

# 1. WRITING AND PHONOLOGY

## 1.1 History

Coptic is the name of the final stage of the ancient Egyptian language, spoken and written from the third century AD until perhaps sometime in the seventeenth century. It is still used today in the rituals of the Coptic (Egyptian Christian) Church.

Coptic existed alongside the last stage of ancient Egyptian writing, Demotic, for about two and a half centuries; the last known Demotic text is dated to AD 452. The name “Coptic” is applied to Egyptian texts written in an alphabet derived from the Greek (§ 1.4). The earliest texts, prior to the second century, are usually known collectively as Old Coptic (OC). The earliest use of the Coptic alphabet is for glosses in Demotic magical texts, to specify the correct pronunciation of certain words and phrases; the oldest such examples come from the Ptolemaic Period (after 332 BC). The use of Coptic rather than Demotic to write ancient Egyptian can perhaps be traced to the introduction of Christianity in Egypt, the alphabetic script being preferred for writing Christian scriptures because it was free of the “pagan” taint of the older writing system.

## 1.2 Dialects

Regional differences in the pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar of ancient Egyptian undoubtedly existed through the history of the language, but they are usually obscured by the hieroglyphic writing system and its descendants, hieratic and Demotic. Coptic scribes, however, regularly wrote the language as they were accustomed to speaking it. As a result, there is no uniform “Coptic” language, but a number of different dialects (Fig. 1). The six most important of these are named after the region of the country they were associated with: Akhmimic (abbreviated A), Bohairic (B), Fayumic (F), Lycopolitan (L, originally called Subakhmimic, A<sub>2</sub>; also called Lyco-Diospolitan), Oxyrhynchite (M, for Mesokemic or Middle Egyptian), and Saidic (S, also called Sahidic).<sup>1</sup>

The dominant dialects were Saidic and Bohairic. Saidic, centered in Thebes, is attested from the third to fourteenth centuries AD and was the dominant dialect until the ninth to eleventh centuries, when it was increasingly overshadowed and eventually supplanted by Bohairic. Bohairic, a northern dialect, is first attested in the fourth century AD but is primarily represented by texts from the ninth century and later; it is also the dialect used in the modern Coptic Church. Fayumic is the name of the dialect spoken in the Fayum; it is attested from the third to tenth century AD. The other major dialects are mostly known from texts of the

1 See Funk 1988. In this book, if no dialect letter is given before a Coptic term, the term is the same all dialects.

fourth and fifth centuries and are Upper Egyptian in origin, from Oxyrhynchus, Asyut (Lycopolitan), and Akhmim.

A number of minor dialects are also known, often from a single manuscript, including P, ancestral to Saidic, from a Theban manuscript; H, associated with Hermopolis; and G, related to Bohairic. Some texts also display a mixture of dialects, such as Saidic with an Akhmimic influence ( $S^A$ ).

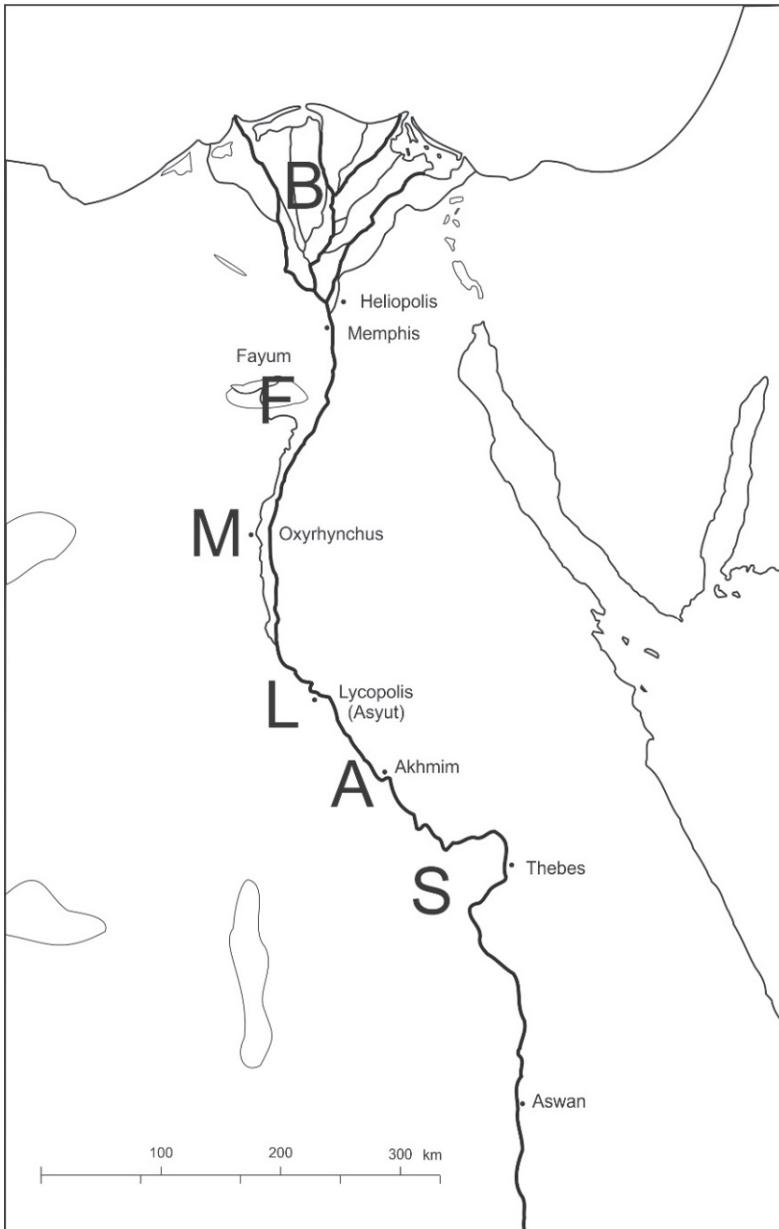


Fig. 1. Map of the Major Coptic Dialects

### 1.3 Sources

Most Coptic grammars concentrate on Saidic, because that was the primary literary dialect for much of the language's history. Steindorff 1951 (see the Bibliography), in German, is a good outline of Saidic grammar, which often notes major dialectal differences. Layton 2000 is a recent comprehensive grammar of Saidic; its basic points are summarized in Layton 2007, also available online. Lambdin 1983 can also be recommended. For Bohairic, the standard grammar is Mallon 1926 (reprinted often). The only grammar specifically devoted to dialectal differences is Till 1931, in German.

The basic dictionaries of Coptic are Crum 1939 and Westendorf 2008, complemented by Kasser 1966, which includes dialects M, P, H, and G, identified and systematized after Crum's dictionary was published. These dictionaries are ordered after the Coptic alphabet (§ 1.4), but primarily based on consonantal roots, with vowels considered secondarily, so that **κΩNC** "pierce," for example, precedes **κPO** "far side."<sup>2</sup>

Coptic texts are primarily Christian scripture and the writings of Coptic monks. A number of the grammars contain reading selections (chrestomathies).

### 1.4 The Alphabet

The Coptic alphabet is derived from the Greek alphabet, with eight additional signs, derived from Demotic, primarily for sounds not present in Greek. Some of the signs are peculiar to a single dialect, some have different values in one dialect than in others, and some are pronounced differently in the rituals of the Coptic Church than they were in antiquity, due to the influence of Arabic and reforms during the nineteenth century that aligned the pronunciation of Coptic more closely with that of modern Greek. The probable phonetic value of the signs is derived from variant spellings; some have a value similar to that of their Greek ancestors in the Classical Period (third century BC), when the alphabet was first used to write Egyptian, rather than that which evolved in the centuries when Coptic texts are first attested (κοινή "common"). The order of the Coptic alphabet, and the names of its letters, follow that of its Greek ancestor.

<b>Α</b>	<b>ΑΛΦΑ</b>	/a/; probably [a], <sup>3</sup> as in Italian <i>gatta</i> , perhaps also [æ], as in <i>hat</i> , and [ɑ], as in <i>father</i> , in some words or dialects
<b>Β</b>	<b>ΒΗΤΑ</b>	/b/; [β], a bilabial fricative (the <i>b</i> of Spanish <i>cabo</i> , a [b] sound with the lips not completely closed); name also <b>ΒΙΔΑ</b>
<b>Γ</b>	<b>ΓΑΜΜΑ</b>	/g/; in Greek loanwords and as a variant of <b>Κ</b> in some words; probably pronounced [k]

2 In this book, ordering is strictly alphabetical: thus, for example, **κPO** before **κΩNC**, and **ΟΥΝΟΥ** "hour" before **ΟΥΕ** "yard."

3 Slanted lines mark phonemes. Square brackets indicate probable pronunciation, using symbols of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA); [˘] stands for an unknown vowel.

Δ	ΔΑΛΔΑ	/d/; in Greek loanwords; probably pronounced [t]
Ε	ΕΙ/ΕΙΕ	/ε/; [ə], like the <i>u</i> in <i>but</i> , also [ε], like the <i>e</i> in <i>bet</i> , in some words and dialects; perhaps [ε] when stressed and [ə] otherwise
Ζ	ΖΗΤΑ	/z/; [s], in Greek loanwords and as a variant of <b>Ϛ</b> in some words
Η	ΗΤΑ	/e/; [ε], like the <i>e</i> in <i>bet</i> , also perhaps [e], like the <i>a</i> in <i>bate</i> , in some words and dialects; also <b>ϷΗΤΑ</b>
Θ	ΘΗΤΑ	/tʰ/ and /tʰ/; in most dialects, this is a monogram for <b>ϠϷ</b> ; in Bohairic, it represents an aspirated <i>t</i> , as in <i>tea</i> ; also <b>ΘΙΤΑ</b>
Ι	ΙΩΤΑ	/i/; like the <i>i</i> 's in <i>cuisine</i> , both the [ɪ] of <i>cui-</i> , and the [i] of <i>-sine</i> , and [j] like the <i>y</i> in <i>yet</i> ; often spelled <b>ϚΙ</b> in many dialects, and <i>ī</i> after a vowel; <b>Ϛī</b> for /εj/, distinguished from <b>ϚΙ</b> for /i/; also <b>ΙΑΥΔΑ</b>
Κ	ΚΑΠΠΑ	/k/; unaspirated [k], similar to the <i>g</i> in <i>go</i> , and aspirated [kʰ], like the <i>k</i> in <i>key</i> ; in Bohairic, this letter represents [k]; in the other dialects, it may have represented both [kʰ] and [k]
Λ	ΛΑΥΔΑ	/l/; [l], like the <i>l</i> in <i>lay</i>
Μ	ΜΙ/ΜΗ/ΜΕ	/m/; [m], like the <i>m</i> in <i>may</i>
Ν	ΝΕ	/n/; [n], like the <i>n</i> in <i>nay</i>
Ξ	ΞΙ	/ks/; a monogram for <b>κϚ</b>
Ο	Ο	/ɔ/; [ɔ], like the <i>o</i> in <i>not</i>
Π	ΠΙ	/p/; unaspirated [p], similar to the <i>b</i> in <i>bought</i> , and aspirated [pʰ], like the <i>p</i> in <i>pot</i> ; in Bohairic, this letter represents [p]; in the other dialects, it may have represented both [pʰ] and [p]
Ρ	ΡΟ	/r/; probably like the [r] of Spanish <i>pero</i> (pronounced with the tip of the tongue against the roof of the mouth); also <b>ΡΩ/ϷΡΩ</b>
Ϛ	ϚΗΜΜΑ	/s/; [s], like the <i>s</i> in <i>see</i> ; also <b>ϚΥΜΜΑ</b>
Ϡ	ϠΑΥ	/t/; unaspirated [t], like the <i>t</i> in the American pronunciation of <i>batter</i> , and aspirated [tʰ], like the <i>t</i> in <i>tap</i> ; in Bohairic, this letter is [t]; in the other dialects, it may have represented both [tʰ] and [t]
Υ	ϷΕ	/u/; used by itself primarily in Greek words, where it was pronounced [i] or [ε]; in Coptic words, this letter is almost always combined with a preceding vowel, where it was pronounced either [u], like the <i>u</i> of <i>gnu</i> , or [w], as in <i>woo</i> (e.g., <b>ΝΑΥ</b> “see” [na-u] or [naw]); <b>ΟΥ</b> represents /u/; <b>ΟΥΥ</b> represents /ɔu/ or /ɔw/
Φ	ΦΙ	/pʰ/ and /pʰ/; a monogram for <b>πϷ</b> except in Bohairic, where it represents an aspirated [pʰ] (as in <i>pot</i> )
Χ	ΧΙ	/kʰ/ and /kʰ/; a monogram for <b>κϷ</b> except in Bohairic, where it represents an aspirated [kʰ], as in <i>key</i>
Ψ	ΨΙ	/ps/; a monogram for <b>πϚ</b>

ⲱ	ⲱ	/o/; [o], as in <i>note</i>
Ⲩ	Ⲩⲗⲓ	/š/; [ʃ], like the <i>sh</i> in <i>she</i> ; also ⲨⲈⲓ
ϣ	ϣⲗⲓ/	/f/; [f], a bilabial fricative, like <i>f</i> pronounced with the two lips rather than the teeth and lower lip; also ϣⲈⲓ
Ϩ	ϨⲠⲓ	/ħ/; [ħ], harsher than English <i>h</i> , pronounced with an audible “rasp”; equivalent to Arabic <i>ḥ</i>
ϩ	[ϩⲗⲓ]	/x/; in Akhmimic, [x], like the <i>ch</i> in German <i>ach</i> or Scottish <i>loch</i> (name not attested)
Ⲩ	Ⲩⲗⲓ	/x/; in Bohairic, equivalent to Akhmimic ϩ; also ⲨⲈⲓ
Ⲭ	ⲬⲀⲛⲬⲓⲀ	/d̥/; in Bohairic, this sound was unaspirated [tʰ], somewhat like the <i>d</i> in <i>procedure</i> ; in the other dialects it may have represented both [tʰ] and an aspirated [tʰʰ], somewhat like the <i>t</i> in <i>nature</i>
Ϫ	ϪⲓⲛⲀ	/k̥/ and /t̥/; in most dialects, a [kʰ] or [kʰʰ], somewhat like the <i>c</i> in <i>cute</i> or the <i>g</i> in <i>argue</i> ; in Bohairic, this letter represented [tʰʰ], the aspirated counterpart of Ⲭ (like the <i>t</i> in <i>nature</i> )
ⲧ	ⲧ	/ti/; a monogram for ⲧⲓ

Additional letters occur in Old Coptic and Dialect P: OC Ϫ and P ϩ for /x̥/ ([xʰ]) and OC ϫ and P ⓪ for vowel length or for [ə]. In the major Coptic dialects, the first has disappeared (> ϩ/Ⲩ). For the second, most dialects use a doubled vowel, representing [V:]; for example, S ⲙⲗⲗⲨ, FL ⲙⲈⲈⲨ “mother” /'ma:-u/, /'mɛ:-u/; Bohairic and Oxyrhynchite do not use doubled vowels: B ⲙⲗⲨ, M ⲙⲈⲨ “mother.”

In Bohairic and Oxyrhynchite, a supraliteral dot or tick (Ⲭⲓⲛⲕⲓⲙ “movement”) is sometimes used to identify a letter that serves as a syllable by itself: for instance, ⲗⲛⲠⲠ or ⲗⲛⲠⲠ “I” for /a-'nɔk/. This is also the case when the letter is a consonant, as in ⲛⲈⲠⲠ or ⲛⲈⲠⲠ “he” for /ɲ-'tʰɔf/.<sup>4</sup> Other dialects use a supraliteral stroke over consonants: e.g., ⲛⲧⲠⲠ “he.” This can also span two consonants, as in S ϩⲠⲠⲛⲧ “three” for /'ʃɔm-ɲt/. A longer supraliteral stroke indicates abbreviations, such as ASF ⲬⲬ for ⲬⲠⲈⲓϪ/ⲬⲗⲈⲓϪ “lord.”

The phonetic values of Ⲉ and ⲛ are uncertain. Variants such as F ⲬⲠⲧⲙ ~ ⲬⲠⲧⲈⲙ “hear” suggest that Ⲉ was [ə] — i.e., [ʰso-tɲ] ~ [ʰso-təm] — but variants such as A ⲧⲈ ~ ⲧⲛ “sky” also suggest that it was [ɛ] when stressed, and that ⲛ was either [ɛ] or [e]: thus, ⲧⲈ ~ ⲧⲛ represents either variant spellings of [pɛ], or [pɛ] ~ [pe]. When (Ⲉ)ⲓ and (Ⲡ)Ⲩ follow a vowel, they may have been diphthongal rather than independent vowels: ⲛⲗⲓ “to me” either [ʰna-i] or [naɪ], and ⲛⲗⲨ “see” either [ʰna-u] or [naɪ].

4 In this book, an underscored consonant signifies a syllabic consonant: e.g., /ɲ/ for IPA [ɲ̩]. English has such syllabic consonants in certain words, such as *isn't*, pronounced [ʰɪz-ɲt]. In Coptic, any consonant is capable of syllabic function.

The six major Coptic dialects have several phonological subgroupings. The most important is that of Bohairic and Saidic versus the other dialects: BS have **o** and **λ** in many words where AFLM have **α** and **ε**, respectively. The /x/ of Akhmimic and Bohairic, represented by **ϣ** and **ϣ**, respectively, has become **ϣ** or **ϣ** in the other dialects. Oxyrhynchite has **o** in many words where the other dialects have **ω**. Fayumic usually has **λ** for the **ρ** of other dialects, and Bohairic distinguishes aspirated consonants from unaspirated ones, where the other dialects do not (or have lost aspiration). Phonologically, Lycopolitan is the most neutral of the dialects, with no unique features.

### 1.5 Aspiration

Most dialects do not distinguish consonants on the basis of aspiration, just as English *latter* is pronounced [ˈlæt-ɹ] in America (unaspirated *t*) but [ˈlætʰ-ɹ] in England (aspirated *t*). Thus, **τωρε** means both “willow” and “handle,” perhaps distinguished by aspiration: [ˈtʰo-rə] “willow” and [ˈto-rə] “handle.” Bohairic is the exception: **ϣωρι** “willow” versus **τωρι** “handle.” In Bohairic, aspiration generally occurs before a stressed vowel or before the consonants **β λ μ ν ρ** (called “sonants”) or **ει/ι** or **ου** preceding a stressed vowel: for example, **Βϣοορτερ** “become disturbed” /ˈʃtʰɔr-tɛr/ and **ϣτερωρ** “disturbed” /ʃtɛr-ˈtʰor/, **Βϣναχϣι** /ˈtʰnaɣ-ʰi/ “the tooth” and **ϣιομ** “the sea” /pʰi-ˈɔm/.

This feature always applies to **ϣ/π**: e.g., **Βϣαι** “this” /pʰaj/ (like English *pie*) and **παιρωμι** “this man” /paj-ˈro-mi/. It also applies to **χ/κ**, **θ/τ**, and **ϣ/ϣ**, as in **ϣοορτερ/ϣτερωρ**, above, but for those three pairs the distinction is also phonemic, as in aspirated **ϣωρι** “willow” /ˈtʰo-ri/ versus unaspirated **τωρι** “handle” /ˈto-ri/. In such cases, the aspirated consonant is usually preserved in unstressed syllables: e.g., **ϣιϣι** “exalt” /ˈtʰi-si/ and **ϣεϣϣουϣτ** “exalt God” /tʰɛs-ˈpʰnu-ti/.

Since most dialects do not mark aspirated consonants in writing, it is often necessary to look for the Bohairic version of a word, or for its Egyptian ancestor, to determine aspiration.<sup>5</sup> Thus, for example, FLMS **κω** “throw” is [kʰo] because of Bohairic **χω**, but AFS **κωτ** “build” is [kot] in view of Bohairic **κωτ** and Egyptian *qd*.

### 1.6 Syllables and Stress

In Coptic, a syllable can consist of a single vowel or consonant, as in the first syllable of **ανοκ** “I” and **νωτοκ** “you.” Words can also be monosyllabic: BS **ο** “big” [ɔ], AS **ϣντ** “worm” [ϣντ]. Syllables can begin or end with consonant clusters: e.g., **ϣϣοραϣτ** “he is at rest,” theoretically [ϣskʰraʰt], more probably [ϣ-ˈskʰraʰ-t]. Individual words have one primary syllable that is stressed, usually last or second-last: for example, AS **νντρννκνμε** “Egyptian” [mνt-ρνν-ν-ˈkε-mə], **Βμετοϣρο** “kingdom” [mɛt-u-ˈrɔ]. In native words, the vowels **η**, **ο**, and **ω** generally mark the stressed syllable in most dialects: e.g., ABFS **βαρωτ** “bronze” [βa-ˈrot]. The other

5 In general, Egyptian *k/t/ʔ* > aspirated [kʰ/tʰ/ʔʰ] and *q/d/ð* > unaspirated [k/t/ʔ].

vowels can be stressed or unstressed: AFM **ΑΝΑΚ** “I” [a-’nak]; ALS **ΒΕΚΕ** “wage” [βə-’kε]; BF **ΙΝΙ** “get” [’i-ni]; ABFLMS **ΟΥΝΟΥ** “hour” [u-’nu]. It is not always possible to determine where the stress lay, although dialectal variants can provide a clue: for example, ALS **ΜΗΤΡΕ** “witness” was [m̄-’trε] because of B **ΜΕΘΡΕ** [mə-’tʰrε].

Because of the single dominant stress, Coptic nouns and verbs can appear in three variant forms, called absolute, construct, and pronominal. In grammars and dictionaries, the construct and pronominal forms are marked by a final - and ≡, respectively: e.g., S **ϸΩΤΜ/ϸΕΤΜ-/ϸΟΤΜ**≡ “hear.” Absolute forms appear either as words by themselves or as the final element of a compound: **ϸΩΤΜ** “hear,” **ϸΗΛϸΩΤΜ** “he will hear.” Constructs are used as non-final elements of a compound and are usually reduced from the absolute form as much as possible: AS **ΡΩΜΕ** “person” [’ro-mə] and **Ρ̄Μ̄Ν̄ΤΜΕ** “villager” (“person-of-town”) [r̄m̄-n̄-’ti-mə]. Pronominal forms have a final suffix pronoun: S **ΡΑΝ** “name” and **ΡΙΝϸ** “her name.”

### 1.7 Spelling

Within dialects, Coptic spelling is fairly uniform: the word for “sky,” for example, always appears as **ΠΕ** in Saidic and as **ΦΕ** in Bohairic. Variation, however, also occurs, as in Akhmimic **ΠΕ** ~ **ΠΗ**, both spellings of the word for “sky.” Variation is common between **ΕΙ** and **Ι**: e.g., FLS **ϸΕΙ** and **ϸΙ** “enjoy.” Other variants, within and across dialects, are **Β** ~ **ϸ**, **Β** ~ **Π**, **Ι** ~ **Η**, **Κ** ~ **ϸ**, **Ρ** ~ **λ**, **ϸ** ~ **Ϸ**, and **ΟΥ** ~ **Β**: e.g., F **ΝΑϸΡΙ** ~ **ΝΑϸΛΙ** “good,” S **ϸΙΒ** ~ B **ϸΙΠ** “tick,” B **ΝΗΒΙ** ~ **ΝΙΒΙ** “swim,” F **ΚΕ** ~ **ϸΗ** “other,” S **ϸΩϷΕ** ~ F **ϷΩϷΙ** “field.” In general, scribes seem to have written the language as they heard it.

Variation between **Ρ** and **λ** is primarily a feature of the Fayumic dialect. Most words that have **Ρ** in the other dialects have **λ** in Fayumic: e.g., ALS **ΡΩΜΕ**, B **ΡΩΜΙ**, M **ΡΟΜΕ** versus F **λΩΜΙ** “person.” When Fayumic uses **Ρ**, therefore, as in the variant **ΡΩΜΙ**, it may reflect the influence of other dialects, such as Bohairic, rather than a variant pronunciation: i.e., **λΩΜΙ** and **ΡΩΜΙ** both pronounced [’lo-mi]. This may also have been true for words consistently spelled with **Ρ**, such as **ΕΡΩΤ/ΑΡΩΤ** “milk” (AS **ΕΡΩΤΕ**, B **ΕΡΩΤ**, M **ΕΡΟΤΕ**), perhaps regularly pronounced [ə-’lo-ti / a-’lo-ti] in Fayumic.

Most Coptic manuscripts do not separate individual words by spaces or other means (see the Chrestomathy). Some use a dot or other device such as > to mark the ends of clauses or sentences. In this book, words and compounds with a single main stress are separated from other such words by a space (except in the Chrestomathy): thus, for example, in Exercise 1, **ΠΕΝΘΕΙΚ ΕΤΝΗΥ ΤΑΛϸ ΝΑΝ ἸΠΡΟΥ** rather than undivided **ΠΕΝΘΕΙΚΕΤΝΗΥΤΑΛϸΝΑΝ-ἸΠΡΟΥ**.

### 1.8 Morphemic Integrity

Consonants can be affected by neighboring ones: for example, S **ϸΟΥϸΟΟΥϷΕ** “sacrifice” [su-’sɔw-ʃə], B **ϷΟΥϷΟΥϷΕ** [ʃu-’ʃow-ʃə]. Morphemic boundaries, however, are generally respected. For example, although S **ΠΩΝΚ** “bail” is B **ΦΩΝΚ** [’pʰo-nk] because of the Bohairic

rule of aspiration (§ 1.5), S **ΠΩΝΕ** “the stone,” consisting of the morphemes, **Π** “the” and **ΩΝΕ** “stone,” is B **ΠΩΝΙ**, suggesting the pronunciation [p-’o-ni] rather than \*[’po-ni]. Where other morphemes are part of a word, the same tendency may have applied: for example, B **ϢΙ** “carry” is [ϕi] but **ϢΙ** “he comes” may have been [ϕ-’i] rather than [ϕi]. This applies to the morpheme boundary between a consonant and a vowel, not two consonants: B **ϢΝΟΥΤ** [’p<sup>h</sup>nu-ti] “the God” (**Π** + **ΝΟΥΤ**) and **ΧΡΙΜΙ** [’k<sup>h</sup>ri-mi] “you weep” (**Κ** + **ΡΙΜΙ**). It is possible, therefore, that words such as B **ΠΩΝΙ** and **ϢΙ** “he comes” contained an unwritten (and therefore non-phonemic) glottal stop: [p-’ʔo -ni] and [ϕ-’ʔi].

### 1.9 Vocalic Alternants and Variants

The vowel **ω** is usually replaced by **ΟΥ** after **Μ** or **Ν**: e.g., B ms **ϢΩΚ** and fs **ΘΩΚ** but pl **ΝΟΥΚ** “yours.” Word-final **ω** is usually also replaced by **ΟΥ** in Akhmimic: BFLMS **ΧΩ** vs. A **ΧΟΥ** “say.” Oxyrhynchite regularly has medial **ο** for the **ω** of other dialects: M **ϢΟΝΕ** vs. ALS **ϢΩΝΕ**, BF **ϢΩΝΙ** “sister.”

The stressed vowel pairs **ι** vs. **α/ε** and (except in Oxyrhynchite) **ω** vs. **α/ο** often appear as alternants in open and closed syllables, respectively: e.g., ALMS **ΧΙϢΕ** [’tʃi-sə], F **ΧΙϢΙ** [’tʃi-si] “exalt” vs. AFLM **ΧΕϢΤϢ** [’tʃes-tʃ], S **ΧΑΣΤϢ** [’tʃas-tʃ] “exalt him”; ABLS **ϢΩΤΠ** [’so-tʃ], F **ϢΩΠΤ** [’so-pt] “choose” vs. ALM **ϢΑΤΠϢ** [’sat-pʃ], BS **ϢΟΤΠϢ** [’sot-pʃ], F **ϢΑΠΤϢ** [’sap-tʃ] “choose it.”

Bohairic has **ε** before a sonant where the consonant is syllabic in other dialects: e.g., FLS **ϢΩΤ̄Μ**, M **ϢΟΤ̄Μ** [’so-t̄m, ’sɔ-t̄m] vs. B **ϢΩΤΕΜ** [’so-təm] “hear.” In Akhmimic, a final syllabic sonant is regularly replaced by the sonant plus **ε**: A **ϢΩΤΜΕ** [’so-tmə].

### 1.10 Greek Words

Many Coptic texts contain Greek words in Coptic transcription. Some are used for concepts for which the Egyptian language had no precise lexical counterpart, such as **ΠΟΝΗΡΟΣ** “evil” (**πονηρός**) and **ΠΙϢΤΕΥΕ** “believe” (**πίστευε**). Others are more common words, such as the particle **ΔΕ** (**δὲ**) “and, but.” When transcribing Greek words, Coptic scribes often adopted the contemporary Greek pronunciation rather than the Classical one represented by Greek spelling: for example, S **ΔΙΚΕΟΣ** “just” (Prov. 12:10; Greek **δικαίος**) and B **ϣΑΡΑΚΤΗΡ** “mark, sign” (Girgis 1967–68, 61; Greek **χαρακτήρ**), reflecting the **κοινή** pronunciations [’ði-ke-ɔs] and [xa-rak-’tir] rather than the Classical [’di-kaj-ɔs] (with voiced [d]) and [k<sup>h</sup>a-rak-’te:r]. This suggests that the pronunciation of Greek loanwords was most likely that of contemporary (**κοινή**) Greek: i.e., **αι** [ɛ], **η/ει/οι/υ** [i], **Ϣ** [f], and **χ** [x]: thus, Coptic **ΗΙ** “house” [ɛj] but Greek **Η** (**ἦ**) “and, or” [i].

## EXERCISE 1

Below is the Coptic text of the “Lord’s Prayer” (Matt. 6:9–13) in Saidic, Bohairic, and Oxyrhynchite with phonemic transcription below the Coptic, divided into syllables, with stress indicated. Practice pronouncing the text.

## SAIDIC

**ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΖ̄Ν̄ΠΗΥΕ ΜΑΡΕΠΕΚΡΑΝ ΟΥΟΠ**

/pɛn-i-ot' ɛt-ħn-m-pe'-ue ma-re-pe-k-ran' u-ɔp'/

our-father who-in-the-skies may-your-name be-holy

**ΤΕΚΜ̄ΝΤΡΟ ΜΑΡΕΣΕΙ ΠΕΚΟΥΩΨ ΜΑΡΕΦΩΠΕ**

/tek-mnt-r-ɔ' ma-res-i' pek-uos' ma-ref-šo'-pe/

your-kingdom may-it-come your-will may-it-happen

**Ν̄ΘΕ ΕΤ̄Φ̄ΗΝΤΠΕ ΜΑΡΕΦΩΠΕ ΟΝ Ζ̄ΙΧ̄ΠΚΑΖ**

/n-thɛ' ɛt-f-ħn-tpe' ma-ref-šo'-pe ɔn ħi-ɗm-pkah'/

in-the-way that-it-in-the-sky may-it-happen also on-the-earth

**ΠΕΝΘΕΙΚ ΕΤΝΗΥ ΤΑΑΦ ΝΑΝ ΗΠΟΟΥ**

/pɛn-ɔ'-ik ɛt-neu' ta:f nan m-pɔw'/

our-bread that-is-coming give-it to-us today

**ΚΩ ΝΑΝ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΝΕΤΕΡΟΝ**

/ko nan ɛ-bɔl' n-nɛt-ɛ-rɔn'/

throw out the-which-against-us

**Ν̄ΘΕ Ζ̄ΩΩΝ ΟΝ ΕΤΕΝΚΩ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΝΕΤΕΟῩΝΤΑΝ ΕΡΟΟΥ**

/n-thɛ' ħo:n ɔn ɛt-ɛn-ko' ɛ-bɔl' n-nɛ-tɛ-un'-tan ɛ-rɔu'/ (ΟῩΝ for ['wɛn])

in-the-way ourselves also that-we-throw out the-which-we-have against-them

**Ν̄Γ̄Τ̄ΗΧ̄ΙΤ̄Η̄ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΙΡΑΣΜΟΣ**

/ng-tm-ɗi'-tn ɛ-ħun' ɛ-pi-ras-mos' (Greek πειρασμός)/

and-you-not-take-us in to-temptation

**ΑΛΛΑ Ν̄Γ̄ΝΑΖΜΕΝ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄ΙΤ̄ΜΠΠΟΝΗΡΟΣ**

/al-la' (Greek ἀλλά) ng-nah'-men ɛ-bɔl' ħi-tm-ppɔ-ne-rɔs' (Greek πονηρός)/

but and-you-save-us out from-the-evil

## BOHAIRIC

**ΠΕΝΙΩΤ ΕΤ̄Χ̄ΕΝ̄ΝΙΦ̄ΟΥΓΙ ΜΑΡΕΦΤΟΥΒΟ Ξ̄Χ̄ΕΠΕΚΡΑΝ**

/pɛn-i-ot' ɛt-xɛn-ni-ph̄e'-ui ma-ref-tu-bɔ' n-ɗɛ-pe-k-ran'/

our-father who-in-the-skies may-it-be-made-holy namely-your-name

**ΜΑΡΕΣΙ Ξ̄Χ̄ΕΤΕΚΜΕΤΟΥΡΟ ΠΕΤΕΖ̄ΝΑΚ ΜΑΡΕΦΩΠΙ**

/ma-res-i' n-ɗɛ-tɛk-mɛt-u-rɔ' pe-tɛħ-nak' ma-ref-šo'-pi/

may-it-come namely-your-kingdom the-which-you-want may-it-happen

**ἸΦΡΗΤ ΉΕΝΤΦΕ ΝΕΜΖΙΧΕΝΠΚΑΖΙ**

/m-ph<sup>h</sup>re'-ti xen-ph<sup>h</sup>e' nem-ḥi-ḏen-pkah'-i/

In-the-manner in-the-sky and-on-the-earth

**ΠΕΝΩΙΚ ἸΤΕΡΑϚΤ ΜΗΙϚ ΝΑΝ ἸΦΟΟΥ**

/pen-o'-ik n-te-ras'-ti me'-if nan m-ph<sup>h</sup>ou'/

our-bread of-the-morrow give-it to-us today

**ΟΥΟΖ ΧΑ ΝΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΝΑΝ ΕΒΟΛ**

/uḥ k<sup>h</sup>a net-e-rɔn' nan e-bol'/

and throw those-which-against-us for-us out

**ἸΦΡΗΤ ΖΩΝ ΕΤΕΝΧΩ ΕΒΟΛ ἸΝΗ ΕΤΕΟΥΟΝ ἸΤΑΝ ΕΡΩΟΥ**

/m-ph<sup>h</sup>re'-ti ḥon et-en-ko' e-bol' n-ne' et-e-uɔn' n-tan' e-ro'-u/

In-the-manner ourselves that-we-throw out those that-are with-us against-them

**ΟΥΟΖ ἸΜΠΕΡΕΝΤΕΝ ΕΘΟΥΝ ΕΠΙΡΑϚΜΟϚ**

/uḥ m-pret-en'-ten e-xun' e-pi-ras-mɔs' (Greek πειρασμός)/

and don't-bring-us in to-temptation

**ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑΖΜΕΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΑΠΠΕΤΖΩΟΥ**

/al-la' (Greek ἀλλά) nah'-men e-bol' ḥa-pi-pret-ḥo'-u/

but save-us out with-that-which-wicked

OXYRHYNCHITE

**ΠΕΝΙΟΥΤ ΕΤΖἸΝΜΠΗ ΠΕΚΡΕΝ ΜΑΡΕϚΤΟΥΒΑ**

/pen-i-ɔt' et-ḥn-m-pe' pek-ren' ma-ref-tu-ba'/

our-father who-in-the-skies your-name may-it-be-made-holy

**ΤΕΚἸΝΤΕΡΑ ΜΑΡΕϚΕΙ ΠΕΤΕΖΝΕΚ ΜΑΡΕϚΩΠΕ**

/tek-mnt-e-ra' ma-res-i' pet-eh-nek' ma-ref-šɔ'-pe/

your-kingdom may-it-come the-which-you-want may-it-happen

**ἸΘΕ ΕΤΨΑΠ ΖἸΤΠΗ ΜΑΡΕϚΩΠΕ ΖΙΧἸΠΚΕΖΕ**

/n-thē' et-šap' ḥn-tpe' ma-res-šɔ'-pe ḥi-ḏn-pkeh'-e/

in-the-way that-is in-the-sky may-it-happen on-the-earth

**ΠΕΝΑΕΙΚ ἸΡΕϚΤΕ ΜΑΕΙϚ ΝΕΝ ἸΠΑΟΥ**

/pen-a'-ik n-res'-te ma'-if nen m-pau'/

our-bread of-morrow give-it to-us today

**ΚΩ ΕΒΑΛ ἸΝΕΤΕΡΑΝ**

/ko' e-bal' n-net-e-ran'/

throw out those-which-against-us

**ἸΘΕ ΖΩΝ ΕΤΨΑΝΚΩ ΕΒΑΛ ἸΝΕΤΕΟΥἸΝἸΝ ΕΡΑΥ**

/n-thē' ḥon et-šan-ko' e-bal' n-ne-te-un'-tn e-rav' / (ΟΥἸΝ for [ 'wḏ ])

in-the-wayourselves that-usually-we-throw out those-which-we-have against-them

**αγω ἡπῆρῆτῆ ἐροῦν ἐπιρασμος**

/a-uo' m-pr-n'-tn e-ḥun' e-pi-ras-mos' (Greek *πειρασμός*)/

and don't-bring-us in to-temptation

**αλλα νεζημν εβαλ ἡτατῆ ἡππονηρος**

/al-la' (Greek *ἀλλά*) neḥ'-mn e-bal' n-tat'-f m-ppo-ne-ras' (Greek *πονηρός*)/

but save-us out from-his-hand of-the-evil