In view of the unidimensional dialectal configuration of the Nile Valley, in which the local dialects are strung out like pearls on a necklace, a mesodialect will be encountered most often between two dialects; however, there are certain regions (such as the Nile Valley near the Fayyūm or in the Delta) where dialectal geography admits of a second dimension, and there a mesodialect may consequently lie enclosed between three (or, theoretically, even more than three) dialects, linguistically and geographically speaking. Should one assign to a given dialect a particular territory in Egypt, one would apparently be attributing the same territory to the whole dialectal group of which the said dialect is part, so that this territory could be subdivided and parceled among the various member dialects or subdialects of the group; in such a case, the district of the mesodialect would logically lie near the dialectal frontier, adjoining the territory or territories of the neighboring dialect(s), with which it would share affinities (characteristics that are, however, less important than those it shares with the core dialect of its group).

A typical example of a mesodialectal text is the papyrus Mich. 3521. Kahle (1954, pp. 224–25) considered it "Middle Egyptian with Fayyumic influence" and therefore to be attached to the *M* dialectal group rather than to the *F* group, but Husselman published it as belonging to the "Fayumic dialect of Coptic" (1962, pp. vii, 11–18). This judgment was confirmed on the whole by Polotsky (1964, p. 251): "Although the dialect of the MS does not share in the shibboleth of Fayyumic, viz. its lambdacism, anyone previous to Kahle would have unhesitatingly characterized it as 'not quite pure' Fayyumic. Kahle calls it 'Middle Egyptian with Fayyumic influence.' The editor, however, maintains (11) that the basis of the dialect appears to be typical Fayyumic nonetheless, in which I must agree with her. On the other hand, Kahle is certainly right in that the non-Fayyumic infusion is 'Middle Egyptian.' . . . One could perhaps compromise on 'Fayyumic with Middle Egyptian influence.'" P. Mich. 3521, one sees, illustrates well the properties necessary for defining a mesodialect.

It has been suggested that the same term be applied to DIALECT G (or Basmuric, or Mansuric, partly sporadic, belonging to the dialectal group *B*, situated between *S* and a highly dominant *B*, with a probable third component that is perhaps partly Hellenic but difficult to determine; see DIALECT, SPORADIC) and to *K* (situated between *V* or *S* and a highly dominant *B*).

When a mesodialect does not contribute any important original element, one not found in its classic neighbor dialects, it may conveniently be neglected in a systematic and general study of Coptic dialects.

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MESOKEMIC (OR MIDDLE EGYPTIAN).

The Mesokemic or Middle Egyptian dialect, siglum *M* (also called Oxyrhynchite), belongs to the Coptic dialects of Middle Egypt. It is one of the relatively minor Coptic idioms and probably flourished only briefly in the early period of the Coptic language (fourth and fifth centuries), but nevertheless developed in this period into a highly standardized written dialect.

Both according to its theoretical system and according to the probable geography of the Coptic dialects (see GEOGRAPHY, DIALECTAL), *M* lies between FAYYUMIC (siglum *F*) and LYCOPOLITAN (siglum *L*). Its homeland may have been the region of Oxyrhynchus.

It is to the abiding credit of P. E. Kahle that on the basis of a very few small fragments he was the first to postulate *M* as an independent dialect (1954). Since then, three larger manuscripts written in this dialect have come to light. These three primary witnesses for this dialect are P. Mil. Copti 1, a fragmentary papyrus codex containing the whole Corpus Paulinum (Pauline Epistles), and Codex Scheide and Codex Glazier, two small parchment codices preserved complete, the first containing the Gospel of Matthew with the so-called Great Doxology, the second containing the first half of Acts (1:1–15:3). Another parchment codex containing the Psalms has since been excavated in Egypt.

1. Characteristics

In comparison with other dialects, *M* in its general outward form comes closest to Fayyumic, not to Fayyumic's central variety, *F* (characterized by its lambdacism), but to varieties like *V* (defined as Fayyumic without lambdacism) or even better *W* (said to be a kind of crypto-Mesokemic with a rather Fayyumic phonology, although without lambdacism; see below).

Indeed, the phonology of *M* shows its most important affinities with that of *W* and *V*. Its consonants are those of every Coptic dialect, except *P*, *İ*, *A*, and *B*. (Like *F*, *V*, *W*, *L*, *S* etc., dialect *M* does not have the /x/ of *P*, *İ*, *A*, and *B*, or the /ç/ of *P* and *İ*.) And like *F4*, *V4*, *W*, *B* etc., *M* does not show the graphic vocalic gemination meaning phonologically /'/ (see ALEPH and GEMINATION, VOCALIC).

The stressed vowels of *M* are most frequently those of Fayyumic, as in ⲥⲁⲛ, brother *M*, *W*, *V*, *F* etc. with *A*, *L* (not ⲥⲟⲛ *S*, *B*); ⲙ̀ⲕⲉ$_2$, pain *M*, [*W*], *V*, *F* etc. (not ϥⲕⲁ$_2$ *S*, *A*, *L*, *B*); ⲧⲁⲕⲁ, destroy *M*, *W*, *V*, *F* etc. (not ⲧⲁⲕⲟ *S*, *B*, ⲧⲉⲕⲟ *A*, *L*); ⲣⲉⲛ, name *M*, *W*, *V* with *A*, *L*, ⲗⲉⲛ *F* etc. (not ⲣⲁⲛ *S*, *B*). The unstressed final vowel is ⲉ (as in *S*, *A*, *L*), not ⲓ (as in *W*, *V*, *F* etc., *B*), as in ⲉⲓⲣⲉ, to do *M*, *L*, *A*, *S* (compare with ⲓⲣⲓ *W*, *V*, *B*, ⲓⲛⲓ *F* etc.). Also characteristic of *M* are some endings with (graphic) vocalic gemination of ⲉ (difficult to interpret phonemically, e.g., ⲙⲉⲉ̀, truth *M;* compare this with ⲙⲉⲩ̈ *W*, *V*, *F4*, (*B*), ⲙⲉⲉⲩ̈ *F5*, ⲙⲏⲩ̈ *B*, ⲙⲏⲉ *L*, ⲙⲓⲉ *A*, ⲙⲉ *S*) or endings in -ⲏⲩ̈ⲉ (e.g., ⲉⲣⲡⲏⲩ̈ⲉ, temple *M;* compare this with [ⲣ]ⲡⲏⲩ̈ *W*, ⲉⲗⲡⲏⲏⲩ̈ *F5*, ⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ *B*, ϯⲡⲉⲉⲓ *L6*, ϯⲡⲉ(ⲉ)ⲩ̈ⲉ *A*, ϯⲡⲏⲉ *L5*, ϯⲡⲉ *L4*, *S*).

Mesokemic agrees with SAHIDIC in its full integration of the Greek verb and with BOHAIRIC in that the *M* system of the supralinear point is very closely connected with the older Bohairic system concerning the placing of the DJINKIM. There are two main characteristics peculiar to *M*. First, the letter omicron is used in the stressed syllable, where all other Coptic dialects have omega, as in the infinitive ⲥⲟⲧⲡ, to choose. This omicron does not, however, represent a short *o* sound, as was at first uncritically assumed, but, as H. Quecke was the first to recognize, a (long and) open *o* sound. The second characteristic is the perfect in ⲉⲗ-, together with all the satellites (perfect I ⲉⲗϥ-; circumstantial ⲁ̀ⲉⲗϥ-; relative ⲉⲑⲗϥ-; perfect II ⲁ̀ⲉⲗϥ-; preterite ⲛⲉⲉⲗϥ-). This form produces the most important morphological peculiarity of the *M* conjugation system, the complete differentiation between circumstantial first present (ⲉϥ-), present II (ⲗϥ-), and perfect I (ⲉⲗϥ-).

Another point to be emphasized in regard to the conjugation system is that the peculiar morphology carries with it the existence of a circumstantial of present and future II, but not of perfect II. Of the individual tenses, the affirmative simple conditional is the most striking. It has the same form as the present II, but its syntax shows that it belongs to the verbal sentence (tripartite pattern). The "energetic" future (ⲉϥⲥ-, negative ⲙⲛⲥϥ-) can also be used in either form with a relative converter (ⲉⲧⲉϥⲥ-, negative ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛⲥϥ-), while combination with the circumstantial converter is documented only for the negative form. *M* has only four subordinate clause conjugations; the fifth, the temporal, is missing. Instead, the dialect makes use of the subordinate temporal function of the relative converter, which the latter may have in past tenses. Among individual forms in the paradigms, the form of the third-person plural in present and future relative clauses (ⲉⲧⲥⲉ- or ⲉⲧⲥⲉⲛⲥ-) is especially typical for *M*.

2. The Conjugation System

Except in special instances (e.g., conjunctive), the form cited here is only the third-person masculine singular and the corresponding prenominal form (nom. = before nominal subject). The entire paradigm is not attested in all conjugations.

Unless specifically mentioned, the form is affirmative; neg. = negative. Every basic tense (abbreviated hereafter to "basic") is followed (if attested) by its satellites, after "And": circ. = circumstantial, pret. = preterite, rel. = relative, II = second tense. Forms between brackets [. . .] are reconstituted from very similar forms; zero = no verbal prefix.

2.1 Bipartite Pattern. Neg. ⲙ̀- . . . ⲉⲛ.

2.1.1. *Present* (basic) ϥ-, nom. zero. And circ. ⲉϥ-, nom. ⲉ̀ⲣⲉ-; rel. ⲉⲧ- or ⲉⲧϥ-, nom. ⲉⲧⲉ- (for the third-person plural the standard form here is ⲉⲧⲥⲉ-, although ⲉⲧⲟⲩ- may also be found; nom. only once appears ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ-, Acts 7:48); pret. ⲛⲁϥ- . . . (ⲛⲉ), nom. ⲛⲁⲣⲉ- . . . (ⲛⲉ); pret. circ. ⲉⲛⲛⲁϥ-, nom. ⲉⲛⲛⲁⲣⲉ- (introduces the protasis of an irreal clause); pret. rel. ⲉⲧⲛⲁϥ-, nom. ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲣⲉ- (there also appears once a form with the ⲉⲧⲉ- converter: third-person plural ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲩ-, Mt. 26:35); II ⲁϥ-, nom. ⲁ̀ⲣⲉ-; II circ. [ⲉⲁϥ-], nom. ⲉⲁ̀ⲣⲉ-.

2.1.2. *Future* (basic) ϥⲛⲉ-, nom. zero . . . ⲛⲉ-. And circ. ⲉϥⲛⲉ-, nom. ⲉ̀ⲣⲉ- . . . ⲛⲉ-; rel. ⲉⲧⲛⲉ- or ⲉⲧϥⲛⲉ-, nom. ⲉⲧⲉ- . . . ⲛⲉ (for the third-person plural the standard form here is ⲉⲧⲥⲉⲛⲉ-, although ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲉ- may also be found occasionally); pret. ⲛⲁϥⲛⲉ- . . . (ⲛⲉ), nom. ⲛⲁⲣⲉ- . . . ⲛⲉ- . . . (ⲛⲉ); pret. rel. ⲉⲧⲛⲁϥⲛⲉ- (Acts 12:6), nom. [ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲣⲉ- . . . ⲛⲉ-] (in Acts 12:6 that relative has also a temporal [accessory] function); II ⲁϥⲛⲉ-, nom. ⲁ̀ⲣⲉ- . . . ⲛⲉ-; II circ. [ⲉⲁϥⲛⲉ-], nom. [ⲉⲁ̀ⲣⲉ- . . . ⲛⲉ-] (for [. . .] first-person plural ⲉⲁⲛⲛⲉ-, Acts 4:12).

2.2 Tripartite Pattern.

2.2.1 Tenses with special negations (if not II). Independent (sentence) conjugations.

2.2.1.1. *Perfect* (basic) ϩⲁϥ-, nom. ϩⲁ- (occasionally, especially in the Glazier codex, also written without ϩ); neg. ⲙ̀ⲡϥ-, nom. ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ-. And circ. ⲉ̀ϩⲁϥ-, nom. ⲉ̀ϩⲁ- (once appears also the third-person plural form ⲉⲁⲩ-, Acts 2:22); neg. ⲉⲙⲡϥ-, nom. ⲉⲙⲡⲉ-; rel. ⲉⲑⲁϥ- or ⲉⲧⲉ ϩⲁϥ-, nom. ⲉⲑⲁ- or ⲉⲧⲉ ϩⲁ- (but ⲉⲣ-, participial prefix, may be used in the cases where the pronominal suffix of the third person, singular or plural, is identical with the antecedent; once appears, moreover, the relative perfect also in the *S* form [third-person plural] ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩ-, Acts 5:9); neg. ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡϥ-, nom. ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ-; pret. ⲛⲉϩⲁϥ- . . . (ⲛⲉ), nom. ⲛⲉϩⲁ- . . . (ⲛⲉ); neg. ⲛⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡϥ-, nom. ⲛⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ-; II ⲉϩⲁϥ-, nom. ⲉϩⲁ- (but in the P. Mil. Copti 1 ⲁϩⲁϥ-, nom. ⲁϩⲁ-, Col. 1:16, 1. Thes. 2:3, cf. Heb. 7:14); neg. ⲙ̀ⲉϩⲁϥ- . . . ⲉⲛ, nom. ⲙ̀ⲉϩⲁ- . . . ⲉⲛ.

2.2.1.2. *Completive* (basic) (affirmative substitute ϩⲁϥⲟⲩⲱ ⲉϥ-, nom. ϩⲁ- . . . ⲟⲩⲱ ⲉϥ-); neg. ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲧϥ-, nom. ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲧⲉ-. And circ. ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧϥ-, nom. ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ-; pret. ⲛⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲧϥ- (Acts 8:16), nom. ⲛⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲧⲉ-.

2.2.1.3. *Aorist* (basic) ⲱⲁϥ-, nom. ⲱⲁⲣⲉ- (the enlarged form [converted or not] ⲱⲁⲣⲉϥ- may also be found); neg. ⲙⲉϥ-, nom. ⲙⲉⲣⲉ-. And circ. ⲉⲱⲁϥ-, nom. ⲉⲱⲁⲣⲉ-; neg. ⲉⲙⲉϥ-, nom. ⲉⲙⲉⲣⲉ-; rel. ⲉⲧⲱⲁϥ-, nom. ⲉⲧⲱⲁⲣⲉ-; neg. ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲉϥ-, nom. ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲉⲣⲉ-; pret. ⲛⲉⲱⲁϥ- . . . (ⲛⲉ), nom. ⲛⲉⲱⲁⲣⲉ . . . (ⲛⲉ); II ⲉⲱⲁϥ-, nom. ⲉⲱⲁⲣⲉ- (twice however appears also a form with ⲙ̀- converter, third-person plural ⲙ̀ⲱⲁⲩ-, Heb. 6:16, and nom. ⲙ̀ⲱⲁⲣⲉ-, Mt. 6:32); neg. ⲙ̀ⲉⲱⲁϥ- . . . ⲉⲛ, nom. ⲙ̀ⲉⲱⲁⲣⲉ- . . . ⲉⲛ.

2.2.1.4. *Futurum energicum (or third future)* (basic) ⲉⲣϥⲉ-, nom. ⲉⲣⲉ- . . . (ⲉ-) (in the present state of knowledge of *M* texts, the coalescence of the *futurum energicum* with ⲭⲉ- to ⲭⲉⲣϥⲉ-, nom. ⲭⲉⲣⲉ- . . . (ⲉ-) is typical for a variety of *M* represented, for example, by the P. Mil. Copti 1; further ⲉϥ- in Matthew 3:12, instead of normal ⲉⲣϥⲉ-, is possibly not a spelling mistake, but may be the short form of the *futurum energicum* [apodotic *efsōtm*]; the standard spelling of the Scheide codex is ⲉⲟⲩⲉ- for the third-person plural, in spite of 5 ⲉⲩⲉ-, and the same spelling appears in the P. Mil. Copti 1; in the Glazier codex one finds only ⲉⲩⲉ-; in the case of a nominal

subject, the form with the element ⲉ- between the nominal subject and the infinitive appears only in the Scheide codex and as a less-used form (three times with ⲉ-, seven times without ⲉ-); neg. ⲛⲛⲉϥ-, nom. ⲛⲛⲉ-. And circ. neg. ⲉⲛⲛⲉϥ-, nom. ⲉⲛⲛⲉ-; rel. ⲉⲧⲉϥⲉ-, nom. ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ- . . . (ⲉ-); neg. ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲉϥ-, nom. ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲉ-.

2.2.1.5. *Imperative*, e.g., ⲁⲛⲉ(ⲩ), see; or infinitive; neg. ⲙⲡ(ⲉ)ⲣ- + infinitive; ⲙⲁ + ⲧ-causative; ⲙⲉ + ⲫⲉ ⲛⲉ/, go.

2.2.1.6. *Causative imperative* ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥ-, nom. ⲙⲁⲣⲉ-, absolute ⲙⲁⲣⲁⲛ; neg. ⲙⲡ(ⲉ)ⲣⲧⲉϥ-, nom. ⲙⲡ(ⲉ)ⲣⲧⲉ-.

2.2.2 Tenses with neg. ⲧⲙ-. Subordinate (clause) conjugations.

2.2.2.1. *Conjunctive* (singular 1., 2. m., [f.], 3. m., f., plural 1., 2., 3.) ⲛⲧⲁ-, ⲛⲕ-, [ⲛⲧⲉ-], ⲛϥ-, ⲛⲥ-, ⲛⲧⲛ-, ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛ- (P. Mil. Copti 1 chiefly ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛ-), ⲛⲥⲉ-, nom. ⲛⲧⲉ-.

2.2.2.2. *Future conjunctive* ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲉϥ-, nom. ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲉ-.

2.2.2.3. *Temporal*, elsewhere normal, appears only sporadically and seems to be a foreign body in *M*: ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥ-, Acts 10:10; ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩ-, Matthew 11:7. Its function is covered by the relative form(s) of the first perfect ⲉⲑⲁϥ- or ⲉⲧⲉ ⲥⲁϥ-, nom. ⲉⲑⲁ- or ⲉⲧⲉ ⲥⲁ-; the form with the converter ⲉⲧⲉ appears only as a secondary form (in that function) and only in the Glazier codex.

2.2.2.4. *Limitative* ⲫⲁⲛⲧϥ-, nom. ⲫⲁⲛⲧⲉ-.

2.2.2.5. *First conditional* ⲁϥⲫⲁⲛ-, nom. ⲁⲣⲉⲫⲁⲛ- (neg. always second conditional).

2.2.2.6. *Second conditional* ⲁϥ-, nom. ⲁⲣⲉ-.

2.2.2.7. *Causative infinitive* -ⲧ(ⲣ)ⲉϥ-, nom. -ⲧ(ⲣ)ⲉ- (neg. -ⲧⲙⲧⲣⲉϥ-, etc., only once appears a form without ⲣ, -ⲧⲙⲧⲉⲩ-, Acts 4:18).

3. Vocabulary

Other characteristics of the dialect include the combination ⲛ̄ⲧ̄, that is, the use of the word ⲛⲟⲩ̄ⲧ̄, God, from the neighboring (Fayyumic) dialect to reproduce the *M* word ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ by a contraction; the form ⲛⲉⲏ for the particle that introduces the subsequent noun identifying the pronominal subject of a conjugation; the indefinite pronouns ⲥⲓ, anyone, and ⲛⲓⲛⲉⲓ̈, anything; the perfect participial prefix ⲉⲣ-; the modal verb ⲛⲉϣ, to be able; the interjection ⲥⲓ, ⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ, and (in combination) ⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲥⲓ, lo, see; the form of the compound preposition ⲛⲟⲩⲥ-, ⲛⲟⲩⲏ/ with its wide range of application; the rich use of the noun ⲁⲥⲧ in itself and for the formation of the preposition (ⲉ)ⲡⲁⲥⲧ ⲛ̀-, beyond, and of the adverb ⲉⲡⲁⲥⲧ, over; the substantival infinitive ⲙⲏⲧ ⲉⲃⲁⲗ as a constituent of the prepositional expression ⲙ̀ⲡⲙⲏⲧ ⲉⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̀-, ⲙⲡⲉ/ ⲙⲏⲧ ⲉⲃⲁⲗ, before; the compound verbs ϫⲉⲟⲩⲱ, answer, ⲁϣ (-ϣ)ⲧⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲁⲗ, cry out, and ⲥⲛⲧⲟⲩⲟ/, recline (or sit) at table; the form and syntax of the verb form ϫⲉⲥ, touch, which appears as an active infinitive (to which the object is linked by ⲉ-) and for which there is no evidence in the present (bipartite pattern); the qualitative forms ⲫⲏⲡⲧ† and ⲥⲏⲡⲧ† (from ⲫⲟⲛ, receive, or ⲥⲟⲛ, hide); the use of the noun ⲏⲣ, companion (the singular of the familiar plural ⲉⲣⲏⲩ), to express reciprocal relationships ("one another"); the omission of the final (ⲟ)ⲩ in the verb ⲛⲉ, see, and the adverb ⲙ̀ⲙⲉ, there.

4. Syntax

The syntax of *M* also has some special features. The most characteristic is a type of sentence in which the relative particle ⲉⲧⲉ appears to take the position of the copula in a nominal sentence, such as ⲛⲧⲁⲕ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϫ̄ⲣ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲧ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲥ, "Thou art the Christ, the son of the living God," Matthew 16:16. In reality, however, this is the special form of an abbreviated cleft sentence.

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METADIALECT. By common consent the term "dialect" is used by Coptologists for those idioms whose originality, in relation to one another, is very strongly marked. The basis for judgment is, of course, on the lexical and morphosyntactical levels, but also and above all, using the most convenient and practical criterion, on the phonological level, through the number of phonemic oppositions, their quality, and the clarity of their representation in their respective orthographic systems. This originality is, however, located at the very heart of the classical Coptic stage of evolution, and not at the immediately anterior stage (that of the PROTODIALECT) or at any stage immediately posterior. On this basis, if such a posterior stage of evolution should manifest itself clearly enough in one text or another (normally late), one might call the language of this text a "metadialect" (Kasser, 1980a, p. 112).

It is in fact known that after the beginnings of the history of literary Coptic and long before the extinction of the language and its reduction to the status of a fossil piously preserved as a purely liturgical language, all the Coptic idioms except for *B*, and perhaps to some extent *F*, were progressively stifled by the most tenacious among them, *S*, the "vehicular language" of the whole Nile Valley above the Delta.

One can detect more or less the point at which they were stifled on the literary level. But no doubt they survived for some time further on a strictly oral level, though undergoing very profoundly the contamination imposed upon them by the dominant language, *S*. This survival can be seen (through orthography and its deviations) from the phonological idiolectalism of many copies of *S* written in the region of the old lapsed dialect: in these IDIOLECTS undeniable influences from the defeated idiom continually appear, in varying degree, alongside typically Sahidic forms (Chaîne, 1933, pp. xv–xxiii, and 1934, pp. 1–9). Such are the peculiarities of numerous documents found in the Theban region, in which a subterranean *L* (or *A*) through under- or overcorrection succeeds in disturbing very effectively the vocalization of copies that are theoretically *S* (or eventually S^{a}/l, more often than S^{a}/a, from their lexemes) but in any case are generally characterized by the presence in greater or smaller number of lexemes strongly idiolectalized into S^{l} or S^{a} (on the phonological level).

It is not inconceivable that as a result of particularly favorable general circumstances (e.g., weakening of the dominant "language") or of the obstinacy of a scribe deeply attached to his local patois long after the apparently final extinction of a dialect on the literary level, this dialect, considered dead, should surface again in one isolated copy or another. It could then be a case not of the reappearance of the dialect in its ancient form but of an avatar of the dialect, a rather different and, in some ways, developed form of it, an original form that clearly shows the effects of the influence of *S* but one in which can be found, nonetheless, several of the characteristics of the old dialect, which had not quite died out. This late, postclassical form of a dialect, surviving in a developed condition (or degenerate, according to the criterion by which one judges it), could be described as a "metadialect."

It is also not inconceivable that in the Arab period, at the time of the decline of the dominant neutral Coptic idioms *S*, some minor dialect that was not quite stifled by *S* should have come to life for some time in a very poor and mediocre fashion on the literary level, profiting from the space it could briefly occupy in those times of cultural anarchy when *S* had lost its supremacy and Arabic had not yet conquered it absolutely (enough to make impossible the survival of any remnant of Coptic cultural life in the depths of some remote district). The cultural anarchy itself, and perhaps the influence of Arabic, which gave this linguistic renaissance an original character, may give the impression, on the one hand, of decadence in the language and, on the other, of the birth, still vague and confused, of a new form of the Egyptian language, in some ways "post-Coptic." Even if such a phenomenon did not have an opportunity to display itself in full bloom, even if it was reduced perforce to a timid and rather clumsy essay, it remains nonetheless very interesting for the linguist analyzing "le fait copte" diachronically and in its various dialects. Here one might by analogy call this new idiom, even poorly outlined, a "metadialect."

The only metadialectal Coptic idiom actually well enough known to allow one to study the phenomenon is DIALECT H (or Hermopolitan, or Ashmuninic). Since metadialectalism shows itself, above all, through phonological and morphosyntactical impoverishment, it is possible that it will scarcely afford any significant original elements on these levels. In such a case, it will be legitimate to concede that the incorporation of the metadialect into a general and systematic study of the Coptic dialects is not indispensable.

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MUQADDIMAH. *Muqaddimah* is the Arabic term for a grammar of the Coptic language in Arabic. When the Coptic language was facing extinction in the thirteenth century, Coptic scholars began to fix the rules of their own national and religious language in order to enable the reader to understand the Coptic of biblical and liturgical texts. These grammars, called *muqaddimah* (plural, *muqaddimāt*), meaning primarily "introduction" or "preface" but also "account" or "statement," were written in Arabic and used Arabic grammatical terminology. There is no reference to earlier Greek authorities, such as Aristarchos of Samothrace (217–145 B.C.), the creator of grammatical terminology, who lived in Alexandria, or to his pupil Dionysos Thrax, the author of the first Greek grammar, in only twenty-five paragraphs, a model for countless later treatises.

The creation of an appropriate grammatical terminology for Coptic was the work of several scholars using terms of the Arabic national grammar and adapting others to the spirit of the Coptic language. When comparing the different authors, one sees that there was a continuous progress in exactitude that reached its peak with the *Qilādah* of Athanasius of Qūṣ, the longest and most elaborate such treatise that survives. The term *muqaddimah* has been retained by Arabic and Western scholars for independent treatises, such as Ibn Khaldūn's historical work. There is, however, a different form, *muqaddamah,* meaning literally "what has been proposed", used in the sense of "preface [of a book]" (de Biberstein-Kazimirski, 1868, Vol. 2, p. 692) or "first chapter" (Al-Munjid, 1962, p. 613). In some dictionaries both forms (*muqaddimah, muqaddamah*) occur (Wehr, 1952, p. 669).

The first of these grammars is the *Muqaddimah* of Ambā Yuḥannā as-Samannūdī (laic name al-As'ad ibn ad-Duhayri) who was consecrated bishop of Samannūd (western Delta) in 1235 by Patriarch Cyrillus in Old Cairo (Graf, 1947, Vol. 2, pp. 371–75). There are two versions: the Bohairic one (Codex Vaticanus Copt. 71) was published and translated into Latin by Athanasius Kircher (1643, pp. 2–20). A translation into French was done by E. Dulaurier, professor of Malay and Javanese and author of different publications on the Coptic language (*Catalogue,* 1849, pp. 360–64, 718–39); this (partial) publication brillantly illustrates the work accomplished by the Coptic scholar.

In Ambā Yuḥannā as-Samannūdī's work one can observe the birth of new grammatical studies. Some definitions seem to be somewhat primitive, but they nevertheless led to development of a real grammatical terminology. Thus, it is true that "words beginning with ⲙⲡ" are masculine, those "beginning with ⲧ" are feminine, and those "beginning with ⲛⲓ" are plurals. He observed that masculine words in Coptic may be feminine in Arabic and vice versa, as with the Coptic feminine ⲧⲃⲁϣⲟⲣ, fox or vixen, and the Arabic masculine *ath-tha'lab,* fox; conversely, the masculine ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩ, earth, is the feminine *al-arḍ* in Arabic. There is almost no theory concerning the prefix conjugation, but the examples quoted are nevertheless helpful: ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲛⲥⲁϫⲓ = *li-kay natakallama,* that we may speak; ⲁⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ = *takallama,* he has spoken; ⲉⲩⲉⲥⲁϫⲓ = *yatakallamu,* he will speak; etc. At the end of the *Muqaddimah* there is a list of similar words: the reader has to distinguish between ⲥⲛ, brother; ⲥⲟⲛⲓ, robber; and ⲧⲥⲱⲛⲓ, the sister.

The different chapters are reproduced and translated, sometimes accompanied with linguistic notes, so that the logical structure of the treatise becomes fully apparent. Dulaurier admired the logical composition of the Coptic possessive pronouns consisting of the definite article and the suffix pronouns: "C'est une idée très logique qui a conduit les Egyptiens à former leur pronoms possessifs de l'article déterminatif accru des marques des personnes" (e.g., ⲡⲉⲩ-, his, = article ⲡ and suffix ⲟⲩ).

When reading Ambā Yuḥannā's *Muqaddimah* one is well aware that his work was a *creatio ex nihilo,* as there was no tradition of linguistic studies. He had to use grammatical terms of the Arabic national grammar and, when necessary, adapt them to the need of Coptic. His language is medieval Egyptian

Arabic: *mudakkar*, masculine (= *mudakkar*), and *muwannat*, feminine (= *mu'annath*). Coptic words beginning with ⲟⲩ are "indeterminate singulars" (*mufrad bi-ghayr al-alif wa-l-lām*, literally "singular without the letters *al-*," i.e., without the Arabic definite article).

The postscript reads as follows: "This is the end of the *Muqaddimah*. Whoever will remark a mistake may note and correct it and in return for this service he may receive the retribution and the recompense that he merits" (Dulaurier's text; omitted by Kircher, 1643). A Sahidic version of Ambā Yuḥannā's *Muqaddimah*, probably the work of another scholar whose mother language was Sahidic, has been published in Arabic and Coptic, but without translation, by Munier (1930, pp. 46–64).

Al-Wajīh Yuḥannā al-Qalyūbī (from Qalyūb, north of Cairo) wrote a Coptic grammar to fulfil a wish of his friend Abū Isḥāq ibn al-'Assāl. He was still living in 1271, for in that year he composed a funeral oration for Patriarch Gabriel. Instead of using the paradigmatic method of Ambā Yuḥannā as-Samannūdī's work, he began to establish rules for the morphology of Coptic. His introduction has been translated by Mallon (1906, pp. 126–29). Abū Isḥāq mentions him in his own grammar as "the estimable, learned, venerable Sheikh al-Wajīh Yuḥannā, son of the Priest Michael, son of the Priest Ṣadqah al-Qalyūbī" (Mallon, 1907, pp. 222–29).

Ath-Thiqah ibn ad-Duhayri was the author of a grammar in which he tried to improve on the works of Ambā Yuḥannā and al-Qalyūbī. When he saw Ibn Kātib Qayṣar's *Tabṣira*, he noticed how it depended on the *muqaddimāt* of as-Samannūdī and al-Qalyūbī. His *Muqaddimah* follows the Arabic categorization of words: *ism* (noun = substantive, adjective, numeral, pronoun), *fi'l* (verb), and *ḥarf* (particles, such as prepositions and conjunctions). Its appendix discusses some statements of Ibn Kātib Qayṣar's grammar. It is now known that Ibn Kātib Qayṣar wrote an explanation of the Revelation of John 20:4 in A.M. 983/A.D. 1266–1267, but after this passage the manuscript breaks off. It is thus certain that Ath-Thiqah's *Muqaddimah* was written after that year, probably the year in which Ibn Kātib Qayṣar died.

Al-As'ad Abū al-Faraj Hibat-Allāh ibn al-'Assāl was a member of a famous family of Coptic scholars, the 'Assālids (Mallon, 1906, pp. 109–131; 1907, pp. 213–64), being al-Ṣafī's brother and al-Mu'taman Abū Isḥāq's half brother; he lived in the first half of the thirteenth century. He, too, intended to improve as-Samannūdī's work. Bohairic and Sahidic are described in the same book.

An-Nushū' Abū Shākir ibn Buṭrus ar-Rāhib was the son of an archon and administrator of the Sarga Church in Cairo. The name an-Nushū' is in full Nushū' al-Khilāfah, which means "growth of the caliphate." His activity in A.D. 1249 and 1264–1282 is known (Graf, 1947, p. 428). He was deacon at the Church of al-Mu'allaqah in Cairo and wrote two voluminous theological treatises and a grammar. He endeavored to be more pedagogic than his predecessors, explaining the meaning of monoliteral prefixes (ⲁ, ⲃ, ⲓ, ⲙ, ⲛ, ⲡ, ⲫ, ⲱ, ⲭ, ⲧ) and translating complex word forms and sentences collected from the works of "the bishop of Sakhā" and Ibn Raḥāl or Raḥḥāl, as well as from biblical and liturgical books, hagiographic texts, and St. Cyrillus' "Book of Treasures." The introduction to his *Muqaddimah* has been translated by Mallon (1907, pp. 230–58). The origin of his biblical quotations is always indicated by sigla.

A grammar called *At-Tabṣirah* (The Enlightment) is the work of Ibn Kātib Qayṣar, literally "son [in fact, grandson] of [the Emir] Qayṣar's secretary." His full name (with genealogy) is Abū Isḥāq 'Alam ar-Ri'āsah Ibrahīm ibn ash-Shaykh Abū Th-Thanā ibn ash-Shaykh Ṣāfī ad-Dawlah Abū l-Faḍā'il Kātib al-Amīr 'Alam ad-Dīn Qayṣar (i.e., his grandfather was secretary to Emir 'Alam ad-Dīn Qayṣar). His grammar, though appreciated by Abū Isḥāq ibn al-'Assāl, depends both on as-Samannūdī's *Muqaddimah* and on Arabic grammar. Thus, he distinguished three numbers of the noun (singular, dual, plural) as in Arabic, while there are only two numbers in Coptic (singular, plural). Nouns are either primitive (ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ, the earth) or composed (ϯⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ, the truth). If the pronouns are numbered 1–5 (singular) and 6–8 (plural), he gave the following order: 12674358. Also the relative pronouns are quoted as ⲟⲏ, ⲫⲏ, ⲛⲏ. His examples are not always correct: ϩⲁⲛⲭⲏⲙⲓ, Egyptians, = *Miṣrīyūn* (Kircher, 1643, p. 27). In spite of this, Ibn Kātib Qayṣar was an authority in the exegetic field (Commentary on the Apocalypse, the Corpus Paulinum, the Catholicon, etc.; cf. Graf, 1947, p. 379).

Athanasius, bishop of Qūṣ (Upper Egypt, north of Luxor), the author of the last and most complete Coptic grammar, was born near Qamūlah (north of Luxor, but on the western bank of the Nile). His father, called Ṣalīb, was a priest and Athanasius became a monk in the nearby Monastery of St. Victor. His grammar, which has been transmitted in two versions, Sahidic and Bohairic, bears a rhymed title: *Qilādat at-Taḥrīr fi 'Ilm at-Tafsīr* (Necklace of Redaction in the Science of Explanation), inspired by Arabic models. Nothing is known of his life, but there is a detailed study on his work by Gertrud Bauer

(1972), who was able to collect some data on the time in which he lived. He mentioned a vocabulary called *As-Sullam al-Kanā'isī,* by Yuḥannā as-Samannūdī, who died after 1257, so it is certain that he lived in the second half of the thirteenth century. It may even be that he lived into the fourteenth century, as there was then a bishop of Qūṣ called Athanasius who was the author of several writings, including "History of the Myron-Consecration Under the Patriarch Gabriel IV" (ibid., pp. 11–12). That these two authors were the same person is probable but not absolutely certain, for Athanasius is even today a common name among Copts.

The *Qilādah* uses, as do earlier *muqaddimāt,* Arabic grammatical terminology. In many cases, expressions occur with different meanings to meet the necessities of Coptic. In her study Bauer presented an exhaustive catalogue of Arabic grammatical terms used by Athanasius, in which she specified whether each was used in the sense of the Arabic authors or in a special sense for Coptic.

A *ḥarakah* (movement) is in Arabic a vowel sign placed over or under a consonant; in the superior position it signifies *a* or *u,* and in the inferior, *i.* A *muḥarrak* is a consonant bearing such a vowel sign and is pronounced with a following vowel (*a, i, u*): *ba, bi, bu.* In Coptic the *muḥarrak* means something different, the auxiliary vowel preceding a word, such as the name ⲅⲣⲏⲅⲟⲣⲓⲟⲥ, Gregorios (pronounced with a short central vowel, *Ĕghrēghōriyōs,* written اغريغوريوس), in order to facilitate the pronunciation of a consonant cluster at the beginning of the word (ibid., p. 40).

In Arabic *al-ḥurūf az-zawā'id* (additional letters) are the consonants *', t, s, l, m, n, h, w,* and *y* used as prefixes, infixes, and suffixes. In Coptic the same expression means the additional letters at the end of the Greek alphabet, that is, the letters of demotic origin, such as ϥ (ibid., p. 123). *Murakkab* (composed) is a term created by Athanasius for the three letters ϫ (*ks*), ⲯ (*ps*), and ⲧⲓ (*ti*) (ibid., p. 124). *Taksīr jam' al-asmā'* is not the phenomenon of broken plurals, as in Arabic (e.g., *bayt,* house, plural, *buyūt*), but the normal plural form of Coptic nouns (ibid., p. 125). The *jazm,* in Arabic the *modus apocopatus* (as in *lam yaktub,* he did not write, not *yaktubu,* he writes)—that is, the vowelless form (third-person singular *yaktub*)—is in Coptic the imperative or the prohibitive (ibid., p. 126). *Tashdīd* is in Arabic a gemination (double *ll* as in *Allāh,* God), but in Coptic (Sahidic only) it means ⲟ = ⲧⲣ and ⲫ = ⲡⲣ (ibid., p. 127).

Like other Coptic grammarians, Athanasius adopted the classification of words in three categories: *ism,* noun; *fi'l,* verb; and *ḥarf,* particle. It is astonishing that there is not the slightest trace of the famous grammatical school in Alexandria. There are only four expressions derived from Greek terms: *aḥruf ṣawtīyah,* vowels (*φωνήεντα*); *aḥruf nawāṭiq,* vowels (another translation of the preceding term); *al-aḥruf an-niṣf nawāṭiq,* semivowels (*ἡμίφωνα*), in Arabic a postclassical formation; and *aḥruf ṣawāmit,* voiceless consonants (*ἄφωνα,* scil. *στοιχεῖα*; ibid., pp. 147–48).

Almost all quotations in the *Qilādah* are of biblical or liturgical origin, including even the beginning of Genesis in Sahidic, otherwise not conserved: ϩⲛ ⲧⲉϩⲟⲩⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲉ ⲧⲏⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲕⲁϩ, "In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth" (ibid., p. 197). In any case, Athanasius did not wish to teach his readers Coptic as a spoken language.

Quite new are the phonetic paragraphs at the end of the book, where one finds, for example, the pronunciation of ⲃ as *wīṭah* (*-w*), except at the end where it is *bīṭah,* as in ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲛⲃ, the priest (ibid., p. 230). Likewise, ϫ is pronounced *sh* in four (or five) words, such as ϫⲉⲣⲉ, a greeting (*χαῖρε*), which survives even today in *shāra,* but elsewhere it is *k,* as in ⲯⲩⲭⲏ, soul, and ⲉⲩⲭⲏ, prayer, today pronounced *ebsīka* and *awka* at Zainīyah Qiblī, a village north of Luxor, and in other places.

At the end of his *Qilādah,* Athanasius spoke of the Coptic dialects still spoken in his time. There were still two dialects alive: (1) Sahidic, spoken from Aswan to Munyat al-Qays (i.e., Munyat Banī Khaṣīb, today Minyah), and (2) Bohairic, spoken in the "Bohairah" (Buḥairah), probably the northwestern Delta, in Old and New Cairo. A third, Bashmūric, formerly spoken in "the region of Bashmūr" (probably the eastern Delta), was extinct.

Athanasius also spoke of Coptic words that sounded alike but were written differently (ibid., p. 306). He had decided to write a kind of poem called *muthallath* (threefold) to teach them to his readers. This verse form is Arabic and has been used in Coptic only once, in the so-called Triadon, the "swan-song of Coptic literature." It employs strophes of four lines; the first three rhyme with each other, but the last one rhymes with other last lines, producing the scheme aaab, cccb, dddb, and so on. There are some anonymous *muqaddimāt* (Graf, 1947, Vol. 2, p. 446) not yet edited. Two scholars known to have written grammars are "the bishop of Samannūd" and Ibn Raḥāl or Raḥḥāl, both mentioned by an-Nushū'.

Together with the Coptic scalas (see SULLAM), the *muqaddimāt* proved extremely important for the study of Coptic and Egyptian in Europe. Thanks to Athanasius Kircher's *Lingua Aegyptiaca Restituta* (1643), Jean François Champollion was able to recognize the partly phonetic character of the Egyptian hieroglyphs, mainly because of the monoliteral pronominal suffixes, and to achieve their decipherment in a relatively short time. On the other hand, a Coptic priest, RŪFĀ'ĪL AL-ṬŪKHĪ (1695–1787), used Yuhannā as-Samannūdī's *Muqaddimah* for his *Rudimenta Linguae Coptae sive Aegyptiacae ad Usum Collegii Urbani de Propaganda Fide* (Rome, 1778).

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OLD COPTIC. Although Coptic dictionaries use the abbreviation *O* (or, in German, *Ak*, or *Altkoptisch*) in the same manner as the initials of the Coptic dialects (*A*, *L* [= *A2*], *S*, *M*, *F*, *B*, etc.), Old Coptic is not the name of a specific dialect. The term *OC* is used for the language and script of a number of pagan texts that are earlier than, or contemporary with, the oldest texts in Coptic proper—that is, the oldest Coptic texts of Christian or Gnostic (including Manichaean) contents (Haardt, 1949; Kahle, 1954; Vergote, 1973). Not unlike "demotic," *OC* may be primarily regarded as a term for the writing systems or ALPHABETS of the respective texts, rather than for their language. Secondarily, it may refer to the respective idioms. Thus, one may speak of a text written in OC script, but not in OC language (see below, 2.7).

The more important OC texts may be grouped, according to their character, into pagan magical texts and pagan astrological texts. In addition to texts entirely written in OC, some OC passages or shorter texts are embedded in Greek contexts. Furthermore, one has to take into account the OC glosses in several demotic magical papyri. There are a number of other attempts to write Egyptian (Late Egyptian or contemporary vernacular) in Greek letters, with or without addition of demotic signs. This material may be adduced for comparison, but it should not be labeled OC (cf. Quaegebeur, 1982). The texts that have hitherto been regarded as OC (cf. Kammerer, 1950; Steindorff, 1951; Mallon, 1956; Vergote, 1973; Osing, 1976, p. 128, n. 3; the glosses on Isaiah in Kammerer, 1950, no. 1756, are here excluded, since they are of Christian context and of pure Fayyumic phonology) may, in respect to their contents, be classified as follows:

1. Main Group: Old Coptic Texts

Prayer, or plea, to an Egyptian god (Osiris):

1.1. The OC Schmidt Papyrus (present location unknown); first to second century A.D. Perhaps from the Hermopolitan area (Satzinger, 1975).

Horoscopes:

1.2. The London Horoscope Papyrus (P. London 98); first or second century A.D. (Černý, 1957; cf.

Kammerer, 1950, nos. 1761, 1762, 1763, 1766; Kasser, 1963).

1.3. The Michigan Horoscope Papyrus (P. Michigan 6131); second century A.D. From excavations at Soknopaiou Nesos (Worrell, 1941).

Magical spells and prescriptions:

1.4. The OC passages of the Mimaut Papyrus (P. Louvre 2391); late third century A.D. (Preisendanz, 1973, pp. 30ff.; cf. Kammerer, 1950, no. 1776).

1.5. The OC passages of the Paris Magical Papyrus (P. Bibl. Nat. suppl. gr. 574); fourth century A.D. Acquired at Thebes (Preisendanz, 1973, pp. 66–77; cf. Kammerer, 1950, nos. 1732, 1758, 1759, 1760, 1762, 1763, 1767, 1772, 1776; Kahle, 1954, Vol. 1, pp. 242–45; Roeder, 1961, pp. 218–22).

1.6. The OC insertion in the Berlin Magical Papyrus (P. Berlin P 5025); fourth to fifth century A.D. Perhaps from Thebes. This very short text (fifteen words) contains no demotic signs. A sign for *f* is expected as a suffix pronoun attached to the last word, but it is omitted. Hence, the text may be considered an example of Greek TRANSCRIPTION rather than OC.

2. Comparative Material

Under this heading are grouped isolated words, such as glosses, and a text written in the OC script, but in an idiom that is considerably older than that of the other OC texts. For the rendering of Egyptian in Greek letters from an earlier period, see PRE-OLD COPTIC.

OC glosses on magical names and the like written in demotic or in cipher:

2.1 In a demotic magical papyrus of the British Museum (P. Brit. Mus. 10 588); third century A.D. (Bell et al., 1931). (*Note:* The glosses of 2.1, 2.3, and 2.4 are on magical names and the like only and do not contain any true Egyptian. They do not make use of any letters of demotic origin. It is only for their close relationship to the truly OC glosses of 2.2 that they are here taken into account.)

2.2. In the demotic Magical Papyrus, or "(Bilingual) Gnostic Papyrus," of London and Leiden (P. Brit. Mus. 10 070, formerly P. Anastasi 1072, and P. Leiden I. 383, formerly P. Anastasi 65); third century A.D. Acquired at Thebes (Griffith and Thompson, 1904–1909; cf. Kammerer, 1950, nos. 1763, 1769, 1779; Roeder, 1961, pp. 185–213).

2.3. In a demotic papyrus of Leiden (P. Leiden I.384); third century A.D. or slightly later; written by same scribe as 2.2 (Johnson, 1975).

2.4. In a demotic papyrus of the Louvre Museum (P. Louvre E 3229, formerly P. Anastasi 1061); third or fourth century A.D. (Johnson, 1977).

Glosses on a hieratic onomasticon, in both demotic and OC:

2.5. In a Copenhagen papyrus (P. Carlsberg 180; further fragments are preserved in Berlin and Florence); about 180 A.D. From Tebtunis (Osing, 1989).

Demotic name list with OC glosses:

2.6. A Munich papyrus (schoolbook?); second century A.D.

A magical text written in the OC script but in the late classical Egyptian language:

2.7. The Egyptian Oxyrhynchus Papyrus (P. Brit. Mus. 10808); second century A.D. From the Oxyrhynchus excavations (Crum, 1942; Osing, 1976).

Bilingual mummy labels (Greek and OC):

2.8. Two mummy labels in Berlin; second century A.D. From Akhmīm (Kammerer, 1950, nos. 1770, 1775).

The OC texts and the comparative material are presented in chronological order in Table 1.

It can be seen from the chronological arrangement that in spite of the scarcity of the material, and allowing for the random nature of the sample, there is a development in the use of the OC language and script. One of the oldest texts, the Schmidt Papyrus (1.1), is from the realm of Egyptian popular beliefs: just as early Egyptians who found themselves in desperate situations would have recourse to dead persons by writing "letters to the dead," they would later address their pleas to gods (especially, perhaps, those of the necropolis; see Satzinger, 1984). But whereas earlier pleas (Saite to Ptolemaic periods) were written in demotic, around 100 A.D. OC was chosen for a similar purpose.

Two more of the earliest OC texts (1.2–3) are horoscopes apparently connected with the activities of bilingual astrologers. Other texts of the second century (2.5, 2.6, 2.8) served practical purposes. None of the texts mentioned here is of magical character,

Table 1. Old Coptic Texts and Comparative Material

First to second century A.D.	1.1	prayer
	1.2	horoscope
Third century A.D.	1.3	horoscope
	2.6	glosses on demotic name list
	2.7	Egyptian magical text
	2.8	mummy labels
About 180 A.D.	2.5	glosses on hieratic onomasticon
Third century A.D.	1.4	magical text
	2.1	glosses on demotic magical text
Third or third to fourth century A.D.	2.2	glosses on demotic magical texts
	2.3	glosses on demotic magical texts
	2.4	glosses on demotic magical texts
Fourth century A.D.	1.5	magical text
Fourth to fifth century A.D.	1.6	magical text

but about the same time, OC was being applied to magical texts. The oldest of the texts preserved is written in the classical Egyptian language (strongly influenced by Late Egyptian) but in the OC script (2.7). From a later date there are demotic magical texts in which names and certain terms are glossed in OC script. Magical texts in the OC language seem to be the latest stage of this development. When they were produced, Coptic writing was already in full use in the Egyptian church as well as among copyists of Gnostic and Manichaean texts. It may be assumed that some inconsistencies in the latest OC texts are due not so much to a lack of practice in a pioneering stage as to a reluctance to use the conventions of the Christian scribes or even deliberate choice of forms that were thought to give to the texts an archaic appearance. Another significant feature of many OC texts is their connection with Greek texts or even with Greek language (Satzinger, 1984). Both horoscopes are written on scrolls that also contain Greek texts (cf. Kammerer, 1950, nos. 1766, 1778). The OC London horoscope is appended to a horoscope written in Greek; the verso of the papyrus bears the famous funeral oration of Hyperides. The OC magical texts are just parts of larger bodies, the greater part being written in Greek. Some peculiarities of writing and alphabet may point to writers of the Greek tradition as compilers of these Egyptian texts. The demotic magical texts with OC glosses seem to be, partly at least, translations from the Greek. Some Greek spells and several Greek words occur in these texts, written in Greek or OC and occasionally in the alphabetic demotic script. Phonological evidence has been adduced for assuming that the glosses were aimed not at a speaker of Coptic but rather at a Greek-speaker (Satzinger, 1984).

The Writing System of the OC Texts

OC texts are written with Greek characters supplemented by a number of signs of demotic origin that resemble rather closely their demotic prototypes. This is the most conspicuous feature of OC. The systems of the individual texts are inconsistent insofar as more than one sign may be used for the same phoneme. In some cases, historical phonology may account for this. By analogy to the demotic spelling, an attempt may have been made to distinguish sounds that had once been different but had coincided by the time the respective OC texts were written. Thus, in some texts (1.1, 2.2, 2.7) a distinction is made between *ʾh* and *ʿḥ* (or variants), according to etymology, no less carefully than in contemporary (Roman period) demotic. The London horoscope (1.2) once (l. 142) uses a demotic *m*-sign in ϩⲥⲱⲟⲩ (i.e., ⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩ, Egyptian *m s3.w*), where the element *n* goes back to Middle Egyptian *m*. In the same text, ⲍ is used for an *s*-sound that goes back to ancient — (Černý et al., 1957, p. 92, n. 149), which is, however, coincidence. The use of – (a demotic *n*-sign) for an initial *n* of syllabic quality, in the London Horoscope Papyrus (1.2), offers a clue to the origin of the supralinear stroke of Coptic proper (Crum, 1942, p. 22, n. 2; in other texts, i.e., 1.4 and 1.5, the stroke is still used in connection with ⲛ

only). The Paris Magical Papyrus (1.5) makes use of the Greek spiritus asper for *h* (originating both from Egyptian *h* and *ḥ*). In some texts whole words are written with demotic ligatures or ideograms (1.2; 2.2; cf. 1.1).

The principal *OC* signs of demotic origin are presented in Figure 1.

The Question of Dialects

The OC magical texts were written down at a time when the standardization of the Coptic dialects had just started. Other OC texts were written considerably earlier. In general, the language of many Christian and Gnostic Coptic texts of the fourth century shows an admixture of elements of other dialects, but also mistakes (e.g., overcorrections) that arose from the fact that the writer used a dialect other than the one he was most familiar with.

Similar observations can be made in the OC texts. None of them is written in an idiom that does not show the influence of one or more of the other dialects. Furthermore, one text has obviously to be regarded as an attempt to display several different dialects at the same time (see below, on the second part of the OC texts in the Paris Magical Papyrus).

Generally speaking, it can be said that the OC prayer (Schmidt Papyrus, 1.1) and the OC magical texts (1.4–6) display a kind of Sahidic, whereas the glosses on the demotic magical papyri (2.1–4) can be identified as a kind of Akhmimic (Satzinger, 1984). Of the two horoscopes, the language of the Oxford example (1.3) is close to Akhmimic, whereas the Michigan papyrus (1.2) shows typical Fayyumic features.

Too little of such comparative material as the glosses on the demotic Munich papyrus (2.6) and the mummy labels (2.8) exists to allow for a more precise labeling than "Upper and/or Middle Egyptian." (To put it more exactly, they hardly digress from the characteristics of *A*, *L*, and *M*, but differ in various details from *S*, *F*, and *B*.) The language of the Egyptian Oxyrhynchus Papyrus (2.7) is not Coptic. An attempt has been made, however, to establish the position of the phonological system of this text among the Coptic dialects (Osing, 1978). The results (namely, an intermediary position between *M* and *L/A*?) would be invalidated if it turned out that the crucial features are due to a tradition of pronouncing classical texts in a more conservative way than contemporary vernacular speech. At any rate, the phonological system of this text differs considerably from *S* and *B*.

The Schmidt Papyrus (1.1), written in *S*, has, however, ⲛⲙ-, with (*S* ⲙⲛ̄-, *B* ⲛⲅⲙ-), and ⲙⲟⲛⲉ, nurse (*S*, ⲙⲟⲟⲛⲉ; *B*, ⲙⲟⲛⲓ), thus perhaps proving a certain affinity to *B*. On the syntactic level, note the use of the third future in a relative clause (as in *B*), where *S* would have the first future.

In the Akhmimic London Horoscope Papyrus (1.2), a few forms agree with *S* and *B*, contrary to the *A* characteristics that are found in the remaining material: ⲡⲟⲣϫ (qual.), to be separated; ϩⲁⲓ, law; ⲛⲁϥ, to him; ⲥⲧⲁⲙ, closing; ⲛⲁⲟⲩ, to see; ⲥⲛⲁⲟⲩ, two.

Lack of vowel-doubling produces an agreement with *B* and *M* only in ⲃⲱⲛ, evil. The preformatives of the conjunctive display the full *B* forms, contrary to all the other dialects: -ⲧⲉ- (read ⲛⲧⲉ-) before noun, -ⲧϥ-, -ⲧⲥ-, -ⲧⲟⲩ-. But this may be due to an archaistic attitude. The syntax shares certain features with late demotic (conditional constructions).

In the few intelligible remains of the Michigan Horoscope Papyrus (1.3), the following forms diverge from *F*: ⲙⲁ, give (as *S*, *A*, *L*, *M*; cf. *B* ⲙⲟⲓ, ⲙⲁ-); ⲡⲁⲓ-, this (as in *B*). This may point toward an influence from *K/K71* (Kasser and Satzinger, 1982), intermediary idioms between *B* and *V* (Kasser, 1980, p. 69, under sy: *V*).

In a very corrupt passage of the Sahidic Mimaut Papyrus (1.4), a ⲣⲉⲛ, name, occurs (ll. 347 ff.), whereas in ll. 396ff., 418, and 633ff. definite non-*S* features are lacking.

The invocations of the Paris Magical Papyrus (1.5), recto and verso of fol. 2, are *S* except for ⲉⲃⲱⲧ, Abydos; ⲉⲙⲟⲩ, come (imperative), l. 76, but ⲁⲙⲟⲩ, l. 92; ⲉⲛⲓ-, bring (imperative), ll. 14 and 16, but ⲁⲛⲓ-, passim; ⲣⲉⲛ, name, ll. 21, 22, and 84; ⲙⲉϫ (read ⲙⲉⲕ₂), neck, l. 76; ⲟⲩ, to be (qual. of ⲉⲓⲣⲉ), l. 17; ⲁϕⲱⲃ, about the matter, l. 25, may correspond either to *S* ⲉⲓⲧ₂ⲱⲃ (*A* and *L*, ⲁ-) or to ϩⲁ ⲡ₂ⲱⲃ. All these non-*S* features could be expected in an *L*-like idiom.

L. 94 is the beginning of a mythological story of Isis. At this point, the character of the idiom changes. A distinction is made between *h* (ϩ, ⸗, etc.) and *ḫ* (ϫ), as in *B* (ϩ and ϧ, respectively) and *A* (ϩ and ϩ, respectively); the text has, however, the *š*-sign where *A* would have ϩ, contrary to the ϣ of the other dialects: ⲥⲟⲩⲥ, dust, ll. 95 and 97 (cf. *A*, ϩⲁⲉⲓϩ).

The aspirate consonants of *B* are alien to the phonological system of the papyrus. The glottal stop, lacking in *B* and *M*, is indicated by doubled vowels when following an O-sound (ⲥⲟⲟⲙⲉ, slim, l. 111; ⲧⲟⲟⲧ⸗, hand, l. 120 bis), but never when following an A- or E-sound (ⲓⲁⲧ⸗, ⲓⲉⲧ⸗, eye, ll. 95 and 97; ⲙⲉⲣⲉ, noon, l. 94; ⲥⲉⲣⲓ, daughter, passim; ⲙⲉⲩⲓ, to think, l. 152; ⲙⲉⲟⲩ, mother, l. 102). There is no

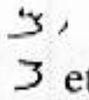
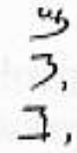
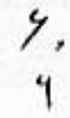
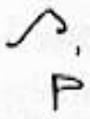
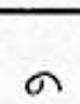
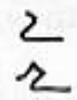
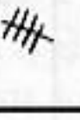
Hieroglyphic	Hieratic	Demotic	Old Coptic		Coptic derivatives	Phonetic value in OC
				1.3, 2.7 2.2, 2.8 1.2	ϣ	ɣ
?	?	?		1.1	Ø	ɣ
				1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 2.7 1.5	ϥ	f
				1.1, 2.2 2.7	Ø	h
				1.1, 2.7 1.2 1.4, 1.5	ϩ	h
				2.7	Ø	h
				1.2, 1.3, 2.2, 2.7 1.2	ϧ	ḫ
				1.4 1.5 (used for ɣ and ϧ!) 2.2, 2.7	cf. ϩ (P.Bodmer VI)	ɣ : ḫ
				1.4, 1.5 (1.77) 1.1 1.2, 1.3, 1.5, 2.2, 2.7	x	ɣ
				2.2 1.3	ϩ (P.Bodmer VI)	k
				2.7	ϭ	k'
?	?	?		1.1	Ø	k'
				1.2	-	ϫ
				1.1 2.2	Ø	o
				2.7	cf. ⊥ ? (P.Bodmer VI)	ʾ

FIGURE 1 PRINCIPAL OLD COPTIC SIGNS OF DEMOTIC ORIGIN. Numbers refer to the classification of texts given above.

trace of the *F* lambdacism. As regards vocalism, many words are provided with glosses, indicating variant dialect forms of words or parts of words. (The glosses are hardly corrections, as Erman [cf. Kammerer, 1950, no. 1759] calls them.) But neither the main text nor the glosses retain the same dialect. Even when a word is repeated, it may assume a different form—for example, ϵxϵN TIOTI TIATϵ, in the moment, the moment, ll. 121–22. In this way, three or four known dialects are indicated simultaneously (not to speak of forms that are alien to any known idiom): *B*, *S*, *L*, and perhaps *F*.

Examples of words of pure *B* phonology are (ⲁⲃ)ϭϵNϹ, (he) found her, l. 96; TⲰϒNI, rise, l. 106; ϹⲁTI, flame, ll. 114 and 115; ⲁ̈TOϒ, to do them, ll. 116 and 117; ⲰOϒ, glory, l. 127; cf. ϴⲰϒϴ, Thoth, l. 139. Some words of pure *S* phonology are TOOϒ, mountain, l. 94; ϭOϊϭ, dust, ll. 95 and 96; ϴOOϒT, Thoth, ll. 96, 99, and 105; ϵ̀ϒN, in (adverb), l. 96; ⲁ̀ⲣO⸗, what is the matter with, ll. 96 and 99; OϒOϊN, light, l. 142. Some words of pure *L* phonology are ϊϹTϵ, your (fem.) eye, l. 98; N̄MϵOϒ, there, l. 108 (N̄ presents both Coptic M̄ and N̄); ⲣϵT⸗, foot, l. 111; ϹϵTϵ, flame, l. 114 (gloss); CNϵOϒ, two, l. 140; Oϒϵ, one (masc.), l. 148. Some words indicate mixed features (*L* versus *S* and *B*): ϵ̀M, sigh, ll. 95, 97, and 115; IIϵϭϵC, she said, l. 98. A few words appear in a form that is attested only in *F*: NIBI, every, ll. 115 and 116 (var. NIBϵ); OϒHϊ, to be remote (?), l. 151; IMI, to know, l. 151 (but ϵMMI, l. 130). But perhaps *F* (as well as *V* and *M*) has to be discarded, since none of its most characteristic features can be found (ⲗ for ⲣ; ⲏ for *B*, *S*, *L*, and *A* ϵ; ⲏ for *B* ϵ and for *S*, *L*, and *A* Ø). *ō* may appear as Oϒ, but not only in the cases where *L* has Oϒ: ïOϒT, father, ll. 95 (gloss), 99, 100, 104, and 105. It may appear as O, but not only in the cases where *M* has O: CO, to drink, l. 147. It may also appear as OI (no dieresis!): (ⲁⲃ)OI(T), Abydos, l. 107 (gloss); (ⲁϫ)OI(ï), l. 114 (gloss); ϵϭOï̈, over me, l. 125; ⲃOIOIϴ (gloss [ⲃ]ⲱⲱ[ϴ]), l. 116; KⲁTⲁKOITI (gloss [-ⲕ]ⲱTϵ), l. 117; ϵϭOIIIϵ, if, l. 147 *ter*; OϒOIM, to eat, l. 147.

Summing up, it may be said that in ll. 97ff. an attempt was made to encompass several Coptic dialects simultaneously. It may be assumed that this was to serve a practical purpose. The individual reader should be placed in a position to be able to use the spells in his own vernacular idiom. It should be remembered that the text was most probably put down by a Greek compiler. If he found the source of the text written (or recited) in an Egyptian idiom other than the one(s) he was most familiar with, he may have changed it—partly in the main text and partly in the glosses, though retaining the original version. He may also have substituted vowel signs according to their sound values in contemporary Greek, if such differed from the Coptic graphic tradition (e.g., Oϒ and OI, respectively, for Coptic ⲱ, thus indicating a pronunciation [o], not [ɔ], and [ø] (?), not [o], respectively).

Pre-Coptic Features

Because of their pagan background, OC texts employ many names, epithets, and terms that are not found in Coptic proper, such as TⲃⲁITⲰϒ, who is on (his) mountain, an epithet of Anubis (Egyptian, *tpy-ḏw.f*); CI- or CI N-, son of (Egyptian, *z3*, *z3 n*); and TH, underworld (Egyptian, *d3t*). Apart from that, words are used that have become obsolete in standard Coptic, such as ⲁOϵIM, help 1.1, l.8 (Coptic ⲃOHⲑIⲗ); *NIKϵ (?), to copulate, 1.1, l.6 (Coptic, ϯ-NOϵIK); MⲁOϒCϵ, liver (?), 1.5, l.117; ϭOï, rise (?, imperative), 1.5, ll.123, 138, etc.; ϭⲁϥ, strong, 1.5, l.15; HOϒ, limbs (?), 1.5, l.122; IIϵϵ̀ⲣ, enchant, 1.5, l.149–150); Kϵⲡ-, fumigate, 1.4, l.665; COϒNOϒϥϵ, good star (*sb3 nfr*), COϒⲃⲁN (cf. demotic *ḫn*, prefer), agreeable (?) star, COϒⲃⲰN, evil star, COϒⲇⲁⲇϵ, hostile star, 1.2 passim; ⲁⲍHϥ, ⲁϑϵϥ (?), period of his life (?), 1.3 and 1.2, l.164). A conspicuous feature is the almost complete lack of Greek words. Exceptions are ⲁTTϵⲗOC, messenger, 1.5, l.16; and ⲁIⲣ, air, 1.5, l.23.

Other pre-Coptic features can be found in the morphology of the verb, such as residues of the demotic relative form (Haardt, 1963–1964; Satzinger, 1975, pp. 42f.) or the form -IⲣTOϒ-, before they, 1.3, l.153 (Coptic, M̄ⲡⲁTOϒ-).

A rather strange feature is ϩNOϒ-, in (1.2, passim), since the *w* of Egyptian *m-ḫnw* had already been dropped in the second millennium B.C.; possibly the form is influenced by the *nw* sign of the traditional Egyptian spellings on a purely graphic level. Syntactic uses of a pre-Coptic nature in the London Horoscope Papyrus (1.2) include lack of an indefinite article (ⲁCϩIMϵ ⲁϭⲰⲛϵ Nⲁϥ, a woman shall be to him, third future, l.144); possessive use of suffix pronouns with a word like ϸⲣⲁ⸗, voice (l.141); and conditional construction ⲁϥϭⲰⲛϵ ⲗ- (a construction found in Roman-period demotic). Nevertheless, the OC texts are definitely not transcriptions in OC script of demotic texts; their morphology and syntax are essentially Coptic.

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For further references, see especially Kammerer, 1950.

HELMUT SATZINGER

PALEOGRAPHY. Paleography, the science of the critical analysis of ancient scripts, not only makes it possible to read, date, and fix the provenance of documents produced by scribes but also draws out other information of extreme value for the knowledge of the history of culture. In analyzing ancient scripts critically, one has to trace the history of graphic forms and to determine all the special features that characterize the individual scripts, thus making it possible to classify them by age, origin, and function.

Furthermore, this science also includes the study of the materials with which the scribes did their work (and how they used them), such as ink, calamus (reed pen), and the medium on which the text is written. This last would include (a) pliant material, like papyrus, parchment (seldom leather), and (later) paper; (b) rigid materials, such as wood (for

mummy labels), potsherds of terra-cotta when suitable (ostraca), and flaked stone of appropriate quality or shape (ostraca); (c) stone or terra-cotta from which a stela or a dedicatory, commemorative, or funerary inscription could be made; (d) the rock wall of a tomb or the like with some inscription carved on it; and (e) an adequately smooth, brightly polished coating of mortar on a wall, representing a whitish surface on which some text or other has been traced on with a brush.

When the medium is a material sufficiently pliable and appropriate (papyrus, parchment, etc.) to take a literary text, either as a scroll, or *volumen* (but this is uncommon in Coptology), or as a book, or *codex* (almost always in fact), modern paleography cannot fail to base its findings on those of at least one accessory discipline. For example, codicology analyzes the various processes of codex manufacture, whether as a single quire or as several gathered quires, and studies the way in which the folios were sewn into quires and the quires were sewn together. Codicology also examines such features as the quality of the thread that was used to sew the quires, the presence or absence of tabs, and the binding.

It is easy to understand that the philological study of the Coptic language and its literature (not to mention everything relative to Coptic history) must be based on a chronology of the manuscripts and other written documents that is as precise as possible. However, despite these desiderata, despite the worthy efforts of isolated researchers who edited newly discovered texts and who drew mostly on Greek paleography to resolve the problems encountered case by case, and despite the more systematic efforts of the few Coptologists who have attempted to arrive at a unified view of Coptic writings as a foundation for paleography, at least in outline, this science is still far from reaching the maturity needed to satisfy the most demanding among specialized users. All Coptologists recognize this one fact: Coptic paleography is still a new field.

At the present time, Coptologists have at their disposal three monographs on Coptic paleography. Each one has been more or less useful. They will be reviewed hereafter in chronological order.

As clearly indicated by the title of his work, Hyvernat (1888) never made any attempt to cover the entire field of documents written in Coptic. Therefore, he should not be blamed for giving only one manuscript from the fourth or fifth century (which he placed, moreover, in the sixth) or for providing a very substantial number of specimens dating from the sixth century to the eighteenth century, which most often were produced in beautiful full-page plates. His plates show complete pages of the manuscripts (and thus naturally take up whole pages in his publication). Further, unlike more modern paleographers, Hyvernat never worked properly by analyzing the details of the various scripts; he merely presented and rapidly identified manuscripts he was interested in.

As the length of its title indicates, the work of Stegemann (1936) was a great deal more ambitious (even though in his foreword he gave a very modest estimate indeed of the value of his work). Stegemann tried to include the whole field of strictly Coptic writing in his analysis. He studied both literary scripts and documentary ones, from the earliest uncertain beginnings of Coptic (third century) through the start of its decline (eleventh century) to its death as a living language (fourteenth century). Taking into consideration both the available manuscripts and the state of Greek paleography when Stegemann wrote, one must recognize that this worthy paleographer mostly achieved his goals. Even though some of his conclusions, deductions, and classifications of writing styles might now be contested, no one can deny that he did sterling service for Coptology and that his work is still of substantial use. His *Koptische Paläographie* remains a necessary reference tool for researchers and will continue to be so as long as Coptology remains without a more effective, fully developed working tool, the product of a modern paleographer expert in Greek and Latin and familiar with discoveries made in these various fields since 1936.

On the one hand, Stegemann compared Coptic manuscripts from the third century to the eighth (which never expressly give their dates) with contemporary Greek manuscripts, thus producing a Coptic paleographic chronology much less rough-and-ready than Hyvernat's. On the other hand, specimens of Coptic dated (by colophons) are to be found from the ninth century onward, and this enables the paleographer to establish his chronology on a more dependable basis. Simultaneously he tried to analyze and to follow the successive Coptic writing styles in their development. Modern scholars may now censure his tendency to analyze isolated graphemes and to compare them with one another. When he gave more extensive samples, they were nothing more than small rectangles cut out from the middle of a manuscript page. The above-mentioned limitations were the results of inadequate resources for the production of his edition, rather than of his free choice of a particular working principle. That same kind of constraint is naturally experienced by any compiler

of contributions to encyclopedias, which explains why this article is also illustrated by extracts from pages rather than whole pages, as is frequently the case in Hyvernat (1888) and Cramer (1964), despite the undoubted fact that a scribe's handwriting would be much better studied on a whole page. But one must admit that despite these limitations and constraints, Stegemann made the most of the material he sought to organize.

The same cannot be said about the monograph on Coptic paleography by Cramer (1964). Failing to assimilate the progress made in this field after 1936 and too often providing inadequately checked information, this work has not fulfilled Coptologists' needs; thus, it has been rather disappointing (cf. M. Krause, 1966, an extremely circumstantial report on this subject).

The present article makes no attempt to present a complete survey of the state of Coptic paleography. It is written merely for those of the educated public at large who want to know about the many facets of Coptic civilization in all its brilliance, pending the publication of more-specialized studies. Medieval or Byzantine Coptic writing, which is beautiful even simply as a majuscule script (capitals) and is sometimes, in later periods, illuminated, represents an important mark of civilization to which the reader's attention must without fail be drawn. Without this, one would have an incomplete, distorted view of this culture.

From the time when Coptic (as the latest form of the Egyptian language) adopted all the signs of the Greek alphabet, augmented by a few additional symbols borrowed from demotic script (cf. ALPHABET IN COPTIC, GREEK; ALPHABETS, COPTIC; LANGUAGE(S), COPTIC), this language expressed itself through the graphic styles specific to Greek writing during late antiquity. Two graphic styles in particular were employed for Coptic (at least for writing books and formal documents): biblical majuscule, or capital letters (see figures 1c, 2a, 2b, 3b, and 4b); and Alexandrian majuscule. Within those two styles of script, two kinds are distinguishable: first, script in letters of uniform character (see figures 2c, 3c, and 4a), and, second, script in letters of contrasted character, wherein broad and narrow graphemes are both found (see figures 5a, 5b, and 5c).

A phenomenon even more peculiar to Coptic graphic usages, although occasionally found in other texts (Greek or bilingual), is the existence of mixed types of script that are a kind of compromise between biblical majuscule and Alexandrian majuscule (see figures 3a and 4c). Other graphic styles borrowed from Greek script can be found (see figures 1a and 1b). Here, however, discussion can suitably be confined to standard categories and fundamental phenomena.

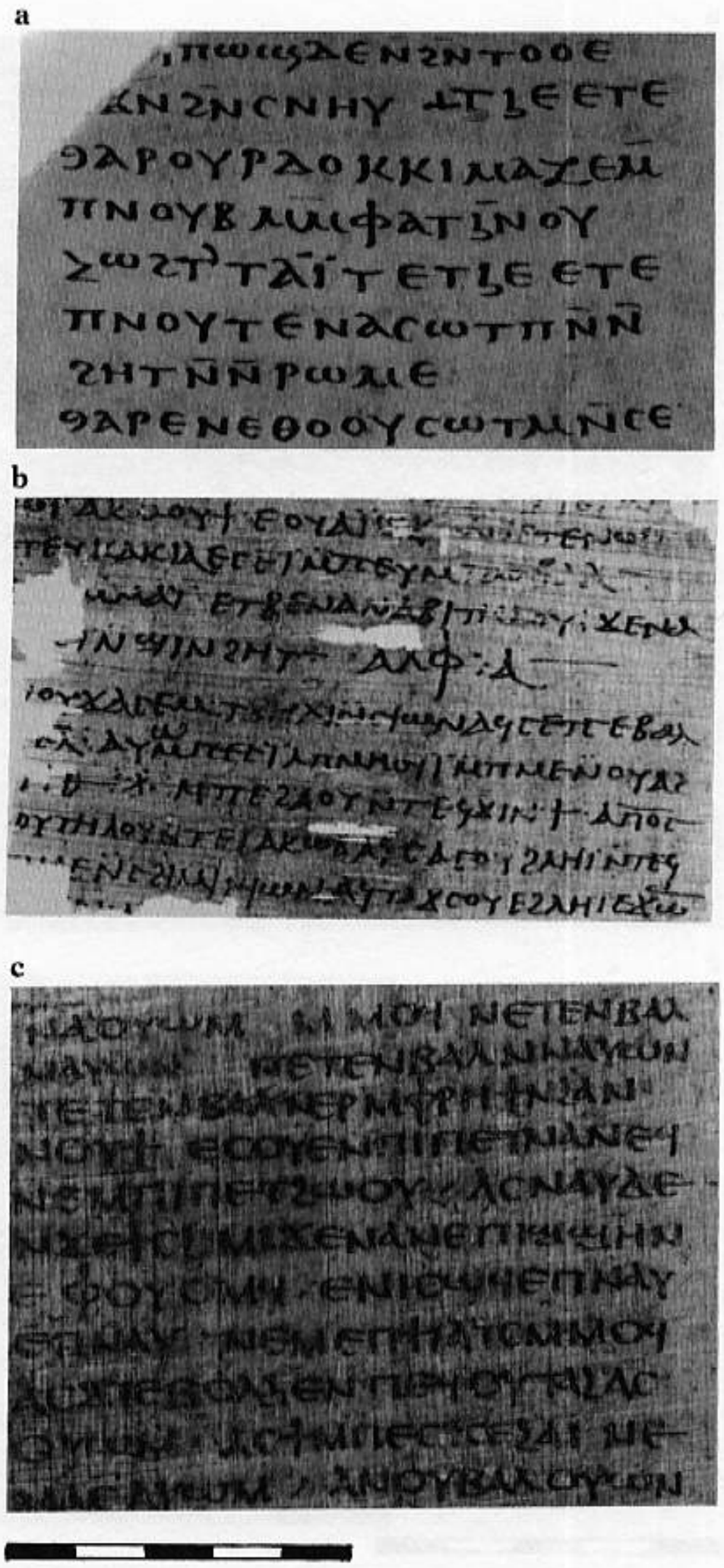


FIGURE 1. **(a)** THIRD–FOURTH CENTURY: P. BODMER VI (PARCHMENT). Published by Kasser (1960). Dialect: *P*. **(b)** THIRD–FOURTH CENTURY: P.BIL. 1 OF HAMBURG (PAPYRUS). Published by Diebner and Kasser (1989). Dialect: *F7*. **(c)** FOURTH CENTURY: P. BODMER III (PAPYRUS). Published by Kasser (1958). Dialect: *B4* with *B74* (idiolectal mixture; see DIALECT, SPORADIC and IDIOLECT). Scale bar = 5 cm. *Courtesy Rodolphe Kasser.*

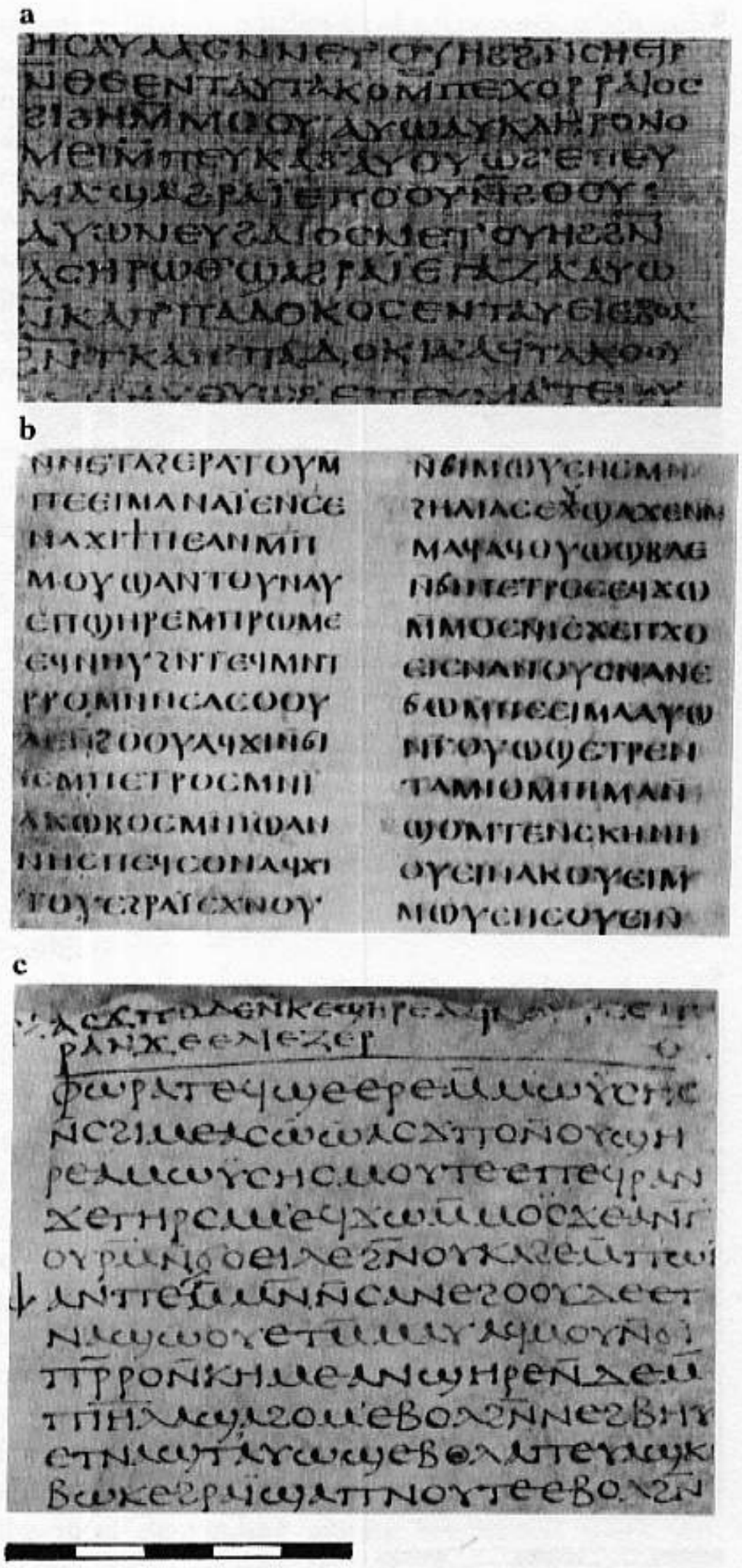


FIGURE 2. **(a)** FOURTH CENTURY: P. BODMER XVIII (PAPYRUS). Published by Kasser (1962a). Language: *S*. **(b)** FIFTH CENTURY: P. BODMER XIX (PARCHMENT). Published by Kasser (1962b). Language: *S*. **(c)** LATE FIFTH CENTURY: P. BODMER XVI (PARCHMENT). Published by Kasser (1961). Language: *S*. Scale bar = 5 cm. *Courtesy Rodolphe Kasser.*

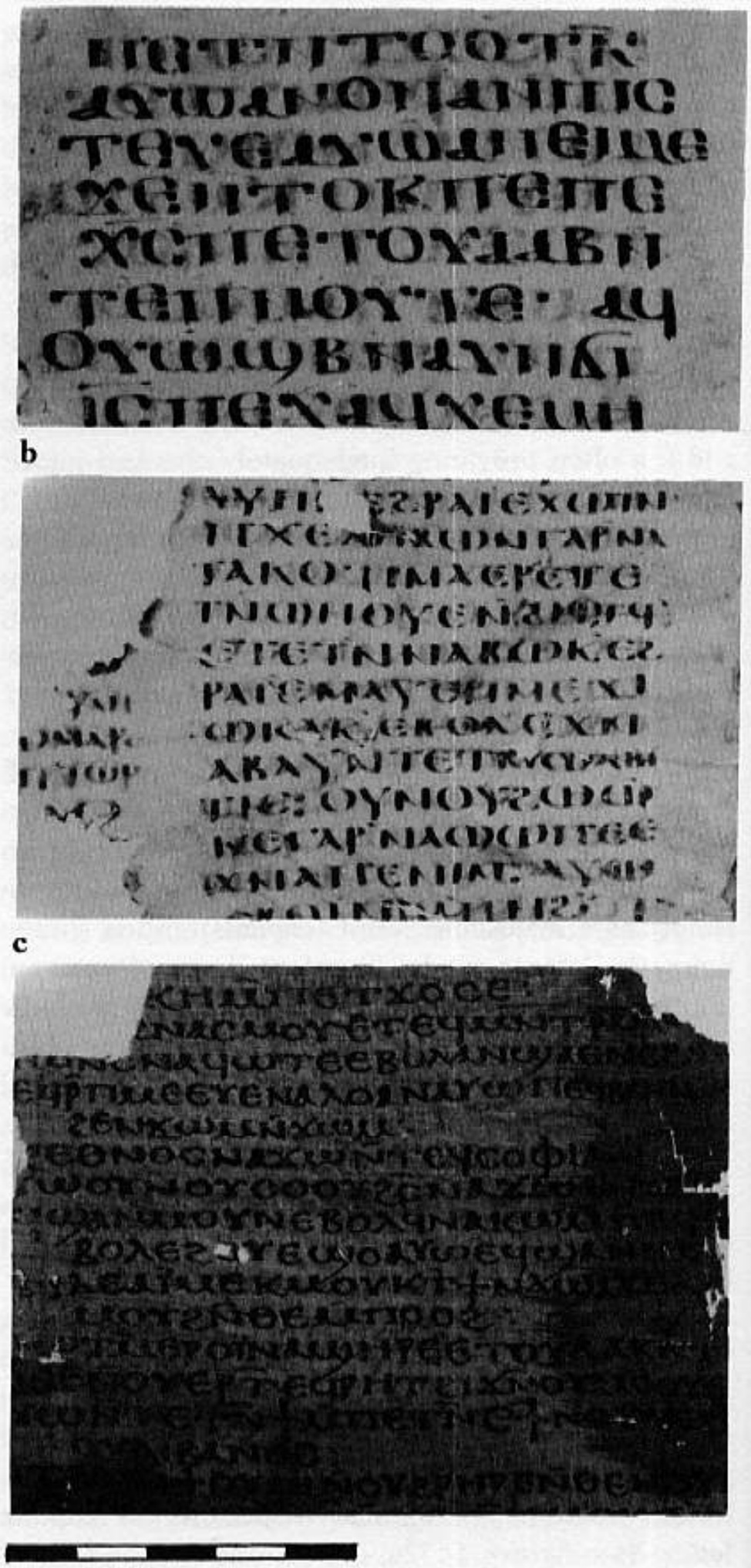


FIGURE 3. **(a)** SIXTH CENTURY: VIENNA K. 15 (PARCHMENT). Published by Wessely (1911), and photograph in Cavallo, 1967, pl. 104. Language: *S*. **(b)** SIXTH CENTURY: VIENNA K. 2713 (PARCHMENT). Published by Till (1937). Language: *S*. **(c)** SIXTH–SEVENTH CENTURY: B.M.OR. 5984 (PAPYRUS). Published by Thompson (1908). Language: *S*. Scale bar = 5 cm. *Courtesy Rodolphe Kasser.*

Any attempt to date Coptic scripts by comparing them to Greek scripts raises quite a critical problem. This approach, which may have seemed at first glance the obvious one and which Stegemann (1936) raised to the rank of methodological principle, can hold its own when applied to bilingual (Greek and Coptic) manuscripts. But with manuscripts written

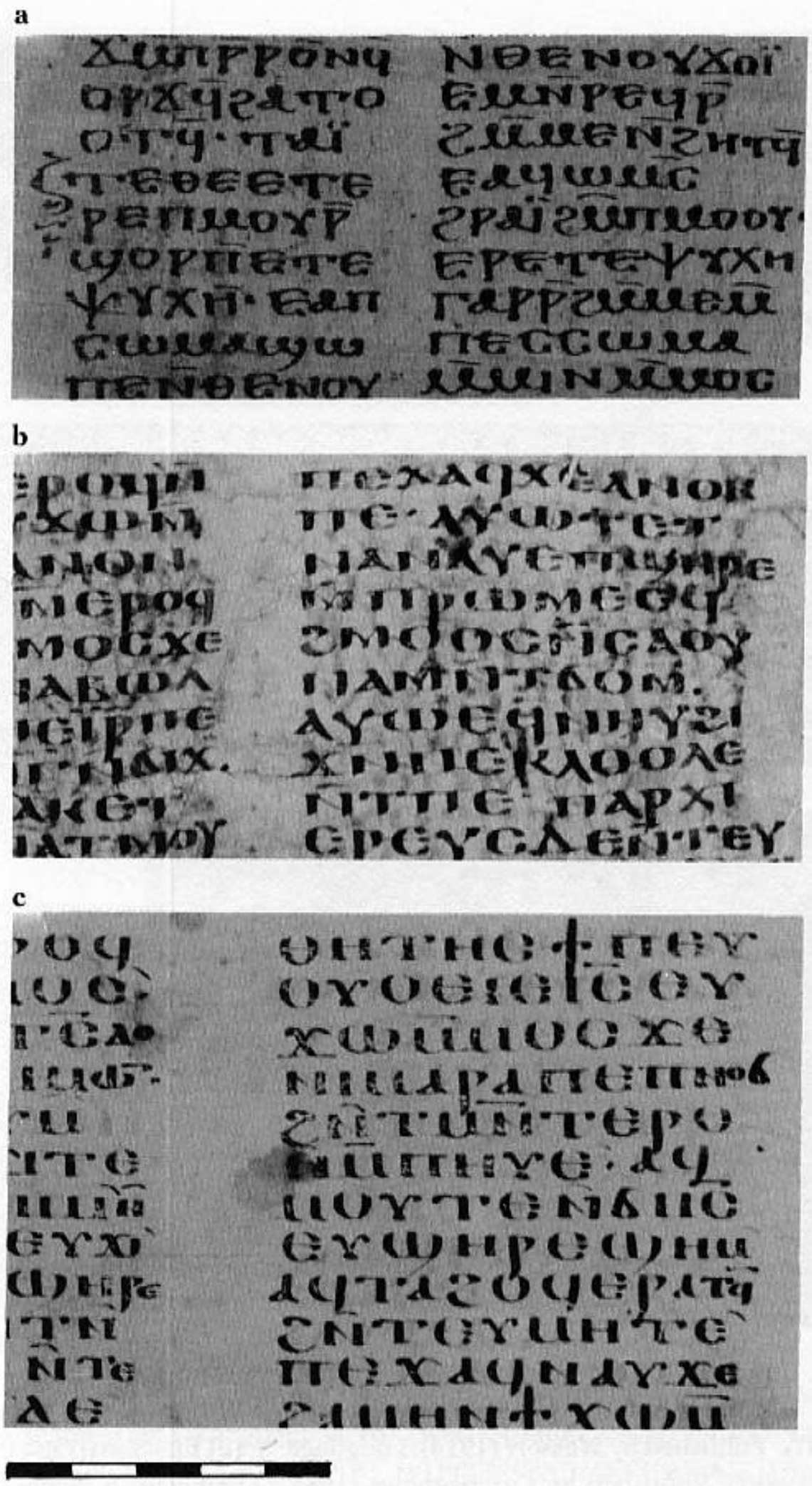


FIGURE 4. **(a)** SEVENTH CENTURY: B.M.OR. 5001 (PAPYRUS). Published by Budge (1910). Language: *S*. **(b)** SEVENTH CENTURY: VIENNA K. 9095 (PARCHMENT). Published by Wessely (1912). Language: *S*. **(c)** EIGHTH CENTURY: VIENNA K. 9062 (PARCHMENT). Published by Wessely (1911). Language: *S*. Scale bar = 5 cm. *Courtesy Rodolphe Kasser.*

only in Coptic, one should be very cautious when making such comparisons. Kahle (1954, Vol. 1, pp. 260–61) rightly noted that "texts which can be dated either on external evidence . . . or on the basis of Greek texts in the same manuscripts . . . reveal a rather different picture from that which we obtain from early Coptic manuscripts which have been dated purely on the basis of Coptic supported by Greek paleography."

Indeed, one finds that in Coptic practice Greek scripts appear as a borrowed element and are frequently related diachronically to the same scripts evolving in Greek usage, so a Coptic script that possesses the same graphic characteristics as a Greek

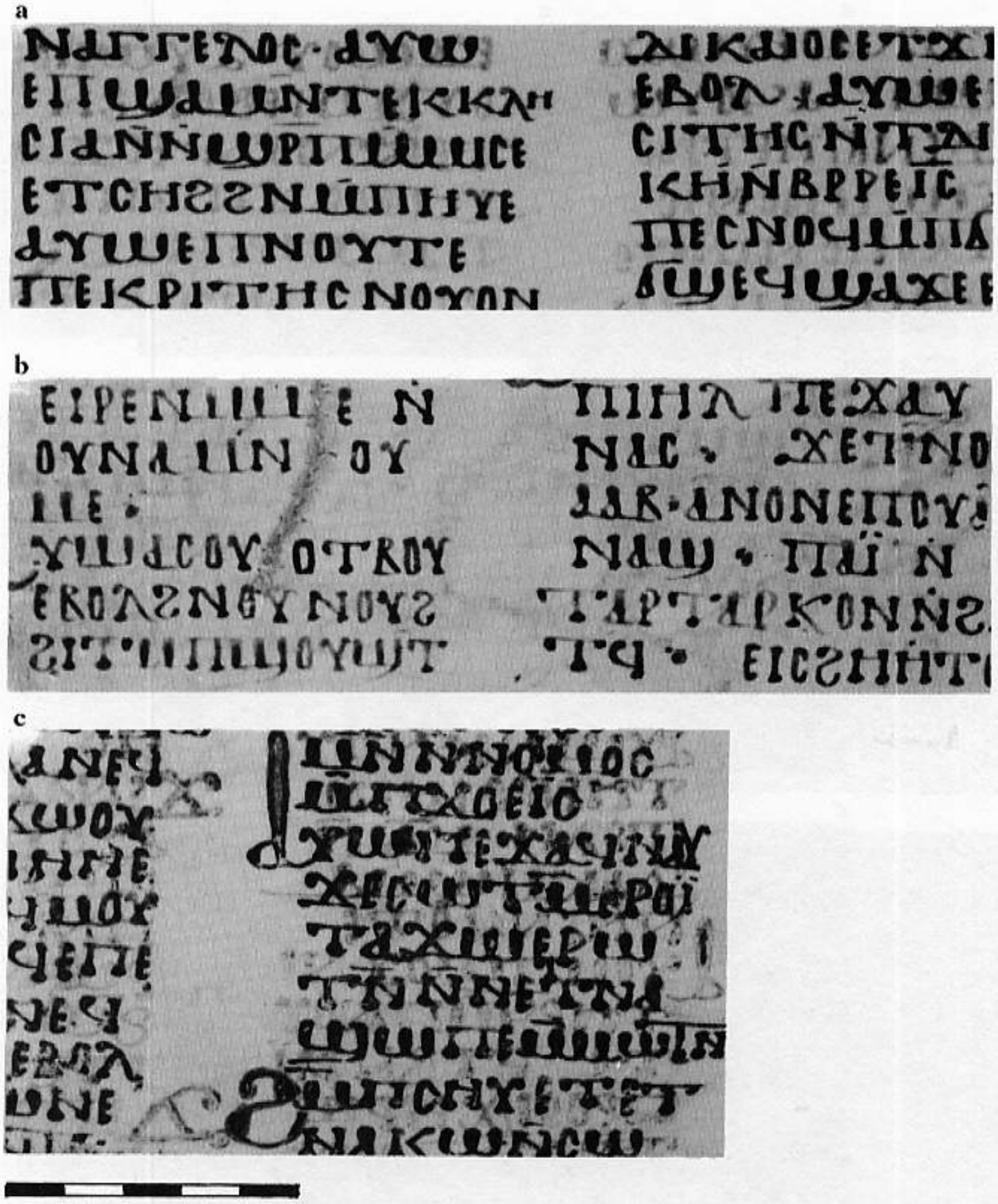


FIGURE 5. **(a)** NINTH CENTURY: VIENNA K. 9791 (FORMERLY K. 9712) (PARCHMENT). Published by Wessely (1912). Language: *S*. **(b)** TENTH CENTURY: VIENNA K. 9390 (PARCHMENT). Published by Wessely (1914). Language: *S*. **(c)** ELEVENTH CENTURY: VIENNA K. 9761 (PARCHMENT). Published by Campagnano (1985). Language: *S*. Scale bar = 5 cm. *Courtesy Rodolphe Kasser.*

one may nevertheless be of clearly later date. It is possible in this way to explain the contradictions noted by Kahle with their attendant substantial risk that some perspectives may not be correct. Moreover, various hybrids were created by the Copts as they developed many types of script, each of which united characteristics borrowed from several kinds of Greek scripts (especially by mixing biblical and Alexandrian majuscules). This makes a whole series of comparisons and additional contrasts necessary when discussing "mixed" materials of this kind, where the two types of script are present at the same time. As mentioned above, this is especially relevant to the script in books. But clearly, in working out a complete Coptic paleography, it will be essential to examine also the documentary (that is, in some sense informal) scripts—an undertaking beyond the scope of the present encyclopedia.

To enhance the understanding of the above observations, the author has thought it useful to include

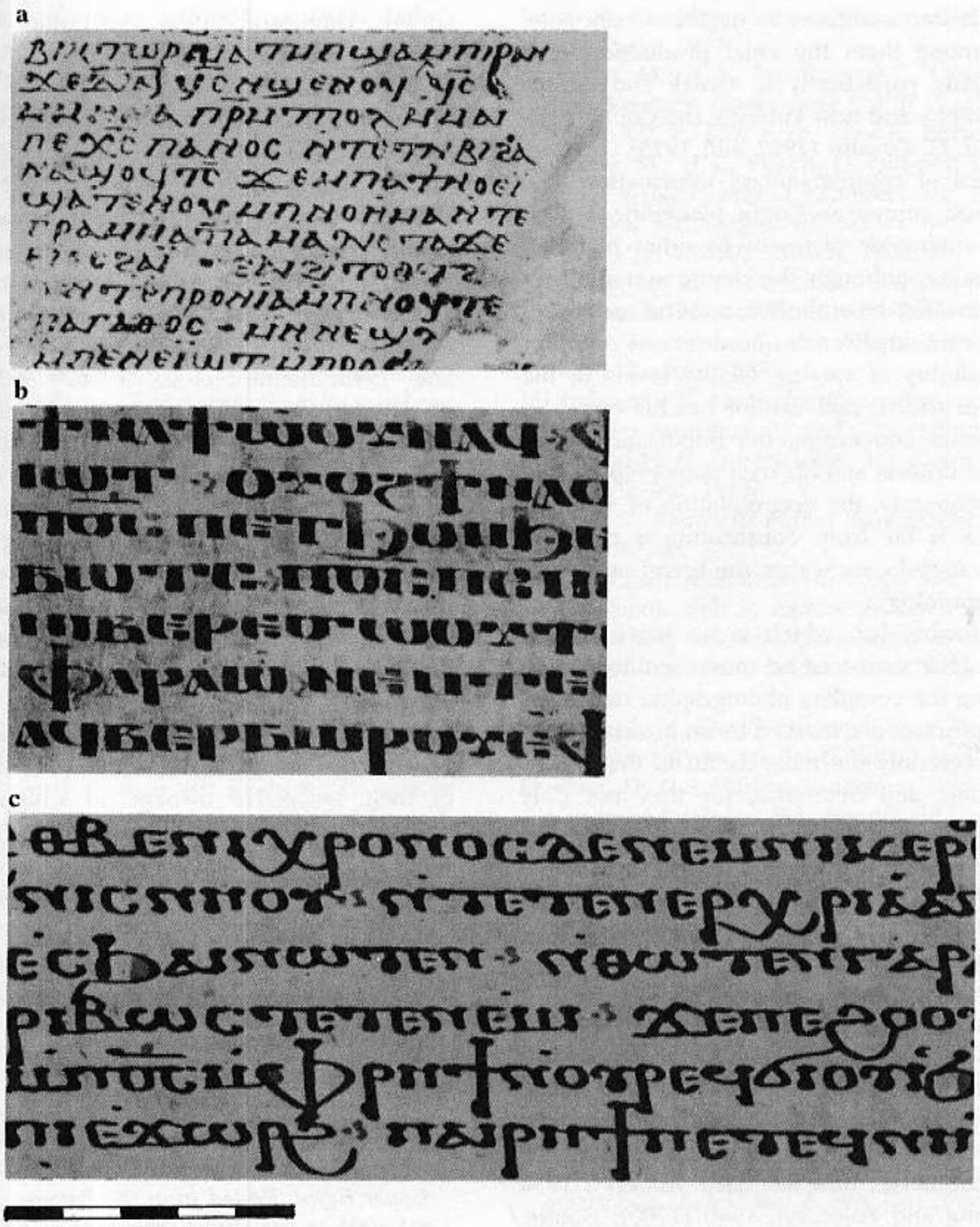


FIGURE 6. **(a)** TWELFTH CENTURY (A.D. 1112): B.M.OR. 3581B(69) (PARCHMENT). Published by Crum (1905). Language: *S*. **(b)** TWELFTH–THIRTEENTH CENTURY: VATICAN COPT. 5 (PARCHMENT). Unpublished. Language: *B5*. **(c)** FOURTEENTH CENTURY (A.D. 1339): PARIS COPT. 21 (PAPER). Unpublished. Language: *B*. Scale bar = 5 cm. *Courtesy Rodolphe Kasser.*

herein some specimens of Coptic majuscules, while making a very limited selection from what was available and abandoning any attempt to give the reader a complete range of paleography. These specimens, without paleographic comments, are in chronological order. Although restricted, this will constitute a useful visual basis for what could be a small album of Coptic paleography in outline.

Those who need to investigate the subject in a more thorough way should consult Stegemann (1936) and (mostly for medieval manuscripts) Hyvernat (1888), but in view of their relative age they should be handled with caution. Moreover, there is important systematic information in Till (1940) on the Coptic biblical parchments of the Austrian National Library in Vienna; and in Kahle (1954, pp. 269–78) can be found a list of all the Coptic manuscripts from the third–fifth centuries known at that date. However, it must be noted that Till's work is not illustrated, and Kahle's, poorly so.

Finally, it is important not to neglect Greek paleographies, among them the chief production of a scholar working particularly in Greek and Greco-Latin paleography and now entering the Coptic paleographic field, G. Cavallo (1967 and 1975).

A great deal of complementary information may be gleaned from numerous Coptic text editions illustrated by photographic plates or by other plates of the same quality, although the dating systems proposed by such different authors cannot be used without extreme caution. Even if one does not consider the real possibility of varying quality levels in the information provided, each author has his own personal tendencies concerning the importance given to the various criteria and his own paleographic sensitivity. Consequently, the accumulation of all these isolated dates is far from constituting a coherent whole and is useful only within the broad outline of a relative chronology.

In the following list, which is no more than a selection of what seems to be most significant, the editions giving the complete photographic reproduction of a manuscript are marked by an asterisk. Such editions are certainly the most useful in every way, paleographically and otherwise, for they not only preserve entirely such fragile witnesses from further destruction but also permit each researcher to check on the details in which he is most interested and which might have been left out of account by the author of the editio princeps.

In order not to encumber the bibliography below with too many items, all the titles that can be found in *A Coptic Bibliography* (Kammerer, 1950) are excluded and only the names of the authors in alphabetical order and the year of publication appear here, followed by the number in parentheses assigned by Kammerer, now standard: Allberry, 1938 (1665); [Böhlig and Polotsky], 1940 (1700); Böhlig, *[1963]; Budge, 1910 (1097) and 1912 (775); Ciasca and Balestri, 1885–1904 (779; has numerous plates of excellent quality that reproduce full pages of medieval manuscripts); Crum, 1893 (718), 1905 (147), 1909 (170), and 1926 (749); Daumas et al., 1969; Farid et al. *1972–1979; Hall, 1905 (1907); Husselman, 1962; Hyvernat, *1922 (726); Kasser, 1958, 1960, *1961, *1962a, *1962b, *1963, *1964, and *1965; Kasser et al., 1972, *1973, *1975; Leroy, 1974; Malinine et al., *1956, *1963, and *1968; Michałowski, 1965; Monneret de Villard, 1933 (1980); Orlandi, 1974a–b; Plumley, *1975; Polotsky, 1934 (1693); Quecke, 1972, 1977, and 1984; Satzinger, 1967–1968; Schenke, 1981; Schiller, 1973; Schmidt, *1904 (1033), 1908 (1140), and 1919 (1094); Thompson, 1908 (810) and *1924 (980); Wessely, 1915 (890); Worrell, 1923 (751) and 1931 (869); Zoega, 1810 (753).

A selection mainly from idioms other than classical Sahidic (*S*) and Bohairic (*B*) includes the following: *A*: Böhlig *[1963]; Schmidt, 1908 (1140) and 1919 (1994). *B* (prior to the eighth century): Daumas et al., 1969; Kasser et al., 1972. *B74*: Kasser, 1958; *F*: Hyvernat, *1922. *L4*: Allberry, 1938 (1665); [Böhlig and Polotsky], 1940 (1700); Polotsky, 1934 (1693). *L5*: Thompson, *1924 (980). *L6*: Kasser et al., *1973 and *1975; Malinine et al., *1956, *1963, and *1968. *M*: Orlandi, 1974; Schenke, 1981. *P*: Kasser, 1960. *W*: Husselman, 1962 (see DIALECTS; LANGUAGE(S), COPTIC).

A variety of illustrated complementary paleographic information can be found in various articles in journals giving space to Coptology (e.g., *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists, Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte, Enchoria, Journal of Coptic Studies, Journal of Egyptian Archeology,* and *Le Muséon*).

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RODOLPHE KASSER

PHONOLOGY. In Coptic, as in any other language, it is vital to distinguish carefully between phonology and phonetics. According to Dubois (1973, p. 373), "Phonetics studies the sounds of language in their concrete realization, independently of their linguistic function." Phonetics is thus a science concerned with a phenomenon purely material and physical, and therefore measurable by means of instruments of physics, sensitive and especially adapted for this delicate task. Consequently, phonetics does not treat the semantic use of these sounds or of their combinations; it is concerned neither with their signification nor with the message they take part in expressing.

On the other hand, "phonology is the science that studies the sounds of language from the point of view of their function in the system of linguistic communication. It studies the phonic elements that distinguish, within one and the same language, two messages of different meaning" (ibid., p. 375). Thus, in English, for instance, it is only the difference between the phonemes /d/ and /t/ that distinguishes the two words, entirely different in meaning, "doodle" (scrawl) and "tootle" (toot repeatedly). Of course, both of these words could be pronounced in a great many different ways and with nuances that may be studied, measured, or defined, according to the speaker's linguistic habits or to the conditions in which he pronounces them at any given time (local, dialectal, personal habits, or possibly the pronunciation arising from a physical malformation, an occasional cold, a broken tooth, a mouth full of food, a state of fatigue making for negligent elocution, and so on). Yet, on the phonological level, these nuances are in no way taken into account: each of these two words is subject to but a single interpretation, /'du:dl/ and /'tu:tl/, respectively. Practically speaking, whatever the speaker's accent (provincial, negligent, or obstructed, within certain limits), the listener will usually decode the message in the same way.

In ALPHABETS, COPTIC, the synoptic table gives (on the extreme left) the phonological value of the various Coptic graphemes, a value well known or at least sufficiently well known or probable. This value occasionally varies from one dialect or subdialect to another; one even observes certain idioms wanting one or several phonemes present in others. However, the present article will not treat these dialectal differences but present a complete inventory of Coptic phonemes (Table 1), "Coptic" considered comprehensively, as a total phenomenon comprising all particular idiomatic, dialectal, and subdialectal diasystems (cf. Stern, 1880, p. 7; Mallon, 1907, p. 7; Chaîne, 1933, pp. 2–3; Worrell, 1934, pp. 83–98; Vergote, 1945, p. 10; Steindorff, 1951, p. 11; Till, 1955, p. 40, and 1961, p. 3, and especially Vergote, 1973, pp. 7, 13, 18, and Kasser, 1981).

The synoptic table gives only the graphemes of four Coptic idioms—vehicular languages *S* and *B*, dialect *A*, and protodialect *P*—considered here as the most typical phonologically and alphabetically. (More details can be found in the synoptic table in ALPHABETS, COPTIC; gem. = graphic vocalic geminations; the phoneme /v/ is found only in the subdialects *B7*, *J*, *G*, *F9*, and *H* [grapheme ⲃ]; [wa] = phoneme wanting in this dialect).

From the following list of Coptic phonemes must be removed, of course, the phoneme combinations rendered in the script by a single grapheme—/ks/ (14), /ps/ (23), /ti/ (30), /cə/ (33), and, in all Coptic idioms except *B* and its subdialects, /th/ (8), /ph/ (21), and /kh/ (22). In *B* etc. they are, respectively, aspirated allophones of /t/ (19), /p/ (16), /k/ (k), as /čh/ is the aspirated allophone of /č/ (28) (see BOHAIRIC).

Coptic has eight (or perhaps nine) *vowels* proper, namely /a/ (1), /e/ (5a), /ə/ (5b), /ē/ (7), /i/ (9a), /o/ (15), /u/ (20b), /ō/ (24), and perhaps /y/ (20a). /ə/ is a medial vowel, /a/ is the most open (or most voiced) vowel, and /i/ and /u/ (and, as the case may be, /y/; see below), the most close (or least voiced): the gradation from most open to most close being /a/, /e/, /ē/, /i/ for the palatal and anterior series, and /a/, /o/, /ō/, /u/ for the velar or posterior one.

Coptic has five (perhaps even six) *sonants* (of truly vocalic value, although expressed in the script by an apparently consonantal grapheme), namely /b̥/ (2b), /l̥/ (11b), /m̥/ (12b), /n̥/ (13b), /r̥/ (17b), and possibly /ɣ̥/.

All the above Coptic phonemes are thus, on the phonological level, vowels. On the other hand, all other phonemes of Coptic presented below are, phonologically considered, consonants.

Coptic has probably only two *glides*, or semivowels (or voiced fricatives; see below), which are voiced consonants (their consonantal value is certain, although they are rendered by apparently vocalic graphemes): /j/ (9b) and /w/ (20c). It is possible to conceive that Coptic might have a third glide, /ɥ/, in some very rare Copto-Greek words, such as *S*, *B* ϩΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΝΟΝ (*ὑακίνθινος*), hyacinth-coloured, written

TABLE 1. *Synoptic Table of Coptic Phonemes*

		P	*S*	*B*	*A*
1	/a/	ⲁ	ⲁ	ⲁ	ⲁ
2a	/ƀ/	ⲃ	ⲃ	ⲃ	ⲃ
2b	/ƀ̣/	ⲃ	ⲃ	[wa]	ⲃ
3	/g̣/	ⲅ	ⲅ	ⲅ	ⲅ
4	/d/	ⲇ	ⲇ	ⲇ	ⲇ
5a	/e/	ⲉ	ⲉ	ⲉ	ⲉ
5b	/ə/	ⲉ	ⲉ	ⲉ	ⲉ
6	/z/	ⲍ	ⲍ	ⲍ	ⲍ
7	/ē/	ⲏ	ⲏ	ⲏ	ⲏ
8	/th/	ⲑ	ⲑ	ⲑ	ⲑ
9a	/i/	(ⲉ)ⲓ	(ⲉ)ⲓ	ⲓ	(ⲉ)ⲓ
9b	/j/	(ⲉ)ⲓ	(ⲉ)ⲓ	ⲓ	(ⲉ)ⲓ
10	/k/	ⲕ	ⲕ	ⲕ	ⲕ
11a	/l/	ⲗ	ⲗ	ⲗ	ⲗ
11b	/ḷ/	ⲗ	ⲗ	(ⲗ)	ⲗ
12a	/m/	ⲙ	ⲙ	ⲙ	ⲙ
12b	/ṃ/	ⲙ	ⲙ	(ⲙ)	ⲙ
13a	/n/	ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ
13b–c	/ṇ/	– ⲛ	ⲛ	(ⲛ)	ⲛ
14	/ks/	ⲝ	ⲝ	ⲝ	ⲝ
15	/o/	ⲟ	ⲟ	ⲟ	ⲟ
16	/p/	ⲡ	ⲡ	ⲡ	ⲡ
17a	/r/	ⲣ	ⲣ	ⲣ	ⲣ
17b	/ṛ/	ⲣ	ⲣ	(ⲣ)	ⲣ
18	/s/	ⲥ	ⲥ	ⲥ	ⲥ
19	/t/	ⲧ	ⲧ	ⲧ	ⲧ
20a	/y/?	ⲩ	ⲩ	ⲩ	ⲩ
20b	/u/	ⲟⲩ	ⲟⲩ	ⲟⲩ	ⲟⲩ
20c	/w/	(ⲟ)ⲩ	(ⲟ)ⲩ	(ⲟ)ⲩ	(ⲟ)ⲩ
21	/ph/	ⲫ	ⲫ	ⲫ	ⲫ
22	/kh/	ⲭ	ⲭ	ⲭ	ⲭ
23	/ps/	ⲯ	ⲯ	ⲯ	ⲯ
24	/ō/	ⲱ	ⲱ	ⲱ	ⲱ
25	/š/	ϣ	ϣ	ϣ	ϣ
26	/f/	ⲫ	ⲫ	ⲫ	ⲫ
27	/h/	ϩ	ϩ	ϩ	ϩ
28	/č/	ϫ	ϫ	ϫ	ϫ
29	/c/	ⲕ	ⲅ	[wa]	ⲅ
30	/ti/	ⲧ	ⲧ	ⲧ	ⲧ
31	/'/	⊥	gem.	[wa]	gem.
32	/v/	[wa]	[wa]	[wa]	[wa]
33	/cə/	ⲕ	ⲅⲉ etc.	[wa]	ⲅⲉ etc.
34	/ç/	ⲋ	[wa]	[wa]	[wa]
35	/x/	ⲭ	[wa]	ⲭ	ⲉ
36	/čh/	[wa]	[wa]	ⲅ	[wa]

frequently ϩⲩⲁⲕⲓⲛⲑⲓⲛⲟⲛ or even *B* ϩⲓⲁⲕⲓⲛⲑⲓⲛⲟⲛ, probably pronounced /hy a kin thi non/ or even more likely /hi a kin thi non/; however, /hi̯a kin thi non/ seems not inconceivable.

Coptic has six *sonorants*, or voiced consonants: /ƀ/ (2a), /l/ (11a), /m/ (12a), /n/ (13a), /r/ (17a), and /v/ (32), of which /l/ is a lateral, /r/ is a vibrant trill, /m/ and /n/ are nasals, /ƀ/ and /v/ are, like the glides, voiced fricatives.

All the other consonants below are unvoiced. Note that the Greek voiced fricative /z/ (6) and the Greek voiced stops /g/ (3) and /d/ (4) occur practically

only in Copto-Greek words (cf. VOCABULARY, COPTO-GREEK), in which, however, they have probably lost their original (Greek) voicing; thus, as elements of Coptic, /z/ = /s/ (18), /g/ = /k/ (10), and /d/ = /t/ (19).

Coptic has 6 *fricatives:* /s/ (18), /š/ (25), /f/ (26), /h/ (27), /ç/ (34), and /x/ (35).

According to the traditional Coptic grammar, Coptic has only a single *affricate*, /č/ (28). However, DIALECT H (and perhaps even *F* and the subdialects of the Fayyumic dialectal group, except *F7*) may also have /č̣/ (/č/ being pronounced nearly like [tš], and /č̣/ nearly like [tç]).

Coptic has five *stops:* /k/ (10) (and /c/ (29), which is a palatalized /k/ corresponding approximately to [kj]); /p/ (16); /t/ (19); and /'/ (31) (see ALEPH; CRYPTOPHONEME; and GEMINATION, VOCALIC). For the aspirated affricate and stops in *B* etc. (/čh/, /kh/, /ph/, /th/), see above.

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RODOLPHE KASSER

PHONOLOGY OF THE GREEK OF EGYPT, INFLUENCE OF COPTIC ON THE. The main source for the Greek language in Egypt is the mass of nonliterary papyri, ostraca, and inscriptions from the Ptolemaic, Roman, and Byzantine periods, a total of almost fifty thousand documents. An analysis of the orthographic variations in these documents indicates that the pronunciation of the Greek koine spoken and written within the confines of Greco-Roman Egypt reflects to a large extent a transitional stage between that of the classical Greek dialects and that of modern Greek. But there is also extensive evidence of bilingual interference in its phonology by Coptic.

As regards consonants, there is some evidence from as far back as the early Roman period for the shift of the classical voiced stops /b/, /g/, and /d/, represented by *β*, *γ*, and *δ*, to fricatives, as in modern Greek. But there is abundant evidence from documents of the same period and place that these sounds were still stops, for *γ* and *δ* interchange very frequently, and *β* occasionally, with the symbols for the corresponding voiceless stops *κ*, *τ*, and *π*, respectively. Similarly, *χ*, *ϑ*, and *φ*, the symbols for the aspirated stops /kh/, /th/, and /ph/, also interchange frequently in the same documents with *κ*, *τ*, and *π*. This confusion, found extensively only in Egypt and paralleled in the spelling of Greek loanwords in Coptic, has no satisfactory explanation in terms of Greek phonology, for although both the voiced and aspirated stops have shifted to fricatives in modern Greek, they have never merged with those of another order but have remained distinct to the present day.

In Coptic, however, there was no phonemic distinction between voiced and voiceless stops in any dialect. But the sound represented by ⲃ occurs as a distinct phoneme, pronounced during the Greco-Roman period as a voiced bilabial fricative [β]; hence, the symbols for the labial stops are not so frequently confused. Similarly, the unconditional interchange of aspirated and voiceless stops is caused by bilingual interference. In Coptic, aspirated stops were phonemic only in the BOHAIRIC dialect, where the opposition occurred only in accented syllables and the aspirates were lost in late Byzantine times.

In addition, the voiced bilabial fricative quality postulated for Greek *β* especially when it interchanges with *ου* /w/ or *υ* /y/ coincides with that of Coptic ⲃ, and the fricative quality of intervocalic Greek *γ* in connection with rounded back vowels may represent the labiovelar fricative quality of the Coptic ⲟⲩ /w/.

There is also widespread confusion of *λ* and *ρ*. Although in Greek the phonetic quality of these liquids varied considerably, nowhere outside Egypt was there an identification of the two sounds. In the FAYYUMIC dialect of Coptic, however, from which

area most of the documents showing this interchange come, there may have been only one liquid phoneme /l/, for most words spelled with ⲣ in other dialects show ⲗ in Fayyumic, although ⲣ is retained in many words.

The final nasal is frequently dropped in pronunciation, a tendency that has continued in spoken Greek to the present day. In addition, medial nasals are frequently lost, especially after stops. This is also the result of bilingual interference, for in Coptic a voiceless stop had a voiced allophone following a nasal. This fact, combined with the underdifferentiation of voiced and voiceless stops, made *ντ*, *τ*, *δ*, and *νδ*, for example, simply orthographic variants of the same sound /t/.

Initial aspiration is frequently dropped. This represents a phonetic tendency within Greek itself, in which aspiration was generally lost during the period of the koine. Aspiration was also lost in some Coptic dialects in Byzantine times.

In vowels, the classical long diphthongs were reduced to simple vowels by the end of the first century B.C. The short diphthongs in *-ι* became identified with simple vowels, *ει* with *ι* in /i/ already in the third century B.C., *αι* with *ε* in /*ε*/ in the second century B.C., and *οι* (and *υι*) with *υ* in /y/ by the first century A.D.

The short diphthong *ου* had become a simple vowel /u/ before the beginning of the Ptolemaic period. In the Roman and Byzantine periods, it interchanged occasionally with *ω* and *ο*, both representing /o/. Since this interchange was rare elsewhere in Greek but was paralleled in Greek loanwords in Coptic, it may rest on bilingual interference. In Coptic, ⲟⲩ is a reflex of ⲱ and ⲙ and ⲛ, and it has been proposed that ⲱ after ⲟⲩ represented the same sound; but a phonemic opposition between /o/ and /u/ seems well established.

By the second century B.C. the short diphthongs *αυ* and *ευ* were showing evidence of the reduction of their second element to a consonantal sound [w], which closed to a bilabial fricative [β] in Byzantine times. This corresponds to the known historical development of these diphthongs from original /au eu/ to /av εv/ or /af εf/ in modern Greek. Parallel orthographic variations in Coptic suggest that Greek *αυ* and *ευ* may have been identified with Coptic ⲁⲩ and ⲉⲩ, both arising frequently from contraction from ⲁⲟⲩ and ⲉⲟⲩ, which also represented a vocalic plus a consonantal element.

The simple vowels for the most part preserved their classical Greek pronunciation, but itacism was more advanced because of the nature of the Coptic vowel system, in which there were only three front vowel phonemes corresponding to the four Greek front vowels. In addition, *η* seems to have been bivalent, since throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods it was confused sometimes with the /i/ sound represented primarily by *ι* and *ει*, and sometimes with the /*ε*/ sound represented by *ε* and *αι*, as well as frequently with *υ*. In Coptic, ⲏ occurred only in accented syllables and was bivalent. In all dialects it represented an allophone of /i/ before or after sonants. In Bohairic, it also represented an allophone of /ae/.

The simple vowel represented by *υ* was particularly unstable. In the koine where the diphthong *ου* came to represent /u/, *υ* apparently represented the Attic value /y/, until it finally merged with /i/ about the ninth century A.D. The interchange of the symbols for /y/ and /i/ possibly indicates the unrounding of the /y/ and its merger with /i/ in Egypt during Byzantine times. But the constant confusion of *υ* with other vowel symbols, especially *η*, suggests underdifferentiation of phonemes through bilingual interference, since Coptic had no /y/ sound. There are parallel interchanges of ⲩ with ⲓ and ⲏ in Greek loanwords in Coptic.

There is also a frequent interchange of *α* with *ε* and *ο*, mainly in unaccented syllables but occasionally in accented syllables as well. This is also the result of bilingual interference, for in no dialect of Coptic were there more than two phonemes corresponding to the three Greek phonemes represented by *α*, *ε*, and *ο*.

Finally, all quantitative distinction has been lost. This in turn reflects a change in the nature of the Greek accent from pitch to stress, which came about in Egypt, as generally throughout the koine, through the transfer by nonnative Greek-speakers of their own accentual patterns to their Greek.

The possibility of the influence of Coptic on the phonology of the Greek of Egypt has long been recognized but usually not invoked to explain more than isolated phenomena in documents clearly emanating from the Egyptian element of the population. But the evidence of bilingual interference in the nonliterary papyri, ostraca, and inscriptions, especially from the Roman and Byzantine periods, is so extensive that Coptic influence must have fairly permeated the Greek language in Egypt.

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PRE-COPTIC. This general term indicates different stages of script or script forms that to a greater or lesser extent prepared or influenced the creation of the Coptic script. Since the use of the Greek alphabet is essential to the definition of Coptic, it is obvious that one must go back to the first more or less regular contacts between Greeks and Egyptians —such as the foundation of the Greek colony of Naucratis in the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty (seventh–sixth century B.C.)—to search for the very beginnings of Egyptian written with Greek letters. Indeed, the transliterations of Egyptian proper names in Greek texts (GREEK TRANSCRIPTIONS) are the first seeds of Pre-Coptic. But an occasional rendition of a Greek name in hieroglyphs can also be encountered, such as *3rksk3rs* for Alexicles (Quaegebeur, 1976, pp. 50–51; cf. de Meulenaere, 1966, pp. 42–43). In the same period (Twenty-sixth Dynasty, sixth and seventh centuries B.C.) demotic script came into general use in the administration. Demotic scribes regularly employed phonetic, instead of etymological, orthographies. This phenomenon and its effect on phonetic orthographies in hieroglyphic merit more detailed study (Quaegebeur, 1980, pp. 68–69). Some authors even think that phonetic and, in particular, alphabetic spellings in hieroglyphic texts from late pharaonic times onward are to be explained as tendencies toward simplification caused by the advantages recognized in the simple Greek script system (e.g., Brunner, 1965, p. 767). But we must not overlook that in this period Aramaic texts too are known in Egypt. An example is the notation of the word *ntr* (god) by means of the uniliteral signs *n* + *t* (compare ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) on the Naucratis stela (l. 5; Nectanebo I; cf. Lichtheim 1980, p. 87, for bibliography).

From the late fourth and early third centuries B.C., when after the conquest of Alexander the Great many Greeks settled in Egypt, one finds an enormous number of Egyptian proper names integrated into Greek texts. On the other hand, many Greek anthroponyms, such as those of eponymous priests and priestesses, were rendered alphabetically in demotic documents (Clarysse et al., 1982). In both kinds of transliteration a measure of systematization occurs with local characteristics.

Apart from the custom of writing Egyptian proper names in Greek documents in the alphabet used, there survives evidence from Greco-Roman times of a few isolated attempts to transcribe Egyptian generic names or somewhat longer texts by making exclusive use of the Greek alphabet. In such cases, one speaks of PRE-OLD COPTIC.

The last stage of Pre-Coptic, then, is OLD COPTIC. From the first century A.D. onward, attempts to write Egyptian (Late Egyptian or contemporary vernacular) with Greek characters to which were added a varying number of supplementary signs derived from demotic became more numerous and more systematic. Moreover, it is interesting to see that in the same period demotic scribes were making ever greater use of alphabetic orthographies (Spiegelberg, 1901, pp. 18–19; Lüddeckens, 1980, p. 256). Unique of their kind are the demotic ostraca of Narmuthis (Madīnat Māḍī) from the second century A.D., school exercises of a sort (Bresciani et al., 1983), in which Greek is mixed with demotic; not only are Greek words in Greek script integrated into demotic texts, but also some attempts are made to write native words in an alphabetical way, combining Greek and demotic signs (Pernigotti, 1984).

The transition from the Egyptian scripts to Old Coptic was fostered by circumstances: first of all, mention should be made of the decline of the temple scriptoria, which put an end to the tradition of complex hieroglyphics and of the difficult demotic script, which was also used for religious, literary, and scientific works. (The last hieroglyphic inscription, found at Philae, dates from 393–394 A.D.; demotic survives in graffiti at Philae until the fifth century, the last dated example belonging to 452–453. This southern center of the Isis cult was only closed, by a decree of Justinian, in 550.) Further, it should be borne in mind that from Ptolemaic times onward the bearers of the pharaonic heritage often knew Greek or even had a Hellenistic education, as is apparent from Greek translations of demotic literature.

The abandonment of such a characteristic script system implies a fundamental change in cultural traditions. (That is why the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* does not devote an article to the Coptic script.) The national language survives, but tainted by a large number of Greek words (see VOCABULARY, COPTO-GREEK). The transition from the demotic to the Coptic language is difficult to date precisely (Sethe, 1925; Vergote, 1973, Vol. 1b, pp. 1–4). Nor is the relation between the Coptic DIALECTS and any dialectal differentiation in the earlier, Pre-Coptic and in particular Pharaonic, language phases definitely clear (Osing, 1974).

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PRE-OLD COPTIC. Pre-Old Coptic is a component of PRE-COPTIC, more specifically the stage preceding OLD COPTIC. It differs from the latter preparatory stage mainly in that no supplementary signs borrowed from demotic were used to transliterate phonemes that did not exist in Greek. GREEK TRANSCRIPTIONS of proper names had demonstrated the possibility of writing Egyptian in an alphabetical script, even though a number of sounds could not be rendered adequately. In Greco-Roman times there are, in addition to the Greek transcriptions of proper names, a number of other attempts to render Egyptian by means of the Greek alphabet. The aim of these instances, which can be individually different, is most of the time not very clear. But the motive has to be different from that of the usual Greek transcriptions of proper names integrated in a Greek context.

Fairly well known are a Heidelberg papyrus and a graffito from Abydos, both of the earlier Ptolemaic period. A number of other cases can be added, but several remain uncertain because of difficulties in the interpretation. Here is a short survey:

(1) P. Heid. inv. no. 414 verso (mentioned as P. Heid. inv. 413 by Pack, 1965, no. 2157; the recto is a grammatical treatise), extracted from mummy cartonnage from el-Hiba (Teudjoi), is a list of Greek words with their Egyptian counterparts written in the Greek alphabet. Bilabel (1937, pp. 79–80), who described a few extracts of the text, dates it to the middle of the third century B.C. Because this text is not well known (not incorporated in Černý, 1976, or Westendorf, 1977), the available data are presented here: *λεκάνιον–κρωρι*; *ἀξίνη–κολεβειν*; *μάχαιρα–σηφι*; *μόσχος–αγολ* (the accentlike mark above the *γ* apparently indicated that the consonant did not correspond exactly to the Greek gamma, which equals the Bohairic ⲁⲅⲟⲗ). The text now appears to have been lost (Quaegebeur, 1982, p. 129, n. 18). In Bilabel's view, the lexicon itself reveals its purpose: "Der Text zeigt . . . dass auch in den Kreisen der herrschenden Griechenschicht das Interesse an der alteinheimischen Sprache aus dem praktischen Bedürfnis heraus bestand." On the other hand, it cannot be ruled out that it was a manual for Egyptians to learn Greek.

(2) Graffito from Abydos (Temple of Sethi I), edited by P. Perdrizet and G. Lefebvre (1919, no. 74), which is discussed by P. Lacau (1933–1934); new edition with commentary in P. W. Pestman et al. (1977, doc. no. 11). Of the seven lines of Greek letters, only four can be interpreted with sufficient certainty. The interrupted first line is repeated in full in line two. After the regnal year, given in the Greek manner (Ἔτους) *ϵ* (= 5), we read: *Πορω Υρ-γοναφορ μηι Εσι νομ Ουσιρι μηι Εμουνλασοντηρ πνοτω*, which is to be regarded as transcribed Egyptian: "Pharaoh Hyrgonaphor, beloved by Isis and Osiris, beloved by Amun, king of gods, the great god." Because this pharaoh is identified with the indigenous rebel king whose name should be read Ḥr-wn-nfr (Clarysse, 1978, pp. 243–53), the graffito can now be exactly dated to 202–201 B.C. (Vandorpe, 1986, pp. 299–300). Apart from the dating formula, the content of the text is not clear. Yet it remains an important historical and linguistic piece of evidence, which raises the question why a scribe would write such a long Egyptian text in Greek characters. Was he an Egyptian who could read and write Greek but had not mastered demotic script?

(3) Greek papyrus UPZ I no. 79 (Wilcken, 1927), dated to 159 B.C., known as the dream of Nektembes. In a dream the latter is told (lines 4–5): *φαφερε σι ευρεηξ . . . χμεννι . . . πελ λελ χασον χανι*. Though the attempts to understand the text by way of Egyptian were unsuccessful, the editor writes, "Diese barbarischen Lautgruppen . . . können nach Lage der Dinge nichts anderes sein als griechische Transkriptionen von ägyptischen Wörtern."

(4) Greek inscription from Hermopolis Magna (al-Ashmūnayn) preserved in Alexandria, Greco-Roman Museum no. 26.050. The document was published by V. Girgis (1965, p. 121) and again in P. W. Pestman et al. (1977, doc. no. 12). This dedication by priests of Thoth in honor of a *strategos* is to be dated at the end of the second or beginning of the first century B.C. After the name ΘΩΥΘ follows Ω Ω Ω NOBZMOYN. If taken as Egyptian, this means "Thoth, trismegas, lord of Ashmūnayn/Hermopolis." Since it is the name of a god followed by epithets, this example could be treated as a special case among the Greek transcriptions.

(5) For Roman times two particularly interesting mummy labels in the Louvre (inv. 532 and 550) are noteworthy; they contain the same demotic religious formula in Greek transcription: *Ανχη βιου ομμα Ουσορχοντεμοντ νοντω νοβηβωτ*, to be translated as "May his *ba* [soul] live before Osiris, foremost in the

West, great god, lord of Abydos" (Quaegebeur, 1978, pp. 254–55). Notwithstanding the synchronism (2nd or 3rd century A.D.) with Old Coptic, this text belongs rather to the stage of Pre-Old Coptic because of the exclusive use of the Greek alphabet. An interesting feature is that *νοντ(ω)* = *ntr (ˁ3)* seems to correspond to the Akhmimic form ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ (= Sahidic ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ).

(6) Perhaps a Munich papyrus may also be mentioned here, regarded by the editor as a kind of schoolbook (Spiegelberg, 1928, pp. 44–49) with short demotic sentences, among which are personal names; for a few expressions, a Greek transcription appears between the lines. Because of the use of additional signs, making comparison possible with the Old Coptic glosses, this item should rather be treated as an example of Old Coptic.

(7) The demotic ostraca of Narmuthis (Madīnat Māḍī), which are essentially school exercises from the second century A.D., also deserve special mention. Besides using Greek names and words written in Greek, they contain some attempts to render Egyptian terms by means of Greek letters combined with demotic signs.

(8) An uncertain instance from the beginning of the Roman period is P. IFAO III 34, dating to 32 B.C. (Schwartz and Wagner, 1975), an extremely difficult text of which, apart from the name of a prefect and a few elements pointing to Greek, one cannot make sense. Presumably, the scribe was a native who did not know Greek very well at all, but the question was put whether Egyptian was not inserted, written in Greek characters.

(9) Finally, the two lines (9–10) of text in P. Hamb. II 187 (Morenz, 1959, p. 92, n. 1) from 246–245 B.C. have wrongly been considered as Egyptian transcribed in Greek characters, as was shown by E. van 't Dack (1964, pp. 62–63). The two Oxyrhynchus texts referred to in this edition (P. Hamb. II 167), P. Oxy. 90 (not 40!), ll. 6–7, and 287 (second hand), both from Roman times, were rightly not interpreted as grecized demotic by their editors.

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PROTODIALECT. From the earliest time that its existence is attested (before 3000 B.C.) until its most recent form, prior to its extinction as a living tongue, the Egyptian language has evolved somewhat in its phonology. To be sure, while this lan-

guage was still alive, Coptology had not yet been born, so that no phonologist possessing modern scientific skills could, by hearing the language pronounced as it was spoken, note precisely its articulation. However, there exist thousands of Egyptian texts, both pharaonic and Coptic, that record the existence of diverse orthographies. If they are simultaneous, they are considered dialectal orthographies synchronically. If they are successive, they are considered to indicate various evolutionary stages of the language.

Even though orthography is merely a conventional system with an essentially practical usage and therefore a system with rather empirical foundations, and though it is very far from answering all theoretical questions asked by phonologists and from satisfying the concerns, curiosity, and needs of the researcher, one cannot deny that orthography has some capacity to inform one of the nature of a language's phonology. This is particularly true either when the vocabulary of this language has adopted lexemes of other languages whose phonology is better understood or when various lexemes of the language in question have been cited, if not adopted, in texts from a neighboring language with a better-known phonology. To a certain extent, such is the case with pharaonic Egyptian and, to an even greater degree, Coptic, because of the close coexistence of Coptic and Greek in Roman-Byzantine Egypt, in which the autochthonous majority who spoke Coptic were politically dominated by the Hellenized minority, even within the framework of the imperial Roman administration. Thus, one finds many Egyptian proper nouns transcribed into Greek, and vice versa, as well as numerous Greek words adopted into Coptic, a language whose alphabet is in fact mostly Greek (see VOCABULARY, COPTO-GREEK and ETYMOLOGY; also ALPHABET IN COPTIC, GREEK, and ALPHABETS, COPTIC).

The phonological evolution observable in Egyptian before the Coptic era is unfortunately limited to consonants since pharaonic writing exhibited no vowels. In Coptic, on the other hand, the vowels were written along with the consonants. Concerning Egyptian, one should not be surprised to observe some phonological evolution, since the language can be analyzed today on the basis of texts covering more than three thousand years. Coptic, however, existed for scarcely a millennium, and even less if one stops with the epoch in which it ceased to be both productive in the literary field and truly living as a spoken language among Egyptians, surviving with difficulty and increasing artificiality for several centuries only within the closed and conservative milieu of the Coptic clergy. Consequently, one might expect to observe no evolution within Coptic and to see here only one stage, the single and final stage in the evolution of the Egyptian language. At most, by comparing the idioms of Coptic with each other, one finds that some, particularly Akhmimic (*A*) and Bohairic (*B*), have a phonemic inventory slightly richer than certain others, such as Sahidic (*S*), Lyco-(Dios)politan (*L*), Mesokemic (*M*), crypto-Mesokemic (*W*), South Fayyumic (*V*), and Fayyumic (*F*). For example, *A* and *B* have retained phonemes such as /x/ from pharaonic Egyptian, which classical *S* and *L* have lost. This is, of course, an interesting phenomenon. But the phenomenon is even more remarkable when the presence and disappearance of such a phoneme can be noticed in the documents of a single dialect, as it evolves from a formative archaic stage, relatively rich in phonemes, to a more recent, neutralized and impoverished state.

Such observations can also be made here or there in the study of vowels (Kasser, 1984, pp. 246ff.), where the phenomenon remains strictly confined to Coptic because pharaonic Egyptian texts exhibit no written vowels. One must admit that, if one finds in the same position and quality (i.e., long stressed, short stressed, unstressed) a greater variety of vocalic usage, this is a sign of archaism. This vocalic archaism is frequently confirmed by consonantal archaic phonology (see below). Thus, for example, insofar as final unstressed vowels are concerned, *A*, *L4*, *L5*, *M*, and *S* have only one (-ⲉ), while *L6* still possesses two (-ⲉ and -ⲓ), as do *V* and *F* (-ⲓ and -ⲉ). *F7* also has two (-ⲓ and -ⲁ). One could also say that *B* retains two (-ⲓ and Ø, that is, zero vowel, no vowel at all). Further, one also sees two in proto-Lyco-(Dios)politan (*pL*, -ⲉ and -ⲓ) and in proto-Theban (*P*, -ⲉ and -ⲁ), dialects whose consonantic inventory is very archaic (see below).

It can thus be observed that almost all Coptic dialects have adopted only one or the other of the two vowels -ⲉ or -ⲓ in the unstressed final position, the second tightly closed and the first less closed or more or less medial. But the archaic *P* and *F7* show in that position a very open, unstressed final vowel, -ⲁ, an unusual and remarkable phenomenon in Coptic.

The study of Egyptian phonological evolution remains most fruitful when dealing with consonants, which have been transcribed over a period of approximately four thousand years, from the most ancient of pharaonic texts to the later Coptic documents. In fact, the result of such an analysis can be a synoptic table like that published by Vergote

(1945, pp. 122–23), which expanded Worrell's study (1934). As far as Coptic is concerned, however, this table shows only synchronic and interdialectal differences, except in the cases of silencing (disappearance of phonemes).

Nevertheless, some thirty years later, Vergote (1973–1983, Vol. 1a, p. 57) discovered some rare archaic documents in Coptic that attest and manifest the existence of a "proto-Subakhmimic" or rather (in present Coptological terminology) "proto-Lyco-(Dios)politan" (see DIALECT I and Kasser, 1990), and of a "proto-Sahidic" (according to Vergote's terminology, now rather to be considered a "proto-Theban" very similar to some reconstructed "proto-Sahidic"; see DIALECT P and Kasser, 1990), sigla respectively *pL* and *P*. These remarkable idioms had conserved up to the third–fourth centuries two phonemes that can reasonably be considered archaic in the Lyco-(Dios)politan cluster, and also in comparision with Sahidic. Still surviving in *pL* and *P*, they have disappeared from *L*, and also cannot be found in *S*. The first is /x/, which is derived from $\underline{h} = /x_2/$ (rarely from $\underset{\smile}{h} = /x_3/$). The second is the phoneme /ç/, which is the principal intermediate form in the evolution that starts with $\underset{\smile}{h} = /x_3/$ and finally ends at /š/ in all Coptic dialects, except for Akhmimic (*A*), which has /x/ in its place. This /x/ is apparently identical to the /x/ derived from $/x_2/$. Therefore, even within Coptic, in the consonants there is a small segment where a modest but significant phonological evolution in the Egyptian language can be observed.

Present terminology is that of Kasser (1980a, pp. 109–111), who called proto-Theban (considered more precisely a kind of proto-Sahidic) and proto-Lycopolitan "protodialects." When, through the very rare discovery of archaic texts, protodialects appear in Coptology, the protodialect exists as an entity logically anterior to the Coptic "dialects" that have been defined and named according to the habitual and traditional criteria. It is anterior not exactly in the same way that a father is anterior to his son, but as someone of the father's generation, perhaps the father's brother or cousin, is logically anterior to the father's son. Concerning the dialects, their character as "dialects" came to be recognized because their differentiating traces were observed throughout the known Coptic texts. Furthermore, these dialects represented, each in its own way, the state of the phonological evolution of the Egyptian language in the various regions of the country. This held true during the entire Coptic era, or at least for *A*, *L*, *M*, *W*, *V*, and possibly *F* until they were smothered by *S*. Therefore, in contrast to these various idioms in general, but more particularly in contrast to *L* and also *S*, respectively, proto-Lycopolitan (*pL*) and proto-Theban (*P*) are called "protodialects." A specific protodialect of *B*, *F*, *V*, *W*, *M*, or *A* may yet come to light, should new texts be discovered with such archaic phonological features.

Concerning *L* and also *S*, it is known that these idioms lost /ç/ and even /x/ at the termination of a well-known phonological evolution: the majority of $x_3 > /ç/ > /š/$, while x_2, linked to a minority of x_3, $> /x/ > /h/$. Consequently, it is the survival of /ç/ and /x/ in *pL* and *P* very similar to some reconstructed "proto-Sahidic") that makes the former a protodialect of *L* and the latter a protodialect that looks very like a tentatively reconstructed protodialect of *S*, *pL* in the rest of its phonological system being very Lycopolitan and *P* being more often than not identical with *S*. In *A* and *B*, on the other hand, one can see in the mass of their manuscripts from each period that /x/ was always present, so that this phoneme plays a role in the definition of *A* and *B* as dialects and has nothing of a protodialectal stage.

A protodialect, therefore, can exist only in relationship to a dialect to which it is extremely similar, if not identical, in most of its phonological traits. This dialect, however, shows a phonological evolution in some precise point—almost always in its consonants—away from its protodialect. This type of relationship of protodialect to dialect is also that which exists, in a reversed sense, between a dialect and a METADIALECT, with this latter showing a state of evolution posterior to that of the dialect to which it corresponds.

For reasons tied to the status of the present knowledge of Coptic, which is based on documentation known to the present day, the presence or absence of /ç/—or even /x/ in a dialect other than *A* or *B*—in the graphicophonological system of one of the varieties of the Coptic language forms the only certain criterion that will permit one to distinguish between a protodialect and a dialect.

As for the age of these protodialectal documents, one will note that they are among the most ancient Coptic manuscripts, an observation that seems logically normal. However, occasionally a certain "dialectal" document will slightly predate a particular "protodialectal" document (just as the father's son may be, in certain cases, a little older than his uncle or some relative from his father's generation), indicating that the protodialect survived in one region of Egypt longer than in another. And when it vanished,

its disappearance would probably be progressive, with a certain period of contemporaneous usage of the protodialect by the conservatives and of the dialect by the innovators in the same area (see LANGUAGE(S), COPTIC).

It will be instructive here to borrow some component parts from the synoptic table of Vergote in a slightly modified order, adapting and illustrating each one with an example and choosing in particular those components that are useful in the definition of a protodialect.

The abbreviations and adaptations employed are as follows: for periods, MK = Middle Kingdom, NK = New Kingdom, pC = Saitic and Greco-Roman (or proto-Coptic) period, C = Coptic period; for dialects, *L* = *A2* of Vergote; *S . . .* = *S*, *F*, and its subdialects, as well as *M* and *V*, which were still unknown to Vergote in 1945; *L . . .* within the pC period = *pL* (and through *P* a reconstructed **pS*). Without postulating or defining any phonological difference between them, two varieties of /x_3/ will henceforth be distinguished here: the major form whose evolution was /ç/ > /š/ in *L . . .* is /x_{33}/; and the minor form that evolved into /h/ in *L . . .* is /x_{32}/.

(MK) *ḥ* > (NK) *ḥ* > (pC) /h/ > (C) /h/; for example, *ḥḳr* > ϩⲕⲟ *L*, *S . . .*, *B*, *A*, to be hungry.

(MK) *h* > (NK) *h* > (pC) /h/ > (C) /h/; for example, *hb* > ϩⲱⲃ *L*, *S . . .*, *B*, *A*, thing.

(MK) x_2 > (NK) x_2 > (pC) /x_2/ [*A*], /x/ *L . . .*, [*B*] > /x_2/ *A*, /x/ *B*, but /h/ *L*, *S . . .*; for example, *ḫnw* ϧⲟⲩⲛ *B*, *P* (and a reconstructed **pS*), ϩⲟⲩⲛ *A*, *pL*, but ϩⲟⲩⲛ *L*, *S . . .*, inside part.

x_3 = (MK) x_{32} > (NK) x_{32} > x_2 = (pC) /x_2/ [*A*], /x/ *L . . .*, [*B*] > /x_2/ *A*, /x/ *B* but /h/ *L . . .*; for example, *ʿnḫ* ⲱⲛϧ *B*, ⲱⲁϧ *P* and a reconstructed **pS*, ⲱⲛϩ *A* (and *pL* through ⲁⲛϩ *pL*), but ⲱⲛϩ *L*, *S . . .*, to live.

x_3 = (MK) x_{33} > (NK) x_{33} > (pC) /ç/ *L . . .*, [*B*], but /x_{33}/ [*A*], then (pC) /ç/ *L . . .*, [*B*] > (C) /š/ *L*, *S . . .*, *B*, and (pC) /x_{33}/ [*A*] > /x/ *A*; for example, *ḫpr* > ϣⲟⲡϵ *P* and a reconstructed **pS*), ϣⲱⲡϵ *pL*, [etc., and /çōpi/ *pB*] > ϥⲱⲡϵ *S*, *L*, ϥⲟⲡϵ *M*, ϥⲱⲡ *W*, *V*, *F*, *B*, but [/xŏpə/ *pA*] > ϩⲱⲡϵ *A*, to become.

(MK) *š* > (NK) *š* > (pC) /š/ > (C) /š/; for example, *šp*, ϥⲱⲡ *L*, *S . . .*, *B*, *A*, to receive.

[*See also:* Dialect İ; Dialect P.]

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RODOLPHE KASSER

SAHIDIC. Sahidic (siglum *S*) is a major Coptic dialect, earlier known as Upper Egyptian, Theban, or the southern dialect; the term "Sahidic," used by Athanasius of Qūṣ, was adopted by Stern (1880). In twentieth-century Coptology, *S* has been the main dialect of study and research—indeed Coptic *par excellence*, today totally supplanting BOHAIRIC in this respect (compare, for instance, its precedence in Crum, 1939, to that of Bohairic in Stern, 1880). This

process, virtually complete by 1915 (cf. Erman, 1915, pp. 180f.), may be said to have been initiated by Steindorff's grammar of 1894; yet note early statements favoring Sahidic as "older," "richer," and "purer" (Stern, 1880, p. 1; Sethe, in Kahle, 1954, p. 202), and "magis regularis atque ad analogiam exacta" (Peyron, 1841, p. xix), the earliest observation of its relatively innovating, leveling nature. Indeed, the reputation of *S* as "old," or at least "older" than Bohairic, is due rather to its early documentation and its chronological precedence over Bohairic, which replaced it as the Coptic koine, than to typological fact.

Still the prestige of Sahidic is certainly justified by its rich literature, both original and translated, scriptural and nonscriptural (homiletic, patristic, monastic, Gnostic, magical, poetic), religious and nonreligious (epistolary, documentary, legal, medical). Sahidic was probably the first Coptic dialect into which the Scriptures were translated, apparently in the third century; by the fourth, the translation was completed. Almost all original Coptic literature was written in Sahidic (see ANTONY OF EGYPT, SAINT; PACHOMIUS, SAINT; SHENUTE, SAINT). By the ninth century, *S* had become the official dialect of the Coptic church, but as early as the fourth century, perhaps even earlier, it was a common Pan-Egyptian written literary dialect, spread at least from Heliopolis to Aswan. In subsequent centuries, it completely replaced the minor dialects (*A*, *L*, *M*) as a colloquial idiom. By the time of the ARAB CONQUEST OF EGYPT, *S* was the sole literary dialect beside northern Bohairic. From the ninth century onward, *S* gradually receded before Bohairic, a process much accelerated from the eleventh century on.

Sahidic occupies "a position apart from all other dialects" (Polotsky, 1970, p. 560) in that, first, it is "neutral" (Worrell, 1934, p. 73; Kahle, 1954, p. 241) or, better, most leveled, dialectologically speaking; it is the dialect most difficult to characterize distinctively, a "mean" dialect, the one with the fewest exclusive traits and the most isoglosses shared with others. Second, it raises (1) the diachronic, nondescriptive question of its local origin and "proper domain" (the statement by Athanasius of Qūṣ that Sahidic is "the dialect of Miṣr" is not helpful here) and (2) the synchronic question of its integration in the overall dialectological scheme. Question 1 is controversial: Worrell (1934, pp. 68ff.) considered its initial range to have been Oxyrhynchus and the lower valley (his "region IV" or perhaps an area even more northerly); Vergote (1973b, Vol. 1a, pp. 2f.) and Kasser (1980a, pp. 103ff.) suggested it spread southward from around Saqqara-Memphis (perhaps Worrell's "region II"); Polotsky (1970, p. 561) considered Thebes as a possible point of origin. Rather extreme appear Kahle's thesis (1954, pp. 256ff.) tentatively identifying its point of origin in Alexandria, and Schenke's denying Sahidic any original local basis, considering it to be a koine type of idiom born out of contacts, interaction, and leveling of local dialects (1981, pp. 349ff.); Vergote's conception seems to be the most plausible.

In any case, the characterization, still encountered, of Sahidic as "artificial" to a degree is descriptively irrelevant. It is true that standard literary Sahidic is largely "a gift" of the translation of the Bible (and in this sense many literary languages are "artificial") and that Sahidic probably owes its drastic expansion to the progressive suppression of distinctive phenomena. What specific traits Sahidic has, it shares most usually with Akhmimic and Subakhmimic in contrast to Bohairic and Fayyumic. ("Middle Egyptian" really occupies a roughly middle position between the two dialect clusters.) This is, however, no more than an impression and may be proved erroneous by a precise investigation.

Although standard, or "pure," Sahidic is more of a construct, an idealized average, a research *point de repère* than linguistic reality, some varieties of the dialect approach it more closely than others (see below); Sahidic is a *Mischdialekt*, an aggregation of linguistic habits only imperfectly and variously standardized (cf. Mink, 1978, pp. 91ff.; his statement that "die Annahme von Dialekten ist . . . sprachwissenschaftlich ein Konstrukt" is especially cogent when applied to Sahidic). However, extreme cases of "tainting" (e.g., by Fayyumic, Bohairic, Subakhmimic) must be specially treated. The dialect *P*, documented in the Papyrus Bodmer VI text of Proverbs published by Kasser (1960), is held by Vergote (1973a, p. 57) and Kasser (1980a, pp. 62ff.) to be a "protodialect of Sahidic," with non-Sahidic (Theban or Subakhmimic) traits; according to Nagel (1965), it represents early Theban.

1. Standard Sahidic

1.1 Phonology, Morphophonology, and Orthography. As a rule, *S* agrees with Bohairic in points of vocalism, while sharing its consonantism with *A*–*L* —according to Kasser, in a way reflecting an evolutive scale (see Vergote, 1973b, sec. 60 p. 58, and Kasser, 1981, sec. 25, for lists of "isophones").

1.1.1. Sahidic has no aspirate phonemes: ⲑ, ⲫ, and ⲭ are (in native words) monogram graphemes repre-

senting a combination of two phonemes. (They may have a different standing in the system of Greek-origin phonology.)

1.1.2. Sahidic has only one unvoiced laryngeal spirant (ⲩ /h/).

1.1.3. ⲭ and ϭ represent distinct phonemes (velopalatal or palatalized stop and alveolar affricate, respectively, ⲭⲉ and ϭⲉ, as in ⲭⲱ, say, and ϭⲱ, remain).

1.1.4. Sahidic has at least one laryngeal stop phoneme (/X/ = Vergote's and Kasser's /'/), synchronically suprasegmental: "(proneness to) vocalic reduplication." Its distribution is complex (see Satzinger, 1979), with the allophones "zero" (e.g., nonsyllabic /X/ in the final position and pausal junctive: ⲙⲉ, truth) and ⲁ (syllabic, pretonic /X/: ⲧⲁⲙⲟ, inform). In *P*, the laryngeal stop has its own sporadic grapheme (ⲗ).

1.1.5. In Sahidic there is no progressive sibilant assimilation to /s/ (ⲥⲁⲁⲛϣ̄, make live, nourish), but progressive sibilant assimilation to /c/ does take place (ϣⲁⲭⲉ, speak).

1.1.6. Sonorants (/b/, /l/, /m/, /n/, and /r/) closing the tone syllable are graphically "reduplicated," occurring in two neighboring syllables as syllabic and nonsyllabic (onset): ⲥⲃ̄ⲃⲉ, plow; ⲥⲗ̄ⲗⲟ, old; ⲥⲙ̄ⲙⲉ, report; ⲕⲛ̄ⲛⲉ, be fat; ⲃⲣ̄ⲣⲉ, new.

1.1.7. The Sahidic vowel in the unstressed syllable (after Polotsky, 1933) is outlined in Table 1.

1.1.8. Stressed ⲁ represents the allophone of /o/ before /h/ and /X/ (ϥⲕⲁⲥ, be pained; ⲧⲃⲁ, ten thousand). In similar prelaryngeal environments, ⲉ represents /a/ (ⲥⲉⲉⲙⲉ, be left over; ⲥⲉ, way).

1.1.9. Orthography (see in exhaustive detail Kasser, 1980a). Diagrams: ⲑⲓ, ⲟⲩ. Monograms: ⲑ, ⲫ, ⲭ, ⳝ, ⲯ. ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ, God, is not included among the *nomina sacra* abbreviations. The superlinear stroke occurs above one or more nonvocalic elements, signaling their syllabic phonological status (not their phonetic value or manner of actualization; see Polotsky, 1957a, pp. 221ff., 1971, pp. 227ff.). Proclitic prosodic: relative weakness is fully reflected in the standard orthography; see 1.3.7.

1.2 Morphology (Systemic and Nonsystemic) and Word Formation.

1.2.1. A superficial vocalic *e*-merger of the four converters (ⲉ- circ., ⲉ- second present, ⲛⲉ- preterite, ⲉⲧ(ⲉ)- relative) is characteristic of Sahidic; of these, the first two are actually homonymous. The relative and second perfect forms are not homonymous in the best standard orthography (ⲉⲛⲧ-ⲁ- versus ⲛ̄ⲧ-ⲁ-, respectively); the second perfect may be further circumstantially converted (ⲉ-ⲛ̄ⲧ-ⲁ-; Polotsky, 1957a, pp. 232ff., 1971, p. 232, 1960, sec. 11 obs., e.g., Mt. 20:28 and Eccl. 19:15).

1.2.2. The Sahidic future tense is the extended bipartite ϯⲛⲁⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄; the so-called third future (ⲉⲣⲉ-/ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲣ-) is a mode rather than a tense (cf. Polotsky, 1950, pp. 34ff., 1971, pp. 219ff.) and has very limited convertibility (only circ. of the negative base: Polotsky, 1957a, p. 233, 1971, p. 233, 1960, pp. 400, 401, 1971, pp. 246ff.). ⲧⲉⲣⲁ- is a special second-person singular feminine future form.

1.2.3. The *S* conjunctive presuffixal base consists of a nasal (ⲛ̄) and no dental, except for the first-person singular (ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ-, ⲛⲧⲁ-). The conjunctive is in *S* a conjugation form apart, standing midway between the tripartite and bipartite patterns, with ⲛ̄- (prenominally ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ-) marking the modifier status of a nexus of (pro)noun and infinitive; morphologically, this special status is manifested in the pronominal elements, which are (with a single exception in the

TABLE 1.

PRETONIC		POSTTONIC			
FINAL SONORANT	NO SONORANT, INITIAL SONORANT	AFTER CLOSED STRESS SYLLABLE		AFTER OPEN STRESS SYLLABLE	
		INITIAL SONORANT	NO SONORANT, FINAL SONORANT	INITIAL OR FINAL SONORANT	NO SONORANT
Ø	ⲉ	ⲉ	Ø	Ø	Ø
ⲱⲣⲫⲱⲣϥ	ⲥⲉⲛⲥⲱⲛϥ	ⲥⲟⲧⲙⲉϥ	ⲥⲟⲧⲛϥ	ⲥⲱⲗⲛ̄	ⲥⲱⲧⲛ̄
	ⲟⲩⲫⲟⲩⲱϭϥ	ⲙⲟⲕⲙⲉⲕ (var. Ø)	ⲫⲟⲣⲫⲣ̄	ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄	
		ⲥⲟⲧⲃϥ		(var. ⲉ)	

first singular) identical with the bipartite actor pronouns (prefix pronouns).

1.2.4. ⲧⲁⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ, the causative or "future" conjunctive, a specific postimperative, postinterrogative form with a first singular causation or guarantee seme (Polotsky, 1944, pp. 1ff., 1971, pp. 106ff.), is a typically Sahidic form. The causative infinitive is used as a noncausative "that" form after several prepositions (but less usually after others).

1.2.5. Sahidic employs a specific "temporal" clause conjugation, tripartite pattern form (ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥ(ⲧⲙ)ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) distinct from the second and relative perfect forms.

1.2.6. The negatived conditional conjugation form has in Sahidic two variants (alternants), namely ⲉϥⲱⲁⲛⲧⲙⲥⲱⲧⲙ and ⲉϥⲧⲙⲥⲱⲧⲙ.

1.2.7. A special prenominal allomorph of all converters and some tripartite conjugation bases is characterized by the ending -ⲣⲉ.

1.2.8. Verbs of Greek origin occur in Sahidic in a zero-stem form (usually identical with the Greek imperative) and are directly incorporated in the conjugation and generally grammatical forms without the intermediation of an auxiliary: ⲁϥⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ, ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲅⲉⲓ, ⲉⲟⲙⲟⲗⲟⲅⲉⲓ (imperative/infinitive).

1.2.9. The verb ⲓ, give, has in *S* two imperatives, ⲓ and ⲙⲁ (Polotsky, 1950, pp. 76ff., 1971, pp. 211ff.).

1.2.10. Pronominals: Sahidic has a ternary determination category—definite, indefinite, and zero ({ⲡ}, {ⲟⲩ-}, Ø-) determinators, expanded by noun lexemes. The proclitic form of the demonstrative ⲡⲏ, namely ⲡⲓ-, has (wherever distinct from ⲡⲉⲓ-, the proclitic allomorph of ⲡⲁⲓ̈) affective and specially designative value (Polotsky, 1957a, pp. 229ff., 1971, pp. 231ff.).

1.2.11. Numbers are expressed as a rule by number words, not letters (e.g., Acts 23:23).

1.2.12. The first-person singular suffix-pronoun -ⲓ- has the allomorphs -ⲁ- (ⲛⲛ-ⲁ-, ⲧⲣ-ⲁ-) and -ⲧ (as object of infinitives following a consonant or /X/ or prepositions in similar environments). The second-person singular feminine suffix-pronoun consists of the allomorphs -Ø-/-ⲣⲉ after conjugation bases -Ø-/-ⲉ-/-ⲧⲉ as object of infinitives. The second-person plural suffix-pronoun consists of the allomorphs -ⲧⲛ- and -ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-. The third-person plural suffix-pronoun is nonsyllabic after ⲛⲛⲉ-, ⲧⲣⲉ-, ⲛⲉ- (possessive article). A special objective pronoun-paradigm is characterized by the third-person plural term -ⲥⲉ/-ⲥⲟⲩ. (This paradigm occurs mostly after another pronoun, e.g., as pronominal object of the possession verboid ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁϥ.)

1.2.13. ⲉⲓⲛ- forms in Sahidic lexical (nongrammatical) action nouns.

1.3 Syntagmatics and Prosody.

1.3.1. Focalization patterns: The second tense focalizes in Sahidic not only adverbials but also actor and object (pro)nouns, and may even be autofocal, that is, with the verb lexeme or predicative adverb itself the information focus (see Polotsky, 1944, pp. 51ff., 1971, pp. 155ff., 1960 sec. 32 obs., 1971, pp. 408ff., as in Lk. 20:13, ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲣ ⲟⲩ, "What shall I do?"; Sir. 5:4, ⲛⲧⲁⲟⲩ ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ̈, "What has happened to me?"; Acts 12:15, ⲉⲣⲉⲗⲟⲃⲉ, "Thou art mad"; Ps. 67:28, ⲉϥⲙⲙⲁⲩ, "Ibi est"). The cleft sentence with (pro)-nominal focus (*vedette*; Polotsky, 1962) has the form "(pro)noun-ⲡⲉⲧ- (etc.)," with the *glose* marker ⲡ- tending to be invariable, and omissible only after a personal-pronoun focus (Polotsky, 1962, p. 420, 1971, p. 421).

1.3.2. Nominal syntagmatics: The nominal expansion of a noun syntagm is effected by ⲛ-/ⲛⲧⲉ- regulated by the determination of the nuclear noun and/or other expansions thereof, apparently with no lexical considerations involved.

1.3.3. -ⲙⲛ- is limited to coordinating non-zero-determinated nouns; the range of ⲁⲩⲱ is accordingly extended. (Zero-determinated nouns are coordinated by means of -ⲛⲓ-.)

1.3.4. After converters, an indefinite or zero-determinated actor noun does not necessarily condition a ⲟⲩⲛ-/ⲙⲛ- allotagm of the bipartite pattern (Polotsky, 1960, sec. 21 and 35).

1.3.5. Final clauses are expressed by the conjunctions ϫⲉ, ϫⲉⲕⲁ(ⲁ)ⲥ followed by future III or the second future (circ. negative future III following ϫⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ; Polotsky, 1957a, p. 233, 1971, p. 233) and not by means of the conjunctive (which does, however, resume ϫⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ after an interposition; Lefort, 1948). The *S* conjuctive occurs after a limited number of conjunctions (the consecutive ⲛⲱⲥⲧⲉ and ⲙⲏⲡⲱⲥ [ⲙⲏⲡⲟⲧⲉ], both of Greek origin) and does not usually function as a "that" form or expand impersonal verb predications (Stern, 1880, p. 275, sec. 445).

1.3.6. The possession-predicating ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁϥ and ⲙⲛⲧⲁϥ have in Sahidic verboid status—that is, partake of all syntactic properties of verbal predications (conjugation forms): the *possessum* may be expressed pronominally as an object adjacent of the pronominal possessor (Acts 3:6, ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁⲓϥ, "that which I have"; see ibid., sec. 316).

1.3.7. Prosody: Prosodic proclitic weakness is consistently reflected in the standard *S* orthography (see Erman, 1915: ⲟⲩⲛ-/ⲙⲛ-; ⲁⲛ-/ⲛⲧⲕ . . . ; ⲡⲉⲓ̈-; ⲟⲩⲛⲧϥ-; ⲥⲓ-; etc.). The relative converter joins in Sahidic in close juncture with the converted conju-

gation form (e.g., Lk. 12:5). Vowel reduplication occurs sporadically in monosyllabic, final-laryngeal words before an enclitic (ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲉ ⲛⲉ; Polotsky, 1957a, p. 231, 1971, p. 232, 1957b, pp. 348ff., 1971, pp. 390ff.).

1.4 Lexicon. As a rule, Sahidic shares lexical isoglosses at least with Akhmimic and/or Lycopolitan (or Subakhmimic), such as ⲃⲱⲱⲣⲉ, push, protrude. (This, however, may be refuted by further, more sophisticated investigation.) Lexemes not occurring in Bohairic seem relatively more common than exclusive *S* + *B* ones (e.g., ⲫⲱⲱⲃⲉ, wound; ⲃⲱⲕ, go; ⲧⲱⲕ, throw; ⲥⲱⲛ, approach; ⲛⲱⲱⲛⲉ, turn; ⲕⲱⲙⲫ̄, sneer; ⲟⲩⲱⲫϧ̄, answer; ⲥⲱⲱⲩ (particle), on the other hand; ϫⲟⲟⲩ-ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲟⲩ, send). Relatively few conjunctions of Greek origin are found in Sahidic.

2. Varieties of Sahidic

2.1 Classical, or Scriptural, Sahidic. As a rule, classical Sahidic conforms to the standard described above. However, more-precise scanning is called for in this case, differentiating between the Old and New Testaments, between various parts thereof, and even between the various manuscripts. Sahidic boasts more early (fourth or fifth century) manuscript sources than any other dialect of Coptic, and in this corpus many idiosyncrasies are observable, which may be subsumed together under the heading of "early Sahidic." The grouping of manuscripts in this category is helpful: the British Library Deuteronomy-Jonah and Psalms (Budge, 1898, 1912); the Bodmer Papyri, complemented by Chester Beatty and University of Mississippi fragments (Kasser, 1961, 1962, 1964, 1965) with linguistic introductions (note the forms ⲛ̄ⲁⲉ, ⲛ̄ⲅⲁⲣ; ⲛⲙ̄-, with; the rarity of the preterite relative prefix ⲉⲣ-, Dt. 4:42; total assimilation of nasals to sonorants; omission of nasals, etc.); the Turin Wisdoms (de Lagarde, 1883); the Berlin Psalter (Rahlfs, 1901); and recently the Palau Ribes Gospels (Quecke 1972, 1977; note the idiosyncrasies pointed out in the editor's extraordinary introductions: ⲛⲙ̄-, ⲙⲁϥ- (negative aorist), ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ second-person plural object, variation of ⲉⲧⲉ- ~ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ-, ⲧⲉϥ- ~ ⲧⲣⲉϥ, sporadic omission of adverbial ⲛ̄- (ⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ, ⲥⲁ, ⲟⲩⲱⲧ), even some special lexemes). See in general Kahle's (1954, p. 233) discussion of this kind of manuscript; "Old Coptic" similarly presents mainly Sahidic traits (ibid., pp. 242ff., 252ff.).

2.2 "Gnostic" Sahidic. One must distinguish here between the Gnostic texts with no special dialectological problem (the Pistis Sophia, the Bruce Codex, some of the Nag Hammadi tractates) and such Nag Hammadi tractates as exhibit non-Sahidic traits. The former group conforms by and large to the early-Sahidic type, with some idiosyncrasies (total nasal assimilation, ⲉⲣ- relative prefix, ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉϥ- for the classic ⲧⲁⲣⲉϥ-, ⲁ-future ⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛ-, ϩⲉⲱⲥ ⲱⲁ(ⲛⲧⲉ-) [PS 178f., 313]), perhaps a more pronounced tendency to resume a converter/conjugation base after a nominal extraposition (PS 31, 173, 275f., 320). A profile of the Nag Hammadi idiom(s) or idiolect(s) will eventually be achieved on the basis of a series of monographs (cf. Nagel, 1969; Layton, 1973, 1974). The Nag Hammadi grammatical systems, which vary from one text to another, often seem inconsistent even in one and the same text. One encounters tractates written by a "speaker of some form of dialect A^2" (Layton, 1974, p. 379, Codex II). Certain texts (notably in codices III, V, and especially VII, tractates 2, 3, and 5) reveal Bohairic or "Middle Egyptian" (morpho-)syntactic traits, e.g., open juncture of the relative converter (III, 42.5f.), interrogative pronouns before basic tenses (VII, 103.3f.), the conjunctive a "that" form (VII, 80.13, 99.29f.), the relative compatible with indefinite determinators (ϩⲉⲛ-ⲑⲟⲟⲩ, VII, 85. 11f.), relative conversion of the future III (III, 114.2f.), and, most striking, a four-term determination category with consequences for the expansion of the noun syntagm (ⲡⲓ- ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ-). Codices II and V reflect early Sahidic with non-Sahidic traits, mostly Akhmimoid (*A*, *L*, and, in the case of Codex V, Middle Egyptian as well). Note the following ⲁ-coloring in varying ratios: *A* forms of lexemes and morphs (ϩⲙⲁⲥⲧ, ⲕⲱⲉ, ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥⲉ, ⲧⲱⲱⲛ, ϫⲟⲩ); lexical Akhmimicisms (e.g., ϩϯⲧⲉ, fear; ⲗⲁⲃⲉ, cease [also Pistis Sophia]; ⲧⲁⲛⲟ, make, create); ⲙⲛ̄- ~ ⲙ̄ⲡϯ- (negative imper.); ϯ ~ ⲫ- with Greek loan-verbs; ⲡ- ~ ⲡⲉ- for the definite article before a consonant cluster; ⲡⲉ- (possessive article second singular feminine), ⲡⲟⲩ-, ⲧⲣⲟⲩ- (third plural); the perfects ⲁϩⲁ-, ⲁϩⲓ, ⲉⲧⲁϩ-, ϩⲁϥ-.

2.3 Nonliterary, Postclassical, and Late Sahidic. These terms, often confused (if only by implication), demand clear definition. On the one hand, there are late literary texts, especially hagiographical, martyrological, and liturgical, but also popular literature and poetry (Drescher, 1947; Till, 1935–1936; Erman, 1897; Junker, 1908; etc.), mostly posterior to the Arab conquest. This corpus has to be carefully distinguished from the extremely important one, of high standardization, of postclassical literary Sahidic of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries (note espe-

cially Pachomius' writings and, above everything, the linguistic usage in Shenute's works, considered by the present writer at least as significant for the description of Sahidic grammar as is the scriptural idiom).

On the other hand, there is the immense body of nonliterary sources of late documentation, largely overlapping the late-*S* corpus in its grammatical norm. This category includes letters (private, formal, official), documents (receipts, contracts and agreements, demands, testaments), magical and medical recipes and spells (see, e.g., Chassinat, 1921), and so on. This corpus has had very scant attention hitherto (see Crum, 1926, Vol. 1, chap. 10; Kahle, 1954, chap. 8), and grammatical investigation of this area is still a future goal—perhaps the greatest challenge before Coptic linguistics today.

The overpowering impression conveyed by these texts, apart from their sheer numbers (major collections have been found at Thebes, al-Ashmūnayn, Wādī Sarjah, Dayr al-Bala'izah, Armant, and Aphrodito), is their bewildering variety and degrees of deviation from the classical standard; but therein lies their value. The letters (eighth–eleventh centuries in all catalogic collections, e.g., the British Library and the John Rylands Library ones, by Crum; Berlin, by Satzinger; Vienna, by Krall and Till) and documentary legal texts (again, in most collections) are to a large extent characterized by formulas. The poetic (tenth–eleventh centuries), magical (seventh–tenth centuries; Kropp, 1930–1931; Stegemann, 1934), and liturgical (see Quecke, 1970, pp. 350–89, M 574, a ninth-century manuscript) all to a lesser or greater extent exhibit non-Sahidic characteristics (Akhmimoid, Fayyumic, Bohairic). Striking are the following traits:

Phonological (if not dialectal) *and orthographic:* Vocalic and (to a lesser extent) consonantal variation is common; note especially the vocalic (ϵ-) treatment of syllabic nasals (ⲙϵ-, with; ϵⲧⲟϥ, he) and the fluctuations ϵ ~ ⲁ, ϵ ~ ⲏ ~ Ø, ⲟ ~ ⲱ, ϭ ~ ⲕ, ⲃ ~ ⲫ, voiced ~ unvoiced, aspirated ~ unaspirated. Many magical texts show Fayyumicism (stressed ⲁ for ⲟ, ϵ for ⲁ, ⲏ for ϵ and even Ø, and ⲃ for ⲫ), although some (e.g., Kropp's A and B) are pure standard Sahidic; so on the whole is the Bala'izah collection. Some texts (e.g., Till's Martyrdoms) show a mixture of the *S* superlineation and Bohairic DJINKIM. Observe that incomplete or hesitant standardization must on no account be taken for "misspelling" (cf. Kahle, 1954, p. 254, n. 5; Kahle's lists [chap. 8] constitute an unsurpassed, indeed unparalleled description of the phonologic-orthographic usage of the Theban nonliterary sources).

Morphological. First-person singular ⲫⲁⲛⲧⲁ-; second plural ⲧϵⲧⲛϵ- (Theban); second singular feminine ϵⲣ- (converter), ⲁⲣ- (perfect) (Polotsky, 1960, p. 422, obs. 1); ⲛⲫⲁϥ-, relative aorist, ⲛϵ- future (*F*); ⲧϵϥ- conjunctive (especially Theban, but also elsewhere; also ⲛⲧϵϥ-); ϵϥⲁ- future, ⲟⲩⲁ- future base, ⲙⲛ̄(ⲧ)- conditional (all Theban); verb lexeme sporadically unreduced before the direct nominal object; verb-lexeme morphology—(Theban) ⲟⲩⲱⲫϵ, ⲙⲟⲩⲛϵ, ⲧⲓ〃.

Tempuslehre and syntax. A future-eventual use of ⲫⲁϥ-; a final-"subjunctive" use of the conjunctive (e.g., Martyrdoms 1.8.1, Ryl. 290, 321, also Theb., Kahle, 1954, pp. 160ff.), also in a "that"-form role, as direct object (Martyrdoms 1.5.9), even with past tenses; future final-consecutive use of ⲧⲁⲣϵϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ (Ryl. 316, Martyrdoms 1.5.29, Epiph. 162.26); ⲫⲁⲛⲧϥ- (also final) and ϫϵⲕⲁⲁⲥ acquire the value of content-clauses (cf. ἵνα). The second tense is used as a "that" form outside the cleft sentence (BKU 335 ⲁ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲟⲛ ⲧⲁⲙⲟⲓ ⲛⲧⲁⲥⲛ̄ⲧϥ, "Our brother has told me that you found him." The circumstantial occurs adnominally, attributive to a definite nucleus (Kropp D 20 ⲡⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲁⲉⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲧⲛ̄ⲯ ⲡⲟⲣⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, "The great eagle whose wings are spread"); the circumstantial as *glose* in a cleft sentence (Kropp D ⲧⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲕ† ϩⲛ̄ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲧ, "It is you who pour"); the possessive ⲉⲡⲱ〃 ⲛⲉ (e.g., Ryl. 325, 341), also ⲡⲱ〃 as an augens of the possessive article ⲡⲉϥ- (KRU 36 ⲧⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲧⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⲧⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲓⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ). Note such Bohairic-like features as ⲟⲩⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥ- (Martyrdoms 1.58.1, a generic relative, an indefinite ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁϥ-), ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ (relative/second perfect) used as a temporal clause, ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁϥ- (Martyrdoms 1.3.7); also ⲛⲥⲁ- ⲛⲧⲟϥ (ibid. 1.34.3).

2.4 Sahidic Alloyed with Other Dialects (cf. Crum's S^a and S^f). This is, in view of the reservations and observations made above, to be understood as an ad hoc text-specific descriptive appellation (IDIOLECT) rather than a clear, definable dialectological phonomenon. The quality and degree of component admixture vary considerably from one case to another, and it is doubtful whether dialectologically meaningful classification and gradation are at all feasible. For instance, the Fayyumicisms peculiar to many *S* manuscripts in the Morgan collection are neither predictable nor uniformly distributed. In "Pseudo-Shenute," M 604 (Kuhn, 1960), the *F* element consists of sporadic grammatical characteristics -ⲫⲧⲉⲙ-, negative conditional ⲁⲣⲉⲫⲧⲉⲙ-, second singular feminine possessive article ⲡⲉⲣ-, and lexical-phonological

Fayyumicisms: ⲥⲱⲙⲧ, ⲟⲩⲛ, what (interrogative). In the unpublished parallel source, B. L. Or. 12689, the vocalism and generally the phonological shape of words is drastically affected.

3. Bibliographical Information

3.1 Major, Comprehensive, or Authoritative Bible Editions. Old Testament: de Lagarde, 1883 (Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus); Ciasca, 1885–1904 (Old Testament fragments, a basic edition); Maspero, 1892–1897 (a complementary edition of Old Testament fragments); Budge, 1898 and 1912 (Psalms, Deuteronomy, Jonah); Rahlfs, 1901 (Psalms); Thompson, 1908 (Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus) and 1911 (Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Judith, Esther); Worrell, 1931 (Proverbs); Shier, 1942 (Ruth, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, fragments of Genesis, Jeremiah, Baruch); Kasser, 1961, 1962, 1964, and 1965 (the Bodmer manuscripts: Exodus, Deuteronomy, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Epistle of Jeremiah, Baruch). New Testament: Horner, 1911–1924 (authoritative critical edition of the New Testament); Balestri in Ciasca and Balestri, 1885–1904, Vol. 3 (Borgia New Testament fragments); Budge, 1912 (Acts, Revelation); Thompson, 1932 (Acts, Pauline Epistles); Kasser, 1962 (Matthew, Romans); Quecke, 1972, 1977, and 1984 (Mark, Luke, John).

3.2 Grammars and Grammatical Monographs. Stern, 1880 (best grammar yet); Steindorff, 1894, 1904 (reprint 1930), and 1921; Till, 1961 (still the most commonly used, for its convenience rather than for descriptive merit); Plumley, 1948, and Walters, 1972, are rather sketchy. Dialect comparative grammars: Stern 1880; Till, 1961; Chaîne, 1933 (very detailed); Steindorff, 1951; Vergote, 1973b, Vol. 1a. Special studies: Erman, 1897; Levy, 1909; Wilson, 1970; Kickasola, 1975.

3.3 Dictionaries. There is no special Sahidic lexicon, but the Sahidic component of Crum's *Dictionary* (also Spiegelberg and Westendorff's *Handwörterbuch*) is certainly adequate. Wilmet's invaluable *Concordance* (1957–1959) covers the Sahidic New Testament. Many text editions include special glossaries.

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SHENUTEAN IDIOM. "Shenutean Coptic" is the term applied to the idiom, including the grammatical norm and stylistic-phraseological usage, observable in the corpus of writing by the archimandrite Apa Shenute (334–451), outstanding among Coptic literary sources in that it constitutes the single most extensive homogenous and authentic *testo di lingua* for Sahidic and Coptic in general. This corpus provides the linguist with a precious opportunity to achieve a consistent and complete description of a grammatical system. The other extensive corpus, that of the Scriptures, although somewhat earlier and so enjoying the prestige of a "classical" *état de langue,* has the disadvantage of being translated from the Greek; its native Coptic constituent element can be properly determined only after a complete structural description of the grammatical system of its *Vorlage,* precise knowledge of the quality and degree of its dependence upon this *Vorlage,* and diacritical-contrastive application of an independent, untranslated grammatical system such as that abstractable from Shenute's works. The desirability of such a grammar makes an early analysis of this corpus of paramount importance.

Compilation of the Corpus

Although only slightly more than half of all known or surmised Shenute sources have been edited to date (1982), there is no great difficulty about compiling most of the extant corpus: the task of isolating unattributed Shenute fragments from the host of homiletic and rhetoric-epistolary ones is largely technical. Linguistic (grammatical and stylistic-phraseological) data extractable from the unambiguously Shenutean sources in the three major editions (Amélineau, 1907–1914; Leipoldt and Crum, 1908–1913; Chassinat, 1911) and the many minor ones—mostly in catalogic collections (by Crum, Munier, Pleyte-Boeser, Rossi, Wessely, and Zoega) and occasionally in special publications (e.g., by Guérin, Lefort, Teza, Young, and the present writer), as well as unpublished sources—serve as probes for locating other sources. Identification on the basis of stylistic impression alone, although certainly unavoidable as a practical guide, is not always adequate, especially when the style is untypically pedestrian rather than in the usual powerful, involved vein. The main unedited collections of Sinuthiana are those in Paris and Vienna repositories and in British libraries (Oxford, Cambridge, and Manchester).

Linguistic Characterization

Shenute's dialect is what is conventionally conceived of as high-standard literary Sahidic, albeit with distinct Akhmimoid traces (Shisha-Halevy, 1976a), which are probably due to his native Akmimic background and consist mainly of (morpho)-phonologic, morphologic, idiomatic, and lexical features, with more elisive syntactic affinities. (Present-day knowledge of Akhmimic syntax is notoriously inadequate, because of insufficient evidence.) Some of the more striking phenomena in Shenute's grammatical usage are the idiosyncratic use of the conjunctive and of object constructions and the favoring of one of the "mediators" or lexeme premodifiers (ϯ ϩⲟⲩⲉ-, ϯ ⲡⲕⲉ-, ⲫϯⲡ (ⲛ̄)-). Note two (of several) distinctive nominal-sentence patterns, namely # Ø -ⲛⲉ # (e.g., Leipoldt, 1908–1913, IV, 23.22, ⲙⲛⲁϩ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ ⲛⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲉⲛⲉⲓ̈ⲫⲁⲭⲉ; Amélineau 1907–1914, I, 228, ⲫⲁⲟⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲭⲟⲟⲩ, ⲫⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ) and a hyperbatic construction with a demonstrative subject (Chassinat, 1911, 150.3ff., ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϩ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲗⲡ̄, "These are 'the cords which broke'"); ⲭⲉ, used adnominally (ibid., 125.38ff., ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ ⲃⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ, ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ ⲃⲉϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲫⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲁⲛ, "There is no faith, there is no hope of goodness that does not belong to it").

As regards the use of the second tenses, one finds numerous distinctive figures and constellations variously combining topicalizations and foci. Striking is the cleft sentence with the circumstantial topic

(ϵⲁϥ-, ϵⲛϯ- . . . ⲁⲛ, ϵ- + nominal sentence). Negative second-tense topics seem to be avoided. This list can be much extended with numerous other minutiae as well as central issues of grammar, which still await monographic study (for some discussions and exemplifications, see Jernstedt, 1949; Morenz, 1952; Rudnitzky, 1956–1957; Young, 1961, 1962, and 1969; and Shisha-Halevy, 1975 and 1976a–b). It must be stressed that idiosyncratic stylistic syntax (e.g., "rhetorical figures" [see below], typical word-order and context patterns) is at present indistinguishable from syntax *tout court*. Note also that although most of the above traits are met with elsewhere, their cumulative and pronounced reoccurrence and distribution in Shenute is syndromic, and therein lies their diagnostic value.

Shenute's "style" (between which and syntax there exists no clear-cut objective boundary) has been described, at its most characteristic, as fervent, passionately eloquent, full of pathos, and often argumentative, polemic, occasionally ironic. Still, placid and pedestrian passages are not uncommon (cf. Leipoldt, 1903, sec. 11, 13, and 15). The long, involved, occasionally convoluted sentence complexes, sometimes anacoluthic, are well known. Similarly distinctive are a number of exclusive or near-exclusive Shenutean idiomatic expressions, such as ⲧⲱ ϵⲧⲱ, "how can one compare . . ."; ⲱⲁⲛⲧϵ ⲟⲩ ⲱⲱⲡϵ, *"Quousque tandem . . ."*; ϵⲓⲭⲱ ⲙⲡⲁⲓ ⲭϵ, "by which I mean to say"; ⲭϵ ⲛⲛⲁⲭⲟⲟⲥ, *"pour ne pas dire"*; and many others. Probably the best-known typically Shenutean turn of phrase, the quintessential *"figura Sinuthiana"* par excellence, is the apparently tautological, often disjunctive repetition of an idea with a slight variation in this form: ⲥϵⲣⲏⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲥϵⲣⲟϵⲓⲥ, ⲡⲁⲥⲟⲛ ⲏ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ, †ⲕⲱⲗⲩϵ ⲏ †ⲛⲁⲕⲱⲗⲩϵ, ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲏ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲙⲙⲟϥ, ⲁ ⲡⲁϩⲏⲧ ⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ ⲏ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ ϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲛϩⲏⲧ, ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧϥ ⲏ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲁϥ ϵⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ ⲙⲡⲙⲟⲩ . . .

Vocabulary

The Shenutean lexicon—which constitutes a considerable part of the Sahidic evidence in Crum's *Coptic Dictionary* (1939) and is still in need of determination and structural-semantic resolution—is perhaps most idiosyncratic in the favoring of certain words, some of which have acquired a Shenutean flavor and association: ⲕⲣⲟϥ, guile; ⲗⲟⲓⲙⲟⲥ, pestilence; ⲕⲱⲙϣ̄, mock; ⲃⲟⲗⲃⲭ̄, burrow; ⲗⲱⲙⲧ̄, ⲗⲱⲱⲙϵ, filth, be foul; ⲗⲓⲃϵ, be mad; ⲙⲟⲩϩ, look; ⲗϵⲯϵ, fragment; ⲱⲣⲭ̄, be firm, secure; ⲣⲱⲫϵ, have authority, be responsible. There are some exclusively Shenutean lexemes, a few with obscure meanings: ⲕⲱⲱⲗϵ ϵⲃⲟⲗ (Crum, 1939, p. 102b); ⲕⲟⲛ (part of vine? ibid. p. 111b); ⲗⲱⲡⲧ̄ (ibid., p. 144a); ⲕⲱⲣⲙ̄, smoke; ⲗⲁⲗⲗϵ, teem; ⲛⲟⲩⲥ, term of abuse; also some common to Shenute (the sole representative for Sahidic) and Akhmimic or Subakhmimic (Shisha-Halevy, 1976a, pp. 364ff.). There are forms and functions attested only in Shenute: ⲃⲭⲗⲏ, blind (fem.); ⲛⲓϥϵ, blow (trans.); ⲣⲟϵⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲃϵ-, keep watch against; ⲣⲱϩⲧ ϵϩⲣⲁⲓ, be struck down. Some lexemes are typically Shenutean in collocation (ⲣⲟϵⲓⲥ + ⲣⲏⲥ, ⲛⲁ + ⲛⲏⲩ) and some in their morphology (e.g., ⲕⲧⲟϵⲓⲧ†, returned; ⲛⲟⲩϵⲧϵ ~ ⲛⲟϭ, big; ϵⲗⲙⲱ, sycamore fruit; ⲧⲛⲟⲙ, furrow).

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SULLAM (or *scala*). The Arabic term for a Coptic-Arabic dictionary is *sullam* (ladder; plural *salālim*), because the words are arranged to the left (Coptic) and the right (Arabic) in a manner that gives the impression of a ladder (Latin *scala;* Coptic ⲙⲟⲩⲕⲓ *B,* ⲧⲱⲣⲧⲉⲣ or ϭⲗⲟⲟϭⲉ *S*).

Coptic lexicography started at the same time as Coptic grammar. Anbā Yūḥannā al-Samannūdī, the author of the first grammar, also wrote the first known Coptic dictionary. Anbā Yūḥannā, who was bishop of Samannūd (western Delta) in the middle of the thirteenth century, wrote *Al-Sullam al-Kanā'isī* (or *Scala Ecclesiastica*), of which two versions survive, Sahidic (Munier, 1930, pp. 1–43) and Bohairic, both found in many manuscripts (Graf, 1947, pp. 372–74). It is not a dictionary but a glossary of terms in biblical and liturgical books, mainly the New Testament, a portion of the Old Testament, and some liturgical texts. The words are given with their Arabic translation in the order in which they occur, except repetitions. The *sullam* begins with the Gospel of St. John because of its easy style. Anba Yūḥannā did not intend to write a dictionary in the modern sense of the term but a manual for his readers, to enable them to understand religious texts. The beginning of St. John's Gospel runs as follows: ϩⲛ̄ = *fī,* in; ⲧⲉ-ϩⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ = *al-bady,* the beginning; ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲟⲛ = *kān, kāyin,* was; ⲡⲱⲗϫⲉ = *al-kalimah,* the word (Munier, 1930, p. 1). In the preface of his *Bulghat al-Ṭālibīn* (freely translated as "What Seekers Find"; Bauer, 1972, pp. 303–306) he announced his intention to write a poem of the *muthallath* kind (strophes with three rhymes) on words pronounced in the same way but written differently, but this has not survived.

Abū Isḥāq ibn al-'Assāl (full name al-Mu'taman Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn al-'Assāl), a member of the famous 'Assāl family (Mallon, 1906–1907), wrote a "rhymed" dictionary called *al-Sullam al-Muqaffā wa-l-Dhahab al-Muṣaffā* (The Rhymed Dictionary and the Purified Gold; Kircher, 1643, pp. 273–495, not quite complete). Words are classified by the last letter, as in Arabic dictionaries (e.g., the Ṣiḥāḥ of al-Jawharī; Sidarus, 1978, p. 129). The order is last letter, then first letter, and then second letter, as in ϫⲁϥ, leave her; ϫⲗⲁⲙⲓϩ, shirt (= ϫⲗⲁⲙⲩϩ); ϫⲟⲣⲟϩ, tambourine; ϫⲣⲟⲛⲟϩ, time; (. . .) ϫⲱⲣⲓϩ, except (Kircher, 1643, p. 443). Also words with affixes are listed; thus, ⲁⲓϫⲁⲕ, I have put thee, and ⲧⲏⲣⲉⲛ, all of us, are found under *-k* and *-n*. As a matter of fact, their are no "rhymes" in his dictionary, as only the last letter is taken into consideration. His vocabulary is limited to religious texts (Graf, 1947, pp. 407–411).

Abū Shākir ibn al-Rāhib (full name al-Nushū' Abū Shākir ibn Buṭrus al-Rāhib, author of a grammar (MUQADDIMAH), wrote another "rhymed" scala, which he finished in 1263–1264. He used a larger number of liturgical books and two ancient scalae, as is revealed in the preface of his book. His scala is lost. As a *sullam muqaffā,* or rhymed scala, it was arranged after the last letter of the words. It comprised two parts: simple word forms and words with prefixes and suffixes (Sidarus, 1978, p. 130).

An independent work is the anonymous Sahidic-Arabic *Daraj as-Sullam* (Book of Steps), called in Greek Βιβλίον τῶν βαθμῶν and in Sahidic ⲡⲧⲱⲣⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲉϭⲗⲟⲟϭⲉ (The Rung of the Ladder; Munier, 1930, pp. 67–249). Its contents are as follows: chapter 1, miscellanea, as particles, prepositions, nouns, and verbal forms; chapters 2–19, a classified part beginning with God, good qualities of men, the heavens, the earth, the sea and mountains, the whole universe; chapters 20–23, various subjects; chapters 24–26, words and sentences of the Old Testament (lacking in al-Samannūdī's scala); chapter 27, "difficult" words (ϩⲛ̄ⲗⲉϫⲓⲥ ⲉⲩⲙⲟⲕϩ; ibid., pp. 135–36).

An anonymous Greek-Bohairic-Arabic vocabulary of the Vatican Library (Hebbelynck and van Lantschoot, 1937–1947, Vol. 2, 82–85) arranges the words by first letter, as the oldest Greek alphabetical dictionaries do: ⲁ, letter a; ⲁⲃⲗⲁⲃⲏ, ⲁⲃⲁⲏ (sic), unharmed; ⲁⲁⲓⲕⲓⲁ, injustice. There are two other copies in the National Library in Paris (Mallon, 1910, pp. 87–88), the first dated 1318 and the second from the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

Greek lexicography, like the Coptic, began with the explanation of difficult passages as they occurred in the text. Alphabetical arrangement was a relatively late development. The first alphabetical dictionary in the world was perhaps Glaukias' lexicon, dating from 180 B.C. In the beginning, the alphabetical order was not strictly observed, for only the first letter was taken into consideration, and later the second and even the third. The lexicon by Hesychius Alexandrinus (fifth or sixth century A.D.) was entirely alphabetical (Schwyzer, 1939, p. 29). So it seems that

the alphabetical arrangement in Coptic lexicography was an independent attempt to arrange words in alphabetical order. Furthermore, the demotic "alphabetical" word list had nothing to do with Coptic classification, as there was no real alphabet with a fixed order of signs in demotic (Volten, 1952, pp. 496–508).

The scalae hitherto published are not free of mistakes—mistakes of the author, the copyist, the editor, and the printer. Here are but two examples: ⲧⲧⲁⲣⲅⲝ, lioness (*B*) = *al-labwa,* which elsewhere (*S, B*) is ⲁⲣⲝ, bear (fem.), from Greek *ἄρκος* (masc./fem.) (Vycichl, 1983, p. 16), a confusion due to the fact that there were no bears in Egypt. In this case the definite article has been put in twice: ⲧ-ⲧ-ⲁⲣⲅⲝ, Bohairic ⲧ and Sahidic ⲧ. *S* ⲯⲉⲣⲛⲓⲯ, basin for ablutions (?) = *al-kirnīb* (Munier, 1930, p. 174)—between *al-maṭhara,* vessel for ablutions, and *ṣaṭl* (= *saṭl*), bucket, pail—should be spelt ⲭⲉⲣⲛⲓⲯ = Greek *χέρνιψ,* water for ablution (*χειρ,* hand, before consonant *χερ-, νιβ,* to clean, from a pre-Greek root **nigw-*).

In other cases, such as Coptic manuscripts from the eighth century, the spelling of Copto-Greek (chiefly) words reflects phonetic changes of the spoken language. Three well-known cases need to be mentioned. ⲏ and ⲩ are interchangeable: *S* ϩⲩⲡⲁⲣ, liver = ϩⲏⲡⲁⲣ (*ἧπαρ*). Copto-Greek ⲁⲓ = ⲉ, and sometimes vice versa: ⲭⲉⲣⲉ, welcome (greeting) = *χαῖρε,* be happy, and *S* ⲯⲁⲓⲧⲁⲥⲉ, 96 (Crum, 1939, p. 273) = phonetically **pset-asé.* ⲣ and ⲗ often interchange with transcribed ⲕ and ⲧ: thus, ⲧⲉⲙⲟⲛ, demon, genius = *δαίμων,* and ⲕⲣⲁⲙⲃⲏ (Munier, 1930, p. 165) = *S* ⲅⲣⲁⲙⲃⲏ (ibid., p. 167) = *κράμβη,* cabbage. But there are other cases as well, such as insertions of an auxiliary vowel (written ⲉ) in a three-consonant cluster: thus, *S* ⲥⲉⲕⲣⲟⲫⲁ, sow (ibid., p. 113) = Latin *scrofa,* and *S* ⲥⲉⲫⲉⲣⲁ, vault of heaven = Greek *σφαῖρα,* ball, vault of heaven. Also *στρουθός,* sparrow, appears as *S* ⲥⲉⲧⲣⲟⲩⲑⲟⲥ, bird = عصفور (*ʿuṣfūr*) (ibid., p. 114).

The group *ks* (ⲝ) was often pronounced *nks* in the final position and later, with an auxiliary vowel, *-niks: μάστιξ,* whip, appears as *S* ⲙⲁⲥⲧⲓⲅⲝ (ibid., p. 171), still without auxiliary vowel, but *μύρμηξ,* ant, appears as *S* ⲙⲉⲣⲙⲉⲛⲓⲝ (ibid., p. 116), and *σφῆξ,* wasp, is *S* ⲥⲫⲓⲛⲓⲝ instead of *S* ⲥⲫⲏⲛⲝ (ibid., p. 115).

A similar case is *S* ⲁⲡⲟⲕⲁⲗⲩⲙⲫⲓⲥ, apocalypse, from *ἀποκάλυψις,* today pronounced *abū ghalamsīs.* The group ⲗⲗ is often written ⲗⲗⲗ, probably influenced by ⲁⲗⲗⲁ (*ἀλλά*), but, a frequent conjunction. Thus, one finds *S, B* ⲡⲁⲗⲗⲁ†ⲟⲛ, palace, from *παλάτιον* = Latin *palatium. S* ⲗⲁⲟⲩ, *B* ⲗⲗⲟⲩ, pupil of the eye, is nothing else than *S, B* ⲗⲁⲟⲩ, child, in this case the "girl of the eye" as in Egyptian *ḥwn.t im.t ir.t,* the girl in the eye, or Greek *κόρη,* girl, pupil of eye (Vycichl, 1983, p. 7).

The Copto-Greek words of the scalae often represent Greek postclassical forms. *B* ⲟⲕⲧⲟⲙⲃⲣⲓⲟⲥ, October, is neither Latin, nor modern Ὀκτώβριος or a similar form, but a postclassical form. One can compare Armenian *Hoktember* and Russian *Oktyabr'* (**Oktembri*). There are four *S* words for "water": ⲩⲁⲱⲣ (*ὕδωρ*), ⲛⲉⲣⲱⲛ (*νερόν*), ⲛⲁⲙⲁ (*νᾶμα*), and ⲡⲙⲟⲟⲩ (Munier, 1930, p. 109). Ὕδωρ (*hydōr*) is the classical word; *νερόν* (*nerón*), literally "the new, fresh one," is the current expression in modern Greek; *νᾶμα* (*nâmā*) is "running water"; and ⲡ-ⲙⲟⲟⲩ is the autochthonous Coptic word for "water" (*S*). ⲯⲓⲥⲙⲟⲥ and ⲡⲕⲙⲧⲟ are translated الزّلزلة (*az-zalzalah*), the earthquake (ibid., p. 107). The etymologies are quite clear: ⲡ + *σεισμός,* earthquake, and the autochthonous Coptic form derives from *S* ⲕⲓⲙ, to move, and the old word *S* ⲧⲟ, earth. This *S* ⲕⲙⲧⲟ is another word than Old Coptic ⲕⲙⲧⲱ, creator of the earth (Vycichl, 1983, p. 82).

S ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲙⲏⲛ, the pictures = Arabic الصّور (*aṣ-ṣuwar*) (Munier, 1930, p. 122) derives from Greek *λαιμίον,* little picture (Stephanus, 1831–1865, Vol. 4, p. 42: "imaguncula vel protome"). The Copto-Greek form is influenced by Greek *λιμήν,* harbor.

Another problem is ⲕⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩⲣⲓⲛ, he-ass = *al-ḥimār,* and ⲅⲉⲁⲗⲣⲓⲟⲛ, she-ass = *al-atānah* (Munier, 1930, p. 112). The normal spelling of these words would be **ⲅⲁⲓⲁⲟⲩⲣⲓⲛ* (accusative) and **ⲅⲁⲓⲁⲗⲣⲓⲟⲛ* (neuter nominative or accusative); compare modern Greek *γάϊδαρος,* ass, and *γαϊδουράκι,* little ass (Demetrakos, 1936, Vol. 3, p. 1535). The word occurs in Egyptian Greek as *γαϊδάριον,* donkey, in a text of the sixth or seventh century A.D. (Grenfell and Hunt, 1901, p. 153). Also *γαϊδοῦρι* occurs in modern Greek (ibid.).

Coptic vocabularies reveal that in some cases names of animals are derived from names of the corresponding Egyptian (theriomorphic) gods. A name of the crocodile was ⲉⲫⲱⲧ (Crum, 1939, p. 63) = *at-timsāḥ,* wrongly = *at-tirsah,* turtle (Kircher, 1643, p. 171), but the same word occurs as *βαϊνεφωθ,* soul of Ephōt, in a Greek-Coptic glossary = ⲙⲥⲁϩ (Bell and Crum, 1925, p. 197). According to Epiphanius, the Egyptians called crocodiles *νεφῶθ* from Egyptian *Nfr ḥtp,* epithet of several gods, not only Suchos (Vycichl, 1983, p. 49). The initial ⲛ was considered the plural article—thus, *B* ⲉⲫⲱⲧ, crocodile.

In the chapter on languages and peoples one reads *B* ⲁⲥⲥⲩⲣⲓⲟⲥ (*Assyrios*) = سرياني (*Suryānī*), Syrian, (Kircher, 1643, p. 80). This translation is due to

an old confusion between Syria and Assyria (Cannuyer, 1985, p. 133) and not to a misunderstanding, for as with Armenian *Asorikh, Asorestan* is northern Syria, because of the "Assyrian Christians" in the region of Edessa (Froundjian, 1952, p. 58), so called after their coreligionists in Assyria, the northern part of Mesopotamia. Another strange term is ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲣⲟⲥ, Armenian (Kircher, 1643, p. 80). This is of course a mistake. The preceding word is كرجى = *Kurjī*, Georgian (compare Persian *Gurjī*). So *B* ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲣⲟⲥ stands for *ⲟⲩ-ⲓⲃⲏⲣⲟⲥ, an Iberian, because Ἴβερες, a people of the Caucasus, are considered the ancestors of the Georgians. They descend from *Ibēr*, and *Iberos* is attested as a personal name (Ἴβερος). One must read ⲟⲩ-ⲓⲃⲉⲣⲟⲥ, a Georgian.

Coptic glossaries were highly appreciated in the Middle Ages and even in modern times as they permitted their readers access to the sense of the Holy Scriptures in Coptic. The situation is however somewhat different for modern scholars. They prefer to collect words in religious sources from original texts and not from secondhand glossaries. But ordered lexicons containing words from daily life are constantly referred to, mainly for natural history, geography, and, of course, dictionaries (Crum, 1939; Vycichl, 1983). These lexicons were written at a time when Coptic, both Sahidic and Bohairic, had undergone major changes, phonetically and lexically. The spoken language was full of Arabic words, as one can see from a medical papyrus (Chassinat, 1921) or a treatise on alchemy (Stern, 1885). There seem to be only very few words of Arabic origin in the scalae; for example, *B* ⲡⲁⲣⲣⲟⲥ, rice (Kircher, 1643, p. 194) = modern Arabic *ar-ruzz*, a medieval and modern form of *urz* (with many variants) from Greek *ὄρυζα*. Another word is *S* ϭⲉⲗⲗⲟⲟⲩⲍ, almond (Munier, 1930, p. 164), from Arabic *jillawz*, kind of hazel nut; compare Tunisian *zellūz*, almond, from *jillawz*. *S* ⲃⲩⲣⲓⲕⲟⲕⲁ, apricot (ibid., p. 164), derives from Latin *praecox*, accusative *praecoce(m)*, precocious; hence Greek *πραικόκια* and Arabic *barqūq*, apricot (Near East), plum (North Africa) with a change *p:b*.

In this context one must mention Kircher's *Lingua Aegyptiaca Restituta* (1643). Although it certainly does not meet modern standards, it was for its time excellent and marks the very beginning of Coptic studies in Europe. Champollion used it 180 years later for deciphering the hieroglyphs.

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SYLLABICATION. It is common knowledge that the syllabication of a language is always closely related to its phonology. This appears at once in the definition of "syllable" given by the phonologist Grammont (1939, pp. 99–103): "A syllable . . . is a sequence of increasing apertures followed by a sequence of decreasing apertures." This occurs without the degree of aperture necessarily increasing to the point where the decrease begins or diminishing from this point to the end of the syllable; in both increase and decrease two phonemes of the same aperture may follow one another (cf. below). Grammont then added: "Moreover, a phoneme of given aperture may be followed by a phoneme of smaller aperture in the increasing part, and by one of greater aperture in the decreasing part. . . . There is no syllable without a vocalic point, and in phonology there is no syllable without a vowel. . . . This vowel always appears at the vocalic point, and . . . when it is the only one, it is always the phoneme of maximum aperture in the syllable and the first the tension of which is décreasing. But it is not uncommon to find in phonetics, that is, in languages, syllables which have no vowel [such as] the French interjection *pst*!" Here *s* is increasing since some pronounce this word [*psit*] while the pronunciation [*pist*] never appears in French; the vocalic point of this word therefore lies between *s* and *t*, for "the vocalic point always appears at the transition from the last increasing phoneme to the first decreasing phoneme. . . . Every time the phoneme which has the largest aperture in the syllable is not a vowel, it does not become a vowel through its position, but it has the vocalic point beside it, and is itself now increasing, now decreasing."

Grammont extended this principle even to the sonorants (= consonant[s] on the level of phonological function) /b̥/, /l/, /m/, /n/, and /r/, to which he refused to attribute any capacity for becoming vowels on the level of phonological function, and hence sonant (/b̥̩/, /l̥̩/, /m̥̩/, /n̥̩/, and /r̥̩/), according to the terminology of Kasser, following Dieth (1950, pp. 379–80). It will be noted that even in these definitions appear the data essential for solving the problems of Coptic syllabication.

In any discussion of a dead language like Coptic, which can only be known from written texts, to say that its syllabication is always closely related to its phonology is to make a gratuitous statement that leads to nothing if it is not admitted that the phonology can be determined with considerable clarity through the various orthographic systems (generally considered dialectal) of the texts in the dead language. This is admittedly a working hypothesis, but is still very widely accepted because it is much more probable and fruitful than the contrary hypothesis (Loprieno, 1982). It is therefore permissible to lay down here the principle that the syllabication of Coptic (or, rather, that of its various "dialects," in the traditional sense of the term) is to be found in a rather close relationship with its orthography (or the various dialectal orthographic systems).

Before going further in the examination of Coptic syllabication, it is appropriate to recall that the normal phonology of a language is evidently that which governs the language in its most natural spoken utterance, hence in rapid speech. There are in any language two kinds of utterance (cf. Kasser, 1982a–b). Rapid speech is characterized by, among other things, the use of the glides (/j/ and /w/ in Coptic) and ALEPH (except in the idioms *M*, *W*, *V*, *F4*, and *B*, which have completely abandoned it). The syllabication that rapid speech entails is "tachsyllabication" (producing tachysyllables, siglum t/syl.). Slow speech is characterized by, among other things, the abolition of the glides and aleph, the first being replaced respectively by /i/ and /u/, the second by an atonic vowel identical with the tonic vowel that precedes it; this speech is clearly artificial, but if it is not that of normal phonology, it has nevertheless contributed powerfully to the shaping of the orthography, the only surviving witness (unfortunately indirect) for tachysyllabic phonology. The syllabication that slow speech entails is "bradysyllabication" (producing bradysyllables, siglum br/syl.).

Certainly the tachysyllables (the only ones truly interesting for phonology) ought to be the syllables of Coptic as a living language, in its most common use in ordinary "prose." Since Coptology came into existence as a science, it has never been possible to make them the object of direct investigation, because Coptic has been too long since a dead language. Thus, the grammarians (e.g., Stern, 1880, p. 39; Till, 1955, pp. 49–50; Vergote, 1973–1983, Vol. 1a, p. 44) have reconstructed it, for want of anything better, on the basis of theoretical and analogical

reasoning (in some cases comparative), by taking into consideration the vocalic and consonantal phonemes (including eventual CRYPTOPHONEMES), taking account of the graphemes not merely according to their graphic kind ("vowel" or "consonant" graphemes) but according to their phonological function (vocalic or consonantal) (Marouzeau, 1951, p. 209; Kasser, 1981c), and by observing their syllabic combinations in various living languages or in dead ones phonologically better known than Coptic.

The bradysyllables, as the result of artificial and abnormally slow enunciation, could be, among other things, the syllables of recited Coptic "poetry," but like the t/syl. they equally evade direct observation. But, above all, it seems probable that the br/syl. were those of the syllabication practiced by the scribes in their work, since bradysyllabication (alongside other factors) to a large extent conditions the orthography; in fact, the creation and fixation of an orthography is of necessity accompanied by an intense effort of reflection and phonemic analysis, which goes hand in hand with an artificially slow articulation.

The majority of t/syl. phonemes could have remained identical br/syl. phonemes, but a minority of them was modified for this purpose. In fact, it seems (in Coptic and in various other languages, at least modern ones) that a glide can exist only in t/syl., and if it is necessary to pass to br/syl., one passes immediately and of necessity from the glide to the corresponding glidant (Kasser, 1981c, pp. 37–38): for example, ⲉⲓⲱⲧ, father, t/syl. /jò̯t/ (monosyllabic), but br/syl. '/(ə)i ò̯t/' (disyllabic); ⲟⲩⲱⲙ, to eat, t/syl. /wò̯m/ (monosyllabic), but br/syl. '/u ò̯m/' (disyllabic); and aleph, which survives only in t/syl. and becomes an "aleph vowel" in br/syl., as in ⲫⲟⲟⲛ†, being, t/syl. /šò̯'p/ (monosyllabic), but br/syl. '/šò̯ op/' (disyllabic). At the same time, since orthography and the signs it uses are strongly influenced by br/syl., one should not be astonished if the different varieties of the Coptic alphabet are found to correspond in principle only to the phonemes found in br/syl. and these alphabets (except for ⊥ = /'/ in *P*) are found to lack the graphemes that might render the cryptophonemes, or phonemes that have disappeared in the transition t/syl.>br/syl.

One must now return to tachysyllabication, which alone is really important in phonology. In regard to the latter, it may be said that the way in which various Coptologists have considered it is, in general, somewhat variable, the various theses being supported by divergent arguments, none of which can be lightly set aside.

Some phonologists, perhaps moved more than others by a concern to facilitate comparison of Coptic (the latest form of Egyptian) with pharaonic Egyptian, accord to Coptic orthography only a rather approximate indicative value. This relative imprecision affords them the appreciable advantage of, to some extent, "unifying" the Coptic language (as opposed to ancient Egyptian as it is known through its writings, a language also considered "one" and not divided dialectally in its literary form); they consider as phonologically insignificant certain graphic differences that belong to the domain of the various "dialects," in the traditional sense of the term (cf. Lopriено, 1982, p. 79: "The methodology applied can for example show that the phonological structure /sōtəm/ is common Coptic, and that differences like *S* ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄, *B* ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ, and *A* ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ are purely graphic variants"). Another by no means negligible advantage is that it brings Coptic phonology (thus neatly "unified") closer to pharaonic Egyptian (which is unified to the extent that hieroglyphs and the like allow one to know it).

Other phonologists tend to consider Coptic orthography as a much more precise criterion of phonological knowledge, which has, as a result, somewhat increased the distance established between Coptic phonology (thus conceived) and the phonology of pharaonic Egypt.

Hintze (1980, p. 58) had the great merit of attempting what may appear as a way of reconciling these divergent positions, by presenting his conception of a Coptic phonology *on several levels*, a phonology in some sense "stratified" (cf. Kasser, 1984b), the term "Coptic" being understood in a very wide sense, including also proto-Coptic and pre-Coptic. In this passage Hintze distinguished with great perspicacity the successive layers of Coptic phonology as they can be reconstructed on the basis of the traces they have left in the surface layer (the most recent layer, attested in the strict sense by the various Coptic "dialectal" orthographic systems) and on the basis of what is known of pharaonic Egyptian phonology; among those layers that may be called "underlying," it is evident that the highest (the most recent) will be the most similar to the surface layer, with its diversity of dialectal phonology, while at the deeper levels the dialectal phonological differences do not yet appear.

Relying on this attractive conception of a Coptic phonology on several levels, one may, among other things, present side by side (without the opposition synonymous with exclusion) a "superficial syllabication" (siglum syl/sup.), corresponding to the superfi-

cial phonology, and an "underlying syllabication" (siglum syl/und.), corresponding to the underlying phonology. On numerous points these two types of syllabication are in complete accord. Elsewhere, however, they diverge. On the one hand, in syl/sup., autosyllabic ⲃ, ⲗ, ⲙ, ⲛ, and ⲣ (generally marked with a stroke—or in the case of ⲙ and ⲛ, with a DJINKIM or some other sign—as ⲙ̄, or ⲛ̄ etc., or ⲛ́ etc.) or ⳉ, ⲗ, ⲙ, ⲛ, and ⲣ capable of forming the apex of a syllable (by themselves as sonants, according to Polotsky, 1933, p. 126 [probably]; Dieth, 1950, pp. 379–80; and Kasser, 1981c; or through their vocalic point, according to Grammont, 1939, pp. 99–103) have the phonological value v (vowel). But the phonemes rendered by these graphemes are assimilated to voiced c (consonants) preceded by /ə/, and hence have the value vc (vowel plus consonant, respectively /əb/, /əl/, /əm/, /ən/, /ər/) in syl/und. (Vergote, 1973–1983, Vol. 1a, pp. 45–46). Vergote gave to this vocalic point, in the absence of a vowel grapheme, the same phonological value as atonic ⲉ = /ə/): for example, ⲣ (in ⲣ(ⲧⲟⳉ), artabe) syl/sup. v /r/, syl/und. vc /ər/; ⲡϥⲛⲧ, the worm, syl/sup. ccvc /pfn̩t/, syl/und. ccvcc /pfə́nt/.

On the other hand, in syl/sup., it is permissible to think that certain groups of consonants cannot, in the absence of v, properly speaking form a syllable together (at least in tachysyllabication, although they have probably acquired this capacity in bradysyllabication); according as these c are together increasing or decreasing, they will be attached to the following or preceding v to form a syllable. (It is here understood that a c certainly increasing followed by one certainly decreasing could form a syllable with a vocalic point not marked by a vowel grapheme, cf. Grammont, 1939, p. 102, and below; this case is practically always improbable in syl/sup.—bradysyllabication excluded—comparison of the different "dialectal" orthographies being of no use in this matter, since, with equal lexemes, the same phoneme may well be increasing in one idiom but decreasing in another—this inversion of aperture being precisely one of the criteria for possible distinction between the dialects, such as /m/ decreasing in *S* ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄, to hear, increasing in *A* ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ.) But these groups of c most often form a syllable (syl/und.) in underlying syllabication (as also in bradysyllabication; cf. above), because etymology or interdialectal comparison (some other idiom having a vowel grapheme there) invites one to consider the first of these c as increasing and the following as decreasing, so that there is a vocalic point there that in syl/und. will be marked by /ə/ even in the absence of any vowel grapheme (cf. above with reference to Vergote, 1973–1983, Vol. 1a, pp. 30–32) in the orthography: for example, ⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄, to choose, monosyllabic syl/sup. cvcc /sṓtp/, disyllabic syl/und. cv cvc /sṓ tə́p/.

All that precedes is based on the principle according to which a syllable cannot exist without an apex around which the elements of the syllable gather. On the one hand, this apex may be its phoneme of strongest sonority; on the other, the syllable (then called a "syllable of junction"; Kasser, 1982a, n. 7 and 26) may regroup, disregarding the limits of the lexemes, various graphemes and phonemes that belong to several different "words" (semantemes and morphemes), such as ⲟⲩⲁⲱ ⲁ₂ⲟⲙ, a sigh, semantically ⲟⲩ ⲁⲱ ⲁ₂ⲟⲙ, but syllabically rather t/syl. ⲟⲩⲁ ⲱⲁ ₂ⲟⲙ /wa ša hṓm/.

None will dispute that the apex of the syllable may be a v = vowel grapheme (which is by far the most common case in Coptic, as in most other languages). In Coptic again it will be noted that this role of v may be played fairly often by a sonant (= v, according to Polotsky, 1933, p. 126, Dieth, 1950, pp. 379–80, Kasser, 1981c; = decreasing [voiced] c, having then beside it or in front of it the vocalic point that serves as v, according to Grammont, 1939, pp. 99–103, Vergote, 1973–1983, Vol. 1a, pp. 31–32, 45–46). Opinions are most at variance when the presumed apex of the syllable, assumed to be formed solely of consonantal graphemes, is not a voiced c but a fricative or, worse still, an occlusive. Polotsky (1933, p. 128) seemed to admit the possibility that these voiceless c (sometimes even voiceless stops) may play the role of sonants: "In and for itself it is a peculiarity of Coptic that in atonic and especially posttonic syllables it admits simply any consonant as the apex of the syllable." (Dieth, 1950, pp. 379–80, did not exclude this in theory, although he limited to the extreme the realization of such an eventuality: "Practically excluded are the poorest in sound"—i.e., the stops.) Vergote (1973–1983, Vol. 1a), following Grammont (1939), arrived at almost the same conclusion, although he placed the apex of the syllable not on the fricative or stop but on the vocalic point, which phonologically (though not graphically) exists alongside them. However that may be, the admission of this possibility ought not to be widely opened except in syl/und. and should not be a motive for unduly limiting, or even eliminating, the possibility of having two successive c at the beginning and/or end of a syllable in syl/sup. (Steindorff, 1951, p. 36, excluded it, however, at the end of a syllable).

Those who consider Coptic orthography as a relatively and sufficiently precise criterion for phonological knowledge will naturally tend to admit in syl/sup. the minimum of possible cases of syllables called "surdisonant" (cf. Kasser, 1981c, p. 43) or even practically to exclude them. In this respect, they will be able to draw support, in all cases partially, from Stern (1880, p. 39), whose statement, however, seems ambiguous: "The syllable [in Coptic] is either open, ending in a vowel or dipthong, or closed by one or more consonants. Where it ends in two or three consonants, pronunciation is sometimes facilitated by the insertion of an ⲉ without signification, a *sh*ʷ*wa mobile*, although this is usually left unwritten, as in ⲥⲟⲧⲡϥ, presumably pronounced *sotpef*. A syllable may begin with one or more consonants; but later pronunciation usually prefixes an *e* to the opening double consonant, and this is sometimes also written, e.g. . . . ⲉⲫⲧⲉⲕⲟ for ⲫⲧⲉⲕⲟ. . . . Beginning with three consonants, as in ⲥϧⲣⲉϩⲧ : ⲥⲃⲣⲁϩⲧ (to rest) is an abnormality." From this passage it clearly emerges that for Stern there are syllables beginning or ending in cc or ccc, even if the latter are rare and indeed exceptional, and even if the difficulty of pronouncing them soon gave birth to a tendency to divide them into several syllables less awkward to pronounce by adding an ⲉ (or phonetically a kind of [ə], which did not appear in writing) as the apex of a supplementary syllable (a relief syllable, one might say); such a tendency is phonetic and not phonological in origin, and is realized phonologically only at a second, logical stage.

In what follows (in the main, after Vergote, 1973–1983, Vol. 1a, an excellent work of synthesis) the Coptic syllable will be presented as a late-Egyptian syllable, under its various forms. It will be seen that some types of Coptic syllables are identical in syl/sup. and in syl/und. The presentation of other types will have to mark clearly the distinction between what is syl/sup. and what (in strict conformity with the principles of Vergote, ibid., pp. 45–46) is syl/und. The list of types of syllables that is found in Vergote will even be extended to make room for some of the most complex syl/sup. (and nearly always not syl/und.) types (also admitted by Stern, 1880, p. 39; cf. above).

In comparing pharaonic Egyptian syllabication with that of its last avatar, Coptic, one may establish obvious constants, but one is nonetheless struck by significant differences, the result of the evolution and profound transformation of the language. It is admitted (Vergote, 1973–1983, Vol. 1a, p. 53) that only the following syllables existed in Egyptian prior to Coptic: 1a v̆́, 1b v̆; 2a v̆́c, 2b v̆c; 3a cv̆́, 3b cv̆; 4a cv̆́c, 4b cv̆c (c = consonantal phoneme, v = vowel phoneme; ¯ long, ˘ short, ´ tonic accent). "According to the theories of Sethe, only types 3a, 4a, 4b, and perhaps 2b in its later conception exist in the most ancient form of Egyptian" (ibid., Vol. 1b, p. 53). In this pattern, as can be seen, only the tonic v in an open syllable are long; all the rest are short. On the other hand, it will be noted, there is no syllable beginning or ending in several consonants.

The rules for the formation of the syllable in Coptic are clearly rather different. The example ⲫⲙⲱⲓⲧ /phmó̆jt/, the way, clearly monosyllabic, ccv̆́cc (in which Bohairic /ph/ is one phoneme, not two, i.e., aspirated /p/), already shows that the Coptic syllable may very well (and probably not only in *B* but also in the other idioms) have several consonants at the beginning and/or end.

Some authors (according to Vergote, ibid., Vol. 1b) seem to have admitted that a Coptic syllable, like a pharaonic syllable, ought always to begin with a consonant (Steindorff, 1951, p. 36, and Till, 1955, p. 46, however, expressed themselves on this subject in nuanced fashion). The result would be that despite appearances (i.e., orthography) lexemes such as ⲱⲛ, to count, and ⲉⲧⲡⲱ, burden, would in reality begin phonologically with /'/, hence with a c (unvoiced laryngeal stop): thus */'ó̆p/ and */'ətpó̆/, respectively. Vergote contested this interpretation, because of "the way in which, for example, the article is joined to the substantive in . . . ⲡⲓⲏ, the house." He added, "The presence of the decreasing laryngeal occlusive is always marked by the doubled vowel, and one does not see why it could not be noted in an increasing position." Certainly there is nothing to prevent one thinking that in principle it could be, but that people were not prompted to mark the presence of /'/ in that position, where its presence did not produce the "echo effect" in bradysyllabication (cf. below). However that may be, it seems reasonable to admit with Vergote that in Coptic there are syllables beginning with a v (which apparently pharaonic Egyptian did not have).

Here, then, is the list of the types of Coptic syllables (cf. above). On the left are placed the tonic syllables, and on the right, the atonic. Each type is illustrated by a few examples; unless otherwise identified, they are chosen from *S*; the part of the "word" that is not involved in the example is placed between parentheses; ˘ or ¯ above vowels indicates respectively their brevity or length, and ´ marks the tonic accent. It will be noted that long v can only be found in tonic syllables (open or closed), while short

1a. v́: ⲉⲓ /í/, to go; ⲟ† /ǒ́/, being

1b. v: ⲁ(ⲙⲟⲩⲛ)/ă(mŏ́n)/, (god) Ammon; syl/sup. ⲙ̄(ⲧⲟⲛ)/m̆(tŏ́n), rest (but syl/und. vc /ə̆m(tŏ́n)/)

2a. v́c: ⲱϣ /ǒ́š/, to cry; ⲁϣ /ắš/, what (interrogative)

2b. vc: ⲉⲗ(ⲅⲱⲃ)/ə̆l(cŏ́b), heron; syl/und. /ă̆m(tŏ́n)/; cf. 1b

3a. cv́: ⲥⲱ /sŏ́/, to drink; ⲡⲉ /pĕ́/, heaven; syl/sup. ϣⲙ̄(ϣⲉ) /šm̆(šə̆)/, to serve, (but syl/und. cv́c /šə̆́m(šə̆)/)

3b. cv: ⲅⲉ(ⲡⲏ) /cə̆(pĕ́)/, haste; (ⲛⲟⲩ)ⲧⲉ /(nŭ́)tə/, god; syl/sup. ⲛⲣ̄(ⲣⲟ) /pr̆(rŏ́)/, the king (but syl/und. cvc /pə̆r(rŏ́)/); syl/sup. (ⲥⲱ)ⲧⲙ̄ /(sŏ́)tm̆/, to hear (but syl/und. cvc /(sŏ́)tə̆m/)

4a. cv́c: ⲕⲱⲧ /kŏ́t/, to build; ⲥⲟⲡ /sŏ́p/, time; syl/sup. ϥⲛ̄ⲧ /fn̆t/, worm (but syl/und. cv́cc /fə̆́nt/)

4b. cvc: ⲡⲉⲣ(ⲕⲓⲃⲉ) /pə̆r(kĭ́bə̆)/, breast; *H* (ⲱ)ⲛⲁ2 /(ŏ́)nāh/, life; syl/sup. ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ(ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) /mn̆t(nŭ́tə̆)/, divinity (but syl/und. cvcc /mə̆nt(nŭ́tə̆)/); syl/sup. (ϣⲟ)ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ /(šŏ́)mn̆t/, three (but syl/und. cvcc /(šŏ́)mə̆nt/)

5a. ccv́: ⲥⲙⲟⲩ /smŭ́/, to bless; ϩⲧⲟ /htŏ́/, horse

5b. ccv: ⲡⲣⲉ(ⲙⲏⲧ) /prə̆(mĕ́t)/, the tithe; *A* (ϩⲱ)ⲧⲃⲉ /(xŏ́)tbə̆/, to kill; syl/sup. ⲡⲣⲙ̄(ⲣⲁϣ) /prm̆(rə̆́š)/, the mild man (but syl/und. ccvc /prə̆m(rə̆́š)/); syl/sup. (ⲛⲁ)ϩⲙⲛ̄ /(nə̆́)hmn̆/, to save us (but syl/und. ccvc /(nə̆́)hmən/)

6a. ccv́c: ⲥⲃⲏⲣ /scĕ́r/, to navigate; ϣⲧⲁⲙ /stə̆́m/, to close; syl/sup. ⲡϥⲛ̄ⲧ /pfn̆t/, the worm (but syl/und. ccv́cc /pfə̆́nt/)

6b. ccvc: ⲡⲣⲉϥ(ϫⲱ) /prə̆f(čŏ́)/, the singer; (ϩⲟ)ⲧⲃⲉϥ /(hŏ́)tbə̆f/, to kill him; syl/sup. ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧ(ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) /tmn̆t(nŭ́tə̆)/, the divinity (but syl/und. ccvcc /tmə̆nt(nŭ́tə̆)/); syl/und. /prə̆m(rə̆́š)/; cf. 5b

7a. v́cc: *B* ⲱⲓⲕ /ŏ́jk/, bread; ⲉⲅⲧ† /ĕ́'t/, pregnant (woman); syl/sup. ⲛⲧⲥ /n̆ts/ monosyllabic, to carry her (but syl/und. disyllabic /ə̆́n tə̆s/)

7b. vcc: nothing in syl/und.; syl/sup. ⲉⲧⲡ- /ə̆tp/ monosyllabic, to shut up (but syl/und. disyllabic /ə̆ tə̆p/); syl/sup. ⲛⲧϥ /n̆tf/ monosyllabic, he (but syl/und. disyllabic /ə̆n tə̆f/)

8a. cv́cc: ⲃⲱⲟⲛ /bŏ́'n/, bad; ⲙⲁⲉⲓⲛ /mə̆́jn/, sign; syl/sup. ⲉⲛⲧⲥ /cn̆ts/ monosyllabic, to find her (but syl/und. disyllabic /cə̆́n tə̆s/)

8b. cvcc: ⲡⲉⲥⲧ(ⲥⲟⲉⲛ̄) /pə̆st(sŏ́cn̆)/, perfumer; (ⲥⲟ)ⲗⲉⲡϥ /(sŏ́)lə̆pf/, to break it; syl/sup. ⲙⲛ̄ⲧϥ(ⲛⲟⲩⲥ) /mn̆tf(nŭ́s)/ a disyllabic expression, he has no intelligence (but syl/und. trisyllabic /mə̆n tə̆f (nŭ́s)/); syl/sup. (ⲥⲟ)ⲙⲛ̄ⲧϥ /(sŏ́)mn̆tf/ disyllabic, to stretch him (but syl/und. trisyllabic /(sŏ́)mə̆n tə̆f/)

9a. ccv́cc: ⲡⲥⲱⲱϥ /psŏ́'f/, the pollution; ⲥⲛⲁⲉⲓⲛ /snə̆́jn/, to loiter

9b. ccvcc: ⲙⲙⲁⲥⲧ(ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) /pmə̆st(rŏ́mə)/, the misanthrope

v, which may also be found in tonic syllables (open or closed), are the only ones that can appear in atonic syllables (open or closed).

Beyond point 9, for practical purposes, the only cases to be found (more and more rare because increasingly difficult to articulate) belong to syl/sup. (to the almost complete exclusion of syl/und.), and present conglomerations of four c or (at any rate in theory) even more, to the point at which one may ask if their difficult phonological structure was always truly realized in phonetics and if the speaker did not often readily have recourse to the "relief" /ə/, not written in orthography, of which Stern (1880, p. 39) spoke: for example, cccv́: syl/sup. ϣϫⲣⲟ /ščrŏ́/ monosyllabic, be able to be victorious (but syl/und. disyllabic /ə̆š črŏ́/); cccv: syl/sup. ϣϫⲣⲉ- /ščrə̆/ monosyllabic, be able to be victorious (but syl/und. disyllabic /ə̆š črə̆/); cccv́c: syl/sup. ϣⲥⲧⲱⲧ/šstŏ́t/ monosyllabic, be able to tremble (but syl/und. disyllabic /ə̆š stŏ́t/); cccv́cc: ⲥⲃⲣⲁ2ⲧ/scrə̆́ht/,

tranquillity; ccv̀ccc: syl/sup. ⲯⲥⲟⲧⲡϥ /šs̀ot̀pf/ monosyllabic, be able to choose it (but syl/und. trisyllabic /ăš s̀ot̀ păf/); cv̀ccc: syl/sup. ⲥⲟⲧⲡϥ, cf. above; v̀ccc: syl/sup. ⲟⲧⲡϥ/ò̀tpf/ monosyllabic, to load it (but syl/und. disyllabic /ò̀t păf/); and even cccc v̀: syl/sup. ⲫⲧⲥⲧⲟ /ftstò̀/ monosyllabic, he turns aside (but syl/und. at least disyllabic /ftăs tò̀/). One can, however, find similar homosyllabic conglomerations of consonants in modern languages too (e.g., German *(du) hältst*, you hold, monosyllabic /h'ltst/, cvcccc; or French [from English] *script*, monosyllabic /skr̀ipt/, cccvcc).

One may also, in a more general fashion, describe the Coptic syllable (in syl/sup. above all, but often also in syl/und.) by resorting to the idea of a phonemic link increasing or decreasing as a whole, and hence taking account not only of the aperture, increasing or decreasing, but also of the global increase in the degree of sonority of the phonemes up to the apex of the syllable and the general decrease in this degree from the apex to the end of the syllable, it being understood that it is a matter of tachysyllabication (cf. above) and that this increase or decrease, uninterrupted as a whole, may be irregular, since two phonemes of the same sonority or resonance may follow one another in the increase or decrease or a less-voiced or less-resonant phoneme may follow a more-voiced one in the increase and a more-voiced or more-resonant phoneme follow a less-resonant one in the decrease (in each case with appropriate aperture; cf. Grammont, 1939, pp. 100–101).

Phonemes may be classified, as is well known, in increasing order of sonority (cf. Dieth, 1950, p. 166; Nagel, 1965, p. 76; Kasser, 1981c, p. 3) from the unvoiced occlusives to the unvoiced fricatives, then the sonorants (otherwise called voiced consonants), the glides (or voiced fricatives, Vergote, 1973–1983, Vol. 1a, pp. 13, 18), the sonants, the glidants, and the nonglidant vowels, of which /a/ is finally the most strongly voiced phoneme (see PHONOLOGY). On the other hand, if no syllable can exist without a syllabic apex, which is its most strongly voiced phoneme (Dieth, 1950, pp. 377–79; the syllable may naturally have only one phoneme and hence comprise only its "apex" or "top" without "slopes" that lead the speaker to it in voiced increase or after which the speaker comes down again in voiced decrease), it is equally evident that no syllable can have more than one syllable apex. (Two successive v, nonglidant or sonant, cannot exist together in the same syllable, and, separated by a hiatus, they are automatically assigned to two different syllables, e.g., ⲡⲁⲁ϶ⲉ /pă ằ hă/, my existence; here one must, of course, understand two authentic v, and not, for example, a tonic v followed by the second element of a vocalic gemination in writing, which is phonologically a c: /'/.)

One may therefore say, broadly speaking, that there are four categories of syllables in Coptic, plus five subcategories:

I. The single phoneme syllable, the single phoneme of which is at the same time its apex, such as ⲁ /a/ in ⲁ(ⲃⲱⲕ) /ă bò̀k/, crow.

IIa. The regularly increasing syllable, consisting only of an increasing phonemic link of which each phoneme is more strongly voiced than the previous one and hence a syllable in which the last and most strongly voiced phoneme is the apex, such as ⲡⲥⲟ /psò̀/ in ⲡⲥⲟ(ⲧⲉ) /psò̀(tă)/, the arrow. (The presence of another syllabic apex, for preference a vocal grapheme v, immediately before the increasing chain does not attract to itself the first c of the chain, since Coptic has no aversion to open syllables.)

IIb. The irregularly increasing syllable, consisting of a phonemic link that is increasing as a whole but of which each phoneme is not more strongly voiced than the preceding one (this irregularity does not however interrupt the total voiced increase or invert the aperture and split the syllable), such as ⲧⲡⲱ /tpò̀/ in (ⲉ)ⲧⲡⲱ/(ă)tpò̀/, burden; ⲥⲱⲓ(ⲛⲉ) /ssì(nə)/, she seeks; or even ⲥⲕⲱ(ⲧⲉ)/skò̀(tə)/, she turns.

IIIa. The regularly decreasing syllable, consisting of a decreasing phonemic link of which each phoneme is less voiced than the previous one and hence a syllable in which the first phoneme, the most strongly voiced, is the apex, as in ⲱⲙⲥ/ò̀ms/, immerse. (The presence of another syllabic apex, for preference a vowel grapheme v, immediately after what would seem at first to be a decreasing link, deprives it by syllabic annexation of its last c, since Coptic has a distinct aversion to syllables beginning with a v; hence ⲟⲙⲥⲟⲩ, to immerse them, /ò̀m sū/ and not */ò̀ms ū/.)

IIIb. The irregularly decreasing syllable, consisting of a phonemic link that is decreasing as a whole but in which each phoneme is not less strongly voiced than the previous one (this irregularity does not, however, interrupt the overall decrease or invert the aperture and split the syllable), as in ⲱⲧⲡ /ò̀tp/, to load; ⲟⲫⲥ /ò̀šs/, read it; or even ⲱⲧϩ /ò̀th/, to weave.

IVa. The regularly increasing and decreasing syllable, composed of a regularly increasing phonemic link (cf. IIa) articulated (by the apex phoneme) with

a regularly decreasing link (cf. IIIa), such as ⲛⲥⲟⲣⲧ /psṓrt/ monosyllabic, the wool (same final handicap as in IIIa).

IVb, IVc, and IVd. The irregularly increasing and decreasing syllable, composed respectively of an irregularly increasing link combined with a regularly decreasing one, a regularly increasing link combined with an irregularly decreasing one, and an irregularly increasing link combined with an irregularly decreasing one, such as ⲡⲧⲱⲃϩ̄ /ptṓbh/ the prayer; ⲥⲧⲱⲃϩ̄ /stṓbh/, she prays; ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ /psṓtp/, the elect; ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ /tsárks/, the flesh; ⲫⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ /šsṓtp/, to be able to choose; and ⲫⲡⲱⲧⲥ̄ /fpṓts/, he splits.

As can be seen, the problems posed by Coptic syllabication are very complex, and those who have dealt with them are far from being at one. No doubt the last word has not yet been spoken on this matter.

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VOCABULARY, AFRICAN CONTACTS WITH AUTOCHTHONOUS COPTIC.

There were doubtlessly close contacts between Egyptian or Coptic and the neighboring African languages. The latter have almost entirely disappeared in Egypt, and the three languages still spoken there are of relatively recent date: (1) Berber, the language subfamily of the Berbers of Siwa Oasis in the west, near the Libyan border, who settled there in the Middle Ages, though the people of the oasis itself were Berber-speaking from the oldest times; (2) Nubian, the tongue of the Nubians in the Nile Valley from Aswan southward, who penetrated there after the fall of the Meroitic empire, probably in the fourth century A.D.; and (3) Beḍawīye, the language of the Beja of the Eastern Desert, between the Nile Valley and the Red Sea, approximately south of the desert road from Qift to Qoṣeir, who seem to be the oldest inhabitants of their territory, though they are mentioned farther south in an inscription of Ezana, king of Ethiopia (fourth century A.D.).

Berber

In all these cases, one must distinguish between Hamito-Semitic words and loanwords. Hamito-Semitic are the words for "tongue" (Arabic *lisān,* Egyptian *ls* = Bohairic (*B*) and Sahidic (*S*) ⲗⲁⲥ, Berber *i-les,* and Chadic *lisi* in Mubi) and "to die" (Arabic *māt, yamūt : mawt,* Egyptian *mwt* = *S* ⲙⲟⲩ : ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧ†, Berber *emmet,* Chadic *mutu* in Hausa). Berber shares several words with Egyptian that are not Hamito-Semitic, such as *uššen,* jackal (Shilha in Morocco, Kabyle in Algeria): *wnš* = *B, S* ⲟⲩⲱⲛϣ; *abēna,* date (fruit) (Ghadames in Libya), Egyptian *bny* = *B* ⲃⲏⲛⲓ, *S* ⲃⲏⲛⲉ; also *S* ⲕⲟⲩⲕ, fruit of the dum palm (*Hyphaene thebaica*), corresponds to Tuareg *a-kūka.* A Berber loanword of the Libyan period (Twenty-second Dynasty) is *B, S* ⲙⲟⲣⲧ, beard, Berber *tamart* (Shilha of Morocco), with variants, in almost every dialect.

Beḍawīye

In Beḍawīye, the language of the Beja in the Eastern Desert, the horse is called *hatāy* (plural, *hatáy*). This word derives from Egyptian *ḥtr,* yoke of oxen, later pronounced *ḥtỉ* = *B* ϩⲑⲟ, *S* ϩⲧⲟ. Yet *hatāy* does not derive from *ḥtr* or *ḥtỉ* but from a third form, *ḥty* (probably pronounced **ḥatáy*), not found in Coptic dialects.

Beḍawīye *san,* brother, looks like *B, S* ⲥⲟⲛ. In spite of the similarity, the words are of different origin. This can be seen from the different derivations. Coptic has *B* ⲥⲱⲛⲓ, sister, and the plural *B* ⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ, brothers, while the Cushitic languages have different forms: Beḍawīye *kwa,* sister, and in Dembea *zän,* in Khamir *zin,* in Bilin *dan,* brothers.

Mehēl, to treat medically, is probably of Coptic or Egyptian origin; compare *P* ⲙⲉϩⲛⲗ, to heal, apparently an emphatic verbal noun (**mahḥīlaw* or similar).

Nubian

Nubian is not a Hamito-Semitic language. In the Middle Ages there were several Christian kingdoms in Nubia and the old-Nubian texts contain a certain number of Coptic and Greek loanwords, such as ⲁⲣⲫⲁ, temple: *B* ⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ, *S* ϧⲡⲉ; ⲟⲣⲡ, wine: *S, B* ⲏⲣⲡ, probably **ʾiōrep* or similar; and ⲥⲓⲗⲉⲗ, pray, with which compare *B, S* ϣⲗⲏⲗ, to pray, and Beḍawīye *silēl,* pray, prayer. In modern Nubian one finds *adīr,* winter = the month Hathor or, more exactly its

Greek form ⲁⲑⲩⲣ, pronounced *Atīr* (without *h*); and *bogon*, a month name (Arabic *Bašans*) from Greek ⲡⲁϫⲱⲛ, pronounced *Pakōn* (without *h*).

Kam, camel, derives not directly from *B* ϫⲁⲙⲟⲩⲗ, *S* ϭⲁⲙⲟⲩⲗ, camel, but from an earlier form, **ḳamūli*. There were no camels in pharaonic Egypt unless in the last centuries B.C., but Cambyses' expedition to Siwa Oasis is unthinkable without camels; it took place shortly after 525 B.C. But the name of the animal, which is of Semitic origin (Akkadian *gammalu-m*, Hebrew *gāmal*, Aramaic *gaml-ā* but *gĕmal-* before a genitive, Arabic *gamal*, *ǧamal*), must have been known in Egypt a long time before, as the shift from *ā* to *ō* (*gamāl-i : gamōl-i*) took place before 1000 B.C. The Coptic forms derive from *ḳamūli*, *ū* being due to postnasalization, and the same form is the ancestor of various forms in Berber, such as Kabyle *a-lġ^{w}em*, plural *i-leġ^{w}man*, where *a-* and *i-* are the old singular and plural articles and *ġ* is Arabic ghayn, a fricative *g* as in the modern Greek *gála*, milk. The Berber form derives from **ḳalūmi* (metathesis for **ḳamūli*), and similar forms are found in numerous languages in the western Sudan, such as Hausa *ṛāk'umi*, camel, Kanuri *ka-ḷigimo* (prefix *ka-*), probably also Fulani *ṅ-geloba*, camel, and so on. In Nubian the word has lost its last part (*kam* instead of *kamūl*), but the plural is still *kaml-i* (plural ending *-i*).

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VOCABULARY, COPTO-ARABIC. No language is entirely homogeneous, and so it is with Coptic. There is a majority of autochthonous words deriving from pharaonic Egyptian, but after the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great (332 B.C.) many Greek words were adopted. And, later on, after the end of the Byzantine domination, Egypt, subdued by the Arabs (A.D. 641), began to undergo their influence, at first imperceptibly but later more obviously. Thus, Arabic loanwords were extremely rare in Coptic immediately after the ARAB CONQUEST OF EGYPT, comprising but a few personal names and some substantives. They became more numerous in the very last period of Coptic, as evidenced by Stern's text (1885) on alchemy and Chassinat's medical papyrus (1921), both probably translated from the Arabic. In the former, most nouns are preceded by *al-* or an assimilated form:

S ⲁⲗⲕⲁⲣⲟⲟⲣⲉ (fem.), bottle:Arabic *al-ḳarūra*.
S ⲁⲗⲕⲁⲧⲁϩ (masc.), beaker:Arabic *al-ḳadaḥ*.
S ⲁⲗⲃⲁϩⲙ (masc.), coal:Arabic *al-faḥm*.
S ⲁⲗⲭⲓⲡⲓⲧ (masc.), sulphur:Arabic *al-kibrīt*.
S ⲁⲗⲭⲉⲛⲟⲩⲛ (masc.), oven:Arabic *al-kānūn*.
S ⲁⲗⲭⲁⲣⲣⲟⲟⲛⲉ (fem.), carob bean:Arabic *al-ḥarrūba*.
S ⲁⲥⲥⲉⲃⲓϩⲉ (fem.), sheet of metal:Arabic *aṣ-ṣafīḥa*.
S ⲁⲥⲥⲉⲣⲛϩ (masc.), arsenic:Arabic *az-zirnīḫ*.
S ⲁⲥⲥⲓⲡⲁⲕ (masc.), mercury:Arabic *az-zaybaḳ*.

There are forms without article, such as *S* ⲧⲉⲣϩⲁⲙ (masc.), *dirham* (unit of weight); *S* ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲕ (masc.), *dānaḳ* (unit of weight); and *S* ⲁⲡⲓⲁⲧ, white, from Arabic *'abyaḍ*, white.

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VOCABULARY, COPTO-GREEK. The reader who has not been warned in advance, approaching a Coptic text, will probably be struck by its "Greek" appearance. But even if its superficial appearance is almost entirely Greek, the body thus clothed remains authentically Egyptian. Furthermore, the proportion of elements of Greek appearance to those of Egyptian aspect may vary from one Coptic text to another (because of the DIALECTS, the subjects treated, the stylistic and linguistic preferences of the authors, not to mention the level of their culture, etc.), as will be seen further on. The two following examples, in which will be found either Sahidic (*S*), Mesokemic (*M*), "classical" Fayyumic (*F5*), "classical" Bohairic (*B5*), on the one hand, or Akhmimic (*A*), on the other, will show this summarily and in a preliminary way.

First is the best known of the Gospel prayers (Mt. 6:9–13), attested as it happens in four different Coptic idioms (Exhibit 1). The proportions cited here are calculated chiefly on the basis of the Sahidic text. In *S* this passage requires 219 letters, of which 204 (95 percent) are Greek (see on this subject ALPHABET IN COPTIC, GREEK). If one counts the "words" (following the conventional procedures and omitting the articles and various prefixes, which are always of Egyptian origin), one finds here 41 words, of which

EXHIBIT 1.

	Our Father who art in heaven,	hallowed be thy name;
S	ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲣⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲏⲩⲉ	ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ
M	ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲟⲧ ⲉⲧⲣⲛ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲏ	ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲉⲛ ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁ
F5	ⲡⲉⲛⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲣⲛⲛ ⲙⲡⲓⲟⲩⲓ̈	ⲡⲉⲕⲗⲉⲛ ⲙⲁⲗⲉϥⲧⲩⲃⲃⲁ
B5	ⲡⲉⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲓϥⲏⲟⲩⲓ	ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲛ̀ⲭⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲁⲛ

	(10) thy kingdom come;	thy will be done
S	ⲧⲉⲕⲙ̄ⲛⲧ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲥⲉⲓ	ⲡⲉⲕⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲱⲙⲉ
M	ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲛⲧⲉⲣⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲥⲉⲓ	ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲣⲛⲉⲕ ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲱⲟⲙⲉ
F5	ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲉⲧⲉⲣⲣⲁ ⲙⲁⲗⲉⲥⲓ̈	ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲣⲛⲏⲕ
B5	ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲥⲓ ⲛ̀ⲭⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ	ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲣⲛⲁⲕ ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲱⲙⲛ

	on earth as it is in heaven;	(11) give us this day our daily bread;
S	ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲉⲧⲫⲣⲛ̄ ⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲱⲙⲉ ⲟⲛ ϩⲓϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲁϩ	ⲡⲉⲛⲟⲉⲓⲕ ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲧⲁⲁϥ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩ
M	ⲛ̀ⲑⲏ ⲉⲧⲫⲁⲡ ϩⲛ ⲧⲡⲏ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲥⲱⲟⲙⲉ ϩⲓϫⲛ ⲡⲕⲉϩⲉ	ⲡⲉⲛⲁⲉⲓⲕ ⲛ̀ⲣⲉⲥⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲉⲓϥ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲟⲩ
F5	ϩⲛ ⲧⲡⲏ ⲙⲁⲗⲉϥⲱⲱⲙⲛ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲕⲉϩⲓ	ⲡⲉⲛⲁⲩ̈ⲕ ⲛⲁⲉⲥ† ⲙⲁⲩ̈ϥ ⲛⲏⲛ ⲙⲡⲁⲟⲩ
B5	ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏ† ϫⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ	ⲡⲉⲛⲱⲓⲕ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲣⲁⲥ† ⲙⲏⲓϥ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲙ̀ⲫⲟⲟⲩ

	(12) and forgive us our trespasses	as we forgive those
S	ⲕⲱ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲣⲟⲛ	ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲛ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲕⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
M	ⲕⲱ ⲉⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲣⲁⲛ	ⲛ̀ⲑⲏ ϩⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲫⲁⲛⲕⲱ ⲉⲃⲁⲗ
F5	ⲕⲱ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲉⲗⲁⲛ ⲛⲏⲛ ⲉⲃⲁⲗ	ⲛⲧϩⲏ ⲛⲧⲁⲛⲕⲱ ⲉⲃⲁⲗ
B5	ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲭⲁ ⲛⲉⲧⲉ̀ⲣⲟⲛ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ	ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏ† ϩⲱⲛ ⲉ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲭⲱ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ

	who trespass against us;	(13) and lead us not into temptation [*πειρασμός*]	
S	ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ		ⲛ̄ⲓⲧⲙ̄ⲭⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ
M	ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉⲛ ⲉ̀ⲣⲁⲩ	ⲁⲩⲱ	ⲙ̀ⲡⲣⲛ̀ⲧⲛ ⲉ̀ϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲡⲓⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ
F5	ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲑⲏⲛ ⲉⲗⲁⲩ	ⲁⲩⲱ	ⲙⲡⲉⲗⲉⲛⲧⲉⲛ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲡⲓⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ
B5	ⲛ̀ⲛⲏ ⲉ̀ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲛ ⲉ̀ⲣⲱⲟⲩ	ⲟⲩⲟϩ	ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲣⲉⲛⲧⲉⲛ ⲉ̀ϫⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ

but [*ἀλλά*] deliver us from evil [*πονηρός*].

S	ⲁⲗⲗⲁ	ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁϩⲙⲉⲛ	ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲙ̄	ⲡⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣⲟⲥ.
M	ⲁⲗⲗⲁ	ⲛⲉϩⲙⲛ	ⲉⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲧϥ	ⲙ̀ⲡⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣⲟⲥ.
F5	ⲁⲗⲗⲁ	ⲛⲉϩⲙⲉⲛ	ϩⲁⲃⲁⲗ	ⲙⲡⲡⲉⲧϩⲁⲩ.
B5	ⲁⲗⲗⲁ	ⲛⲁϩⲙⲉⲛ	ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ	ⲡⲡⲡⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ.

only 3 (7 percent) are of Greek origin (in *M* likewise 3 words out of 40, in *F5* 2 out of 35 = 6 percent, in *B5* 2 out of 46 = 4 percent; if instead of considering Mt. 6:9–13 one considered only 6:9–12, one would find in all these idioms no word of Greek origin). This text, as can be seen, is particularly sober in its use of the Copto-Greek vocabulary.

The First Epistle of Clement 42.4 in *A* (Exhibit 2) is as far as can be from this sobriety. This passage uses 108 letters, of which 103 (95 percent) are Greek. If one counts the words, there are 17, of which 12 (71 percent) are of Greek origin.

These two examples are probably extreme cases, and the great mass of the Coptic texts lies somewhere between them, readily making use of this Hellenic material, without parsimony or anti-Greek purism but also without falling into "Hellenomania."

There can be no question here of examining in every detail the problem posed by the variable usage of the Copto-Greek words in the various Coptic texts (the most detailed study of the subject, although limited to the New Testament and to the "languages," rather than "dialects," *S* and *B*, is Böhlig, 1958; with regard to the Coptic dialects outside *S* and *B*, see Kasser, 1983). This discussion will therefore be confined to the most important facts.

Every language carries words borrowed from neighboring languages; in English, for example, there are many words deriving from French, in particular because the political history of England was often and over long periods closely interlocked with that of France. However, the proportion of the Greek words in Coptic (rarely of words that passed into Greek from Semitic languages or from Latin,

EXHIBIT 2.

They preached [*κηρύσσειν*] in every [*κατά*] city [*πόλις*] and in every [*κατά*] country [*χώρα*],
ⲁⲩⲧ ⲕⲏⲣⲩⲥⲥⲉ ⲙⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲁⲟⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲭⲱⲣⲁ

they installed [*καθιστάναι*] [in office] their first-fruit [*ἀπαρχή*, i.e., those who were to be the first among them],
ⲁⲩⲧ ⲕⲁⲧϩⲓⲥⲧⲁ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲁⲡⲁⲣⲭⲏ

they proved [*δοκιμάζειν*] by the [Holy] Spirit [*πνεῦμα*] bishops [*ἐπίσκοπος*] and deacons [*διάκονος*]
ⲁⲩⲧ ⲇⲟⲕⲓⲙⲁⲍⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡⲡⲛⲁ ⲛⲛⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ϩⲉⲛⲁⲓⲇⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ

capable [now and in the future] of having [and preserving] the faith [*πιστεύειν*].
ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁϩ ⲧ ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ.

Persian, or other tongues) is enormous—about 40 percent. This is, of course, counting each lexeme as a unit, for it happens that very often the Copto-Greek words are of rarer usage (because more specialized) in ordinary Coptic texts (not those devoted to law, theology, medicine, etc.), so that their presence there is more modest (about 20 percent on average).

This very evident and massive presence of the Greek element in the Coptic language (as an Egyptian language) has no doubt some relation to the fact that the majority of the Coptic texts preserved today were translated from the Greek. The translations were generally carried out in a rather free manner in *S*, rather literally in *B*, where the Greek term of the original was readily taken up into Copto-Greek, especially where the term was difficult to understand, whereas in *S*, the effort was made to interpret, by means of a more accessible vocabulary, at the cost of departing somewhat from the Greek.

However, that is not the chief cause of what appears as a kind of Hellenization of Egyptian. It results in fact, above all, from a process of linguistic interference, in which Greek naturally most often plays the role of the "donor" and Egyptian that of the "recipient" (Brunsch, 1978, pp. 60–61). This phenomenon is the inevitable result of the Hellenic grip on Egypt during the five centuries or so that preceded the formation of Coptic as a literary language (see ALPHABET IN COPTIC, GREEK). Since Greek had been so long in a dominant position in Egypt, a country of which it became the administrative language from the beginning of the Ptolemaic period and in which there was a strong Greek colony, there gradually came about, of necessity and also through mixed marriages (e.g., between Greek soldiers and Egyptian women), a bilingual milieu, which facilitated the smooth functioning of this heterogeneous social whole, and the diffusion of numerous words from the Greek koine of Egypt (with certain rudimentary concepts that accompanied them) into the widest circles of the native population, which in the beginning did not know Greek.

Furthermore, this diffusion could only have been accelerated and extended by the diffusion of new ideas brought by Greek texts (Judeo-Christianity, Gnosticism, Hermeticism, Manichaeism, etc.). These ideas first took root among the Greek minority in Egypt; later they contaminated the bilingual milieu and then the milieu in which only the native (Coptic) language was spoken. It may be remarked in this connection that, on the one hand, the Coptic words deriving from Greek are for the most part so well assimilated into the Coptic language that it is appropriate to call them "Copto-Greek" rather than "Greek" (they were probably no longer felt to be "Greek," and thus foreign, by the Copts who used them); but, on the other hand, these Copto-Greek lexemes only rarely play a truly indispensable role in Coptic, for in the majority of cases one could without serious inconvenience replace them with some almost synonymous autochthonous equivalent. (The old Egyptian language was supple enough and rich enough to be able to face up to these diverse new situations, to answer these "modern" needs and adapt itself, as it did several times in the course of a history of several thousand years.) The use of the Copto-Greek vocabulary thus remains very often optional, this aspect of "free choice" being further underlined, more than once, by the fact that the writer apparently delighted in placing side by side the Copto-Greek word and the native Coptic word (redundancy in some sort, as in ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲭⲉ, in order that; ⲟⲩⲭ ⲟⲧⲓ ⲭⲉ, not because; ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲟⲛ, again; ⲭⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ, because; or in tautologies like ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ in the Pistis Sophia; cf. Schmidt and MacDermot, 1978, p. 550). But it is evident that other factors in practice limited this theoretical liberty. In fact, the use of the Copto-Greek vocabulary may be imposed

by certain conventions, such as those of some specialized milieu or other. It may be linked also to the personal taste of some author or translator for a given terminology, some writers probably putting on a certain affectation of Hellenizing their discourse while others, for other ideological motives (purism, desire to safeguard an ethnic and religious particularism, etc.), reacted negatively in face of this inclination, which tended progressively to assimilate Egypt to the somewhat hybrid Hellenism of the other provinces of the Byzantine Orient.

In short, one may think that certain ecclesiastical milieus in the third and fourth centuries encouraged the Hellenization of the native Egyptian idioms: Greek was the language common to all parts of the church, it was the language of the theologians after having been that of the Septuagint version (Greek Old Testament) and of the entire New Testament, and so of the Gospel itself. Certainly, it was considered necessary to translate the Bible into Coptic, but this was above all to answer a transitory need, that of the Christianization of the rural masses of Egypt. Once this end had been attained, the partisans of Greek thought that the sooner the Coptic church became Hellenized, the better: by this means they would avoid a dangerous particularism, productive of schisms. And, in fact, it was well recognized that by the force of events the Greek vocabulary of the Copts was becoming richer from generation to generation; it would suffice to accelerate this movement further by multiplying the borrowings from the Hellenic patrimony. From this point of view, every Greek word used in Egypt already belonged by right to the Coptic language and could find its place one day or another in a Coptic sentence; every word in the koine was in some sort potentially a Coptic word. Thus, one may observe here or there the appearance of some Greek word, new in Coptic, used in a moment of audacity or with an urge to emphasis, according to the temperament or the whim of an author.

This movement of openness to Greek was opposed very early by a reaction of native particularism, growing ever stronger, which prevented many Greek words newly introduced into Coptic from becoming profoundly assimilated to it and so becoming part of common usage. Besides, in the third century A.D. the preponderance of Greek in the Roman empire, at least in the principal ports and in wide areas of its eastern part, and in Rome, had been breached, especially by Latin but also, more regionally, by other cultural particularisms. One might thus define Coptic, as it presents itself to the observer in all its diversity, as the fluctuating result of a very incomplete Hellenization of the popular Egyptian language. Certain Greek words were thoroughly assimilated to it, in all levels of the population; others were part of the current professional baggage of specialists (jurists, theologians, physicians, etc.) within their specialization, while remaining foreign to those who did not know sufficiently well the science expressed by this particular learned terminology; still others remained true foreign bodies in Coptic, being used only exceptionally, by an author who did not know how to translate them or took delight in the mystery of a term understood by him alone (or by a very few initiates). Therefore, one cannot describe all these Coptic words derived from Greek uniformly as "assimilated," "borrowed," or "foreign."

A very small part of the Copto-Greek vocabulary appears to have entered into the Egyptian language a very long time before the beginnings of literary Coptic, and probably even before the Ptolemaic period, at a time when Greek had not yet acquired the preponderant role that it later played there for close to a thousand years. One can recognize these words from their orthography, often somewhat distorted in Coptic in comparison with their Greek orthography. Thus, for example (Böhlig, 1958, pp. 6, 80), *ἄγκυρα*, anchor, *S* ϩⲁⲩⲅⲁⲗ, *F5* ϩⲁⲩⲅⲏⲗ, *B* ⲁⲩϫⲁⲗ; *μηλωτή*, skin garment, *B* ⲙⲉⲗⲱⲧⲏ but again *S* ⲙⲉⲗⲱⲧ, *S* ⲙⲁⲗⲗⲱⲧ, and above all *S* ⲃⲁⲗⲟⲧ, *A*, *F5* ⲃⲁⲗⲁⲧ; *πέλεκυς*, ax, *S*, *B* ⲕⲉⲗⲉⲃⲓⲛ; *πίναξ*, plate, dish, *S*, *M* ⲡⲓⲛⲁϫ but *F5* ⲡⲓⲛⲉⲅ, *B* ⲃⲓⲛⲁϫ; *σινδών*, linen cloth (or garment), *S*, *A*, *M* ⲥⲓⲛⲁⲱⲛ but also *S* ⲱⲛⲧⲱ, *B* ⲱⲉⲛⲧⲱ; *στατήρ*, stater (weight or coin), *S*, *L5* ⲥⲁⲧⲉⲅⲣⲉ, *L5* ⲥⲧⲁⲧⲉⲅⲣⲉ, *L4* ⲥⲧⲁⲧⲉⲅⲣ, *M* ⲥⲧⲁⲑⲏⲣⲉ, *F5* ⲥⲁⲑⲏⲏⲗ, *B* ⲥⲁⲑⲉⲣⲓ.

However, the majority of the other words derived from Greek in the Ptolemaic period or even later ("derived from Greek" here may also signify "derived from other languages via Greek," as is the case, for example, with the Latin *census*, which became *κῆνσος*, taxation, *S* ϩⲏⲛⲥⲟⲥ, *M* ϩⲏⲛⲥⲟⲛ, or with *λίβανος*, incense, *S*, *A*, *L*, *M*, *F*, *B* ⲗⲓⲃⲁⲛⲟⲥ, *F7* ⲗⲉⲃⲉⲛⲟⲩⲥ, derived from the Semitic linguistic domain, and with *νάρδος*, nard, *S*, *A*, *W*, *F*, *F7*, *B* ⲛⲁⲣⲇⲟⲥ, derived from Persian, etc.; Böhlig, 1958, pp. 8–11). In all the Coptic dialects except *H* (which follows its own ways; see Kasser, 1975–1976, and DIALECT H, OR HERMOPOLITAN OR ASHMUNINIC), these words of Hellenic origin have preserved their original orthography, either exactly or nearly so (perhaps thanks to the bilingualism of the majority of the

copyists, who knew well the form of the same terms in the Greek of Egypt). Of course, since Coptic syntax is entirely and radically Egyptian, the Copto-Greek substantives are freed from any Greek declension (they remain in principle invariably in the nominative singular), and the verbs are equally freed from any Greek conjugation (remaining, as a general rule, fixed in a form of the infinitive or, according to the dialects and with loss of the final *-ν* of the infinitive, in a form identical with that of the imperative), as will be seen further on.

Systematic consonantal modifications are rare and very limited. Considering only the principal characteristics, one may mention here above all **-ⲕⲓ-** becoming **-ϭⲓ-** (by palatalization) in *S*, *A*, *L*, and *M* (but not in the other Coptic idioms, which leads one to think that there **ϭ** had a phonological value other than /c/): for example, *κακία*, wickedness, *S*, *A*, *L* **ⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ** but also *S*, *M* **ⲕⲁϭⲓⲁ**; *κίνδυνος*, danger, *S*, *A*, *L* **ⲕⲓⲛⲇⲩⲛⲟⲥ** or *S*, *A*, *L*, *M* **ϭⲓⲛⲇⲩⲛⲟⲥ**. It is probably a more complex phenomenon, in which, however, palatalization also plays a certain role, which produces in the case of *χι* the mutation of **ⲭⲓ** into **ϫⲓ** in *S*, *A*, *L*, and *M* (/khi/ > */kçi/ > */tçi/ > */tši/ > /či/ [?]; see further on with regard to *i-* **ⲓ-** sometimes becoming **ϣⲓ-**); thus *ἀρχιερεύς*, high priest, *S*, *A*, *F*, *B* **ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥ**, *L* **ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥ**; *ἀρχιμάγειρος*, chief cook, *S*, *B* **ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲙⲁⲅⲓⲣⲟⲥ**, *S* **ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲙⲁⲅⲉⲓⲣⲟⲥ**; *χιών*, snow, *S*, *A*, *L*, *F*, *B* **ϫⲓⲱⲛ**, *S*, *A*, *M* **ϫⲓⲱⲛ**; and so on.

It is legitimate to include in the consonantal domain the rough or smooth breathing at the beginning of Greek words starting with a vowel. Very often (and in *S* more often than in *B*) the rough breathing is rendered by **ⲩ** and the smooth breathing by the absence of any special grapheme before the initial vowel. One dare not speak of a rule here, for there are too many exceptions, proving that at the dawn of literary Coptic the Greek of Egypt no longer made any difference in pronunciation between the rough and the smooth breathing (what continued in the texts and left its reflection in Coptic is only the more or less complete survival of a more or less intact Greek orthographical tradition; see Böhlig, 1958, p. 111, etc.): for example, *ἄδικος*, unjust, *S*, *A*, *L*, *F5*, *B* **ⲁⲗⲓⲕⲟⲥ**; *ἅμα*, simultaneously, *S*, *L* **ⲩⲁⲙⲁ**, *B* **ⲁⲙⲁ**; *ὅταν*, when, *S*, *A*, *L*, *M*, *W*, *V*, *F5*, *B* **ⲩⲟⲧⲁⲛ**; *εἰκών*, image, *S*, *A*, *L*, *M*, *F5*, *B* **ⲩⲓⲕⲱⲛ**. It will be noted that in a narrow idiomatic (and archaic) Coptic sector (especially *L6* and *S* of the Coptic Gnostic texts from Nag Hammadi in Upper Egypt; Kasser, 1980), the initial Greek *i-* has as its equivalent **ϣⲓ** rather than **ⲩⲓ** (a phenomenon of palatalization, in which /ši/ would derive from an ancient */çi/ issuing from /hi/ [?]): for example, *ἱκανός*, sufficient, *S*, *A*, *L4*, *B* **ⲩⲓⲕⲁⲛⲟⲥ**, *S*, *L6* **ϣⲓⲕⲁⲛⲟⲥ**. On the other hand, it may happen that the Greek *-ῤῥ-* is rendered by **-ⲣⲩ-** rather than by **-ⲣⲣ-**, as in *παρρησία*, freedom of speech, *S*, *A*, *L*, *F5*, *B* **ⲡⲁⲣⲣⲏⲥⲓⲁ**, *S*, *A*, *L*, *M*, *W* **ⲡⲁⲣⲩⲏⲥⲓⲁ**, *V* **ⲡⲁⲣⲩⲉⲥⲓⲁ** (idiolectal).

In the area of the vowels, various idiolectal modifications appear (above all confusions between **ⲏ**, **ⲓ**, and **ⲩ**, sometimes also between **ⲉ** and **ⲏ**, **ⲟ** and **ⲱ**, etc.); they will not surprise anyone who deals with the texts of the koine (contemporary with the genesis of Coptic literature) in Egypt and has noted its graphic fluctuations, particularly in vowels (Böhlig, 1958, pp. 91–106; Gignac, 1976–1981; and PHONOLOGY OF THE GREEK OF EGYPT, INFLUENCE OF COPTIC ON THE); being too numerous and not systematic, they cannot be set out here. However, the substitution of **ⲉ** for Greek *αι* in *B*, *F*, *V*, and *W* is very general and regular; thus *αἵρεσις*, heresy, *S*, *L*, *M* **ⲩⲁⲓⲣⲉⲥⲓⲥ**, *B* **ⲩⲉⲣⲉⲥⲓⲥ** (also here and there in *S* and *L*); *αἴσθησις*, intuition, *S*, *A*, *L* **ⲁⲓⲥⲑⲏⲥⲓⲥ**, *F*, *B* **ⲉⲥⲑⲏⲥⲓⲥ** (also here and there in *S* and *L*); *δίκαιος*, just, *S*, *A*, *L*, *M* **ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ**, *V*, *F*, *B* **ⲇⲓⲕⲉⲟⲥ** (also here and there in *S* and *M*). *L4* often replaces a verbal final *-ειν*, normally **-ⲉⲓ** in *L*, by **-ⲏ**, as in *ἐπιθυμεῖν*, to desire, *S*, *A*, **ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲉⲓ**, *L6*, *M* **ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓ**, *L4* **ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲏ** (with regard to *F5*, *B* **ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲛ**, see further on).

In a general way, Coptic invariably uses the Greek substantives in the nominative singular, as with Matthew 24:7, *ἔθνος* (nominative singular), a people, *S* **ⲟⲩⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ**; Matthew 6:32, *τὰ ἔθνη* (nominative plural), the Gentiles, *S* **ⲛ̄ⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ**; Romans 11:13, *ἐγὼ ἐθνῶν ἀπόστολος* (genitive plural), I, the apostle of the Gentiles, *S* **ⲁⲛⲅ̄ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ**. Other forms are quite exceptional, as in Luke 1:3, the vocative *κράτιστε*, *S*, *B* **ⲕⲣⲁⲧⲓⲥⲧⲉ**, or the nominative plural of *σκεῦος*, object, vase, plural *σκεύη*, regularly attested in *S*, *A*, and *L*, as in Romans 9:22, *σκεύη ὀργῆς*, vessels of wrath, *S* **ⲥⲉⲛⲥⲕⲉⲩⲏ ⲛ̄ⲟⲣⲅⲏ** but *B* **ⲥⲁⲛⲥⲕⲉⲩⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲭⲱⲛⲧ**. One may note finally that Coptic tends to impose its own native plural endings, in *S* -/o᷈wə/ etc., on Copto-Greek words ending in tonic **-ⲏ**, as with *ψυχή*, soul, plural *ψυχαί*, Coptic plural *S* **ⲯⲩⲭⲟⲟⲩⲉ**, *P* **ⲯⲩⲭⲏⲩ**, *L6* (?) **ⲯⲩⲭⲏⲟⲩ**, *L4* **ⲯⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ**, *M* **ⲯⲩⲭⲁⲟⲩⲉ᷈**, *F56* **ⲯⲩⲭⲁⲩⲓ**, *B* **ⲯⲩⲭⲱⲟⲩⲓ**; compare *S* etc. **ⲧⲉ̄ⲛⲏ**, cattle, plural *S* **ⲧⲉ̄ⲛⲟⲟⲩⲉ**, *B* **ⲧⲉⲃⲛⲱⲟⲩⲓ**, *A* **ⲧⲉ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲉ**, *L4* **ⲧⲉ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲉ**, *M* **ⲧⲃⲛⲁⲟⲩⲉ᷈**, *H* **ⲧⲃⲛⲁⲟⲩ**, *F5* **ⲧⲩⲃⲛⲁⲩⲓ**. Should one be surprised that Coptic did not likewise use its plurals *S* etc. **-ⲟⲓ** (plurals of words in final tonic *S* etc. **-ⲟ**) for Copto-Greek words ending in **-ⲟⲥ**, which would have corresponded to the Greek plural (nominative), such as *νομός*, plural *νομοί*? See for comparison, *S*, *L*, etc.

ϩϫλο, old man, *S* plural ϩϫλοϊ, and *B* ϧϵλλοϊ, *A* ϩϫλλι, *L* ϩϫλλϊ, *M* ϩλλογϊ (*F5*? ϩϵλλογϊ). This is not the place for an answer to so delicate a question. One may note finally that, Coptic having only two genders (masculine and feminine, not neuter), a Copto-Greek word corresponding to a Greek neuter is masculine in Coptic, as in Romans 1:32, *τὸ δικαίωμα*, the act of judgment, the verdict, *S* ⲡⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲱⲙⲁ.

In regard to the Copto-Greek forms corresponding to the Greek adjective, it may be noted that the usages of Coptic are clearly different from those of Greek. The feminine form is rarely preserved: it is most often replaced by the masculine form. In any case, the allocation of these forms (always in the nominative singular) is as follows: the masculine (or on occasion the feminine, when it has survived in Coptic) for persons, the neuter in all other cases. Thus Matthew 12:35, *ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος*, the good man, *S* ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ; Titus 2:4–5, *νέας . . . εἶναι . . . οἰκουργοὺς ἀγαθάς*, the young women . . . (are to be) . . . domestic, kind, *S* ⲛϣⲉⲣⲉ ϥⲏⲙ (ⲉⲣ . . .) . . . ⲛⲣⲉϥⲧⲉⲱ ⲙⲁ ⲛⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ, *B* ⲛⲓⲗⲗⲱⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ̀ϩⲓⲟⲙⲓ (ⲉⲉⲣ . . .) . . . ⲛ(ⲓ)ⲣⲉϥⲥⲉϩⲛⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲏⲓ ⲛ̀ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲏ; Philippians 4:8, *ὅσα δίκαια*, whatever is just, *S* ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛ̀ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲛ, *B* ⲛⲏ ⲉ̀ⲧⲉ ϩⲁⲛⲇⲓⲕⲉⲟⲛ ⲛⲉ; Romans 7:12 *ἡ ἐντολή . . . δικαία*, the commandment (is) just, *S* ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ . . . ⲟⲩⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲛ ⲧⲉ. According to the adjectives and the use that may be made of them in the text, it may evidently happen that only their "masculine" or "neuter" form is attested; thus, for example, in the Coptic texts at present known, there is always *αἱρετικός*, heretic, *S* ϩⲁⲓⲣⲉⲧⲓⲕⲟⲥ, *B* (ϩ)ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲓⲕⲟⲥ (it is difficult to imagine a heretical "thing," although it could be a dogma, a book, etc.), and *τετράγωνος*, quadrangular, *S*, *B* ⲧⲉⲧⲣⲁⲅⲱⲛⲟⲛ (a quality that one can scarcely conceive as applied to a person).

In the area of the Copto-Greek verbs (considering only the most important facts) two different usages can be observed (varying with the idioms). First of all, they are only fully felt as verbs (and used as such on the same basis as the native Coptic verbs) in *S*, *M*, *W*, and *F56*, while in *A*, *L*, and *B*, like any substantive that one wishes to make into a "pseudo-verb," they are preceded by an auxiliary (the prenominal state of the verb *S* etc. ⲉⲓⲣⲉ), *A*, *L* ϯ-, *B* ⲉⲣ-; in *V* and *F*, however, there is a variation: about 50 percent with ⲉⲗ- and 50 percent without in *F*, and a majority of cases with ⲉⲣ- and a minority without it in *V*; one may observe the same fluctuation in *P*.

On the other hand, if the form of the Copto-Greek verb is similar to that of the Greek infinitive in *B*, and often in *F* and *V*, it is without the final -ⲛ every-

where else in Coptic. So far as the vocalization of this final syllable *-ειν* or *-εῖν* in Greek is concerned, it is invariably -ⲓⲛ in *B* (*F* etc.), while it is ⲉ for *-ειν* and -(ⲉ)ⲓ for *-εῖν* elsewhere; for example, Copto-Greek pseudo-verbs in Galatians 4:19, *μορφοῦσθαι*, to be formed, *S* ϫⲓ ⲙⲟⲣⲫⲏ; Baruch 2:18, *λυπεῖσθαι*, be sorrowful, *S* ϯ ⲗⲩⲡⲏ; and then Copto-Greek verbs, such as *πιστεύειν*, believe, *S*, *M*, *W*, (*V*?), (*F*) ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ, *A*, *L* ϯ ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ, (*V*? ⲉⲣ ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ), (*F* ⲉⲗ ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ), *V*, *B* ⲉⲣ ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲓⲛ, *F* ⲉⲗ ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲓⲛ; *αἰτεῖν*, ask, *S* ⲁⲓⲧⲉⲓ, (*S*) *M* ⲁⲓⲧⲓ, *A*, *L* ϯ ⲁⲓⲧ(ⲉ)ⲓ, *B* ⲉⲣ ⲉⲧⲓⲛ, *F* ⲉⲗ ⲉⲧⲓⲛ. Other verbal terminations include *πλανᾶν*, go astray, *S*, *M*, *W*, *F5*, *F56* ⲡⲗⲁⲛⲁ, *A*, *L5*, *L6* ϯ ⲡⲗⲁⲛⲁ, *L4* ϯ ⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ, *B4* ⲉⲣ ⲡⲗⲁⲛⲁⲛ; *μαστιγοῦν*, whip, scourge, *S* ⲙⲁⲥⲧⲓⲅⲟⲩ, *M* ⲙⲁⲥⲧⲓⲅⲟⲩ or ⲙⲁⲥⲥⲓⲅⲟⲩ, *A*, *L* ϯ ⲙⲁⲥⲧⲓⲅⲟⲩ, *B5* ⲉⲣ ⲙⲁⲥⲧⲓⲅⲟⲓⲛ, *B4* ⲉⲣ ⲙⲁⲥⲧⲓⲅⲟⲓⲛ. One may note finally (Böhlig, 1958, pp. 136–37) that *B* especially has preserved several Greek deponents, such as *ἀσπάζεσθαι*, to salute, *S*, *M*, *V*, *F5*, *F56* ⲁⲥⲡⲁⲍⲉ, *A*, *L* ϯ ⲁⲥⲡⲁⲍⲉ, *B* ⲉⲣ ⲁⲥⲡⲁⲍⲉⲥⲑⲉ.

As a general rule, when Greek words were being carried over into Coptic and becoming Copto-Greek, relatively simple ones were given preference, substantives above all and then verbs (although still treated as substantives by about half of the Coptic idioms). Despite appearances, this does not prevent one from finding in Coptic some adjectives (e.g., *ἀγαθός*, good, ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ), derivative substantives signifying some abstraction (e.g., *εὐσέβεια*, piety, ⲉⲩⲥⲉⲃⲉⲓⲁ, but also, and most often, ⲙⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ from *εὐσεβής*, pious; see below), and even a small number of adverbs (e.g., *καλῶς*, well, ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ).

All the same, Coptic more frequently manufactures its Copto-Greek derivatives by adding some prefix or similar auxiliary element in front of the simple Copto-Greek term. Examples here are restricted to *S* alone (and above all from the New Testament; see Draguet, 1960).

A Copto-Greek pseudo-verb is created by addition of a verb such as ϯ-, ϯ-, or ϫⲓ-, before a Copto-Greek substantive, its complement as a direct object; thus *λυπεῖσθαι*, to be sad, is rendered now by ⲗⲩⲡⲉⲓ, now by ϯ ⲗⲩⲡⲏ (see below, from *λύπη*, sorrow).

A Copto-Greek pseudo-adjective is created by the addition of the genitive preposition and the article before the Copto-Greek substantive; thus Romans 16:26, *διά . . . γραφῶν προφητικῶν*, through prophetic writings, ϩⲓⲧⲛ̀ ⲛⲉⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ ⲛ̀ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲓⲕⲟⲛ, but 1 Peter 1:19, *ἔχομεν . . . τὸν προφητικὸν λόγον*, we have . . . the prophetic word, ⲟⲩⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̀ⲡⲫⲁϫⲉ ⲛ̀ⲡⲉⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ (from *προφήτης*, prophet). This pseudo-adjective, when it includes a Greek negative prefix *ἀ(ν)-*, will again spring from a Copto-Greek

substantive preceded by a Coptic negative prefix such as ⲁⲧ- or ⲁⲭⲛ̄- or from a verb preceded by a negative verbal prefix: thus *ἄκαρπος*, without fruit, barren, ⲁⲧⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ or ⲁⲭⲛ̄ ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ (from *καρπός*, fruit). This pseudo-adjective is created also by the addition of a circumstantial prefix in front of a Copto-Greek verb; thus Philemon 6, *ἐνεργής*, efficacious, ⲉϥⲉⲛⲉⲣⲅⲉⲓ (from *ἐνεργεῖν*, to be efficacious).

A Copto-Greek pseudo-substantive signifying an abstraction, a trade, or the like is created from a Copto-Greek adjective or verb, in front of which are placed one or more prefixes. Thus, *ἀπιστία*, unbelief, may be rendered either by ⲁⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁ or by ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ (from *ἄπιστος*, unbelieving); *κολλυβιστής*, money-changer, is in *S* ⲣⲉϥⲭⲓ ⲕⲟⲗⲩⲙⲃⲟⲛ or ⲉⲧⲭⲓ ⲕⲟⲗⲩⲙⲃⲟⲛ (from *κόλλυβος*, small piece of money; *B* and *M* have adopted ⲕⲟⲗⲩⲃⲓⲥⲧⲏⲥ and ⲕⲟⲗⲗⲩⲃⲓⲥⲧⲏⲥ, respectively); *εἰδωλολατρία*, idolatry, never appears as a Copto-Greek word in Coptic and is replaced (e.g., 1 Cor. 10:14) by *S* ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉϥⲱⲙ̄ⲱϥⲉ ⲉⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ, *B* ⲙⲉⲧⲱⲁⲙⲱϥⲉ ⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ (from *εἴδωλον*, idol).

A Copto-Greek pseudo-adverb is created most often by placing ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩ-, in a, by a, in front of a substantive; thus Luke 7:4, *σπουδαίως*, zealously, is ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲡⲟⲩⲇⲁⲉⲱⲥ in *B* but ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲡⲟⲩⲇⲏ in *S* (literally "in a zeal," from *σπουδή*, zeal).

It is fitting to mention here in addition some Greek prepositions that became Copto-Greek. Most notable is *κατά*, according to (distributive), *S, A, L, H, M, W, V, F, B* ⲕⲁⲧⲁ, which even has a pronominal form in the native Coptic manner, *S, B* ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲣⲟ〃, but ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲣⲁ〃 in the other idioms except for *F* ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲗⲁ〃 (in fact a combination of the Copto-Greek ⲕⲁⲧⲁ with the native preposition *S, B* ⲉ-, ⲉⲣⲟ〃, *M, W, V* ⲉ-, ⲉⲣⲁ〃, *F* ⲉ-, ⲉⲗⲁ〃, *A, L* ⲁ-, ⲁⲣⲁ〃), used in particular in expressions such as *κατὰ γένος*, (each) according to its species (e.g., Gen. 1:25), *S, pL, B, B74* ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ, or again *κατὰ τὴν σάρκα*, according to the flesh (e.g., Jn. 8:15) *S, L5, B, B74* ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲥⲁⲣⲝ. One also finds *παρά*, more than, beyond, against, *S, A, L, H, M, V, F, B* ⲡⲁⲣⲁ, then (in the native fashion) *S, B* ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲣⲟ〃, *A, L* ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲣⲁ〃; *πρός*, to, for, *S, A, L, M, F, B* ⲡⲣⲟⲥ, used most frequently in the expression *S* ⲡⲣⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ, *L, M, F* ⲡⲣⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲁ(ⲉ)ⲓⲱ, *L, B* ⲡⲣⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲥⲛⲟⲩ, for a moment (only), ephemeral; *χωρίς*, except, apart from, *S, L, V, F, B* ⲭⲱⲣⲓⲥ, then in *B* alone ⲭⲱⲣⲓⲥ〃 (Prv. 7:1, *πλήν . . . αὐτοῦ*, except for him, *B* ⲭⲱⲣⲓⲥϥ but *P, S* ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲭⲗⲁϥ, *A* ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲭⲗⲉϥ); and so on.

Other grammatical elements passed into Copto-Greek only in stereotyped expressions such as *ἀπὸ μέρους*, partially, *S* ⲁⲡⲟ ⲙⲉⲣⲟⲩⲥ, *S, B* ⲁⲡⲟ ⲙⲉⲣⲟⲥ; *διὰ τοῦτο*, that is why, *S* (especially in Gnostic texts) ⲇⲓⲁ ⲧⲟⲩⲧⲟ (alternating with ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ̈); *καὶ γάρ*, and besides, *S, A, L, M* ⲕⲁⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ, *V, F, B* ⲕⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ; *καίπερ*, although, *S, A, L* ⲕⲁⲓⲡⲉⲣ, *F, B* ⲕⲉⲡⲉⲣ; *καίτοιγε*, and yet, *S, L* ⲕⲁⲓⲧⲟⲓⲅⲉ, *V, F, B* ⲕⲉⲧⲟⲓⲅⲉ; *μὴ γένοιτο*, God forbid, *S, L* ⲙⲏ ⲅⲉⲛⲟⲓⲧⲟ, *S* (idiolectal) ⲙⲉ ⲅⲉⲛⲉⲧⲟ, *B* ⲙⲏ ⲅⲉⲛⲉⲧⲟ; *οὐκ ἔξεστιν*, it is not permitted, *L5* ⲟⲩⲕ ⲉⲝⲉⲥⲧⲓⲛ, *S, M, F* ⲟⲩⲕ ⲉⲝⲉⲥⲧⲓ, *F56* ⲟⲩⲕ ⲉⲝⲉⲥ†; and so on.

One may also note here, above all in the legal documents (*S*, see Crum and Steindorff, 1912), some even longer Greek formulas, so long that one may perhaps hesitate to consider them as Copto-Greek and not quite simply Greek (islets of Hellenism preserved by the notaries, who considered them truly indispensable in a context that had become Coptic after the Arab invasion). Thus (ibid., text 48, l. 60) *ἐν πάσῃ ἀκολουθίᾳ*, with all due (legal) conformity, ⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲥⲏ ⲁⲕⲟⲗⲟⲩⲑⲓⲁ; (text 98, l. 36) *ἐπὶ πάσῃ καλῇ προαιρέσει*, with every good intention, ⲉⲡⲓ ⲡⲁⲥⲏ ⲕⲁⲗⲏ ⲡⲣⲟⲉⲓⲣⲏⲥⲉⲓ; (text 39, l. 52) *κατὰ πᾶσαν νομὴν καὶ δεσποτείαν*, with full right of free conduct and decision, ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲁⲥⲁⲛ ⲛⲟⲙⲏⲛ ⲕⲁⲓ ⲇⲉⲥⲡⲟⲧⲉⲓⲁⲛ; (text 44, l. 96) *πρὸς πᾶσαν τελείαν ἀπαλλαγήν*, in every operation of definitive division, ⲡⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲥⲁⲛ ⲧⲉⲗⲉⲓⲁⲛ ⲁⲡⲁⲗⲗⲁⲅⲏⲛ.

In any case, certain words of late Bohairic (Stern, 1880, p. 78) are Greco-Coptic rather than Copto-Greek; the preponderant element is autochthonous, but they have been superficially Hellenized by the addition of a Greek ending: thus, for example, ⲕⲉⲛⲉⲫⲓⲧⲏⲥ, baker, from ⲕⲉⲛⲉⲫⲓⲧⲉⲛ, bread baked under the ashes (Vycichl, 1983, pp. 83–84).

There remains to be examined the semantic aspect of the use of Copto-Greek words in Coptic. Apart from various words in common use and of very general sense, there is the matter of the technical terminology of special fields (sometimes partly unknown to pre-Greek Egypt): religions and philosophies newly introduced into the country, political or military life, administration, weights and measures, law, medicine, pharmacology, magic, botany, zoology, mineralogy (including the famous precious stones), clothing, household or agricultural implements, sports, theater, and much else. Appreciation of what was required may thus vary from one idiom to another. Limiting oneself to the two main "languages" of Coptic Egypt, *S* and *B* (see DIALECTS), one may note, for example, that in the New Testament both *B* and *S* render *σταυρός*, cross, by ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ; but when it is a question of translating *σταυροῦν*, crucify, *S* has opted everywhere for ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲩ (save one case of ⲉⲓⲱϥ, hang, suspend), while *B* has thought

it possible to use the native ⲧⲱⲓ, suspend, without inconvenience throughout (but in other literary texts in *B* one may also find the Copto-Greek verb ⲉⲣ ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲱⲛⲓⲛ).

In a general way, and as is usually the case with any vocabulary borrowed by one language from another, the Copto-Greek terms are used in a much more restricted sense than the Greek terms from which they derive. For example, if in Greek *ἄγγελος* designates all kinds of "messengers," including "angels," in Coptic ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ means only "angels," while the ordinary messenger is ϥⲁⲓϣⲓⲛⲉ in *S* and ⲣⲉⲙ ⲛ̀ⲥⲱⲃ in *B*. If in Greek *πρεσβύτερος* designates any aged person, any "old man," in Coptic an ordinary old man is *S* etc. ϩⲗⲏⲟ, while only the "elder" (member of the ruling council of a religious community, etc.) is ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ. If in Greek *εὐχαριστία* is "gratitude" in a very general manner, in *S* (New Testament) ⲉⲩⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁ seems to describe more particularly (Rev. 4:9, 7:12) a service of thanksgiving or "eucharist," while elsewhere (in a nonritual expression of thanksgiving, even if it is effusively addressed to God) *S* contents itself with ϥⲡⲓ ϩⲙⲟⲧ, render thanks, or ϩⲙⲟⲧ, grace (Acts 24:3; 1 Cor. 16:16; 2 Cor. 4:15, 9:11–12; Eph. 5:4; Phil. 4:6; Col. 2:7; 1 Thes. 3:9; 1 Tm. 2:1, 4:3). Many other cases of this kind could be mentioned.

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VOCABULARY, CUNEIFORM TRANSCRIPTIONS OF PROTOTYPES OF AUTOCHTHONOUS COPTIC. Fully vocalized prototypes of Coptic words are found in cuneiform transcriptions. Thus, it is known that the month name *B* ϫⲟⲓⲁⲕ (*S* ϫⲟⲓⲁϩⲕ and many variants) was pronounced in Late Egyptian **ku-iḫ-ku,* or something close to it. These transcriptions are often pre-

ceded by determinatives, such as (*ilu*), god; (*m*), male person; (*ālu*), town; and (*mātu*), country.

Three periods have to be distinguished (all dates according to Beckerath, 1971):

1. Middle-Babylonian transcriptions: the so-called Tell el-Amarna Letters, which comprise the correspondence of Amenophis II (1439–1413 B.C.) and Amenophis IV (Akhenaton) (1365–1349 B.C.) with their allies and vassals in Asia, tablets found in the foreign-office archives at Tell el-Amarna (central Egypt), and letters and documents of the Hittite royal archives of Boghazkeui (Asia Minor) of the time of Ramses II (1290–1224 B.C.).

2. Assyrian transcriptions: inscriptions, annals, and commercial documents from the time of Sargon II (722–705 B.C.), who conquered Palestine and received tribute from Bukurninip (Bocchoris in Greek), king of Egypt in 714 B.C.; of Assarhaddon (conquest of Memphis, 671 B.C.), and of Assurbanipal (conquest of the Delta, 667 B.C.).

3. New-Babylonian and Persian transcriptions: mainly commercial documents of the time of Cambyses (525–522 B.C.), Darius I (521–486 B.C.), Artaxerxes I (464–424 B.C.), and Artaxerxes II (404–359 B.C.).

Some examples are given below.

Middle-Babylonian Transcriptions

(*ilu*) *A-ma-a-na*, (*ilu*) *A-ma-na*: the god Amun, *B* ⲁⲙⲟⲩⲛ; (*m*) *A-ma-an-ḫa-at-pi*, n. pr. m. Amenophis, where the group *ḫa-at-pi* corresponds to the qualitative *B* ϩⲟⲧⲡ†; (*alū*) *A-na:* n. loc. Heliopolis, Egyptian *'Iwnw*, Hebrew *'Ōn*: *B* ⲱⲛ; (*m*) *Ri-a-na-pa*: n. pr. m. Ranofer, literally "the good Sun" or similar, where according to Edel the name was pronounced *Rē'-nāfe* or similar, but in any case with *Rē'* and not with *Rī'*, sun = *S*, *B* ⲣⲏ; (*ilu*) *Ḫa-a-ra*: the god Horus, *S*, *B* ϩⲱⲣ.

Assyrian Transcriptions

(*m*) *U-na-mu-nu:* n. pr. m. Wen-Amun or similar, which contains the name of Amun, *B* ⲁⲙⲟⲩⲛ; (*m*) *Bu-kur-ni-ni-ip*: n. pr. m. Bocchoris, Egyptian *B3k n rn-f*, literally "servant of his name," where the Coptic form would be *B* *ⲃⲱⲕ ⲛ̀ⲣⲓⲛϥ (the transcription should read *(*m*) *Bu-ku-un-ri-ni-ip*); (*m*) *Ḫu-u-ru*: n. pr. m. Horus, *S*, *B* ϩⲱⲣ; (*ālu*) *Me-im-pe*: n. loc. Memphis, *B* ⲙⲉⲛϥⲓ.

New-Babylonian and Persian Period

(m) A-mu-nu-ta-pu-na-aḫ-ti: n. pr. m. *Amon tef-naḫte*, literally "Amon is his strength," with *Amunu* = **Amōn* or *Amūn*, *B* ⲁⲙⲟⲩⲛ; *(m) Na-'a- (ilu) E-si* n. pr. m. literally "Great is Isis," where the Coptic form would be *B* *ⲛⲁⲁ-ⲏⲥⲓ.

Commentary

Middle-Babylonian *ā* corresponds to later (i.e., Assyrian or Neo-Assyrian or Persian) *ū* (see Table 1). This comparison shows that long *ā* before 1000 B.C. is transcribed as long *ū* after 1000 B.C. This long *ū* must be read *ō*, as the Coptic has *ō* in two cases (*Ōn* and *Hōr*). After a nasal in *A-mu-nu* and in *nu-u-pi* (reconstructed), the Coptic has ⲟⲩ *ū*, which is due to postnasalization. As a matter of fact, it is not known if *A-mu-nu* and *nu-u-pi* were still pronounced **Amōn* and **nōfi* or already *Amūn* and *nūfi*.

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TABLE 1.

Middle-Babylonian	Assyrian or Neo-Assyrian and Persian	Coptic
A-ma-a-na (**Amān*)	*A-mu-nu* (*Amōn*)	*B* ⲁⲙⲟⲩⲛ
A-na (**Ān*)	*U-nu* (*Ōn*)	*B* ⲱⲛ
Ka-si (**Kās*)	*Ku-u-si* (*Kōš*)	—
Ḫa-a-ra (**Ḥār*)	*Ḫu-u-ru* (*Ḥōr*)	*S*, *B* ϩⲱⲣ
-na-pa (**-nāfe*)	**-nu-u-pi* (**nōfi*)	*B* ⲛⲟⲩⲫⲓ

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WERNER VYCICHL

VOCABULARY OF EGYPTIAN ORIGIN, AUTOCHTHONOUS COPTIC. Coptic is the autochthonous language (or languages, *S* and *B*) spoken and written in Egypt from the third century A.D. down to the Middle Ages (eleventh century or a little later). Moreover, it is the latest and most developed form of the Egyptian language itself (known at first in the form called "pharaonic"; cf. LANGUAGE(S), COPTIC). In these circumstances, one is not in the least surprised to observe that the greater part of the Coptic vocabulary is of Egyptian origin (pharaonic more or less ancient, down to demotic), so that one might justly describe it as "autochthonous Coptic of Egyptian origin," and this even if one observes in the Coptic language the not insignificant presence—indeed rather conspicuous and impressive but nonetheless in a minority—of words of non-autochthonous origin (above all of Greek origin; cf. VOCABULARY, COPTO-GREEK).

This autochthonous preponderance in the Coptic vocabulary is illustrated below by two brief Sahidic texts, one written directly in Coptic by Shenute (Exhibit 1), the other probably translated from the Greek (Exhibit 2). Examining the total of the vocabulary of these two texts and taking no account either of the various articles, the prepositions, or the autochthonous adverbs, one counts, in terms of lexemes, fifty-eight units. Among them is one proper noun, ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲱⲛ, and then seven Copto-Greek words: ⲁⲉ, now, then, from *δέ*; ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲉⲓ, to serve, from *διακονεῖν*; ⲇⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ, serpent, from *δράκων*; ⲉⲓⲧⲉ, whether, from *εἴτε*; ⲏ, or, from *ἤ*; ϩⲟⲗⲱⲥ, absolutely, altogether, from *ὅλως*; ⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲱⲅⲏ, community, from *συναγωγή*.

Among the fifty other lexemes, all to be considered as autochthonous in the broad sense of the

EXHIBIT 1.

Everything excellent, everything mediocre, whether of bread or any (other) nourishment,
ϩⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧϥⲥⲟⲧⲡ̄ ϩⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧϥⲟϫⲃ̄ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲓⲕ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ϩⲛⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲙ

whether any vegetable or salted things or cooked (foods) or cucumbers or any other thing of any kind,
ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ϩⲉⲛϩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲙⲟⲗϩ̄ ⲏ ⲉⲩⲡⲟⲥⲉ ⲏ ϩⲉⲛ†ⲉ ⲏ ⲕⲉⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲛⲁⲩ ϩⲟⲗⲱⲥ

(all) will be for us such as the Lord has prepared them or will prepare them (for us). Those who dwell
ⲉⲩⲛⲁϥⲱⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲉⲛⲧⲁ ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲥϧ̄ⲧⲱⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⲏ ⲉⲧⲉϥⲛⲁⲥϧ̄ⲧⲱⲧⲟⲩ. ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏ

in these (monastic) communities, at all times, will eat (all these foods, good or less good) with one another.
ϩⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲓⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲱⲅⲏ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲟⲙⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ

And let there not be anyone or any people who eat the excellent things
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲏ ϩⲟⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲉⲙ ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲟⲧⲡ̄

at all times, or the good things, while (on the contrary) another or some others eat the mediocre or
ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲏ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲏ ϩⲉⲛⲕⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲟⲩⲉⲙ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲟϫⲃ̄

despised things. And the fault (in respect) of those who (always) eat the good things
ⲏ ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲟϥ⳨. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡϥⲱⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲛ̄ϩⲉⲛϩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ

or the bad will fall upon those who serve (at table) or those who distribute the rations.
ⲏ ⲉⲩϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲉⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉϫⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲉⲓ ⲏ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁⲡⲱϥ ⲛ̄ϩⲉⲛⲧⲟ.

SOURCE: Leipoldt and Crum, 1913, pp. 87–88 (Coptic orthography corrected).

EXHIBIT 2.

It is related with regard to Apa Agathon that he (installed himself to) live in a cave, once, in the desert.
ⲁⲩⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲱⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲫⲟⲩⲱϩ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲃ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲟⲙ ϩⲙ ⲡⲭⲁⲓⲉ.

Now there was a great serpent in it. Then the serpent decided to go out (from the cave) to go off (and live
ⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲁⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲥ. ⲡϩⲟⲩ ⲁⲉ ⲁⲫⲧⲟⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲃⲱⲕ ⲛⲁⲩ.

elsewhere). Apa Agathon said to it: "If you go out (to go and live elsewhere), I shall not stay in (the cave)."
ⲡⲉⲭⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲱⲛ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲕⲱⲁⲛⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ⲧⲛⲁⲉⲱ ⲁⲛ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲥ.

Then the serpent remained (there), it did not go away. Now there was a sycamore in that (place of the) desert.
ⲡϩⲟⲩ ⲁⲉ ⲁⲫⲟ ⲙⲡⲉⲫⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲛⲉⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩϩⲉ ⲁⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡⲭⲁⲓⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ

They went out (then) together but Apa Agathon made a mark (incised) in the sycamore, he (thus) divided it
ⲛⲉⲱⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲛ̀ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ. ⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲱⲛ ⲁⲉ ⲁⲧ̀ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲱⲗϩ ⲉⲧⲛⲟⲩϩⲉ ⲁⲫⲟⲱⲥ

between himself (Agathon) and it (the serpent), that the serpent might eat on (one) side of the sycamore,
ⲉϫⲱⲫ ⲛⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲫ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡϩⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲥⲡⲓⲣ ⲛⲧⲛⲟⲩϩⲉ

and the old (hermit) himself eat on another side (of the tree); (this) until they had finished
ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡϩⲗⲗⲟ ϩⲱⲱⲫ ⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲕⲉⲥⲡⲓⲣ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱ

eating, and returned within their (shelters in the) caves, both of them.
ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲛⲥⲉⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲛ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲃⲏⲃ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲛⲁⲩ.

SOURCE: Chaîne, 1960, p. 69 (Coptic orthography corrected).

term (according to Vycichl, 1983; Černý, 1976; Vergote, 1945 and 1973; and Westendorf, 1977), three appear to be of Semitic origin (cf. VOCABULARY OF SEMITIC ORIGIN, AUTOCHTHONOUS COPTIC): ⲁⲡⲁ /apȧ́/, abbot (*B* ⲁⲃⲃⲁ), cf. Aramaic *3abbā* (in Greek ἄββας); ⲙⲟⲩⲗϩ /mu̇́lh/, to salt, cf. Hebrew *mèlaḥ*, Arabic *milḥ;* ⲥⲱϫϧ /cu̇̌čḇ/, to diminish, cf. Hebrew *ḳāṣab*, Arabic *ḳaṣab*.

For all the rest (apart from three cases, indicated by a question mark, where the etymology is either unknown or appears too uncertain), an authentically Pharaonic etymology (more or less ancient, or demotic) is known: ⲃⲏⲃ /bu̇̌b/, cave, from *b3b3* etc.; ⲃⲱⲕ /bu̇̌k/ to go, from (?); ⲉⲣⲏⲩ /ərḝw/, the companions, mutually, from *ỉr*(*y*); ⲉⲓ /ỉ/, to go, from *ỉ*, etc.; ⲕⲉ- /kə/, another, from *ky*, etc.; ⲗⲁⲁⲩ /lȧ́'w/, something, from (?); ⲙⲙⲁⲩ /mmȧ́w/, there, from *n-ỉm-w;* ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ /mu̇́'šə/, to walk, go, from *mš'*, etc.; ⲛⲓⲙ /nỉm/, each, every, from *nb*; ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ- /nanu/, to be good, from **wnn 'ny*; ⲛⲟⲩϩⲉ /nu̇́hə/, sycamore, from *nhy*; ⲛⲟⲉ /nu̇́c/, large, from (?); ⲟⲉⲓⲕ /ỏjk/, bread, from *'ḳ*, etc.; ⲡⲓⲥⲉ /pỉsə/, cause to be cooked, bake, from *ps*(*y*), etc.; ⲡⲱⲱ /pu̇̌š/, to share, distribute, from *pš*; ⲡⲉϫⲉ- /pəčə/, to say, from *p3y dd*; ⲥⲟⲃⲧⲉ /su̇́btə/, to prepare, from *spdd*, etc.; ⲥⲛⲁⲩ /snȧ́w/, two, from *sn-wy*; ⲥⲟⲡ /su̇́p/, time, from *sp*; ⲥⲡⲓⲣ /spỉr/, side, rib, from *spr*; ⲥⲱⲧⲡ /su̇̌tp/, to choose, from *stp*; ⲥⲱⲫϥ /su̇̌šf/, despise, judge vile, base, etc., from *sḫf*, etc.; ⲧ /tỉ/, to give, make, etc., from *ti*, etc.; ⲧⲟ /tu̇́/, part, share, from *tny.t*, etc.; ⲧⲱⲫ /tu̇̌š/, to delimit, decide, from *tš*, etc.; ⲧⲍⲉ /tỉcə/, cucumber, from *tgy*, etc.; ⲟⲩⲁ /wȧ́/, one, from *w'*; ⲟⲩⲱ /wu̇̌/, to cease, finish, from *w3ḥ*; ⲟⲩⲱⲙ /wu̇̌m/, to eat, from *wnm*; ⲟⲩⲛ- /wn/, there is, from *wn*, etc.; ⲟⲩⲟⲟⲧⲉ /wu̇́'tə/, vegetable, from *w3d.t*; ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲫ /wu̇́jš/, time, from *wrš*; ⲟⲩⲱϩ /wu̇̌h/, to inhabit, from *w3ḥ*; ⲫⲱⲗϩ /šu̇̌lh/, to impress a mark, etc., from *šlḥ*, etc.; ⲫⲱⲡⲉ /šu̇̌pə/, to become, from *ḫpr*, etc.; ⲫⲱⲧ /šu̇̌'t/, to cut, curtail, diminish, from *š't*, etc.; ϩⲉ /hȩ́/, way, manner, from *ḥ*, etc.; ϩⲱⲱ /hu̇̌'/, (one)self, from *ḥ'*, etc.; ϩϫⲗⲟ /hl̥lo/, old man, from *ḥl'3*; ϩⲟⲉⲓⲛⲉ /hu̇́jnə/, some, from *hyn*; ϩⲛⲁⲁⲩ /hnȧ́'w/, thing, from *ḫnw*; ϩⲟⲟⲩ /hu̇́'w/, to be bad, from *ḫw*, etc.; ϩⲟϥ /hu̇́f/, serpent, from *ḫf*, etc.; ϫⲱ /ču̇̌/, to say, from **did;* ϫⲁⲓⲉ /čȧ́jə/, desert, from *d'*; ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ /čṍjs/, lord, from *tzw*; ⲥⲱ /cu̇̌/, to rest, remain, from *gr*.

What is presented above is only a modest couple of examples. The matter is examined more systematically in ETYMOLOGY.

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RODOLPHE KASSER

VOCABULARY OF SEMITIC ORIGIN, AUTOCHTHONOUS COPTIC. Every country has relations with its neighbors (commercial relations, military relations, mainly when it is conquered, etc.), and in the course of time its language adopts foreign words. Egypt is no exception to this rule. At a relatively recent epoch of their history, the autochthonous Egyptians adopted a great number of Greek words (among them a certain number of Greco-Latin origin), and, later on, some Arabic words (see VOCABULARY, COPTO-GREEK and VOCABULARY, COPTO-ARABIC). But even the Egyptian vocabulary of the pharaonic period, which later became Coptic and is considered autochthonous with regard to these Greek and Arabic additions, is not entirely homogeneous, as attentive etymological studies reveal. Several components may be distinguished, such as an old Semitic layer that is far from being negligible (for a more recent Semitic component, see VOCABULARY, COPTO-ARABIC).

Semitic loanwords made their first appearance in Egyptian in texts of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties (1554–1305 and 1305–1196 B.C.). Being foreign personal names and place-names, they are written in the so-called syllabic orthography.

Syllabic orthography was used in Egyptian mainly to distinguish foreign names and words from Egyptian ones. In many cases, an *3* is added to the consonants: *d̲3* may be read *d̲a*, *d̲i*, or *d̲u*. In other cases, *y* and *w* are added: *ny* is read *ni*, *dw* is read *du*. In particular cases, short words are used: *t3*, land, was pronounced *ta3* in the New Kingdom, and so the word is used for the syllable *ta*. *Sw*, he, and *sy*, she, were probably pronounced **suwa* and **siya* (as in Assyrian), and later, in the New Kingdom, *su* and *si*. Therefore, *sw* and *sy* were used for the syllable *su* and *si*. In two cases, syllabic orthography indicates consonants without vowels: the group *r3-y* was pronounced *-r* (at the end of a syllable); and *-n* (suffix of the first-person plural) represented final *-n*. The system has been explained by W. F. Albright (1934). Later it was strongly attacked by W. F. Edgerton (1940), but E. Edel (1949), who adopted an intermediary position, laid down the rules governing this system in different periods of the language. Syllabic orthography is more useful for reading ancient personal names and place-names than for Coptic etymology, as true Egyptian words are rarely written syllabically. Nevertheless, it is known that *B*, *S* ⲛⲓⲙ, who?, derives from **ni-m*, and not from **nū-m*, *nū̆-m*, thanks to syllabic writings, and that *S* ⲙⲫⲓⲣ, Meshir, a month name, derives from **m-ḫi-r*. *Š-ba-d*, staff, is the prototype of *B*, *S* ϣⲃⲱⲧ, and **ba-n-r* = **ba-l* the prototype of *B*, *S* ⲃⲟⲗ outside, as in *B*, *S* ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, out (Arabic *barra*).

It is not always easy to assign a definite origin to the Semitic loanwords in Egyptian and particularly in Coptic: most of them may be compared with Hebrew, Aramaic, or Arabic forms, but some of them seem to derive from extinct languages and dialects:

ⲟⲅⲓⲗⲉ (*S* masc.), ram; compare Hebrew *'áyil*; probable origin pre-Hebrew **'ayl-a* (accusative)

ⲛⲟϣϥ (*S* masc.), vulture, hawk; compare Hebrew *nèšer*, hawk, eagle; Akkadian *našru*, eagle; Arabic *nasr*, vulture, eagle; probably from **našr-i* (genitive)

ϣⲁⲗⲣ (*S* masc.), price; compare Hebrew *šá'ar*, measure, price; probably from pre-Hebrew **ša'r-i* (genitive)

ϫⲁⲓⲧ (*S* in ⲗⲁⲙϫⲁⲓⲧ, also ⲗⲁⲙϫⲁⲧⲏ, masc.), pitch, a composed word: *lam* + ϫⲁⲓⲧ; compare Arabic *zift*, pitch; probably from **zift-i* (genitive); Hebrew has *zèfet*, pitch, from ancient **zaft-i* (genitive)

ⲥⲓⲣ (*S*), ⲥⲉⲉⲣⲉ (*A* masc.), leaven; compare Arabic *su3r*, rest, remainder; ⲥⲓⲣ from **sūr-i*, **sū̆r-i* (genitive); ⲥⲉⲉⲣⲉ from **su3r-i*, **sö3r-i* (genitive)

ϩⲙϫ (*S* masc.), vinegar; compare Hebrew *ḥómeṣ*, vinegar, from pre-Hebrew **ḥumṣ-i* (genitive)

ϫⲟⲉⲓⲧ (*S* masc. and fem.), olive, olive tree; compare Hebrew *záyit*, Arabic *zayt*, oil, probably from **zayt-i* (genitive)

ϭⲁⲗⲗⲁϩⲧ (*S* fem.), ϭⲁⲗⲗⲁϩⲧⲉ (*S* fem.), pot; compare Hebrew *kallaḥat*, cooking pot, cauldron; probably from **ḳallaḥt-i* (genitive)

ⲓⲟⲙ (*B* masc.), sea, wine-press, oil-press, plural ⲁⲙⲁⲓⲟⲩ; compare Hebrew *yām* (fem.), sea, ba-

sin (plural *yammīm*), and Arabic *yamm*, sea; probably from **yamm-i* (genitive); the plural ⲁⲙⲁⲓⲟⲩ derives from *yammi*, considered ancient adjective **yamm-īy: *ʾiammĭy-ū*, then **ʾiammĭw-ū* (regressive assimilation *-īy-ū:-īw-ū*) (This is the one case where it is certain that the Coptic form derives from an ancient [i.e., pre-Hebrew] genitive.)

ⲃⲁϣⲟⲩⲣ (*B, S* masc. and fem.), saw; comp. Hebrew *maśśōr*, Arabic *minšār*; apparently from pre-Hebrew **maśśār-i* (genitive)

ϫⲉϥⲣⲟ (*B*), ϫⲉⲡⲣⲟ (*S* fem.), farm, small village; compare Aramaic *kafr-ā*, village; the ending *-ā* is the Aramaic definite article, still in use in biblical Aramaic; the Coptic form survives in the place-name *Shubra*, Arabic *Šubrā* (The correct form would be **Šibra*. The modern pronounciation *Šubrā* is vulgar; compare *Quft* n. loc., Koptos, for *Qift*; *Qubṭ-īy*, Copt, for *Qibṭ-īy*, from Greek *Aigypti-os*.)

ⲃⲁϣⲟⲩϣ (*B* masc.), rue (*Ruta graveolens sive montana*), demotic *bšwš*, Aramaic *baššāš-ā, baššūš-ā*

ⲙⲁⲧⲉⲅⲧⲉ (*L* subst.), army; compare Akkadian *madakt-u* (fem.), camp (military); compare also demotic *mtgt*

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