

VI. POPULAR TRADITIONS OF THE COPTIC LANGUAGE

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

to the expenses of Dr. Vycichl while he collected more material in the season of 1936-37.

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

3. Bohairic is the only dialect known to present-day Copts. Their Coptic is Bohairic with occasional features from Sahidic. Very few of them know even of the existence of other dialects; and even they regard Sahidic as a corrupt, ungrammatical, and unimportant form of "Coptic," i. e., Bohairic. Some Copts who read French will tell you that Coptic was once divided into three dialects, Bohairic, Sahidic, and Bashmuric, a statement to be found in early European works on Coptic. The term "Sahidic" (ṣa'īdi) nowadays is reserved exclusively for the despised "old" pronunciation of Bohairic, as heard particularly among the peasantry of Upper Egypt.

4. The extent to which Copts still employ a pure "old" pronunciation is not exactly known. In the vicinity of Luxor, out of a possible three hundred who "read" Coptic without understanding it, there may be six who understand what they read and two who follow the "old" pronunciation (Vycichl). The "old" pronunciation is still known by a few old monks at the church of Mari Girgis near Farshut, but is no longer taught. It was not found in Farshut or in Madinat al-Fayyum, or in Agamiyīn (one peasant, mixed), or Ibshawai. At Qaṣr aṣ-Ṣayyād "new" pronunciation was being taught by Matta, their best 'arīf, though presumably he knew better, for he comes from Nagada, like others in the community who know Coptic well, the Manāgra, descended from a certain Mangūra.

5. Like all simple folk, Coptic peasants are easily embarrassed when asked too much. They are shy and suspicious of strangers. They must be constantly praised, and never instructed, especially by Europeans, whom they regard as children having a limited command of vernacular Arabic (the only medium of communication), an insufferable attitude of superiority, and missionary or other realistic motives. They make mistakes because they are ashamed of their "old," peasant, pronunciation. When they are given free rein, with no text in sight, they do well. When they read from a book their tradition is impaired. Even our best subject, from Zeniya, Bistauros (from whom most of the materials are taken), will at times say eb'ūru (ἔβουρο), eb'ai (ἔβηι), with careful reproduction of printed forms; while, left to himself, he will say būru and bāi. They are being ruined by the textbooks from Cairo, in which **ΝΘΟΚ** is ensok, **ΘΜΑΥ** is smaw, and **ΣΦΟΥΝ** is sō'ūn. If they do not succumb to "reform" they will be spoiled by European ideas, gleaned from European and Egyptian scholars who interview them. Even Bistauros wrote **ΟΥΣΦΙΡ ΜΠΙΦΟΥ-ΤΑΙΟΦ ΜΠΑΠΙΖΟ** (= جناب المحترم الوجيه); and I have heard—though it may have been a joke—that a Copt wrote **ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΦΟΥΗΙ** (rūh ja ba'id), "Go away, stranger!"; **ΛΑΜΠΑΣ ΝΑΓΑΘΟΝ** (ṣabāh al-ḥēr, with ṣabāh for miṣbāh), "Good morning." One cannot safely ask them to translate anything into Coptic; one must take what they give. Bistauros wrote a dictionary, compiled from the Bible and from hearsay, which is quite useless. The

Coptic tradition is no longer equal to such a task. And yet Bistauros, and other peasants, know that Coptic χ is to be pronounced as k , while Greek χ is to be pronounced as h or \check{s} . They know that Coptic ϵ is a while Greek ϵ is ϵ , e. g. in the phrase $\text{NE } \Theta \text{AI } \Delta \epsilon \text{ TE}$, $na \ d\acute{a}j \ de \ da$, "but this woman was"

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

7. Some six kilometers north of Luxor, on the same side of the Nile, is a locality called *az-Zēnīyāt*, consisting of two villages, *Zēniya Bahari* and *Zēniya Qibli*, i. e., *Zēniya-North* and *Zēniya-South*. The word *zēniya*, if not derived from some proper name, like *zēn ad-dīn*, in the manner of *'abbāsija* or *ibrāhimija*, is plainly a feminine abstract from *zēn*, "ornament," like *šamsija*, from *šams*, meaning "ornamentation," and then concretely "ornament." The Copts of *Zēniya-South* (which for short we shall hereafter often call simply *Zeniya*) call their village *bisulsál* also. This is simply Bohairic ΠΙΣΟΛΣΕΛ , meaning "the ornamentation." Since the word is not Sahidic (CACA - only late), it is probably a translation of the Arabic and not the pre-Arabic name of the place. *Zēniya-North* they call *bisulsál bamhīd*, ΠΙΣΟΛΣΕΛ ΠΕΜΖΙΤ , and *Zēniya-South* *bisulsál efrīs*, ΠΙΣΟΛΣΕΛ ΦΡΗΣ . In the latter the Bohairic ΦΡΗΣ is used, and is pronounced in the "reformed" manner, as though it were a Greek word; Sahidic would be ΠΡΗΣ , and would be pronounced *brīs*. This does not necessarily mean that it is late or artificial. The connective \bar{n} - is omitted in the Coptic, and the congruence (**baharīja*, **qiblīja*) is neglected in the Arabic. The Coptic is abnormal, the Arabic perfectly normal in Egypt; and the Coptic would seem to be sec-

ondary. There is no record of a ΠΙCΟΛCΕΛ in this region in Coptic times. But for the Fayyum we have (Preisigke; Crum *Coptic Dict.*): Σελσωρ (qualitative CΕΛCΦΛ + Fayyumic over-correction λ > ρ), Σελσελσῖρ and Σελσῖλ (the same?), ΣελσελτοϚ.

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

9. About three hundred years ago a certain Ishāg (Isaac), a carpenter of Asyut, came to al-'Ashshi at the invitation of local Muslims, who had no workmen. From him are descended the Isaacids of al-'Ashshi, Madamūd, Khuzām, Luxor, and Zeniya, all on the east bank of the Nile. They are often carpenters and silk weavers. It was this Ishāg who brought the family tradition of Coptic to Zeniya. To be sure, a certain Ṭanyōs (Danyōs) came to Zeniya from Nagada, and died in 1886(?) at the age of a hundred. Also a certain Muḥārib, who "spoke Coptic with his wife," came to Zeniya from Nagada at the age of eighty years, and is now long dead. These men did not bring the Coptic tradition to Zeniya; they merely taught school there. The Zeniya children already had the Coptic tradition from their parents. The Nagada people, on the other hand, say that it is they who have the Coptic tradition and who first brought the tradition to Zeniya. There was, for

instance, the case of Khalīl abu Bsāde (Sahidic ΠCATE), who learned Coptic from his father and mother in Zeniya and who, upon the death of his father while he was still a child, learned to *write* Coptic from Ṭanyōs and Muḥārib, and continued to live in Zeniya till his death in 1910 or thereabouts, teaching Coptic. Then a certain Mityās came from Nagada to Zeniya to teach Coptic. He is still living, in Nagada, where he was seen by Dr. Vycichl. Khalīl abu Bsāde taught his son, Andarāos ibn Khalīl ibn Bsāde ibn Gadāllah, who is still living in Zeniya; and Khalīl abu Bsāde and Mityās both taught Bistauros (ΠICTAYPOC) ibn Wagīm (ΕΙΩAKIM) ibn Balamon ibn Baṭris (πατρίς?), who is still living in Zeniya. Bistauros was descended on his father's side from the Luxor family of the Kháranīs, whose ancestor was a certain Kharnūs, and on his mother's side from a Zeniya family. He grew up in Zeniya in contact with his father, Wagīm, who "spoke Coptic fluently." Nevertheless, at the age of seven or eight he "learned Coptic," as we have said, from Khalīl abu Bsāde and Mityās: at any rate he was monitor in the school of Mityās for three years. Since that time he has been the schoolmaster of Zeniya. He is now about fifty years old, intelligent, talkative, didactic, enthusiastic, the source of most of our material. Another pupil of Mityās is Wīša (BHCA) ibn Khalīl ibn Girgis ibn 'Aṭāllah ibn Brēs (ΦPHC), who had, however, previously learned Coptic from his parents. He is now about sixty years old, likewise intelligent, but quiet and uncommunicative. The priest Ermanyōs ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṣalīb ibn Na'mān is often spoken of by the others, but nothing definite is known about him. He now lives apparently alone in Zeniya-North. The repeated importation of teachers from Nagada indicated that formal or literary instruction in Coptic was not to be had in Zeniya. Nevertheless, it is possible that a non-literary tradition existed at Zeniya, as its people vigorously maintain.

10. For the region of Farshut we have the report that a certain 'arīf Muḥārib of 'Araki, son of a weaver, who had learned Coptic from the priest Yoḥanna in Farshut, was celebrated for being able to speak Coptic, and wrote letters to Claudius Labīb correcting things in the latter's dictionary. He died twenty-five years ago. Girgis al-Falaki in Farshut, now ninety-five years old, says that he remembers being sent as a boy to buy šrombi (δPOMΠI),

mulukīja (***ΜΟΛΟΧΙΑ**, *μολόχη*), manmon (Crum, *Coptic Dict.*, from Kircher and Montpellier scalae only, **MANMON**), "oranges," wakinón (unexplained), "bamia," "okra," sikīra (unexplained), "sugar." The 'arīf Girgis of Košḥ, near Balyana, learned Coptic at the Dēr Inṭaniyōs (Vycichl). He is now living at Košḥ, at the church of Māri Girgis, near Farshut. We have often cited him as "Girgis," along with "Bistauros."

11. After Coptic had ceased to be the vernacular of everyday life and of the street, it no doubt continued to exist as the more or less artificial secondary language of religion and of the home. Priests came and went freely in all sorts of social gatherings. Everybody went to church on Sunday and feast days, remaining for hours in church or outside near by. Their contact with Coptic in the mass, supposing that they understood it, must have given them some vocabulary and grammar. In the hēkāl (sanctuary) of the church the priest used nothing but Coptic up to fifty years ago in Farshut (according to the qummuṣ Arsaniyōs). After service the priests and the 'arīfs drank coffee and "spoke Coptic." Children were greatly impressed with the secret language, and they desired to learn it. This they did by conversation with the 'arīf and his three or four best pupils. The curriculum in Farshut used to be reading (pronunciation), understanding, and recitation of texts; but the children also had to learn to speak. Speaking was a tradition and custom in the families of 'arīfs and priests, and included the women. The subject matter of this speaking was the weather, prices of cattle, weddings, deaths, visits, stories, and legends. The mother of Khalīl abu Bsāde (she died about 1886) "spoke Coptic." The grandfather of Yassa 'abd al-Masiḥ told him that *his* father and people conversed together in the Church in Coptic. The Zeniya people say that their parents learned Coptic "in the house and not from books." This legend of "speaking Coptic" a relatively short time ago cannot of course be taken to mean that Coptic was then a living language. Yet one must consider the enormous decrease in knowledge between Bistauros and the younger generation. Bistauros needs only someone to correct his errors in grammar. Khalīl himself could not do this. Well-attested statements that men and women "spoke Coptic" some forty to sixty years ago, while no one claims to speak Coptic

now, may well be merely due to glorification of the past in contrast with the present. But perhaps half a century ago there were more interest and more attention, more fluency if not more correctness, and a less attenuated family tradition. Before this recent sharp decline Coptic had been kept artificially alive at a very low level for centuries. Bistauros knows a legend that Coptic was forbidden and the kuttābs (schools) closed because the Copts made use of their secret language to insult the uninitiated. A Coptic barber used to greet his royal patron every morning with šomd ša entōwi hiʃan dak'apa ō būro, "Three hundred kicks on your head, O King!" The kuttābs were indeed closed for once about 1880, at the time of 'Aurābi Pasha; but they still exist in Hau, Dabba, and Zeniya (Vycichl). In Zeniya the poorest peasant can still learn to read Coptic and to translate it into Arabic. But Bistauros seems to have no successor in sight. His death will be a great loss to the tradition in that village.

12. We may form some idea of the character of this "speaking in Coptic" from a manuscript in the possession of the qummuš Arsaniyōs: ΑΛΦΑΒΗΤΑΡΙΟΝ ΝΗΚΥΠΤΙΚΟC †CΥΓΓΡΑΦΗ ΝΤΕ ΝΑΧΙΠΩΗΡΙ (meaning?) ΜΠΙΖΥΓΟΥΜΕΝΟC ΜΙΧΑΗΛ. (This may have been printed by the al-Waṭan press in A.M. 1603, A.D. 1886.) Most of its contents are fresh and un-Arabic, some of them are startlingly so:

ΝΑΝΕ ΠΕΚΕΖΟΥ, "Good day!" Apparently a question, "Is your day good?," since it is answered by

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

ΑΩ ΠΕ ΠΕΚΡΗ†, "How are you?," answered by

†ΟΥΟΧ ΠΑΚΡΑΤΙCΤΕ, "I am well, good Sir."

ΩΙΝΙ ΕΠΕΚCΟΝ, "Give my greetings to your brother," on the model of Arabic sāllim 'ala 'aḥīk. But, considering the usage of Coptic letters of all periods, it is possible that the expression is an abbreviation for †ΩΙΝΕ ΕΠΕΚCΟΝ, "I inquire after (or greet) your brother."

†ΝΑΦΕ ΝΗΙ Ε†CΧΟΛΗ, "I am going to school."

ΜΑΤΑΜΟΙ ΕΤΕΚΜΕΛΗΤΗ, "Show me your lesson." In papyrus Greek μελέτη is not "lesson," but "contract to teach" (Preisigke).

- ΩΦ ΜΠΑΜ-ΘΟ, "Read (before) me."
 Θ-ΩΜ ΝΡΩΤΕΝ, "Shut your mouths." Not Arabic.
 ΩΑ ΘΝΑΥ ΕΚΕΝΚΟΤ Ω ΠΕΔΕΝΝΕ, "Thus far you have been
 asleep, you loafer."
 ΑΡΖΗΤΣ ΙΣΧΕΝ ΤΑΡΧΗ, "Begin from the beginning."
 ΑΡΙ ΟΥΩ ΝΗΙ, "Answer me."
 ΑΜΟΥ ΕΜΝΗΙ (for ΜΝΑΙ), "Come here."
 ΖΕΜΣΙ ΜΜΑΥ, "Sit down there."
 ΣΕΚΩΛ ΖΙΡΕΝ ΠΙΡΟ, "Someone is knocking at the door."
 ΑΧΟΣ ΝΗΙ ΧΕ ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΦΑΙ, "Tell me, Who is this?"
 ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ, "It is I."
 Ε-ΘΒΕ ΟΥ ΑΚΙ, "Why have you come?"
 ΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΕΤΕΚΟΥΑΦΩ, "What do you want?"
 ΑΜΟΥ ΝΕΜΗΙ, "Come with me."
 ΑΦ-ΘΩΝ ΠΕΤΕΝΗΙ, "Where is your house?"
 ΦΒΕΝΤ ΕΨΑΝΖΗΒ, "It is near the school."
 ΑΟΥΩΝ ΜΠΙΡΟ, "Open the door."
 ΜΑΦΘΑΜ ΜΠΙΡΟ, "Close the door."
 ΜΑ ΠΕΤΕΡΟΚ, "Pay what you owe."
 ΜΑΡΟΝ ΕΠΗΙ, "Let's go home."
 ΑΚΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΘΩΝ, "Where have you come from?"
 ΟΥΩΝΖ ΝΗΙ ΕΒΟΛ, "Show me."
 ΔΙΣΙ ΝΤΕΚΣΜΗ, "Speak louder."
 ΜΑ-ΘΕΒΙΟ ΝΤΕΚΣΜΗ, "Lower your voice."
 ΜΠΕΡΜΒΟΝ, "Don't be angry."
 ΟΥΗΡ ΤΕ ΨΑΧΠ, "What time is it?"
 ΟΖΙ (for ΩΖΙ) ΜΝΗΙ (for ΜΝΑΙ), "Stand here."
 ΙΑ ΝΕΚΧΙΧ ΕΒΟΛ, "Wash your hands."
 ΤΩΝΚ ΝΘΟΡΠ, "Get up first" (i.e., before you recite or speak).
 ΜΑΦΕ ΝΑΚ ΕΠΩΦΙ, "Go up."
 ΜΙΟΚ, "Bravo!"
 ΨΝΑΖΩΛ ΕΠΩΝΑΥ, "I am going to market."
 ΧΕΜ ΝΟΜΨ, "Cheer up!"
 ΑΡΙΟΥΙ ΝΕΜΗΙ ΝΟΥΖΜΟΤ, "Do me the kindness."
 ΦΑΙ ΟΥΑΤΧΟΜ ΠΕ, "This is impossible."
 ΑΝΟΚ ΦΩΤΕΝ ΑΝΟΚ, "I'm your man."

13. When did Coptic cease to be spoken? The medical text of Chassinat and the alchemistic text of Stern indicate that Sahidic

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

14. The extreme limit of the ability and habit of the Coptic community to form new words in Coptic can be established by the Coptic names for commodities the dates of whose introduction among the Copts are certainly known. The Copts borrowed or coined words for "coffee," "tobacco," "kerosene," and "soap," but not for "cotton," "tea," and "bedbug" (which they say is of recent introduction). Coffee came to Egypt toward the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century (Lane, Chap.

XV; *Encycl. Islam*, II, 631 ff.) from Arabia via Cairo. The Zeniya word for it is *bōn*, ΠΟΝ, Arabic *bunn*, Amharic *bunn*. But, while the Arabic means the bean only, the Coptic and Amharic mean the bean and the drink. Did the Copts of Upper Egypt receive coffee directly from Abyssinia? Tobacco was introduced into Egypt shortly before the beginning of the seventeenth century, a hundred years later than coffee (Lane, Chap. XV). The Zeniya word for it is *kramds*, ΧΡΕΜΤΣ, the same as Arabic *duḥḥān*, "smoke." Kerosene was introduced into Upper Egypt about 1875, as I am informed by Aḥmad Yahya of Luxor. (It had been distilled shortly after 1846, and patented in 1854.) The Zeniya word for it is *nahōni*, ΝΕΖ ΩΝΙ, the same as Arabic *zēt ḥagar*, "rock oil." Soap was introduced from Europe into Upper Egypt about two generations ago, as I am informed by Aḥmad Yahya. The Zeniya word for it is *šōm jōj*, ΩΩΜ ΙΩΙ, "(clothes-) wash + (body-) wash," a strange compound, neither Arabic nor good Coptic. The old word for "soap," ΑΝΧΙΡ (Spiegelberg), if equivalent to Arabic *dalūk*, meant "salve." Modern Arabic *ṣābūn* is from the Italian. Zeniya Copts say they coin no new words. At first the Zeniya Copts said that there was no word for "sugar cane," but later they said there was one: ΚΑΩ ΝΕΒΙΩ. It may be genuine or not. The words for "tobacco," "kerosene," and "soap," as well as "sugar cane," might be inventions of the moment; but, if so, why no words for "cotton," "tea," and "bedbug"? Are they harder to invent? Did they simply happen not to have been borrowed or coined in the past? The bedbug, so far from being recently introduced into Egypt from the west, is mentioned by Lane (Intro. and Chap. V) for about the year 1835; and, if *κόρις* and "cimex" mean "bedbug," it was common enough in Greece and Italy, and therefore probably in Egypt, in classical antiquity (Keller, II, 399 ff.), and Egyptians and Copts must have had a name for it. Cotton is mentioned by Lane (Intro., footnote) as an important Egyptian product in 1835. Originating in India, China, and Peru, it has apparently had a long history, though I cannot ascertain when it reached Egypt. Tea is not mentioned by Lane, and I cannot find out when it was introduced into Egypt, though tea addiction in Upper Egypt is recent, according to a local American physician. Leaving unexplained the absence of words

for "bedbug" and "cotton," we can say that Coptic was able to make words for new things by the usual methods of borrowing (ΠΟΝ) and translation (ΧΡΕΝΤΣ, ΝΕΖ ΩΝΙ) as recently as the sixteenth, seventeenth, and late nineteenth centuries, just as though it were a living language.

15. Coptic words and phrases today in use by Zeniya and other Copts are sometimes suspiciously like corresponding Arabic words and phrases. This is especially true of written Coptic, as we have said above. *nofri 'ahów* and *nofri 'aǵórĥ* (attested by the *qummuš Arsaniyós* and the *'arīf Girgis Mīna*, who learned at *Dēr Inṭaniyós*) seem to be simply the Arabic *nahārak sa'īd* and *lēltak sa'īd*; but they might conceivably have been shortened from *ΟΥΝΟΦΡΙ ΠΕ ΠΕΖΟΥΟΥ and *ΟΥΝΟΦΡΙ ΠΕ ΠΕΧΩΡΖ, in the manner of English "good day" and "good evening." *ū bširi 'embi'uhór* is like Arabic *ja 'ibn el-kelb*, with the article on ΟΥΖΟΡ, where we might expect(?) *Ω ΠΩΕΝΟΥΖΟΡ. *arūru nīm taj*, *baj arūru 'arós*, *baj arūru 'arók*, *baj arūru 'ambasón*, etc., etc., "whose is this?," "this is hers," "this is yours," "this is my brother's," seem to be ΕΡ- plus ΟΥΡΟ, "king," Arabic *malik*, confused with Arabic *milk*, "possession."

16. *Claudius Labīb* may be presumed to have drawn upon peasant sources for his dictionary (ΠΙΛΕΞΙΚΟΝ ΝΤΑΣΠΙ ΝΤΕ ΝΙΡΕΜΝΙΧΗΜΙ), and we need not be surprised to find in it some of the words and expressions in use by the peasants of Upper Egypt, such as *lūkōǵi*, *lukūǵi* (*Yassa*, Arabicized), ΛΟΥΚΟΧΙ, "piastre," "money"; *dīnār* (passed into Arabic, now obsolete), "pound" (coin); *ebnūdi 'afaráh* (for *afaárah*) *arók*, ΦΤ ΕΦΕΑΡΕΖ ΕΡΟΚ; while we fail to find many others: *ebnūdi namák*, ΦΤ ΝΕΜΑΚ; *ebnūdi 'afasmū arók*, ΦΤ ΕΦΕΣΜΟΥ ΕΡΟΚ; *ša 'enrombi*, ΩΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΙ, "long live!" (said after drinking coffee); *wōh entók šōmd ša 'enrombi* (reply thereto). Nevertheless one may fairly ask whether peasants like *Bistauros* may not have derived their Coptic, in part at least, from *Labīb's* dictionary. When *Bistauros* was first asked about words for "cotton," "tea," "bedbug," and "sugar cane," he said there were none, but only after some hesitation, during which others said that there were such words and they would find them out and bring them. Also, later on they brought ΚΑΩ ΝΕΒΙΩ as the equivalent of "sugar cane." Now it

is precisely **KAQ NEBIW** that I find in Labīb, and none of the others. It is thus easy to suspect that the Zeniya Copts went and consulted the dictionary. Nevertheless I consider this very unlikely, because the dictionary costs about fifteen dollars and the peasants are very poor, and because in no other case did they pretend or attempt to deceive, so far as we know. On the other hand, in matters of source and proprietorship we cannot impute too high a standard of honesty or exactness to Egyptian peasants, knowing what we do of the habits of scholars in all ages. Any book is authoritative to a simple man, and Claudius Labīb is revered as a great one. It would never occur to Bistauros that Labīb knew nothing except what he had learned from peasants like himself (Bistauros), as supplementary to texts and books which all may read. The important thing is that, while we find the words for "sugar cane" and "kerosene" in Labīb, we do not discover there the words for "coffee," "tobacco," and "soap," the three most significant test words. They were not derived from Labīb, and, since that is so, we need not suspect the word for "kerosene," though Labīb has it.

17. Some of the colloquial expressions are correct and normal, and might have been derived equally well from books or from tradition: mašának, **MAΦE NAK**, karók, **KA POK**, ekwōk atōn, **KBOK EΦWN**; hūn, **BOYN**, "inside of a boat." But others are irregular, unknown, or unusual, and would seem to be independent of church and school:

šab 'ehmód, (**†**)**ΦEP ZMOT**, "(I) thank you," with the subject omitted, as in English, and in German "*Danke sehr.*"

entok banīb, **Ń-OK PANHB**, "Don't mention it."

affīmi ḥan bi'aj, **AQXIMI HEM PIHI**, "He was present in the house," with **XIMI** in passive sense.

eḅnūdi 'afašīdk, **Φ† EΦEΔITK**, "May God take (i.e. punish) you!"

bašnūga, "a child's garment with hood"; cf. modern Nubian bahnūga (Vycichl after Massenbach), heard at Bahgura. Modern?

katamarōs, **ΚΑΤΑΜΕΡΟΣ**, *καταμέρος* ("in parts," then "lectionary"), "dictionary." The **Ε** is pronounced a, as in Coptic

(non-Greek) words, as though it had long been in the vernacular.

kūji, **ΚΟΥΧΙ**, "juicy" (meat).

manmón, **ΜΑΝΜΟΝ**, "oranges." Found only in Crum, *Coptic Dict.*, following the *scalae* of Kircher and Montpellier. Bistauros had a manuscript copy of the last section of a *scala*, and Girgis al-Falaki of Farshut, who gave this word, may have had *scalae*.

múlukīja, ***ΜΟΛΟΧΙΑ**, *μολόχη*, "mallow." Here Girgis has given the colloquial Arabic form of the classical mulūkīja, which seems to have been derived from Greek through Coptic; but it would be more correct to say that the classical Arabic has been made from the colloquial form.

rafšamši, **ΡΕΦΣΕΜΦΙ**, "(house) servant." Though the word means any servant, we should expect to find it now only in an ecclesiastical sense.

sikīra, **ΣΙΧΥΡΑ**, "sugar" (by Girgis, at Farshut). This does not seem to be derived from the Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, or Malay forms of the international word, all of which have a. šōmjōj, **ΦΩΜ ΙΩΙ**, "(clothes-)wash + (body-)wash." I do not know of any Coptic compound of two coördinate verbs, with or without shortening of the first element.

úrḥun, **ΑΡΧΩΝ**, "teacher." The old meaning, "ruler," "chief," has passed into the new one by a process the reverse of Arabic mu'allim, "teacher," then "master," and may come from equating the two words.

wakinón, "bāmia," "okra" (by Girgis, at Farshut) remains unexplained.

wurwár, **ΒΟΡΒΕΡ** (with regular change of accent), "reeds thrown down" (būš marmi), meaning sugar cane lying in a confused heap.

18. Was Bohairic the dialect last spoken at Zeniya? There is no evidence that it was ever the living speech of Upper Egypt. According to the earlier version of Athanasius of Qus (eleventh century), Sahidic was "used" in his day from Old Cairo (Miṣr) to the borders of Assuan; according to a later redaction, from Minya to Assuan (Stern in *ĀZ*, 16 (1878) 23; *MER*, V. II, pp. 48 ff.). This use may have been merely ecclesiastical and

official, but it could hardly have failed to influence the dying Sahidic. The tradition of Luxor and vicinity therefore is derived from an imported dialect and not from the original local one. Nevertheless, traces of the local dialect remain at Luxor and in other places. The prothetic vowel of Bohairic, even though supported by Arabic, is often omitted, e. g. snof for esnof. Sahidic **ΚΟΥΙ** is sometimes heard instead of Bohairic **ΚΟΥΧΙ**; šalīd, **ϠΕΛΗΤ**, instead of **ϠΕΛΕΤ**; tūt, evidently Sahidic **ϠϠϠ**, is regularly heard instead of **ϠϠϠϠ**; kjāḥ **ΚΙΑΖΚ**, instead of **ΧΟΙΑΚ**.¹ In the vicinity of Farshut: Sahidic hō, hū (pupils of the 'arīf Muḥārib of al-'Araki), **ϠϠϠϠ** instead of Bohairic **ΕϠϠϠϠ**; Achmimic or sub-Achmimic baḥānis (heard at Bahgūra), ***ΠΑϠΑΝC** instead of **ΠΑΧΩΝ**, and similarly bšāj instead of ***ΠϠϠϠ**. In the Fayyum: Arabic al-lāgil for ar-rāgil; taut, Fayyumic **ϠΛΟΥϠ** instead of **ϠϠϠϠ**; kjāk, Fayyumic **ΚΙΑΚϠ** instead of **ΧΟΙΑΚ**.

19. Coptic words that continued to be used in speaking Arabic sometimes show changes in form that are not due to Arabic influence: hōr, **ΟΥϠϠϠ**, "dog," Jōl, **ΜΧΩΛ**, "onions," sálmōs, **ϠΑΛΜΟC**, have lost the first syllable because it was in each case mistaken for the article (Farshut). This must have happened in pre-Arabic or early Arabic times, because **ΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC** became in Arabic 'úsquf through mistaking *ἐπί-* for Coptic **Ε-ΠΙ-**, "to the." Shortening occurs in place names: Arabic géna, **ΚΑΙΝΗΠΟΛΙC**, nagāda, **ΝΕΚΑΤΗΡΙΟΝ**. Whether shortening has occurred in words having **Λ**, **Ε**, or **ΟΥ** in the "unaccented," open, initial syllable (Stern, §§ 154-156), such as šalīd, **ϠΕΛΗΤ**, is uncertain. Only one such word in modern Coptic appears to have a doubled middle radical: šallūḥ (at Helwan, šallūt; thence south to Kena, šallūd, with dissimilation of second **Ϡ**, **š**), **ϠΑΛΛΟϠ**, "foot." That single Coptic letters are sometimes to be understood as doubled was demonstrated by Kuentz (*BIF*, 13 (1917), 1 ff.). In Bohairic **ϠΕΛΗΛ** (Semitic tillēl, Spiegelberg, discredited) the first syllable must also have been accented, since **Ϡ** cannot appear immediately before a vowel unless it is accented; and the first syllable must have been a closed one, since a short accented vowel cannot nor-

¹ The true forms seem to be Bohairic, kōjjaḡ, Achmimic ḡajjaḡ (both ending in ḡ); Sahidic, ḡōjjahḡ > ḡjahḡ (ending in hḡ); Fayyumic, ḡjaḡh (ending in ḡh).

mally appear in any but shut syllables; and the λ must have been doubled. Then the middle consonant may have been doubled in **ΒΕΧΗΝ**, **ΜΕΖΗΛ**. In **ΒΑΡΟΤ** doubling is indicated by the etymology, $b^{33}(\text{?})\text{-rw}\bar{d}$, and may be suspected in **ΒΑΛΟΤ**, **ΒΑΡΟΖ**, **ΒΑΦΟΡ**, **ΧΑΛΟ**, **ΧΑΝΟ**. In **ΖΑΛΗΤ** doubling is indicated by the etymology $h\bar{l}e\bar{t}$, and in **ΖΑΤΗΡ** by the Bohairic **ΑΝΤΗΡ**, and may be suspected in **ΧΑΝΗ**. **ΒΑΦΟΥΡ**, related to Hebrew *massōr*, Arabic *minšār*, and **ΖΑΛΟΥΣ** taken into Arabic (?) as *hallūs*, plainly have doubling, and so probably **ΚΑΡΟΥΣ**. **ΧΑΜΟΥΛ**, related to Hebrew *gāmāl*, may have been assimilated to the group. Other cases are **ΛΑΒΟΙ** < l^3bi ; possibly **ΜΑΤΟΙ**, since Syriac has *maddai* (though Hebrew *mādai*). **ΛΑΧΑΝ**, **ΛΑΧΑΧ**, **ΣΑΡΙΝ**, **ΣΑΡΙΣ**, **ΖΑΒΙΝ**, **ΚΟΥΛΩΛ**, **ΒΕΡΦΩΒ** may possibly be included, and even **ΤΑΒΙΡ** (though Hebrew *dbīr*), **ΧΑΛΙΑ** (though Hebrew *gālīl*), **ΚΕΛΩΛ**, **ΜΕΛΩΤ** (cf. Syriac *mlāṭā*, Arabic *milāṭ*).

20. Accent is correct in **ισμύ**, **ῥμοϋ**, **δαῖρυ**, **ταχρο** (but **δάῖρυ**, *Yassa*), **αῶις**, **αῶις**, "bring it here" (**αῶις**, *Yassa*), **ῥα ἐνεζ** (Achmimic, sub-Achmimic **ἀνηζε**). It is apparently incorrect in **διῆβε**, **τιαφε** (Fayyumic **τιαπη**), since the Bohairic form has an aspirated p , and the Fayyumic form, a long vowel in the second syllable. Perhaps the shift is due to analogy with feminines ending in ϵ . Proper names with η in the last syllable form an analogical group: **ῶσῆφ**, **μοῖσῆς**, **μοιχῆς**, **ḡubrijāl**, **ḡαβρηλ**, then **βρῶφιδῆς**, **φροφήτης** (*Yassa*, but **βρῶφιδῆς**, *Bistauros*). Names ending in **ος**, if dissyllabic, are accented on the first syllable, otherwise, on the last: **βύτρυς**, **πιετρος**, **būlus**, **παῦλος**, **mórgos**, **μαρκος**; **egladijōs**, **κλαυλιος**, **magarijōs**, **mengarijōs**, **μακαριος**; then **γαῖταμῶς** (earlier spelled **قطمارس**), **καταμερος**. The accent is certainly incorrect, but for no apparent reason, in: **άρμα**, **ερμη**, "tear," **βίρυ**, **πιρο**, "the door." The remaining cases of incorrect accent are due to Arabic influence or to an attempt to exaggerate necessary distinction between similar forms, or to cantillation in the church service. The following are due to Arabic influence: **έβρε**, **φρη**, **έδβᾶ**, **τφε**, **έσνᾶ**, **ίσνᾶ**, **σνη**, **ίσλε**, **δλη**, on the analogy of colloquial **úskut** (classical **uskút**). The accent was still correct when the spellings **اسنا**, **دشنا**, **τιωνη** were established. **úrḡun**, **ᾗρχων**, follows the measure **fú'ul**, **māris**, **μέρος**, follows **fā'il**, **šāra**,

χαίρε, follows fā'al, bašāra, *ΦΕC-APΩ, "cooking of beans" (a native dish) and negāde, ΝΕΚΑΤΗΡΙΟΝ, follow fa'āla. madūru, ΜΕΤΟΥΡΟ, is influenced by fa'ūla.

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

afaráh, ΕΦΕΛΡΕΖ: maʒʃ, ΜΑΦΧ, masf, ΜΑCQ, arádf, ΕΡΑΤQ,
: aʃb, ΕΧΠ, jabd, ΕΙΕΒΤ, ʃamf, ΧΕΜQ,
: šidk, ΔΙΤΚ,

sulsál, CΟΛCΕΛ, wurwár, ΒΟΡΒΕΡ, ḥoḥád, ʃΟΤʃΕΤ, išdórdár,
ΨΘΟΡΤΕΡ: hidódf, ΖΙΤΟΤQ,

tóláb, ΘΩΛΕΒ, sódám, CΩΤΕΜ, nódán, ΝΩΤΕΝ, šólám,
ΨΩΛΕΜ: dōḥk, ΤΩΝΚ, dōnf, ΤΩΝQ, šólh, ΨΩΛΖ, wōšd,
ΟΥΩΨΤ, wōrb, ΟΥΩΡΠ.

Though the tone shifted in ΘΩΛΕΒ, the aspirated t remained. Chassinat's magical text (Worrell, *Coptic Sounds*, pp. 123 ff.) shows that in the tenth century(?) the second syllable was not always accented (ΠΕCΕΛ = Arabic básad, CΑΝΤΕΛ = šándal, ΧΩΖΕΛ = kóḥ(a)l), but, when accented, was long (ΖΑΥΛΕΝ = ḥaulān). The difference between the two classes is confused by ΑΡQΩΛ̄ = al-burām, unless ΑΡQΩΛΜ is a mistake for ΑΡQΩΛΛΜ. The examples are too few to serve as a basis for argument.

22. The so-called "murmelvokal" is heard when three consonants come together, as in šólhəs, ΨΟΛΖC, krémdis, ΧΡΕΜΤC; it does not exist in such words as ΜΑΦΧ, ΤΩΝΚ, above mentioned, any more than it does in the Sahidic words ΚΟΥC̄Τ, ΚΟΥΨ̄Τ, ΨΕΝΚ, ΜΗΡ̄Ζ, ΜΙC̄Χ, ΖΥΒ̄Ψ of Chassinat's magical text, except only CΑΠ̄Ρ (= Arabic šabir) and ΝΟΥΨΑΤΡ (= Arabic nūšā-dir), where the r gives the effect at least of such. The "murmelvokal" has been recently discussed, pro and con, by the present writer (Worrell, *Coptic Sounds*, Chap. I; *ÄZ*, 69 [1933], 130),

by Till (*ÄZ*, 68 [1932], 121 ff.), and by Polotsky (*ÄZ*, 69 [1933], 125 ff.). The Bohairic prothetic vowel, represented by a dot or a grave accent above an initial consonant, is now heard invariably as ϵ except before s , \check{s} (\mathfrak{W} , \mathfrak{S}), where it is \bar{i} .

23. Full vowels today are of uncertain quantity, as may be seen in examples throughout the present article. Nevertheless they are correctly used (except the \mathfrak{O} of $\text{CO}\lambda\text{OM}\mathfrak{W}\text{N}$) in the verses $\text{s}\acute{\text{o}}\text{lom}\acute{\text{o}}\text{n}$ $\text{b}\check{\text{s}}\text{i}ri$ $\text{ndaw}\acute{\text{i}}d$, $\text{k}\acute{\text{a}}d\acute{\text{a}}$ $\text{br}\acute{\text{a}}d\acute{\text{i}}$ $\acute{\text{a}}d\acute{\text{a}}f\check{\text{f}}\acute{\text{o}}s$, $\text{aw}\check{\text{s}}\acute{\text{u}}s\acute{\text{u}}$ $\text{mm}\acute{\text{o}}w$ $\text{ndib}\acute{\text{a}}r\text{-}$
 $\text{ten}\acute{\text{o}}s$ (Vycichl). Vycichl suggests that in Bohairic \mathfrak{E} and \mathfrak{O} represented more open sounds than \mathfrak{H} and \mathfrak{W} , whether or not there was always a difference in quantity, since \mathfrak{E} and \mathfrak{O} appear before Egyptian h in $\text{M}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{Z}$ (for $*\text{MH}\mathfrak{Z}$) and $\text{M}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{Z}$ (for $*\text{MOY}\mathfrak{Z}$) under the influence of the a-resonance of h ; and that similarly \mathfrak{H} and \mathfrak{W} appear before Egyptian j and w in $\text{M}\mathfrak{H}\text{INI}$ (for $*\text{MEINI}$) and $\text{M}\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{OY}$ (for $*\text{MOOY}$) under the influence of the i-resonance of j and the u-resonance of w . The h "opens," the j and w "close" the resonance of preceding vowels. This is physiologically sound, though contradicted by long-accepted views among classical scholars, who hold that ϵ and o are more open than η and ω .

24. The letter \mathfrak{H} is called $\text{h}\acute{\text{a}}d\acute{\text{a}}$, never hida (Stern) or $\text{h}\acute{\text{i}}d\acute{\text{a}}$ (Steindorff), though either form with the long vowel might be correct, since \mathfrak{H} is pronounced both as \bar{a} and as \bar{i} in Coptic words, according to the Zeniya tradition. When \mathfrak{H} is pronounced as \bar{e} in Coptic words we may be sure that the speaker is uncertain or afraid, and is trying to compromise. Coptic words fall into two classes, those in which \mathfrak{H} is pronounced \bar{a} and those in which it is pronounced \bar{i} . There is no option in this matter; and Bistauros and the 'arīf Muḥārib agreed perfectly in the case of all words which both of them were heard to pronounce naturally. A number of the \bar{a} -words are descended from Egyptian or foreign words with u , as we shall see below, and so perhaps are all of them; the \bar{i} words are descended from words with i . It is easy to understand how \mathfrak{H} may thus have stood for \bar{u} or \bar{o} on the one hand and for \bar{i} or \bar{e} on the other; but it is not easy to understand how \bar{u}/\bar{o} became \bar{a} while \bar{i}/\bar{e} became \bar{i} . I imagine that \mathfrak{H} in early classical Coptic stood for two very open sounds like \bar{o} and ϵ , one rounded, the other not rounded, and both of them long, if quantity existed. In the spoken Arabic of Luxor the Arabic \bar{e} has become shortened to a : bat

abūha, šaṭān, for bēt abūha, šēṭān; but that is because a long vowel is shortened in a shut syllable in status constructus (cf. the phonetical analogy, tin iswid for tīn iswid), and before an accented syllable (e. g., fagāni for fōgāni); and that is entirely different from long accented a. It is interesting to note that árma, **ΕΡΜΗ**, plural **ΕΡΜΩΟΥΙ**, and ušā, **ΟΥΨΗ**, plural **ΟΥΨΩΟΥΙ**, are pronounced with **Η** = a/ā, though the root ends in j. Bohairic **ΩΜΗΝ**, Sahidic **ΩΜΟΥΝ** is pronounced ešmān in Zeniya and al-'Araki. Was the Bohairic form *išmōn?

25. In many cases the reason for the a-pronunciation of **Η** can be seen. In all of the ten cases where Zeniya or al-'Araki values turned up for words which Albright has shown to have had u (Albright), **Η** was pronounced as ā or a. They are: ššān, **ΩΔΗΝ** (p. 17, line 8 *ab inf.*), dāb, **ΤΗΒ**, māj, **ΜΗΙ** (p. 18, lines 5-6), mad, **ΜΗΤ** (p. 18, line 7), awjān, abjān, **ΕΒΙΗΝ** (p. 18, line 8), brāḏ, **ΕΒΡΗΧ** (p. 39, line 15), mā, **ΜΗ** (p. 44, No. 19), ehrāri, **ΖΡΗΡΙ** (p. 50, No. 14), ḥabs, **ΨΗΒΣ** (p. 53, line 6 *ab inf.*), ešlā, **ΔΛΗ** (p. 50, line 10 *ab inf.*). None of these was ever pronounced with an i. To the list of Albright may be added: arāb, **ΑΡΗΒ**, "pledge," from Semitic *arūb, Hebrew 'arubbā; ištān, **ΨΘΗΝ**, "garment," cf. Hebrew kuttōnet, Greek *χιτών*; šān, **ΩΗΝ**, "tree," cf. cuneiform šunū; kābi, **ΧΗΠΙ**, cf. Greek *κύπη*, *γύπη*; kawī, **ΚΗΒΙ**, **ΚΑΒΙ**, "vessel," cf. Nubian kube (Vycichl); arb (Zeniya), ārb (Farshut), jurb (Ba'irāt), orb (Beled es-Siyāḡ), **ΗΡΠΙ**, "wine," cf. Old Nubian **ΟΡΠΙ** (Vycichl), though Greek has *ἔρπυς* (from open ö?); hā, **ΖΗ**, "front," cf. the confusion between **ΖΗ** and **ΖΩΤ**, sufficient to permit a rebus, though **ΖΗ** is ḥē in contemporary cuneiform (Drioton in *AIP*, 3 [1935], 133 ff.). On the negative side we must list: dæ (indecisive?), **ΤΗ**, "there," from Egyptian dj; tīnu, **-ΘΗΝΟΥ**, "your," which should perhaps be *tānu, cf. cuneiform kunu, unless the i arises from the Sahidic form **-ΤΝ**; satāri, **ΣΑΘΗΡΙ** / **ΣΑΘΕΡΙ**, "denarius," cf. *στατήρ*, unless from later Greek; sāfi, sīfi, **ΣΗΦΙ**, "sword," cf. Nubian sibid (Vycichl), Greek *ξίφος*, Arabic saif, sēf. The presence of ʿ explains a in rā **ΡΗ** (Yassa says ébra, Bistauros says ébre, **ΦΡΗ**) and wāb, **ΟΥΨΒ** (Bistauros, Girgis, though someone said wīb). The qualitative of the biconsonantal verb, whether because of an original u in all cases or because of analogy from a few cases, invariably has **Η** =

ā: bāl, **ΒΗΛ**, mār, **ΜΗΡ** (contrasted with mīr, **ΜΗΡ**, "beyond," mān, **ΜΗΝ**, kā, **ΧΗ**. awāl (Girgis), awīl (Bistauros), **ΕΒΗΛ**, and awīṭ (Bistauros, Girgis), **ΑΒΗΤ**, **ΛΟΥΗΤ**, **ΛΟΥΒΗΤ** seem to be uncertain or wrong. The place name **ΠΑΥΗΤ**, modern Bāwīṭ, should be *b-awād, *b-awāṭ if it is the qualitative from the root īwd, "to separate," meaning "claustrum" (Vycichl). But **ΦΟΟΥ** **ΝΑΒΗΤ** occurs in *BMC*, No. 872, note 1. Following is a list of words in which **Η** = ā or a, whether rightly or wrongly:

fā, ΧΗ , "dish"	hāki, ΖΗΚΙ , "poor"
māš, ΜΗΦ , "crowd"	šābi, ΔΗΠΙ , "cloud"
sāḥ, CHX , "donkey colt"	sāḥi, ΔΗΧΙ , "purple"
hābbe, ΖΗΠΠΕ , "behold"	esbāri, ΦΦΗΡΙ , "wonder"
brāš, ΦΡΗΦ , "coverlet," Arabic	āj, ΗΙ , "house"
firāš (see <i>AI</i> , 2 [1935], part	rāj, ΡΗΙ , a kind of fish
1, 67. Coptic and Arabic	ehrāj, ΖΡΗΙ , "upward"
equally plausible)	majni, ΜΗΝΙ , "sign"
kāmi (Bistauros, Girgis), ΧΗΜΙ ,	sajni, CHINI , "physician"
"Egypt"	mjā, ΜΗ , "lioness"
mānī, ΜΗΝΙ , "daily"	hājāb, jāb, ΖΗΒ , ΙΗΒ , "sewing"
māsi, ΜΗΣΙ , "interest"	enḥādf, ΝῆΗΤΩ , "in him"
mādi (Bistauros, Girgis), ΜΗΤ ,	enḥādu, ΝῆΗΤΟΥ , "in them"
"midst"	atwād, ΕΦΒΗΤ , "on my ac-
nāwi, ΝΗΒΙ , "swim"	count"
nāḥi, ΝΗΧΙ , "uterus"	atwādf, ΕΦΒΗΤΩ , "on his ac-
rādi, ΡΗΤ , "kind"	count"
sāwi, CHBI , "reed"	šabjādf, ΦΕΒΗΤΩ , "change
sābi, CHΠΙ , "remainder"	him"
dāru, ΤΗΡΟΥ , "all of them"	akās (Bistauros and Girgis),
hāwi, ΖΗΒΙ , "mourning"	ΑΚΗΣ , "belt"

26. An entirely different case is **Η** = ā in Greek words and proper names (see above under "accent," § 20). Probably a preponderance of the value **Η** = ā in Coptic words led to its use in Greek words ending in **ΗΣ**, mostly accented. Then to keep it in Arabic they had to lengthen and accent it in all cases, leaving the other vowels of the word long if they happened to be so. Examples: brōfidās, brōfidās, **ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ**, matidās, matidās, **ΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ**; cf. jōsāb, **ΙΩΣΗΦ**.

27. The equation of **H** with Arabic *ā* occurs as early as the Chassinat medical text. That it is only once so used, while the equation with *ī* is more common, may be due to chance, for the material is scanty. That **H** is never *ā* in Stern's alchemistic text (Worrell, *Coptic Sounds*, p. 133) may also be due to chance. Many church hymns rhyme throughout in *ā*, though the words may be, for example, **ТАВ, ННВ, ТЕΛΗΛ**. In Ebshawai at the present time **H** is always *ā*. The distinction between **H** = *ā* and **H** = *ī* long ago vanished, and gave rise to the bad "old" pronunciation which preceded the "reform." Yet the distinction is still preserved in Zeniya and Farshut.

28. In some cases the reason for the *ī* pronunciation of **H** can be seen: *nīb* (Zeniya, al-'Araki), **ННВ**, "master," supported by cuneiform *nimmoarīa* (Vycichl); *stīm*, **С-Θ-ΗΜ**, "eye paint," Greek *στίμμα*, Latin *stimmi*; *šamsīfi*, **ϠΕΜϠΗΧΙ**, "to hiss," Demotic *šmšeke* (Spiegelberg); *wīni*, **ВННΙ**, "swallow," Nubian *mīne* (Vycichl); *iššir*, **ϠϠΗΡ**, "to sail," Libyan *zgēr* (Vycichl, after Möller); *wīša*, **ВНСА**, Arabic loan *wīša*; *marīs*, **ΜΑΡΗΣ**, "south," Arabic loan *marīsī*, "south wind"; *amīri*, **ΑΜΗΡΙ**, "inundation," Arabic loan *damīre* (with article **Τ-**). *mīr* (Zeniya, Nagade, Dēr Amba Antoni), **МΗΡ**, "beyond," seems to be contradicted by Albright, p. 44, No. 20; but Albright writes that *miru* is as possible as *murū*. Feminines ending in **H** are pronounced with **H** = *ī*: *kāmī*, **ΧΑΜΗ**, "black"; *ḥa'ī*, **ḤΑΗ**, "last"; *ḥamī*, **ΧΑΜΗ**, "quiet"; *ḥanī*, **ΧΑΝΗ**, "box"; *ḥašī*, **ΧΑḤΗ**, "left hand"; *wannī*, **ВΕΝΝΗ**, "post"; *amī*, **ΑΜΗ**, "come" (fem.). Apparently incorrect are: *išnā*, **ϠΝΑ**, "garden," Arabic loan *dēšne* (with article **Τ-**); *sawā*, **САВΗ**, "wise." The following words are pronounced with **H** = *ī*, whether properly or not:

<i>bī</i> , <i>tī</i> , <i>nī</i> (Bistauros, Girgis), ϠΗ, Θ-Η, ΝΗ , "that," "those"	<i>samahīr</i> , САΜΑḶΗΡ , "fennel" (Sahidic only)
<i>wīb</i> , ВНВ , "cave"	<i>hīd</i> (Zeniya, al-'Araki), ḶΗΤ , "heart"
<i>wīd</i> , ВНТ , meaning?	<i>enehtīf</i> , ḶḶ-Θ-ΗḶ , "of his heart"
<i>wīḥ</i> , ВНΧ , "hawk"	<i>masdanhīd</i> , ΜΕΣΤΕΝḶΗΤ , "breast"
<i>līs</i> , ΛΗΣ , "end"	<i>hīd</i> , ḤΗΤ , "north" (cf. <i>šubra</i>)
<i>sīd</i> , СΗТ , meaning?	<i>ḥīt</i> [<i>sic!</i>], place name)
<i>tīn</i> , Θ-ΗΝ , "sulphur"	
<i>wīr</i> , ΟΥΗΡ , "how many?"	

iḥi, HXI , "garlic"	išrīḥi, δPHXI , "dowry"
bīri, ΠHPH , "quail"	andīḥ, ΕΝTHX , "weeds"
rīsi, PHCI , "dust"	abasīd (Zeniya, al-'Araki),
širi (Zeniya, al-'Araki), ΦHPH ,	ΕΠΕCHT , "to the ground"
"son"	šalīd, ΦΕΛHT , "bride" (Sa-
šīši, ΦHΦH , "blows" (but cf.	hidic form)
sing. ΦΛΦ)	Ḥerīḥ, ΧΕPHX , "hunter"
hīmi, ZHMI , "fare"	halīd, ΖΑΛHT , "bird"
Ḥiri, ΧHPH , meaning?	atīr, ΛΦHP , "hammer"
ībs, HPIC , "number"	awīr, ΛΟΥHP , "how much?"
birš, ΦHPΦ , meaning?	wasnīd, ΒΕCΝHT , "blacksmith"
emnī, MNH , "there"	anzīb, ΑΝΖHΒ , "school"
ebrīs, ΦPHC , "the south"	amalīḥ, ΑΜΑΛHX , "embrace"
ebrīš, ΦPHΦ , "yellow"	samanhīf, CΑΜΕΝΖHQ , "be-
twīl, ΦΒHΛ , "sheep pen"	hind him"
ešlīl, ΦΛHΛ , "to pray"	wahsahnīdf, ΟΥΕΖCΑΖNHTC ,
šbīr, ΦΦHP , "friend"	"to supply it"
ši ššim, δI ΦΦHM , "to pro-	awrīḥf, ΑΥPHXC , "his end"
phesy"	šišnīn, ΦδNHN , "contend"

29. The letter **ϵ** is called ēje, as given by Stern, not ēj, as given by Steindorff. Nevertheless, in Coptic words it is always pronounced a/ā, whether accented or unaccented:

hāmsi, ΖΕMCI	ša 'anáh, ΦΑ ΕΝΕΖ
nanáf, ΝΑΝΕC	šab ehmód, ΦΕΠ ΖΜΟΤ
dašári, ΤΑΦΕPI	afa- ΕCΕ-
tóláb (shifted accent), ΦΦΛΕΒ	bōk ba, ΠΩK ΠΕ
nāh, ΝΕΖ	

This value is as old as the Chassinat text (Worrell, *Coptic Sounds*, p. 127). In two words some hesitation was noted: sa, se, šī (*sic!*), **CΕ**; édbæ, **ΤΦΕ**. In Greek words **ϵ** is pronounced both a and **ϵ**, without any apparent reason, such as difference of age as loan words in Coptic:

dorotáos, Δοροθέος	bnáwma, bnéwma, πνεύμα.
teodokía, θεοτοκία	

And yet Coptic is distinguished from Greek in the phrase taj de da, **ΦΑΙ ΛΕ ΤΕ**, "this woman however is." Unlike the **H**-words, **ϵ**-words are not now divided into two classes. In some

words **Ⲅ** undoubtedly goes back to u, as in **ⲙⲉⲣⲩ** < *murḥa, as Albright (p. 44) has pointed out. We may suppose this to be true of māḥ, **ⲙⲉⲩ**, for *MH₂, the qualitative of **ⲙⲟⲩⲩ**. In such cases **Ⲅ** may have stood for a rounded vowel corresponding to ε and have been more open than the ö which was sometimes represented by **Ⲏ**.

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

	ɔ	o	ö	öw	U	Ū	u	ū
Ⲙ in open syllable				+		+		
Ⲟ " " "		+		+			+	+
ⲟⲩ " " "			+		+	+		
Ⲙ " shut "	+	+	+					
Ⲟ " " "	+		+		+			+
ⲟⲩ " " "						+		+

Examples:

amašöw, **Ⲅⲙⲁⲩⲟⲩ**

ū bširi, **Ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲣⲓ**

brófidās, *φροφήτης*

bi-htöw, **ⲡⲓⲩⲥⲞ**

daḤrú, **ⲧⲁⲭⲣⲟ**

bí-ru, **ⲡⲓⲣⲟ**

hūde, *ὄτε*

ebnōdi (Farshut), **ⲢⲎⲟⲩⲩ**

nōfi (Farshut), **Ⲏⲟⲩⲩⲓ**

Uhór, **ⲟⲩⲩⲟⲣ**

ebnūdi, **ⲢⲎⲟⲩⲩ**

aḤórḥ, **Ⲅⲭⲟⲣⲩ**

eknök, **ⲕⲎⲞⲕ**

ḥodḥád, **ⲥⲟⲩⲥⲉⲧ**

katamarōs, *καταμέρος*

wurwár, **ⲎⲟⲣⲎⲉⲣ**

šallūd, **ⲃⲁⲕⲟⲃ**

Ḥamūl, **ⲭⲁⲙⲟⲩⲁ**

ḥūn, **ⲥⲟⲩⲎ**

31. The letter Υ in Greek words is pronounced \bar{i} : $n\bar{i}n$, $\nu\bar{o}\nu$, $\phi\bar{i}l\bar{e}$, $\phi\bar{u}l\bar{h}$.

32. The letter \mathbf{I} is called $j\bar{o}da$ (so also Steindorff), not $joda$ (Stern). (For consonantal \mathbf{I} see discussion under consonants, § 55). It is pronounced \bar{i} in accented open syllables, otherwise \mathbf{I} , which for convenience we have for the most part represented by \bar{i} . Examples: $af\bar{i}$, $\mathbf{A}\mathbf{Q}\mathbf{I}$; $af\bar{i}mi$, $\mathbf{A}\mathbf{Q}\mathbf{X}\mathbf{I}\mathbf{M}\mathbf{I}$; $d\bar{i}mi$, $\mathbf{I}\mathbf{M}\mathbf{I}$; $r\bar{i}mi$, $\mathbf{P}\mathbf{I}\mathbf{M}\mathbf{I}$; $\bar{s}ini$, $\mathbf{O}\mathbf{I}\mathbf{N}\mathbf{I}$. $bi-$, $di-$, $ni-$, $\mathbf{P}\mathbf{I}-\mathbf{T}\mathbf{I}-$, $\mathbf{N}\mathbf{I}-$; $hir\bar{i}ni$, $\mathbf{Z}\mathbf{I}\mathbf{P}\mathbf{H}\mathbf{N}\mathbf{H}$, $\epsilon\bar{i}r\eta\bar{\nu}\eta$: $\bar{s}idk$, $\mathbf{D}\mathbf{I}\mathbf{T}\mathbf{K}$. Exceptions: $h\bar{i}dan$, $\mathbf{Z}\mathbf{I}\mathbf{T}\mathbf{E}\mathbf{N}$ (because once pronounced $*hid\bar{a}n?$); $b\bar{i}ru$, $\mathbf{P}\mathbf{I}\mathbf{P}\mathbf{O}$ (because properly and usually pronounced $bir\bar{u}$); $teodok\bar{i}a$, $\theta\epsilon\sigma\tau\bar{o}k\bar{i}a$ (unexplained); $\bar{i}s$, $\mathbf{I}\mathbf{C}$ (because of strong accent). Albright has shown (pp. 18, 50) that original $*\bar{u}$ became \mathbf{I} instead of \mathbf{H} in $\mathbf{C}\mathbf{P}\mathbf{I}\mathbf{T}$, $\mathbf{O}\mathbf{P}\mathbf{I}\mathbf{P}$, and $\mathbf{H}\mathbf{I}\mathbf{P}$, which contain \mathbf{P} . Since \mathbf{I} must have represented a closer vowel than \mathbf{H} , if $\mathbf{H} < *\bar{u}$ was \bar{o} (see above, § 24), then perhaps $\mathbf{I} < *\bar{u}$ was \bar{u} . $h\bar{i}mi$, $\mathbf{Z}\mathbf{I}\mathbf{M}\mathbf{I}$ ($< *h\bar{j}\bar{u}mi < *h\bar{j}\bar{u}mat$; plural, $\mathbf{Z}\mathbf{I}\mathbf{O}\mathbf{M}\mathbf{I} < *h\bar{j}\bar{o}mwi < *h\bar{j}\bar{u}mwat$ [Vycichl]) seems to have such an $\mathbf{I} < *u$. Cf. $\mathbf{A}\mathbf{I}\mathbf{B}\mathbf{I}\mathbf{T}\mathbf{O}\mathbf{Y}$, in this volume, "Letters and Documents on Papyrus," No. 1526r, note 9. I have no examples of the Zeniya pronunciation of $\mathbf{C}\mathbf{P}\mathbf{I}\mathbf{T}$, $\mathbf{O}\mathbf{P}\mathbf{I}\mathbf{P}$, and $\mathbf{H}\mathbf{I}\mathbf{P}$, but it is certain that there is no special class of \mathbf{I} -words as there is a special class of \mathbf{H} -words.

33. The letter \mathbf{A} is called alfa (so Steindorff, Stern), and is always pronounced a , and, I believe, never \bar{a} : $af\bar{i}mi$, $\mathbf{A}\mathbf{Q}\mathbf{X}\mathbf{I}\mathbf{M}\mathbf{I}$. To be sure, I have heard $bi-m\bar{e} ada-$, $\mathbf{P}\mathbf{I}\mathbf{M}\mathbf{A} \mathbf{E}\mathbf{T}\mathbf{E}-$, $bi-m\bar{e} anara-$, $\mathbf{P}\mathbf{I}\mathbf{M}\mathbf{A} \mathbf{E}\mathbf{N}\mathbf{E}\mathbf{P}\mathbf{E}-$, where the series of epsilons with value a has led to dissimilation of \mathbf{A} to epsilon with a Greek (?) value.

34. The letters which at present are given the value of stop consonants are \mathbf{P} , \mathbf{F} , \mathbf{B} , \mathbf{T} , \mathbf{A} , \mathbf{I} , \mathbf{O} , \mathbf{K} , \mathbf{Z} , \mathbf{X} , and \mathbf{X} . Of these \mathbf{T} , \mathbf{I} , and \mathbf{Z} are monograms for $\mathbf{P}\mathbf{C}$, $\mathbf{T}\mathbf{I}$, and $\mathbf{K}\mathbf{C}$, respectively: \mathbf{A} has the same value as \mathbf{T} ; and \mathbf{B} when final has the same value as \mathbf{P} ; so there remain but seven stops: \mathbf{P} , \mathbf{F} , \mathbf{T} , \mathbf{O} , \mathbf{K} , \mathbf{X} , and \mathbf{X} . (\mathbf{G} and \mathbf{D} are no longer stops but fricatives.) \mathbf{P} , \mathbf{F} , \mathbf{T} , and \mathbf{X} are voiced: b , d , f . We have thought at times that these were half-voiced (voiceless but unaspirated): b , d , f ; but Vycichl is now of the opinion that this is a mistake, and accordingly I have everywhere written b , d , f .

35. The letter **Π** is called *bej* (Stern, *béi*; Steindorff, *bi*); the letter **Φ** is called *fīj* (Stern, *féi*; Steindorff, *fii*). Both have the value *b*, doubtless because there is no *p* in Arabic: *baj be*, **ΦΑΙ ΠΕ**. (Cf. *taj de*, **ΘΑΙ ΤΕ**, in which the *t* has been preserved because there is a *t* in Arabic.) It is therefore unnecessary to suppose that *baj* is a survival of Sahidic **ΠΑΙ**. *édbæ*, *ébræ*, *di-jábe* are Bohairic forms, **†ΦΕ**, **ΦΡΗ**, **†ΑΦΕ**. The wrong pronunciation of **Φ** as *f* may be due to an attempt to pronounce *p* and knowledge that **Φ** should not be pronounced *b*. When final the letter **Β** (see below, § 45) is pronounced *b*, though its usual value is *w*: *wab*, **ΟΥΑΒ**: *ráb^uwi*, **ΡΑΒΒΙ**.

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

37. The letter **Τ** is called *daū* (Stern, *dau*; Steindorff, *da'ū*). It has the value *d* in Coptic words. However, **ΨΟΜΤ** is heard as *šomt* and *šomd*, if not *šomḍ*. The letter **Θ** is called *tútte* (Stern, *thida*, *deida*; Steindorff, *tīda*). It has the value *t* in Coptic words. (The value *ḥ* is Greek.) Examples: *etōn*, **ΕΘΩΝ**, "whither"; *htō^u*, **ΖΤΟΟΥ**; *entók*, **ΝΘΟΚ**; *taj*, **ΘΑΙ**. The precision of distinction between **Τ** and **Θ** is remarkable, being observed even in *tōláb*, **ΘΩΛΕΒ**, where the accent has shifted. In Greek words both **Θ** and **Τ** are *t* in accented syllables, following the Bohairic rule (Stern, § 19), but otherwise *d*. Examples: *dorotáos*, **Δοροθέος**; *ḥristós*, **Χριστός**; *téodokía*, **θεοτοκία**; *ḥa'ōdōrōs*, **ḥádrōs**, *tódros*, **Θεόδωρος**.

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

39. The letter **†** is called *dīj*, *dī*, *di* (Stern, *dei*; Steindorff, *dī*).

40. The letter **Κ** is called *kabba* (so Stern, but *kappa*, Steindorff), and is always pronounced *k* at the present time: *bōk*, **ΠΩΚ**, "yours"; *entók*, **ΝΘΟΚ**. When the invading Arabs in the seventh century established the Arabic spellings of place names in Upper Egypt, presumably they heard the Sahidic pronunciation of **Κ** and rendered what they heard by Arabic letters in accordance with

their dialectic pronunciation. If their Arabic dialect was like the present one in Upper Egypt, ك was k and ق was g. They use ق (g) and not ك (k) as the equivalent of K: قوص = ΚΩC; قفط = ΚΕCΤ; قادة = ΝΕΚΑΤΗΡΙΟΝ; قنا = ΚΑΙΝΗΠΟΛΙC (or قوته = ΚΩΝΗ); قاو = ΤΚΩΟΥ. The same thing happens in the case of early loan words from Coptic in Arabic, which must have been heard in Upper Egypt, since they have the Sahidic article, ΠΕ, before a double consonance: بقرور = ΠΕΚΡΟΥΡ, "frog"; بقلول = ΠΕΚΛΩΛ, "jar." To this early period and region belongs doubtless قطمارس, καταμέρος. It seems certain, therefore, that K was g in Upper Egypt in the seventh century. When these Arabs established the spellings of place names in Lower Egypt, presumably they heard the Bohairic pronunciation of K and rendered it according to their dialectic pronunciation of Arabic letters. If their dialect was like the present dialect of Cairo, ك was k and ج was g. They do in fact use ج (g) and not ك (k) for K in دجوى, دجوة, †ΚΕΒΙ (Amélineau, p. 145); nevertheless I find it impossible to cite other examples, perhaps because of our uncertainty of either the Coptic or the Arabic form in the names at our disposal. It is likely that a number of Delta place names have ق for K, either because of Upper Egyptian influence or because the Delta Arabs in question spoke a different dialect than the Cairene. Examples: دقوا, †ΚΕΒΙ (if this is the same place as that just mentioned); البستون, *Βασιλικόν (?); ابو قير, ΑΠΑ ΚΥΡΕ (?); النقراش, Ναυκράτις (?); قطارس, Βικτορος (?). In corroboration of this we find ج used as equivalent to X: ججوير, ΧΙΧΒΗΡ. On the other hand, we find in Upper Egypt ابوتيج for ΑΠΟ-ΘΥΚΗ, following the Arabic dialect of Cairo. In spite of the fact that K could be either ج or ق in Lower Egypt, it is certain that K was g and not k at the time these names were first spelled in Arabic letters. But as early as the time of Athanasius of Qūs (eleventh century) the letter K was called kabba, as it is today, with the Arabic letter ك, which can be nothing but k. The conclusion is that the pronunciation of Coptic K (regardless of its etymological origin) had changed from g to k. This change seems to be due to the circumstance that ق was doubtless ʿ, as it now is, in Cairo and Alexandria, which invalidated it as a sign for Coptic K; and ج was doubtless dz in Alexandria, which invalidated that letter also as a sign for Coptic K. There remained only the possi-

bility of using ڪ for K. Another way of saying it is that there was no g in the Alexandrine Arabic dialect. It is interesting to note that the Chassinat text (Worrell, *Coptic Sounds*, pp. 130 ff.) equates K with all three, ق, ج and ڪ; the Casanova-Sobhy text, with two, ق and ڪ; the Galtier text, with ڪ only. The k-value of K seems therefore to be due to an Alexandrine spelling, and to have affected Bohairic only, though Bohairic was afterwards imported into Upper Egypt.

41. The letter Γ is called gamma (so also Stern and Steindorff).

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

43. The letter X is called kij (Stern, schéi; Steindorff, kii), is always pronounced k in Coptic words, and very often in Greek words also: XΩ, kō; XHMΙ, kāmī; XPHMA, krīma; EYXH, áuka; YYXH, bsīka; XΩPA, kōra. But in some Greek words the Greek value is given: APXH, árši; XPICTOC, ḥristōs. Greek value in a Coptic word is very unusual and may be regarded as due to influence of the "reform" school, or to ignorance of the tradition in regard to that word. In the literary Arabic, accepted in Syria as well as Egypt, there is an old stratum of Greek words in which X is represented by ڪ: χῶρα, كورة; χημία, كيميا; χυλός, كيلوس; χόνδρος, كندر; ἄρχων, ادكون (magical texts). These could not have been taken over from Greek into Arabic directly, as late as the seventh century, for by that time certainly χ was ḥ. They were, then, taken over into Arabic from some other language, such as Coptic or Syriac, in which they had previously been lodged, at a time when χ was still k. Such words, of which there are many in the Syriac lexicon, are usually written with a letter which may be read as either k or ḥ, and this should be indicated by pointing; but, unfortunately, the pointing is usually omitted, and, where it is given, it is not always the same, so that we cannot be sure of the Syriac value.

44. The letter X is called JánJa (Stern, Steindorff, dschandscha), and is pronounced J. In the "reform" pronunciation it is called ganga (in French spelling, guangua), and is pronounced g; but this is plainly the result of Cairene pronunciation of ج as g. All genuine tradition has been lost, the Coptic letter has been

mechanically equated with the Arabic letter, and both are pronounced in the elegant Cairene fashion, in circles which despise the villages, the peasants, and Upper Egypt. In Luxor Arabic ʔ > d before š: dēš for ʔēš; daḥs for ʔaḥš; dūš < *ʔūš < *gūš = *Κυσις*; and this may have been carried over from Coptic.

45. The letters which at present are given the value of fricatives are **Β** (when not final), **ΟΥ** (in combination, **Υ**), **Ϙ**, **ϕ** (properly in Greek words only), **ϙ**, **ϛ**, **Ϝ** (properly in Greek words only), **Ζ**, **Ι**, **Γ** (properly in Greek words only), **β**, and **ζ**.

46. The letter **Β** is called *bēda* or *vēda* (Stern, *wida*, *wéida*; Steindorff, *vida*), and is pronounced w, possibly β, v, and b. The most common pronunciation is w, instead of which I think I have heard β, though Vycichl thinks not. v undoubtedly occurs, e.g. in *ekvōk*, **ΚΒΩΚ**. Bilabial fricatives are as foreign to Arabic as the dentilabial v. Arabic influence would change β to w and not to v. Though the v remains unexplained, it is more probably derived from β than from w, and β is probably the original sound. Example: *wurwár*, **ΒΟΡΒΕΡ**. At the end of a syllable **Β** is always β, as has long been observed (Stern, § 30).

47. The letter **Υ** is called *ha* or *he* (Stern, *ée*, *he*; Steindorff, *he*), with an h derived from the use of this sign, or a similar one, to represent ḥ in Old Coptic (Vycichl). The combination **ΟΥ** has no name. It functions as a consonant with a following vowel, and both **ΟΥ** and **Υ** function as a consonant with a preceding vowel; and they have in all cases the value of w: *wōš*, **ΟΥΩΩ**; *ahów*, **ΕΖΟΥΥ**; *bnawma*, **ΠΝΕΥΜΑ**. But *sōwn*, **CΩΟΥΝ**, sometimes sounds like *sōun*, and even, with shift of accent, *sō'ún*. The third is regarded as bad, though it is common in the "reform" pronunciation. The second is probably due to the difficulty of the combination, and leads to the third through too much emphasis. **ΕΖΟΥΥ** is also heard as *ahúwū*, possibly under the influence of Arabic words like *عَدْو*. After o or ō the w is sometimes lost: *hō*, *hū*, **ΕΖΟΥΥ**; *mō*, **ΜΟΥΥ**. In the Greek-Latin name *Κλαύδιος* the w is lost after **Λ** just as it is lost in Luxor Arabic: *fagāni*, *فوقاني*. **Υ** is v in the Greek-Hebrew name *lāvi*, *Λεví*, "Levy." The difficult combination *úîφ* is pronounced *ijō*.

48. The letter **ϥ** is called *fāj* (Stern, *fai*; Steindorff, *fāi*), and is pronounced *f*, not *ϕ*, though at times I have thought I heard *ϕ*. The original sound was probably *ϕ*, since **ϥ** is often confused with **ϣ** in Coptic texts (Worrell, *Coptic Sounds*, p. 99); and there are traces of this as late as the Chassinat text (*ibid.*, p. 131), but no later. Under Arabic influence **ϣ** became *w* and **ϥ** became *f*. Examples are given above, *passim*.

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

50. The letter **ϣ** is called *šaj* (Stern, *schai*; Steindorff, *shāi*), and is pronounced *š*. It is assimilated to a following **χ**, becoming *ʒ*, in *mazʒ*, **μαϣχ**. It is assimilated to a following **ϥ** in *baséns*, **παϣανϥ** (Fayyum).

51. The letter **ϥ** is called *sámma* (Stern, *sima*, *same*; Steindorff, *sīma*), and is pronounced *s* in all but a very few cases. It is palatalized to *š*, without any reason other than the presence of a front vowel, in the one word *ši*, **ϥϥ**, "yes." It is assimilated to a preceding **ϣ** in the word *bašánš*, **παϣανϥ** (Cairo), and to a preceding **ϣ** (*š*) in *šōš*, **ϣοιϥ**; *šiši*, **ϣιϥι**; *adšóši*, **ϥτϣοϥι** (Farshut). It is pronounced *š* in certain proper names in which *š* is the sound in the Hebrew original: *šemeōn*, **ϥυμεων**, **שמעון**; *aššēr*, **ϥϥϣρ**, **אששר**.

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

53. **χ** before *ī* and *ā* < *ai* in Greek words is pronounced *š*: *aršíanǵjelos*, **ἀρχηάγγελος**; *šāra*, **χαίρε**.

54. The letter **ϣ** is called *zāda* (Stern, *zida*, *zade*; Steindorff, *sīta*, i.e. *zīta*) and is pronounced *z*, both in Greek words, where it often occurs, and in the word **ανϣηβ**, where its occurrence is unexplained, since *z* vanished in Middle Egyptian. **ϣ** sometimes occurs barbarously in other Coptic words. In the Theban mis-

spellings (Worrell, *Coptic Sounds*, p. 114) Greek z is represented by the letter **ϸ**. In the Chassinat text (*ibid.*, p. 130) Arabic z is represented by the letter **ϸ** only; in the Casanova-Sobhy text (*ibid.*, p. 136), by the letter **Ϻ** as well as **ϸ**. Clearly both **Ϻ** and **ϸ** were in early Coptic texts to be pronounced s, except perhaps when and where the reader or the writer could pronounce the sound z. But the Greek sound z finally came into use, and the letter **Ϻ** was finally equated with the Arabic letter **z**.

55. **ⲓ** before a more sonorous vowel in the same syllable becomes a consonant, j: bajōd, **ⲡⲓⲁⲓⲱⲧ**; mjā, **ⲙⲓⲏ**; hjāb, **Ⲓⲏⲃ**. After a more sonorous vowel, even a long one, in the same syllable, it is a consonant: danḥój, **ⲧⲁⲛḥⲟⲓ**; šójs, **Ⲕⲟⲓϸ**; fōj, **ϸⲟⲓ**; kūj, **ⲕⲟⲓ**; ehrāj, **Ⲓⲣⲏⲓ**; majni, **ⲙⲏⲓⲏⲓ**. But in this position it may disappear when followed by another consonant, especially when the consonant is in the same syllable: wōni, **ⲟⲩⲱⲏⲓ**; ō, **ⲟⲓⲕ**; šōš, **Ⲕⲟⲓϸ** (pupils of the 'arīf Muḥārib, in al-'Askari, about four miles south of Farshut). Consonantal **ⲓ** is frequently not heard before **ⲏ** in **ⲓⲥⲟⲩ**, **ⲏⲕⲟⲩϸ**.

56. **Ⲧ** occurs in Greek words only, or in other foreign words, through Greek, and not in Coptic words or elements, such as are found in Sahidic (Stern, §§ 21, 389, 441); and it then follows the Greek rule, ḡ before back vowels, gj before front vowels, so far as observed. A preceding **Ⲧ**, in either case, is pronounced η, as in Greek. a is treated as a back vowel when it represents **ⲗ**, but as a front vowel when it represents **Ⲏ**, showing that the tradition is Greek, unmodified by the Coptic pronunciation of **Ⲏ** as a. Possibly gj is really ḡ. Examples: agátos, **ⲁⲓⲓⲁⲧⲟⲩⲟⲩ**; taologos, **ⲧⲉⲟⲓⲟⲓⲓⲟⲩⲓⲟⲩ**; ḡubrijāl, **Ⲓⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ**; awaḡjalísdas, **ⲉⲩⲁⲓⲓⲓⲓⲟⲩⲓⲧⲓⲏⲩⲥⲁⲩ**; aršíāḡjelos, **ⲁⲣⲩⲁⲓⲁⲓⲓⲓⲟⲩⲓⲓⲟⲩⲓⲟⲩ**. The pronunciation of **Ⲧ** as f is due to Cairene pronunciation of **ϸ** as g: fad, **Ⲓⲁⲗ**, proper name.

57. The letter **ⲃ** is called hāj (Stern, chai; Steindorff, chāi), and is pronounced ḥ, never ç: enḥádf, **ⲏḥⲏⲧⲟⲩ**; ḥūn, **ⲃⲟⲩⲏ**.

58. **ⲭ** before back vowels or before r in Greek words is pronounced ḥ: úrhun, **ⲁⲣḥⲟⲩⲏ**; ḥristós, **ⲕⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲩⲟⲩ**.

59. The letter **Ⲓ** is called hōri (Stern, huri; Steindorff, hori), and is pronounced h: htōu, **Ⲓⲑⲟ**. Rarely it is ḥ: ajórḥ, **Ⲏⲭⲟⲣḥ**. It disappears in the word anā, **ⲎⲏⲎⲒ**.

60. The letter **λ** is called *lōla* (so Steindorff, Stern, *lola*), and is pronounced *l*, with no noted peculiarities.

61. The letter **μ** is called *mēj* (Stern, *méi*; Steindorff, *mi*), and is pronounced *m*. Initial doubled **μ** with prothetic vowel, i.e. **μμ-** is pronounced as *m* by the pupils of the 'arīf Muḥārib in al-'Araki: *mōn*, **μμON**. See Worrell, *Coptic Sounds*, p. 111, **MO**, **MOK**, **MOQ**.

62. The letter **ν** is called *ni'* (Stern, *néi*; Steindorff, *ni*), and is pronounced *n*. Before **β** (**π**) it is not assimilated (*m*): *ḥan bi'aj*, **βEN ΠHI**. Before **κ** (**κ**) it is assimilated (*ŋ*): *doŋk*, **ΤΩNK**. Both of these occurrences are seemingly contrary to rule; but the first is fairly common in manuscripts and documents, and the second is probably concealed by the spelling (*ibid.*, pp. 79, 80 on **ν̄Γ** = *n*).

63. **Γ** before **δ** (**Δ**) is pronounced *n*; *smarandōs*, *σμάραγδος*.

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

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

66. The theory of early Coptic pronunciation outlined in Worrell, *Coptic Sounds*, is corroborated by the modern evidence except for the following points: (1) modern pronunciation of

Coptic, when it follows the "old" school, is not nearly so much Arabicized and not nearly so arbitrary as was supposed; (2) the "reform" pronunciation has introduced errors and confusion; (3) certain radical changes go back at least to the tenth century; (4) certain of the Greek letters were originally taken over with values other than what we have supposed them to have had in the Greek of that time; (5) the values of all the Coptic vowel letters are doubtful, with the exception of **ⲁ**; (6) **Ⲭ**, and possibly **Ⲑ**, had two sounds, one rounded, the other unrounded.

67. A considerable number of Coptic words, including Greek loans words in Coptic, have passed over into Egyptian Arabic. Some have gained currency outside Egypt, in another vernacular, or in the classical language; and occasionally one has passed into a European tongue. The extent of this vocabulary has never been determined. From time to time some writer has called attention to it in a paragraph or a footnote (Stern, p. 5; Spitta-Bey, p. x). Dr. George Sobhy has published several articles (*AE*, 1921, pp. 70-75; *ibid.*, 1922-23, pp. 47-49; *JEA*, 16 [1930], 4), and has very kindly sent me additional material in manuscript. No one has attempted to list all the cult words occurring in religious texts. On the other hand, many of the words listed must be reconsidered or rejected. Some are quite plainly Arabic, others are related to Coptic through Egyptian, still others are imitative. Frequently the Coptic or Arabic word, given without reference or source or the meaning of the word, cannot be found elsewhere. Misprints and lack of vocalization add to the difficulty. In one list the following Coptic words and meanings are given: **ⲭⲐⲚ**, **ⲭⲁⲚⲭⲉⲚ** (i.e. **ⲭⲐⲚⲭⲉⲚ**, "to burn," etc.), "cold"; **ⲁⲙⲉⲱ**, **ⲁⲙⲱⲉ** (**ⲉⲙⲬⲱ**, "anvil"? **ⲁⲙⲱⲉ**, "carpenter"?), "whip"; **ⲃⲁⲱ**, **ⲃⲉⲱ**, **ⲃⲉⲱⲃⲱⲱ**, (i.e. **ⲃⲱⲱ**, "loosen," etc.?, **ⲐⲮⲉⲱⲱⲐⲱⲱ**, "beaten," etc.?), "to be wet, wetted"; **ⲐⲮⲱⲛⲓ** ("light," "harp"), "big date palm." Egyptian or Coptic origin is supposed for *ṣudā'*, "headache" (*nomen morbi* of *ṣada'a*, "to split"); *mišanna*, "basket" (*nomen instrumenti* of *šanna*, "to scatter"); *mudamas*, a kind of baked beans (Lane, Chap. V; II-participle passive of *damasa*, "to bury"); *barra*, "outside" (adverbial accusative of *barr*, "open country," without nunation, like *marḥaba*, *qabla*); *ma'dija*, "ferryboat" (from some such form as *ma'dā*, "passage,"

like *ḍahabija*, *fiṣqija*, *ḥanafija*, *šamsija*, etc.). Great labor is involved in working through these lists, but it is justified by the hope of finding valuable material. No good, however, can come of publishing the rejected items, or the reasons for rejecting them, when these reasons are perfectly plain. When there is reasonable doubt they should be discussed. Accordingly I have included in the following list, along with items noted by Vycichl, such other published items as seemed to me interesting and valid. In general, only Coptic or Greek-Coptic words have been included, not Egyptian words without known Coptic form. Some words have been included which can hardly be said to have passed over into Arabic, for they occur only in songs or sayings, and are not freely employed, although their meaning is known.

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

COPTIC AND GREEK LOAN WORDS IN ARABIC

abarka, *abārka*, اباركة, اباركة, "sacramental wine," in Egypt only, cited by Spiro, from **ΑΠΑΡΧΗ**, "new wine," "sample" in Apophthegmata, Steindorff, pp. 3*, 19*, 95*, *ἀπαρχή*, "first fruits"; "Geburtsausweis," "Erstlingsopfer" (Preisigke) in the papyri. (Sobhy, Vycichl)

abīb, ايب, "name of a month," in Egypt only, well known, from **ΕΠΗΠ** (Boh.; Sah.), not from *ἐπέιφ*, *ἐπίφι*. (Many)

اھيلما, "cry of boatman on the Nile when their boat sticks in the mud," in Egypt only, not cited by dictionaries, from ***ΤΖΕΛΙC**, "the mud," *ἰλύς* (fem.), "mud," with prefixed and suffixed Arabic *ā*, "alas" (Spitta-Bey, § 30, 10). (Sobhy)

aḥbija, *ḥebija*, اجية, اجية, "book of prayers according to hours," in Egypt only, not cited by dictionaries, from **ΑΧΠ-** (Boh.), "hour" so-and-so, interpreted as *ḥebija*, "pocket prayer book,"

from Jēb, "pocket," or as wāfibija, "necessarium," from wāfib, "incumbent upon." (Sobhy, Vycichl)

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

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

úsguf, اسقف, "bishop," classical and general vernacular, well known, from *Ε-Π-ΙCΚΟΠ < *ΕΠΙCΚΟΠΕ < ἐπίσκοπος, "bishop," the Ε-Π- understood as preposition and article (like stambūl < εἰς τὴν πόλιν), the vocative Ε discarded as feminine, the final Π > f because there is no p in Arabic. (Vycichl)

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

اقرباذين, "prescriptions," Egypt only, cited by Elias as meaning "pharmacology," from γραφίδιον, "stylus," "registry office," apparently not in papyrus Greek (Preisigke), early loan because -ιον > -īn (if so pronounced), through Coptic because Φ > b, and Ι > *H > ā, through Upper Egypt because Γ > ق. On the other hand, δ > ڍ is late and shows direct contact with Greek. (Sobhy)

la'bet al-'āl, "a game with pebbles," in Egypt only, not cited by dictionaries, from ἄλ, "pebbles." (Sobhy)

amba, انبا, "a title of the clergy," in Egypt only, well known but cited only by Spiro, from ἈΒΒΑ (Boh.) or ἈΠΑ (Sah.) if the Π was doubled in pronunciation (see § 19). On the analogy of أنبا, ambā, from نبى, and all Arabic words spelled with nb and pronounced with mb (Wahrmund), this word was written انبا, though doubtless pronounced as *amba. Now Coptic *amba for Aramaic abba is analogous to Greek (LXX) Ἀμβακούμ for Hebrew *ḥab-bāqūq. But in the Sahidic of Esne (Worrell, *Freer Collection*, p. 149) we have ἈΥΑΚΟΥΜ for *ἈΒΒΑΚΟΥΜ; and in modern Upper Egyptian pronunciation of Bohairic we have rāb^uwi for ΡΑΒΒΙ (§ 35), showing that ΒΒ in Upper Egypt was not mb. Therefore the mb in *amba may have arisen from the doubled(?) b in Sahidic ἈΠΑ, or from Bohairic ΒΒ as heard in Lower Egypt. (Many)

امبل, "pulpit," in Egypt only, not cited by dictionaries, from $\alpha\mu\beta\omega\nu$, "pulpit," not found in papyrus Greek (Preisigke). (Sobhy)

emšīr, mšīr, امشير, "name of a month," in Egypt only, well known, from ⲙⲪⲠⲢ , not from ⲈⲙⲪⲠⲢ (both are Sah., Boh.), nor from $\mu\epsilon\chi\acute{\iota}\rho$. The other Sahidic form, ⲙⲈⲪⲠⲢ , and the modern Coptic form, ⲙⲈⲪⲠⲢ , are derived from the Greek form, which is derived from Egyptian mḥr. A violent storm which occurs in this month (February) is called by the peasants of Luxor 'rs mšīr, "the wedding of Emšīr," perhaps thought of as a demon (Vycichl). (Many)

amandi, "the underworld," in Egypt only, not cited by the dictionaries, from ⲗⲙⲈⲚⲦ , "the underworld." The expression is rare. (Sobhy)

emnūt, امنوت, "sexton," in Egypt only, not cited by the dictionaries, from ⲙⲚⲠⲠⲦ , "porter," thought of as derived from Arabic امن, "because the sexton must be trustworthy." (Vycichl)

amhāt, امهات, bamhāt (Vycichl: Luxor, Zēnīya), balaḥ amhāt (Spiro), "a kind of date" (Vycichl), "soft black dates" (Spiro), in Egypt only, cited by Spiro, apparently from $\text{ⲡⲉ}^*\text{ⲗⲙⲒⲗⲦ}$, which, however, is known only in the sense of "white clay" ($\text{ⲠⲙⲈ} + \text{ⲒⲗⲦ}$), not impossible, considering the fanciful character of trade names. (Vycichl)

antūt, bantūt, "part of a plough," in Egypt only, not cited by dictionaries, apparently from $\text{ⲡⲉ}^*\text{ⲗⲚⲠⲠⲦ}$ (form given by peasant), otherwise unknown. See Winkler, p. 156: In Bilbeis bantūt means "Querflock in der Grindelverlängerung (Grindel)." (Vycichl)

aušīja, اوشية, "versicle," "prayer," in Egypt only, not cited by dictionaries, from $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$, "prayer," late loan because $\chi > \acute{s}$. (Sobhy, Vycichl)

اولوجية, "bread for blessing," in Egypt only, not cited by dictionaries, from ⲠⲠⲚ ⲚⲈⲮⲗⲠⲠⲠⲗⲠⲗⲠⲗⲠ , "bread of blessing" (*BMC*, p. 347a, note), from $\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha$, "blessing" (N. T.). (Sobhy)

اونى, heard only in the song: اونى اونى يا لطاحون الرحاية: "Oni, oni! O mill of the hand mill!", from ⲈⲮⲚⲠ , "mill." (Sobhy)

bābe, بابه, bajābe (Edfu, Kom Ombo), bajābī (Ababde), "name of a month," in Egypt only, well known. bābe is from some Upper Egyptian form like $^*\text{ⲡⲗⲗⲠⲢⲈ}$ rather than from Sahidic ⲡⲗⲠⲢⲈ

or Bohairic **ΠΑΩΠΙ**, or the Greek form *φαωφί*. *bajābe* and *bajābi* contain *j*, and are therefore derived directly from Egyptian *pn-ṗ.t*. (Many)

bāg, *bā'*, باق, "land used for clover or beans," in Egypt only, not cited by dictionaries, from **ΠΑΚΕ**, "to be light, thin, small." (Stern < Wüstenfeld < Goodwin; Vycichl)

bettāw, بتاو, "bread of dura (Upper Egypt), or fenugreek (Fayyum), or maize (Spiro)," in Egypt only, cited by Spiro only, probably from some Coptic original not yet found. (Vycichl)

bṗrūm, "name of a pole, part of a plough," in Egypt only, not cited by dictionaries, possibly from Sahidic **Π-ΔΕΡΩΒ**, "the stick," "the staff." See Winkler, p. 155: In Nazlet 'Abdille *badrūm*, in Mellawi *baṗrūm*, means "Griessäule." (Vycichl)

birbe, بربا (Dozy, Stern), بربة (Hava, Sobhy), "temple ruin," in Egypt only, well known, cited by Dozy, Hava, Spiro, from **Π-ΡΠΕ** (Sah.), not from **Π-ΕΡΦΕΙ** (Boh.) or any other dialect form, "the temple." (Many)

birsīm (Dozy, Wahrmund, Elias), *barsīm* (Hava, Spiro), برسيم, "clover," "clover seed" (Wahrmund), "alfalfa field" (Dozy), in Egypt only, well known, from **ΒΕΡCΙΜ**, "among names of victuals" (Crum, *Coptic Dict.*, p. 43), "seed (?) of grain, fodder, herbs" (*ibid.*, p. 334), from **CΙΜ**, "grass," etc., and another element, related to Eg. *pr.t*, **ΕΒΡΑ**, etc., "seed." (Crum, *Coptic Dict.*)

burš (Upper Egypt: Vycichl; Dozy, Spiro, Sobhy), *birš* (Fayyum: Vycichl), برش, "palm mat," cited by Dozy, Elias, Spiro, from **ΠΟΡΨ** (Sah.) or **ΦΟΡΨ** (Boh.), qualitative of **ΠΩΡΨ**, **ΦΩΡΨ**, "be spread," not immediately connected with Arabic فرش, فرشة, فراش (see *Ars Islamica*, II, 67). (Sobhy, Vycichl, Crum, *Coptic Dict.*)

baramhāt, *birehmāt* (Luxor, Ababde), برميات, "name of a month," in Egypt only, well known, from **ΠΑΡΜΖΑΤΠ** (Sah.), not from **ΦΑΜΕΝΩΘ** (Boh.), which is identical with *φαμενώθ*. (Many)

barmūda, *baramūde*, *barhamūda* (Luxor), *barhamōde*, برمودة, "name of a month," in Egypt only, well known, from **ΠΑΡΜΟΥΤΕ** (Sah.), not from **ΦΑΡΜΟΥΘΙ** (Boh.), which is identical with *φαρμουθί*. (Many)

bárubīja, بروية, vulgar (plural) barā'ib, برائب, "land used for grain," in Egypt only, not cited in the dictionaries, except labīb, from ΠΙ-ΡΩΟΥΙ, "the stubble," not a mere transcription by Labīb (Crum, *Coptic Dict.*, p. 306), for there is a broken plural. (Stern < Wüstenfeld)

bsārija (Vycichl), bisārija, absārija (Dozy), bisārja (Spiro), ايسارية, "fish" (Vycichl), "several sorts of fish" (Dozy), "small fish" (Spiro), in Egypt only, cited by Dozy and Spiro, from *Π-ΣΑΡΙΑ < ὀψάρια, "relishes," "salt fish," in papyrus Greek (Preisigke). (Vycichl)

biṣḥa, "part of a plow" (Vycichl), "handle or edge of a plow" (Sobhy), in Egypt only, not cited by the dictionaries, from ΠΙ-ΣḤΟ (Boh.), "plow handle" (Crum, *Coptic Dict.*), "iron implement" (Spiegelberg). See Winkler, p. 155: In Man'arīš and other places baṣḥa, in Fidimīn biṣḥe (always with ṣ, not s) means "Sohle." (Vycichl)

bašērōš (Vycichl), bašarōš (Spiro), بشروشن, "flamingo," in Egypt only, cited by Spiro, possibly from *baššarōš < *badšarōš < *badrašrōš < *badtrašrōš, ΠΕΤ-ΘΡΕΩΡΩΩ (Boh., qual.), "he who has grown red." (Vycichl; cf. Crum, *Coptic Dict.*, p. 432)

bašéns (Luxor, Esne, Edfu, Aswān, Cairo), بشنس, baséns (Fayyum), baséms (Minya, Sohag, Asyūt), bašénš (Qena)—the form in each case corresponding to the local form of شمس, "sun"—"name of a month," in Egypt only, well known, from some Upper Egyptian form like *ΠΑΩΑΝC rather than from Sahidic or Bohairic ΠΑΩΟΝC, or the Greek form παχών, which is from the Egyptian pn-ḥnsw. (Many)

bútruh (Vycichl), bátraḥ (Dozy), بطرخ, "roe," "caviar," in Syria as well as Egypt, passed into Italian and Provençal, cited by Dozy, Hava, Elias, and Spiro, from ΠΙ- and τὰρίχιον, "little preserved fish." The word has passed through Coptic because it has the article ΠΙ-. χ is ḥ, not because the word is a late loan, but because χ (k) is followed by i. (Many)

biṣāra (Vycichl: Fayyum), baṣāra (Sobhy), بصارة, "a dish made of beans," "purée of beans," not cited by any of the dictionaries, from *ΠΕC-ΑΡΩ < ΠΙCΕ, "to cook," and ΑΡΩ (Sah.), "beans," assimilated to the measures fi'āla and fa'āla. The concoction contains mallow in the Fayyum and peas in Minya. From

biṣāra is derived the expression jibajṣar, "he eats biṣāra." (Sobhy Vycichl)

ba'rūr (Cairo), بقرود, "frog," probably in Egypt only, cited by Dozy < Fleischer (in *ÄZ*, 2 [1864], p. 84), from ΠΕ-ΚΡΟΥΡ (Sah.), "the frog." (Fleischer, Dozy, Vycichl)

bugsumāt, بقمصاط, بقمصاط (Dozy), "toast," "Zwieback," "biscuit," probably in Egypt only, cited by Dozy, Wahrmund, from παξαμάδιον (Dozy), "a little biscuit," but not found in papyrus Greek (Preisigke). Coptic mediation uncertain, but indicated by $\delta > \text{ط}$, which implies $\delta > \text{Τ} > \text{ط}$. (Dozy, Vycichl)

ba'lūla (Vycichl: Delta, Fayyum), بقلولة, "pot," cited by Elias only, and then with the strange meanings "air cell," "bell," "bubble"; from Π-ΕΚΛΟΛΙ (Boh.), "pitcher," "jar," rather than from ΚΕΛΩΛ, ΚΟΥΛΩΛ (Sah., Boh.), ΚΟΛΟΛ (Sah.), ΚΕΛΟΛ, ΧΛΟΛ (Boh.), or ΚΕΛΟΛΙ (Boh.). But ΚΕΛΟΛ may be the source of قلال and then of the singular, قلة; and ΠΕ-*ΚΛΩΛ may be the source of باقول. But بوقال is apparently from βανκάλιον (Dozy). Vycichl's man described the pot as bottle-shaped, with two handles. (Spiegelberg Griffith; Vycichl)

balšūm, balšūn (Dozy), balašūm, balašūn (Wahrmund), balašūn (Hava, Elias; Vycichl: Delta), "heron," probably confined to Egypt, from Π-ΕΛΩΒ (Sah.), "the heron," not from ΕΛΧΩΒ (Boh.), because χ does not become š. (Dozy < *ÄZ*, 6 [1868], 56, 84; Crum, *Coptic Dict.*, Vycichl)

bultī, بلطي, "brill," "turbot," "*Chromys nilotica*" (Dozy < various sources), "pond fish," "river fish" (Elias), "trout" (Spiro), in Egypt only, cited by Dozy and Elias, not of Arabic origin, probably Coptic, but not to be found. Cf. بوري (below) < ΒΩΡΕ (Sah.), ΦΟΡΙ (Boh.), in which -Ε/-Ι > Arabic ī instead of the usual a, and Β-/Φ- > Arabic b instead of the usual w/f. (Vycichl)

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

bamhāt, see amhāt (above).

behmōt, بهموت, "the middle finger," current among old people

in Karnak, not cited by the dictionaries, not Arabic, probably Coptic, but not to be found. Vycichl suggests that it is derived from Egyptian $p^3 hmt.nw$, "the third." The h in this word hmt appears, however, as \check{s} in $\Psi O M T$. (Vycichl)

$b\ddot{u}ri$, بوری, "fish in general" (Dozy, "fish, the eggs of which are used as caviar (*Mugil cephalus*)" (Wahrmund), "mullet," "gudgeon," "whiting" (Hava), "mullet," "gray mullet" (Elias), "whiting" (Spiro), "a kind of fish named after Būra, a town of Egypt, between Tanis and Damietta, of which there is now no trace" (Shartūnī), well known, found in dictionaries generally, not confined to Egypt, appears as a loan word in Persian, possibly from $\mathbf{B O P E}$ (Sah.), $\mathbf{C O P I}$, $\ast \mathbf{B O P I}$ (Boh.), "*Mugil cephalus*" (Stern, Sobhy, Vycichl, Crum, *Coptic Dict.*).

$b\ddot{u}s$, بوش, "porridge" (?), mentioned to Vycichl (Delta?), but without definition, in Egypt only, not cited by any of the dictionaries, from $\mathbf{\Pi - \Phi O Y \Psi}$ (Boh.) or $\mathbf{\Pi - \Theta O Y \Psi}$ (Sah.), "gruel," (Vycichl, Crum, *Coptic Dict.*).

$ba'ōna$ (Upper Egypt), $ba'ūna$ (Spiro), $ba'awna$ (Fayyum), بوؤنة بوؤنة, "name of a month," in Egypt only, well known, from $\mathbf{\Pi \Lambda \Omega \epsilon}$ (Sah.) or $\mathbf{\Pi \Lambda \Omega \iota}$ (Boh.), not from $\pi \alpha \nu \nu \iota$, which was derived from the Bohairic form at a time when v was still \ddot{u} . (Many)

$taff$, تاق, "to spit," in Syria as well as Egypt (Hava), but not a literary word, cited by Dozy, Hava, Wahrmund, Elias, Spiro. Though an imitative word, it is apparently derived from $\mathbf{\Theta - \Lambda \Phi}$ (Boh.), "spittle." (Sobhy)

$tall$, in the phrase: $ana mutaltal$, "my nose is running" (Sobhy) or $dimāgi mutaltala$, "I have a cold in the head" (Spiro), evidently with the meaning "to drip," though Spiro concludes from his one example (?) that it means "to fill up." Not given in this meaning by any dictionary except Spiro. $tall$ in Arabic means "to shake," "to drive." The Egyptian colloquial word, therefore, seems to be derived from $\mathbf{\tau \epsilon \lambda \tau \epsilon \lambda}$ (Boh.), $\mathbf{\tau \lambda \tau \lambda}$ (Sah.), "to drip," "to let drop." (Sobhy)

$t\ddot{o}t$ (Farshut), $t\ddot{u}t$ (Luxor), $tawt$ (Fayyum; cf. Fay. form below), توت, "name of a month," in Egypt only, well known, from $\mathbf{\Theta - \Theta O Y T}$ (Sah.), $\mathbf{\Theta - \Phi O Y T}$ (Boh.), $\mathbf{\Theta - \Lambda O Y \Theta}$ (Fay.). The final t in the Arabic form may be due to assimilation, or to the influence

of the Greek form $\theta\omega\acute{\upsilon}\theta$ (cf. Fay. form above). The Greek form was derived from the Bohairic form at a time when ν was still \bar{u} . (Many)

ʃarʃar, جرجر, "to frolic," has nothing to do with Arabic جرجر, "to gurgle," "to scream" (Wahrmund), "to make a gargling noise" (Elias), "to babble" (Dozy), from (?) $\chi\epsilon\rho\chi\epsilon\rho$, "to live luxuriously," "to be voluptuous." (Vycichl)

ḥalūm (Vycichl: Cairo; Elias, Spiro), ḥālūm (Vycichl, Sobhy, Dozy, Hava), حالوم, حلوم (often preceded by جبن, "cheese"), "fresh cheese" (Vycichl: Cairo), "salt cheese" (Dozy, Hava), in Egypt only, from $\zeta\lambda\lambda\omega\mu$ (Sah., not Boh., $\lambda\lambda\omega\mu$), "cheese." (Spitta-Bey, Sobhy, Vycichl)

demīra, ديميرة, "inundation," in Egypt only, cited by Dozy, Hava, Elias, Spiro, from $\tau\text{-}\epsilon\mu\eta\rho\epsilon$ (Sah.), "the inundation." (Sobhy, Vycichl, Spitta-Bey, Crum, *Coptic Dict.*)

dijāgin, دياقن, "deacon," in Egypt only, not cited by dictionaries, from $\lambda\iota\alpha\rho\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$, $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$. (Vycichl)

rāi, رای, "a kind of fish" (Vycichl: Fayyum), "sardine," "pilchard" (Hava), in Egypt only, cited by Hava, from $\rho\eta\iota$, "*Aleste dentex*." (Sobhy, Vycichl, Crum, *Coptic Dict.*)

ḥalfā, رَفَاطٍ, plural رَفَاطٍ, "a half kēle of grain, which is a quarter wēba, called rub'ija in Fayyum," in Egypt only, from Asyut to Aswan, not cited by dictionaries, from $\rho\epsilon\text{-}\tau\tau\alpha\upsilon$ (A, A₂), "a fourth." The wēba, not the ardebb and kēle of today, was the basis.

sās, ساس, "oakum," in Egypt only, cited by Dozy, from $\sigma\alpha\alpha\sigma\epsilon$ (Sah. only), "tow." (Stern, Crum, *Coptic Dict.*, Dozy: all from De Sacy)

sbāta, "pistil of the male palm" (Vycichl), "bunch of dates" (Sobhy), زَبَاة, "bunch of dates" (Dozy, Elias), in Egypt only, cited by Dozy and Elias, from $\sigma\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta$ ($\acute{\sigma}\pi\alpha\ddot{\tau}$, $\lambda\sigma\pi\alpha\text{-}\theta\iota$, Labīb), "palm-leaf stem," "flower sheath," not in the Greek papyri (Preisigke) with this meaning. Rendering of θ by $\ddot{\tau}$ (unaspirated t), and of ϵ by a, indicated passage through Sahidic Coptic. (Sobhy, Vycichl)

sakāya, سكاية, "plowing," in Egypt only, not cited by dictionaries, from $\sigma\kappa\alpha\iota$, $\sigma\chi\alpha\iota$, "to plow." (Sobhy)

samīṭ, "white baked stuff, often strewn with sesame seed" (Vycichl), سميد, "flour" (Dozy), "white flour" (Elias), سميد,

“white flour” (Hava), سميد, سميد, “white bread,” “finest flour” (Wahrmund), current outside Egypt, even in Persia. Spiegelberg marks it as foreign, and Wahrmund and Hava mark it as Persian, and Crum, *Coptic Dict.*, equates it with *σεμίδαλις*. Possibly it may be from **CAMIT**, “fine flour.” (Vycichl, Crum, *Coptic Dict.*)

šāra, “song of praise,” in Egypt only, not in the dictionaries, from **ΧΕΡΕ**, χαίρε, “hail,” by way of Coptic, because of ā, which could arise from ε but not from αῖ. On the other hand, š for χ indicates Greek pronunciation. (Vycichl)

išbār, in the phrase išbār ‘alajja, “alas for me,” in Egypt only, not cited by dictionaries, without Arabic etymology, possibly from **ΩΦΗΡΙ**, “wonder.” (Sobhy)

šārāgi, šārā’i, شراقي, “not rising” (Nile), “unwatered land,” broken plural from *šarqīja, in Egypt only, cited by Dozy, Hava, Spiro, from **ΩΑΡΚΕ**, “lack of water.” (Many)

šgilgīl, شقيل, “bell,” not cited by dictionaries, from **ΩΚΕΑΚΙΑ**, “bell.” (Vycichl)

šallūḏ (s. of Kena), šallūd (n. of Kena, Farshut), šallūt (Beni Suef), sallūḏ (Luxor, Erment, Esne, Edfu, Kom Ombo, Aswan), šallūt (Spiro), “a kick,” “turning somersaults in shallow water of Nile,” hence the verb šallat (Elias), šallit (Spiro), šalat (Hava), from **ΒΛΛΟΔ**, “foot.” If Hava is right, this non-Arabic verbal noun has become a Syrian vernacular verb of the form fa‘al, not fa‘al. (Sobhy, Vycichl)

šamar (Hava, Elias), شمر (Spiro, Elias), شمر (Dozy), “fennel,” “caraway” (Vycichl), distribution uncertain, from (?) **ΩΑΜΑΡ** or **CAMAḐHP**, “fennel.” (Vycichl, Crum, *Coptic Dict.*)

šammūs, شموص, “a kind of fish,” not cited by dictionaries, said by Coptic peasant to be from **CΥΜΜΟC**, apparently a Greek word or form, not cited by dictionaries, not necessarily through Coptic. (Vycichl)

šinfā, شنيف, šinfa (Spiro), šanīf (Hava), “measure for hay or straw,” “net for straw” (Sobhy), “net sack” (Spiro), “net sack for straw” (Hava), in Egypt only, from **ΩΩΝC**, “to join.” (Sobhy)

šūba (Luxor), šūma (Farshut), šūmīja (Winkler), šūm (Dozy, Spiro), “stick used by donkey drivers,” in Egypt only, no Arabic etymology, may be Coptic. (Vycichl)

šūra, šūrija (Vycichl), šūrīja (Sobhy), "censer," in Egypt only, cited by Dozy, Hava, Spiro, from **ϣΟΥΡΗ**, "censer." (Sobhy, Vycichl)

شوطة, "epidemic," in Egypt only, cited by Elias, from (?) **ϣΩΩΤ**, "want," "need," "deprivation." (Sobhy)

šūna (all Egypt), šūnīja (Luxor), šōna (Fayyum), شونة, "granary" (an enclosed yard in which grain is stored in heaps in the open air), supposedly limited to Egypt, though Hava marks it as Syrian vernacular, cited by Dozy, Wahrmund, Hava, Spiro, from **ϣΕΥΝΕ**, "granary." In šūna and šūnīja **ΕΥ** > *iw > ū; in šōna **ΕΥ** > *aw > ō. German scheune (< OHG scugina) has nothing to do with **ϣΕΥΝΕ** (Eg. šnw. t). (Many)

طاش, "boundary," said to be current in the district of Dëshna, not cited by the dictionaries, has been derived from **ϣ-Ο-Ω**, "boundary," though the change of a to ō would be most unlikely. (Sobhy)

طبحات, "prayers," not cited by the dictionaries, from **ΤΩΒΖ**, "to ask." (Sobhy)

طهمة, "invitation," "gogaille" (Dozy), in Egypt only, cited only by Dozy, from **ΤΩΖΜ**, "to invite." (Sobhy)

ṭūba, طوبة, "name of a month," in Egypt only, well known, from **ΤΩΒΕ**. The Greek form, *τῦβι*, is derived from Bohairic **ΤΩΒΙ**. (Many)

ṭūrija (Fayyum), ṭūrīja (Upper Egypt), طورية, "mattock," "hoe" (Sobhy), "bat" (Dozy), in Egypt only, cited by Dozy, Hava, Elias, from **ΤΩΡΕ** (Sah., because ṭ < **Τ**), "spade," "pick." Has nothing to do with Latin taurea, Greek *ταυρεία*, "bull's-hide whip" (Dozy). (Stern, Sobhy, Vycichl, Crum, *Coptic Dict.*)

ṭomj (Fayyum), domj (Abydos), ṭami (Sobhy), "black Nile mud," not cited by the dictionaries, without Arabic etymology, perhaps connected with **ΤΩΜΙ**, "to join," "to stick to" (Sobhy, Vycichl).

gāšu, "a fish," not cited by the dictionaries, given by Crum, *Coptic Dict.*, as قشوات, قشوة, from **ΚΑΨΟΥ**, "among fish," given by Coptic peasant as ***ΚΕΨΟΥ**. (Vycichl, Crum, *Coptic Dict.*)

gaṭamāros, gaṭamāris, قطمارس, "dictionary," but also "song book divided into sections," not cited by the dictionaries, from **ΚΑΤΑΜΕΡΟΣ**, *κατάμερος*, "in parts," "in pieces." (Vycichl)

gulla, gulleh, ʿulla, ʿulle, قلّة, see ba'lūla.

gūmmuṣ, قمص, "chief priest," in Egypt only, cited by dictionaries generally, from ΖΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ, ἡγούμενος, "chief." The Greek word was understood as ΖΙ-, "in the presence of" (Crum, *Coptic Dict.*) + *ΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ (though one would expect the article Π- between) > gūmmuṣ, the ε being dropped, and the n assimilated to the following m. Another form, ἰγῦμᾶνῦς, ايقومانوس, exists. It is taken directly from the Greek form, with ق = Γ.

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

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

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

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

kjáhk (Cairo), kjáh (Kena, Luxor, Esne, Aswan), kijāk (Fayyum), كيهك, "name of a month," in Egypt only, well known, from KOIAK (Boh.), KOIAZK (Sah.), KIAK (Fay.), KAIK (A), given by a Coptic peasant as *KIAZK. The Cairene and Upper Egyptian forms are derived from Sahidic, the Fayyumic Arabic form, from Fayyumic Coptic. The literary Arabic form is to be understood as *كِيَهَك. The Greek form, χοιάκ, is from Bohairic. See footnote to § 18, above. (Many)

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

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

lebīs, لبيس, "a Nile fish," "a kind of carp" (Dozy), distribution uncertain, cited by Dozy, from ἀλάβης, probably through

ΛΑΒΗC (Sah.), given by a Coptic peasant as **ΛΑΒΗC**. (Vycichl, Crum, *Coptic Dict.*)

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

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

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

māris, "portion of land," in Egypt only, not cited by the dictionaries, from **ΜΕΡΟC** < *μέρος*, by way of Coptic, since **ε** > **ā**.

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

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

mināy, منأى, "from here," منأو, "from there," not cited by the dictionaries, apparently from **ΜΝΑΙ**, "here," "to here," **ΜΝΗ**, "there," "to there" (Boh.). But the Arabic preposition مِنْ is imagined to be a part of the words, and so the meanings are limited to "from here," "from there." (Sobhy)

*mihjāš, مهباص, "full of quickness," "busybody" (Sobhy), "bragadocio" (Spiro), in Egypt only; cited by Spiro only, though Elias gives هبصة, "tumult," and هبص, "to revel," apparently derived from it. mihjāš appears to be derived from ***ΜΕΖΝΙΩC**, "full of hurry," though the expression is not found. (Sobhy)

nábari (Sobhy), nabāri, نابارى (Dozy): “ ‘ We cultivate our field nabary,’ meaning any of the grains . . .”; “cultivation by irrigation,” “maize or herbage so produced” (Dozy), in Egypt only, cited by Dozy, from **ΝΑΦΡΙ**, “grain,” “seed.” (Sobhy)

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

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

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

hatūr, هاتور, “name of a month,” in Egypt only, well known, from **ϪΑΘΩΡ** (Sah., which is the form given by the Coptic peasant), “name of a month.” The Greek form, ἀθύρ was derived from the Bohairic, **ϪΘΩΡ**, at a time when *v* was *ū*. (Many)

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

hámmas, hémmiss (Bahgura), “he sat,” “he sat down,” in Egypt only, not cited by the dictionaries, from **ϪΕΜϪΙ** (Boh.) or **ϪΜΟΟϪ** (Sah.). (Vycichl)

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

hōb, “work,” in the verse: hōb hōb ’atalni š-šōb, “work, work, the heat has killed me,” and in the verse cited above under nōb, in Egypt only, not cited by the dictionaries, from **ϪΩΒ**, “work.” The former verse was heard in the Fayyum; the latter, in Farshut. (Sobhy, Vycichl)

hōs, "song of praise," in Egypt only, not cited by the dictionaries, from **ⲉⲟⲥ**, "to sing," "to make music." (Vycichl)

واحة, واح (Elias), "oasis," in Egypt only, cited by Dozy, Hava, Elias, Spiro, from **ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲉ** (Sah.), "oasis." (Vycichl, Crum, *Coptic Dict.*)

هياهوب, probably *hēlehōb, an interjection, not cited by the dictionaries, from **ⲉⲟⲩ**, "work," with prefixed Arabic interjection hájja and preposition li-, "to." Sobhy's **ⲉⲟⲩ** is unattested. (Sobhy)

waršūr, "saw," in Egypt only, not in the dictionaries, from **ⲃⲁⲟⲩⲩⲣ**, "saw." related to Hebrew māsōr and Arabic minšār. (Sobhy)

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

wēba, وبة, "a grain measure." literary Arabic, well known, probably from **ⲟⲩ-ⲟⲩⲡⲉ** (Sah.), pronounced *u-ǰjjbe, which gave *وَبِيَّة and later وَبِيَّة, not from **ⲟⲩ-ⲟⲩⲡⲓ** (Boh.), which would have given *وَابِيَّة. Hebrew 'ēfā or Greek οἰφί would have given *أَيْبَة. Perhaps the initial w is due, not to the Coptic indefinite article, **ⲟⲩ-**, but to the absence of a glottal stop before the vowel in Coptic. (Stern, Spitta-Bey, Vycichl)