



EGYPTIAN LEXICAL INTERFERENCE IN THE GREEK OF  
BYZANTINE AND EARLY ISLAMIC EGYPT\*

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When studying the presence of lexical interference in Greek from Egyptian,<sup>1</sup> the only source of interference discernible in Greek literature, we are faced with a bibliography that is not very extensive and that relates only partially to the topic.<sup>2</sup> Of the forty or fifty loan words identifiable, the etymological derivation from Egyptian is difficult to explain for some, for others it is very transparent.

In fact, there is more to be done than to list and explain the lexical borrowings. The real interest value of this subject lies in explaining the larger linguistic situation—level of literacy, bilingualism, prestige language versus popular language—especially in late antiquity and the early Islamic period, when the interference was at its peak. The aim of this study, then, is to understand why the texts

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<sup>1</sup> On this see: L. Th. Lefort, “Gréco-Copte,” in M. Malinine (ed.), *Coptic Studies in Honour of W. E. Crum*, Boston 1950, 65-71; E. Oréal, “Contact Linguistique. Le cas du rapport entre le grec et le copte,” *Lalies* 19 (1999), 289-306; F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, vol. 1, Milan 1976, 46-8; G. Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and its Speakers*, London 1997, 107-27; S. Torallas Tovar, “Las lenguas de Egipto: Griego y Copto en contacto,” *Interlingüística* 10 (2002), forthcoming. On Egyptian Greek, see S. G. Kapsomenos, “Das Griechische in Ägypten,” *Museum Helveticum* 10/3-4 (1953), 248-63; G. Bastianini, “Il greco in Egitto,” *Comunicazioni* 4 (Istituto Papirologico Vitelli), Florence 2001, 49-61.

<sup>2</sup> J. Vergote, “Bilinguisme et calques (translation loan words) en Égypte,” *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, Naples 1984, vol. 3, 1385-9; B. Hemmerdinger, “Noms communs grecs d’origine égyptienne,” *Glotta* 46 (1968), 247-54; A. G. MacGready, “Egyptian Words in the Greek Vocabulary,” *Glotta* 46 (1968), 238-47; R. H. Pierce, “Egyptian Loan Words in Ancient Greek,” *Symbolae Osloenses* 46 (1971), 96-107; J. L. Fournet, “Les emprunts du grec à l’égyptien,” *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 84 (1989), 55-80.

present such deviations, whether these deviations are due to interference, and how the use of Greek in one particular geographical space, namely Egypt, evolved.

Language contact studies generally divide loan words into two kinds:<sup>3</sup> (1) terms that are natural to the target language, and which the speaker does not distinguish from the native terms; and (2) xenisms or peregrinisms, which are not naturalized into the language, but remain as specialized terms to denote foreign objects, practices or ideas—e.g. weights and measures, the names of the months, administrative positions—and are generally imported through commercial contact or geographical and travel literature. Xenisms or peregrinisms do not imply bilingualism, or even a fair knowledge of the model language. In the case of Egypt examples include κόρος, κάβος, γόμος, λακώτιον, λεσώνις, and so on.

It is generally accepted that the Greek language is one of the most resistant to linguistic influence.<sup>4</sup> Contact between Egyptian and Greek predates the classical period, when commercial exchanges facilitated linguistic interference.<sup>5</sup> Until the Hellenistic period loan words consisted mainly of xenisms or peregrinisms. Terms such as βάρις, χάμψα, κίκι and ἔρις, which authors such as Herodotus or Aeschylus<sup>6</sup> use to describe Egypt, represent specifically Egyptian circumstances. The linguistic situation of this period was not one of two populations interacting on a daily basis, but one of sporadic commercial contact in which bilingualism was not necessary<sup>7</sup> and in which speakers of the two languages remained physically apart.

After the Macedonian conquest, however, contact within the same geographical space existed. The possibility emerged, therefore, of a bilingual community and a different kind of linguistic exchange. The

<sup>3</sup> E. Haugen, "The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing," *Language* 26 (1950), 210–31, 212–3.

<sup>4</sup> A. Meillet has said (*Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque*, Paris 1948, 304): "Il n'y a pas de langue plus rebelle à l'emprunt à des langues étrangères que le grec de l'époque classique parce qu'il n'y a en nulle part de civilisation plus évidemment supérieure aux civilisations voisines que n'était, dans l'Antiquité, la civilisation hellénique. Pour déterminer l'entrée d'une masse plus grande de mots latine et ensuite de mots romans, il a fallu la ruine de la civilisation hellénique."

<sup>5</sup> D. Mallet, *Les premiers établissements des grecs en Égypte, VII<sup>e</sup> et VI<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris 1893; D. Mallet, *Les rapports des grecs avec l'Égypte (de la conquête de Cambyse, 525, à celle d'Alexandre, 331)*, Cairo 1922; Bastianini, "Il greco," *passim*.

<sup>6</sup> See Herodotus' description of Egypt in book two; Aeschylus' *Suppliants* has an Egyptian ambience.

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps a "pidgin" language developed for this aim.

texts which provide our evidence for this interference are the papyri and the literature written in Egypt. Through them we can reconstruct the linguistic situation of the Egyptian-Greek language, and the dialectal particularities of the Greek used by Egyptian speakers.

When considering bilingualism and interference, three sociolinguistic aspects should be taken into account.<sup>8</sup> First, the circumstances of the speaker, whether he or she was bilingual and the level of proficiency in each language attained. Secondly, the languages in question: their relative prestige and whether they were dialects or standardized languages. And finally, the level of speech, whether familiar and popular, educated, administrative, etc.

Regarding these three aspects in the case of Egypt, the following must be said: the problem of bilingualism in Egypt is not yet solved,<sup>9</sup> but the continued existence of interpreters (ἑρμηνεῖς)<sup>10</sup> suggests that it was never very extensive. While bilingualism seems to have been more prevalent among Egyptians, this is hard to quantify because of the considerable difficulty of differentiating between native and Greek populations. With regard to the languages, the high degree of dialectal fragmentation in Egyptian and Coptic has to be taken into account, even if differences between dialects were not particularly substantial, when analyzing the relationship between a loan word and its model in Coptic.

<sup>8</sup> W. Wölck, "Types of natural bilingual behavior: a review and revision," *The Bilingual Review* 24 (1987/8), 3–16.

<sup>9</sup> On this see: W. Peremans, "Über die Zweisprachigkeit im ptolemäischen Ägypten," in H. Braunert (ed.), *Studien zur Papyrologie und antiken Wirtschaftsgeschichte. F. Oertel zum achtzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet*, Bonn 1964, 49–60; B. Rochette, "Grecs et Latins face aux langues étrangères. Contribution à l'étude de la diversité linguistique dans l'antiquité classique," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 73, 1 (1995), 5–16; idem, "Sur le bilinguisme dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine," *CE* 71 (1996), 153–68; idem, "Parce que je ne connais pas bien le grec . . . : P. Col. Zenon II 66," *C.E.* 71, n° 142 (1996), 311–16; idem, "Le bilinguisme gréco-latin et la question des langues dans le monde gréco-romain. Chronique bibliographique," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 76, 1 (1998), 177–96; G. Husson, "Quelques aspects de la diffusion du grec en Égypte romaine," in Claude Brixhe (ed.), *La koiné grecque antique III. Les contacts* (Association pour la diffusion de la recherche sur l'antiquité. Collection Études anciennes 17), Nancy/Paris 1998, 113–7.

<sup>10</sup> W. Peremans, "Les hermeneis dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine," in G. Grimm, H. Heinen and E. Winter (eds.), *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten*, Mainz 1983, 11–17; B. Rochette, "Traducteurs et traductions dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine," *C.E.* 69 (1994), 313–22; idem, "Bilinguisme," 153–68. Recently published is J. N. Adams, M. Janse and S. Twain (eds.), *Bilingualism in Ancient Society. Language Contact and the Written Text*, Oxford 2002, with a contribution by P. Fewster, "Bilingualism in Roman Egypt," 220–45.

*The Sources*a) *Direct Sources*

The third aspect has to do with the type of source used to study linguistic interference—papyrological or literary. The problem we are faced with when studying “dead languages” is that we have to find in the written sources that have been preserved evidence closest to the spoken language. Literary texts present a high level of language, since they have been written by the most educated people. The level of language found in the documentary papyri is generally not as high as in literary texts; at best they are almost of the same level. But for various reasons the papyri do not necessarily reflect the actual linguistic situation of the spoken language. Not only does the formulaic style of the administrative texts, which comprise the greatest part of the documentary papyri, limit their usefulness as indicators of linguistic usage, but those writing the texts were typically educated enough to avoid incorrect or deviant variations of language when writing.<sup>11</sup> I mean that linguistic interference usually occurs in less self-aware speakers, who are less concerned about the perceived “purity” of their language. The less educated are typically also less able to distinguish alien elements in their speech. For this reason, private letters provide a more popular instance of language, and are very useful. It is thus not easy to discern the real state of language usage via the testimony of the papyri.

It is even more difficult to diagnose linguistic interference in literary texts. But if we do find a loan word in them, its acceptance into this more conservative level of language allows us safely to say that it has been naturalized or has crystallized into Greek more generally.

One of the most important steps in analyzing interference is to assess the value of the testimonies we find in order to understand the characteristics of the interference. As said above, the loan words found in non-Egyptian Greek authors have not been naturalized into their Greek usage and are thus considered xenisms. As an example

<sup>11</sup> On literacy, see A. E. Hanson, “Ancient Illiteracy,” in Mary Beard et al. (eds.), *Literacy in the Roman World* (*Journal of Roman Archaeology*, Supplement 3) Ann Arbor 1991, 159–98; W. V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, Cambridge 1989; K. Hopkins, “Conquest by Book,” in Beard, *Literacy*, 133–58; E. Wipszycka, “Le degré d’alphabétisation en Égypte Byzantine,” *R.E. August* 30 (1984), 279–96; A. K. Bowman and G. Woolf (eds.), *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World*, Cambridge 1994.

we can consider the contrast between the use of the word *κάκις*<sup>12</sup> by Strabo (17.2.5: οἱ κάκεις δὲ ἴδιόν τι ἄρτου γένος) and its completely different context in the first-century A.D. papyrus, *P.Mich.* V 243 (l.10: ἐκάστου παραχρήμα εἰσφέροντος (δραχμῆν) καὶ κάκεις δύο 2). What for Strabo is a specialized loan word, is for the papyrus writer a part of his basic vocabulary, not distinguished from other terms of Greek origin.

b) *Indirect Sources*

Sometimes Greek or even Latin literature (for example John Cassian)<sup>13</sup> gives us information regarding terms used in the Greek spoken in Egypt, such as *βαυκάλιον* or *ἐμβρίμιον*, whose naturalization into the language can be confirmed by the papyri. The indirect testimony of lexical borrowings that literary evidence supplies can be very misleading, but even if it proves to be less valuable than the direct source of the papyri, it has to be taken into account.

*Linguistic Diagnosis*

The results obtained by modern studies of language contact can be usefully applied to the linguistic situation in Egypt.<sup>14</sup> For Greek and Coptic in Egypt the situation is one of “linguistic maintenance.”<sup>15</sup> Although penetration of Greek into Coptic was deeper than the reverse, due to the linguistic prestige of Greek, neither of these languages experienced a significant shift. While code-switching and code-mixing<sup>16</sup> probably occurred in popular speech, the full extent of

<sup>12</sup> A kind of bread roll or bun. Middle Eyp. /kk/alternative forms in Coptic **𐩧𐩢𐩪𐩠/𐩧𐩢𐩪𐩠, 𐩢𐩢𐩪𐩠**.

<sup>13</sup> *Institutes* 4, 16, 1; *Conlatio* 1, 23, 4.

<sup>14</sup> On this topic the classic handbook is U. Weinreich, *Languages in Contact. Findings and Problems*, New York 1953. Modern studies include: S. G. Thomason and T. Kaufman, *Language Contact. Creolization and Genetic Linguistics*, Berkeley 1988; E. H. Jahr (ed.), *Language Contact. Theoretical and Empirical Studies* (Trends in Linguistics, Studies and Monographs 60), Berlin/New York 1992; S. G. Thomason, *Contact Languages. A Wider Perspective*, Washington DC 1996; H. Goebel et al. (eds.), *Kontaklinguistik = Contact linguistics = Linguistique de contact: Ein internationales Handbuch zeitgenössischer Forschung*, Berlin 1996–7.

<sup>15</sup> Thomason and Kaufmann, *Language Contact*, 65–109.

<sup>16</sup> “Code-mixing” is the insertion of an alien lexical or phrasal category into a

which is not reflected in the written language,<sup>17</sup> both preserved their identity in spite of linguistic interference. Some Coptic texts full of Greek words seem to prove that there has been a “relexification” process,<sup>18</sup> but most of the Coptic synonyms for the new Greek terms acquired were conserved and even used together consecutively in the same text.<sup>19</sup>

### *Lexical Borrowings*

Reflecting the weak interference of Egyptian in Greek, all Egyptian loan words into Greek are nouns, due to nouns being more independent from syntax than verbs or adverbs, i.e. they do not constitute nexus elements.<sup>20</sup> This cannot be said of the reverse: Coptic inherited words in all categories. Haugen has set the proportion of loan words as follows: nouns 71–75 percent, verbs 18–23 percent, adjectives 3–4 percent, adverbs and prepositions 1 percent, and interjections 1 percent.<sup>21</sup>

Verbs were a very fertile source of borrowings from Greek into Coptic, despite the irreducible divergences between the conjugation

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given structure. The difference between borrowing and code-mixing would be the size and type of element inserted. It is the first step for a loan word entering another language in a bilingual context. Code-switching is the alternation between languages, something that cannot be proven by the texts. For an explanation of these and other terms, see P. Muysken, “Syntax,” in Goebel, *Kontaktlinguistik/Contact Linguistics/Linguistique de contact*, 117–24, 117–21.

<sup>17</sup> See C. Reintges, “Code-mixing Strategies in Coptic Egyptian,” *Lingua Aegyptia* 9 (2001), 193–237. On the social significance of code-switching interference, see C. Scotton, “Code-switching as indexical of social negotiations,” in M. Heller (ed.), *Codeswitching*, Berlin 1988, 151–86. See also S. Poplack, “Contrasting patterns of code-switching and transfer,” in M. Heller (ed.), *Codeswitching*, Berlin 1988, 215–44.

<sup>18</sup> This means that the borrowing from another language is so pervasive that most of the original native lexicon has been substituted by loan words. It is not the case in Coptic.

<sup>19</sup> For Greek terms in Coptic see H. Förster, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Wörter in den koptischen dokumentarischen Texten*, Berlin 2002.

<sup>20</sup> Muysken (“Syntax,” 119) says they have a “peripheral role in sentence grammar.” The verb, on the other hand “is more crucial to that organization (i.e. of the sentence).” He points out (“Syntax,” 120) the paradigmatic coherence of some lexical subcategories, as for instance, the pronouns, something which prevents or at least makes the interference more difficult.

<sup>21</sup> Haugen, “Analysis,” 224. See also Muysken, “Syntax,” 119–20; S. Poplack, D. Sankoff and C. Miller, “The Social Correlates and Linguistic Processes of Lexical Borrowing and Assimilation,” *Linguistics* 26 (1988), 47–104.

systems.<sup>22</sup> The opposite though is not the case. While Coptic's highly receptive verbal system absorbed many verbs, the resistance of Greek to borrowings left it without a single borrowed verb.

### *Strategies of Adaptation*

Since Greek and Egyptian languages do not share a grammatical correspondence, the adoption of Egyptian terms necessitated strategies of adaptation into the Greek declension system. One of these resources in the earlier-attested terms was the suffix—ις: βάρις, ἴβις, ἴρις, θλίβις, βάϊς and κυλλᾶστις.

This alternated with another integration resource: the suffix -ιον,<sup>23</sup> generally denoting a diminutive, which survived until the eighth century in the coining of new terms from a foreign one: κολόβιον,<sup>24</sup> βαυκάλιον,<sup>25</sup> ἴνιον, **ΚΛΔΛ**/κλάλιον,<sup>26</sup> ἐμβρίμιον<sup>27</sup> and λακώτιον.<sup>28</sup>

Some terms in very late texts seem to be the product of code-switching and they preserve the Egyptian undeclined form,<sup>29</sup> trying to reproduce in Greek the pronunciation of Coptic: for example, κόντσου (*SB* I 1160), a kind of vessel, is the Coptic **ΚΟῤῥΝΖΟῤ**, μασζέρτ, μασέρτ (*P.Lond.* IV 129), μασέρτ (*P.Lond.* IV 1414, Aphrod. eighth century) μασζέρτ (*P.Lond.* IV 1416, Aphrod. A.D. 732–733), a

<sup>22</sup> L. Deroy, *L'emprunt linguistique*, Paris 1965, 70.

<sup>23</sup> L. R. Palmer, *A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri*, London/Oxford 1945, 79–83. This suffix is also added to Latin loan-words (Palmer, *Grammar*, 86). See also Gignac, *Grammar*, 25.

<sup>24</sup> Coptic **ΣΟΛΒΕ** (S), **ΞΟΛΒΙ** (B), **ΨΟΛΒΕ** (B), Eg. *grb*.

<sup>25</sup> Coptic **ΒΔΛΚΟῤ**?

<sup>26</sup> *P.Oxy.* 1917.

<sup>27</sup> **ΜΡΩΛ**, in Eg. *wrm* (WB I 333). G. Husson, "Ἐμβρύμιον/ἐμβρίμιον: à propos d'un objet mobilier égyptien," *C.E.* 63 (1988), 331–340; M. Pezin, "Pour une étymologie égyptienne de ἐμβρίμιον," *C.E.* 63 (1988): 341–343. For the use of ἐμβρύμιον in the papyri see *P.Fuad. I Univ.* 26 A.D. I–II; *P.Petaus* 33, A.D. 184; *P.Col.* 8, 240 A.D. IV–V. *Aphod. Patrum, S. Macarius Aegyptius*, PG 34, 248A l. 7.

<sup>28</sup> *PApoll* 97 E 13 (Apol. Magna A.D. 703–715). From cp. **ΛΔΚΟῤΤΕ**

<sup>29</sup> Gignac, *Grammar*, II 103; W. Clarysse, "Egyptian Scribes Writing in Greek," *C.E.* 68 (1993), 186–201, 198. Gignac's and Clarysse's explanation for this phenomenon is that in the Byzantine period, Greek was written alongside Coptic. There are undeclined forms in earlier periods too, probably due to code-switching. Some words were always kept undeclined, as for example, the names of the Egyptian months (H. J. Thissen, "Zum Umgang mit der ägyptischen Sprache in der griechisch-römischen Antike," *ZPE* 97 (1993), 239–52, 241).

kind of rope, is the Coptic **ⲙⲁϣϣⲣⲧ**.<sup>30</sup> Sometimes the writer felt the need to express the same reality both in Greek and Coptic, to make sure it would be understood by bilingual or semibilingual readers.<sup>31</sup>

Those terms are the first step in the borrowing process. They never crystallized because there was apparently no time for them to “finish their trip.” This must have been the way all terms started their transfer, by being used in a code-switching context and then being gradually adapted and accepted, be it as a xenism or as a naturalized term.

#### *Other Lexical Interference Phenomena*

Other lexical phenomena produced by interference are:

1) Doublets:<sup>32</sup> the lexical borrowing happens twice in different periods of time:

For example, **χλίβιον**,<sup>33</sup> small basket, and also a measure, later appears as **χλούβον**,<sup>34</sup> basket, having as a possible Egyptian origin \**kleb*, Coptic **Ⲅⲗⲏⲃ**, although an ultimate Semitic origin seems to be *kelub*.<sup>35</sup>

We find doublets also using these two “adaptation suffixes”: **βαύκαλις** versus **βαυκάλιον** (which survives later).

2) Sometimes, in long-lasting contact situations, loan words can travel back into their language of origin, having been distorted by the destination language.

This is possibly what happened to the Greek **λεβίτων**, which in Coptic appears as **ⲗⲉⲃⲓⲧⲟⲩ** in one of its forms, and this is the form we find in the Greek papyrus *P.Neph.* 12 (l. 14: τὸ ἰμάτιν καὶ δύο λιβιτου (ed. λεβιτῶνας) καὶ τρία δρέπανα), where the editor has cor-

<sup>30</sup> W. Vycichl relates it to Arabic (*Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue Copte*, Louvain 1983, 129).

<sup>31</sup> See for example the use of ἦτοι in the papyri, studied by P. J. Sijpesteijn. (“The Meanings of ἦτοι in the Papyri,” *ZPE* 90 (1992), 241–7, esp. 242). See also the case of οὔρε, **πκωμ**, **τνευπε** or **τχρηρη** in the appendix.

<sup>32</sup> Haugen, “Analysis,” 222; B.-L. Hoffer, “Borrowing,” in Goebel, *Kontaktlinguistik/Contact Linguistics/Linguistique de contact*, 541–9, 541.

<sup>33</sup> *P.Wisc.* II 80, A.D. 114. For its meaning as a measure see N. Y. Clauson, “A customs house registry from Roman Egypt (P. Wisconsin 16),” *Aegyptus* 9 (1928), 240–280, 268.

<sup>34</sup> *P.Oxy.* Hels 50, 15 (Oxyrhynchus A.D. III); *P.Benaki* 614 A, 3, 4 (Fayyūm, A.D. V) *P.Berl.Sarisch.* 22, 3 (A.D. VI), *P.Haum.* III 52 (A.D. VI–VII).

<sup>35</sup> Vycichl, *Dictionnaire*, 338. \**kleb* < Hebrew *kelub*.

rected λιβιτου into a correctly declined form for the needs of Greek syntax. The form that the text presents is the Coptic form, devoid of flexive marks.

#### *Calque or Semantical Borrowing*

In some cases we find a transfer not of a lexeme, but of a semanteme, or even a whole structure. The calque or semantic loan happens when a term in the model language has two semantemes, one of them in common with the target language. This polysemy is what is transferred and the term acquires an extra meaning.

This is the case with the Greek θαλλός, branch, which acquired the new meaning of “present.”<sup>36</sup> This can be explained through the existence in Egyptian of two etymologically unrelated homophone terms: *mh*, branch, synonym of θαλλός and *mh.t*, present.

The same can be said of the Greek ὄρος, mountain, which acquired the meanings “desert” and “monastery,”<sup>37</sup> which can be explained through the Coptic word **TOOϮ**, meaning both “mountain,” “desert” and even “monastery.”

#### *Construction Loan or Structural Loan*

Loan translation or structural loan represents the level immediately previous to syntax borrowing. In this case both the construction and the concept are borrowed. The structure is reproduced as accurately as possible with the means available in the target language. Coptic’s fairly transparent nominal derivation system, for example, which involves the use of prefixes, can be easily translated literally into Greek.

<sup>36</sup> P. Derchain, “Une origine égyptienne de l’emploi du mot θαλλός = cadeau dans les papyrus grecs d’Égypte,” *C.E.* 30, n° 60 (1955), 324–6.

<sup>37</sup> H. Cadell and R. Rémondon, “Sens et emplois de τὸ ὄρος dans les documents papyrologiques,” *Revue des études grecques* 80 (1967) 343–9; P. Kahle, *Bala’izah, Coptic Texts from Deir el-Bala’iza in Upper Egypt*, London 1954, 27–8 under **TOOϮ**. Derooy explains it as a Semitic form of expression (*L’emprunt*, 94). In *Matthew* 24:16 we read: εἰς τὰ ὄρη, “to the mountains.” Compare to *Matthew* 18:12 ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη, cf. *Luke* 15, 4, ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, “in the desert.” In fact in the gospel of *Matthew* ὄρος, is used in plural to express a “desert region” following a Semitic expression (cf. Ar. *dabr*, Hebrew *midbār*).

We also find some of these structural borrowings in the Greek *Excerpta* of the Pachomian Rule: ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τῆς ἐστιάσεως renders **ΜΔΝ̄ΟΘΩΜ**.<sup>38</sup> The prefix **ΜΔ** means “place” and **ΟΘΩΜ** means “to eat.” Similarly εἰς τὸν τόπον τῶν νοσερῶν, **ΜΔΝ̄ΗΡΕΥΨΩΝΕ** (?) or ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ καθεύδει **ΜΔΝ̄ΗΚΟΤΚ**.<sup>39</sup>

### Conclusions

To sum up: the analysis of lexical borrowing represents a good point of departure for the study of linguistic contact, since lexical borrowing is the first step on the path to linguistic interference. The study of Egyptian lexical borrowing in Greek has to start with a linguistic diagnosis of the situation throughout the centuries. The most interesting material for this enquiry is the latest and most representative of evidence of language contact: popular literature, translations, private letters, house inventories and such documents. Limiting the study to a monastic context can, I think, be very productive.<sup>40</sup> A different focus to that currently pursued would be to provide a closer view of the phenomenon of language contact in antiquity and, in particular, the situation of Greek in Egypt. Another aspect that remains to be studied is the semantic changes experienced by a loan word when it moves from the native term to the borrowed one. Words such as ἔρπις, “Egyptian wine,” or τύφλη, a specific kind of fish, for example, stem from the generic terms *ivp*, “wine,” and **ΤΒΤ**, “fish.” The loan word here acquires a special meaning which does not exist in its model. But such a study is hindered by the Egyptian etymology of the Greek term being in most cases unsure, and the meaning unclear.

<sup>38</sup> *Praecepta* 91 edited by L. Th. Lefort, *Oeuvres de s. Pachôme et de ses disciples*, CSCO 159–160, Louvain 1956, 31; *Instituta* 8 edited by Lefort, *Oeuvres*, 34

<sup>39</sup> *Praecepta* 88 edited by Lefort, *Oeuvres*, 30.

<sup>40</sup> My first exploration of this topic is S. Torallas Tovar, “La situación lingüística en los monasterios egipcios en los siglos IV–V,” *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 1 (2003), forthcoming. See also the first footnote to this article.

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## APPENDIX: EGYPTIAN LOAN WORDS IN GREEK\*

ἀβλαβύνιον, *hapax* in Hesychius, cleaning cloth?

Lit: J. L. Fournet, “Les emprunts du grec à l'égyptien,” *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 84, fasc. 1 (1989), 55–80, 75.

ἀβραμίζ, name of a fish.

Etym: From Egyptian *rm* with the article *p3* (Fournet, “Emprunts,” 72). See also D. W. Thompson, “On Egyptian Fish Names Used by Greek Writers,” *JEA* (1928) 22–33, 24.

ἀέντιον, *hapax* in Hesychius, myrrh.

Etym: From Egyptian *ḥtyw*, gum, aromatic gum (Fournet, “Emprunts,” 75).

ἀθήρα, ἄθηρα, ἀθάρη, ἀθήριον, wheat porridge.

Etym: From Egyptian θήρα, flour (Pliny, *NH* 22.121; Jerome *Hebraicae Quaestiones in Gen.* 45.21). From \*ἀθάρφη (P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque avec un supplément*, Paris 1999, 27 and DGE I 67). From Indo-European \**ṛ̥th<sup>h</sup>rā*, (etymology proposed by DGE I 67), from the Indo-European root \**ment<sub>2</sub>*, ‘quirlen, umrühren’ (H. Rix, *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben*, Wiesbaden 1998, 395. Cf.

\* This list aims to collect the basic bibliography on every word that has at some point been considered to be of Egyptian origin, and words found in the papyri that I think are of Egyptian origin. I have not included the names of the Egyptian months, nor the polemical etymologies of Martin Bernal (*Black Athena* I, New Brunswick 1989), nor the entire discussion about every particular word. The Greek etymological dictionaries (E. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Heidelberg 1916, P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque avec un supplément*, Paris 1999, H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1954–1972) are quoted where they contribute to the discussion. I have used the following abbreviations: Crum = W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, Oxford 1939; DGE = Francisco R. Adrados et al. (eds.), *Diccionario Griego-Español*, vols. 1–6, Madrid 1980–2002; LSJ = H. G. Liddell and R. Scott (H. S. Jones), *A Greek English Lexicon, with a supplement*, Oxford 1968; WB = A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, Berlin/Leipzig, 1926–1963. The references are listed as Etym. if they discuss the etymology, and Lit. if they only mention the word as being Egyptian. The Egyptian etymologies given by every author have been standardized to one system of transcription. Some of them have even been corrected by Dr. J. M. Galán (CSIC, Madrid). Dr. Javier del Barco (CSIC, Madrid) helped me with the revision of the Hebrew and Dr. Eugenio Luján (Universidad Complutense) with the Indo-European roots. To all of them my sincere gratitude.

Sanskrit *mánthati*, 'to shake.' Cf. Latin *ador* (E. Mayser and H. Schmoll, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, Berlin 1970, I 26 and I 123). From Egyptian *tr.t*, flour (WB V 386, 5) (C. Daniel, "Des emprunts égyptiens dans le grec ancien," *Studia et Acta Orientalia* 4 (1962), 13–23, 19–20; Fournet, "Emprunts," 72–3).

Lit: N. Fernández Marcos, "¿Rasgos dialectales en la koiné tardía de Alejandría?" *Emerita* 39, 1 (1971), 33–45, 40.

ᾄθλον, prize, competition.

Etym: From Egyptian *tri*, honour, respect and *trr*, to compete (Daniel, "Emprunts," 20).

ἀλάβαστρος, ointment flask.

Etym: From Egyptian 'a-la-baste, vase of the goddess Ebaste (Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 53).

Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 26; H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1954–1972, I 62. The DGE states that the word is perhaps derived from Egyptian.

ἀλάβης, Nile fish, *labeo niloticus*. Pliny *NH* 5.51.

Etym: From Demotic *lbs*, Coptic **ⲗⲁⲃⲉⲤ** (S) (Fournet, "Emprunts," 74). From Egyptian *repi* or *lepi* (Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 53; DGE I 135). See also Thompson, "On Egyptian Fish Names," 23.

Lit: Mayser and Schmoll describe the word as 'wahrscheinlich ägyptisch' (*Grammatik*, I 26, cf. I 2 3, 3, 34).

ᾄμι, ᾄμμι, cumin, *ammi copticum*, ajowan?

Etym: From Egyptian *mymy* (Pliny, *NH* 22.15.58; H. Brugsch, "Aethiopica," *Ägyptische Zeitschrift* 29 (1891), 25–33, 26–8). A. Gardiner, however, rejects it (*The Wilbour Papyrus*, vol. 2, London 1948, 113–15). From Egyptian *m3* (WB I 185, 5), 'm3, "eine offizinelle Pflanze" (B. Hemmerdinger, "Noms communs grecs d'origine égyptienne," *Glotta* 46 (1968), 247–54, 247). R. H. Pierce, on the other hand, rejects this idea ("Egyptian Loan Words in Ancient Greek," *Symbolae Osloenses* 46 (1971), 96–107, 100).

Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 26.

ᾄννησον, ᾄνησσον: *Pimpinella anisum*, anis.

Etym: From Egyptian *inst* (WB I 100, 1–2) (A. Wiedemann, *Sammlung altägyptischer Wörter welche von klassischen Autoren umschrieben oder übersetzt*

*worden sind*, Leipzig 1883, 11; Hemmerdinger, “Noms,” 240). But see Pierce, “Loan Words,” 101.

ἄνοῦχι, some kind of brushwood.

Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 27.

ἄρον, Egyptian arum.

Etym: From Egyptian *r*, rush (WB I 208, 1) (Hemmerdinger, “Noms,” 244). But see Pierce, “Loan Words,” 101. From *ʿr*, the grass from which scribes make their brushes (WB I 208, 4–6), but without a semantic connection.

ἄταστίται, cultic group.

Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 27

ἄτωρ, hapax in Hesychius, μελία, ash.

Etym: Cf. Egyptian *ʿtr* (Fournet, “Emprunts,” 75).

ἄχάνη, box.

Etym: From Egyptian *hn* > Accadian *hanu*<sup>41</sup> > Gk. ἄχάνη (Hemmerdinger, “Noms,” 243–4). But see Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 149 and Pierce, “Loan Words,” 101.

ἄχει, reed-grass.

Etym: From Egyptian *ʿhy*, *ʿhy*, plant, vegetation (Fournet, “Emprunts,” 69). See also J. Vergote, *Joseph en Égypte*, Louvain 1959, 59–66.

Lit: T. O. Lambdin, “Egyptian Loan Words in the Old Testament,” *JAOIS* 73 (1953), 145–55, 146.

ἄώλιον, measure of volume or capacity.

Etym: According to Fournet, from Coptic **ⲁⲟⲟ** and from Egyptian *ʿh*, but he expresses doubts about the latter (“Emprunts,” 74).

Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 27–8; A. G. MacGready, “Egyptian Words in the Greek Vocabulary,” *Glotta* 46 (1968), 238–47, 252.

<sup>41</sup> Only *hanunu* is attested (W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, Wiesbaden 1965–81, 321) as an Egyptian loan-word for “box,” but see I. J. Gelb et al. (eds.), *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, Chicago 1956–, H 83, which states that its meaning is uncertain.

βαιοιελύπιον, Egyptian boat.

Lit: MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 252.

βᾶϊς, βᾶϊον, branch, palm.

Etym: From Egyptian *bʿi*, palm fibre Coptic **ⲃⲁⲓ** (Hemmerdinger, "Noms," 245; G. Nencioni, "Innovazioni africane nel lessico latino," *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* 16 (1939), 3–50, 22; J. Vergote, "Bilinguisme et calques (Translation Loan Words) en Égypte," *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, Naples 1984, III 1385–9, 1387; Fournet, "Emprunts," 69).

Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28; MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 250.

βᾶρις, Egyptian boat.

Etym: From Egyptian *byr* (Hemmerdinger, "Noms," 241; Vergote, "Bilinguisme," 1387). Fournet, "Emprunts," 57; Nencioni, *Innovazioni*, 16–7. Cf. Lat. *barca* (F. Rodríguez Adrados, "Ambiente y léxico egipcio en Esquilo, Las Suplicantes: βᾶρις (839, etc.), σινδονία (121), χάρμθα (878), Ἴσι (848)," *Eikasmos* 10 (1999), 47–55, 50).

Lit: M. Merzagora, "La navigazione in Egitto nell'età Greco-Romana," *Aegyptus* 10 (1929), 105–48, 127–8; Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 27; Frisk, *Wörterbuch*, I 220; MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 249; N. C. Conomis, "Concerning the New Photius," *Hellenika* 34 (1982/83), 151–90, 177; Fournet, "Emprunts," 57; F. Diez de Velasco and M. A. Molinero Polo, "Hellenoaegyptiaca I. Influences Égyptiennes dans l'imaginaire grec de la mort: Quelques exemples d'un emprunt supposé (Diodore I, 92, 1–4; I, 96, 4–8)," *Kernos* 7 (1994) 75–93, 82–3. Cf. βαρίβας, sailor; βουβάρας, βούβαρις, big boat; ἄβαρις, the one who does not have a boat.

βαρκίων, *hapax* in Hesychius, plant.

Lit: Fournet, "Emprunts," 75.

βάσανος, pierre de touché.

Etym: From Egyptian *bhn*, perhaps through Lydian which would explain the correspondence *h* and Gk *s* (Fournet, "Emprunts," 57). Cf. K. Sethe, "Die Bau- und Denkmalsteine der alten Ägypter und ihre Namen," *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Berlin 1933, 864–912, 908 and Lambdin, "Egyptian Loan Words," 147.

βαύκαλις, βαυκάλιον, bottle.

Etym: From Egyptian *b3kt*, vase for olive oil (G. Nencioni, “βαύκαλις -άλιον ε καυκάλιον,” *Rivista di studi Orientali* 19 (1940), 98–104, 99).  
Lit: B. A. Terracini, “Di che cosa fanno la storia gli storici del linguaggio,” *Archivio Glottologico Italiano* 28 (1936), 1–31, 31; A. Leroy-Molinghen, “Du κώθων au βαυκάλιον,” *Byzantion* 35 (1965), 208–20.

βίκος, βίκιον, jar or drinking bowl.

Etym: From Egyptian *b3kt* (WB I 424, 11) (Hemmerdinger, “Noms,” 241). But Chantraine (*Dictionnaire*, 176) prefers a Semitic origin. Cf. Pierce, “Loan Words,” 102. There is also some discussion in E. Masson, *Recherches sur les plus anciens emprunts sémitiques en grec*, Paris 1967, 78–80.  
Lit: Frisk describes the word as “wahrscheinlich ägyptisch” (*Wörterbuch*, I 237). See also Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 27.

βόρασσος, growing spadix of the date with unripe fruit.

Lit: MacGready, “Egyptian Words,” 250. But Chantraine is of the opinion that the word probably has a Semitic background (*Dictionnaire*, 185).

βουτός, grave. *hapax* in Hesychius.

Lit: MacGready, “Egyptian Words,” 250; Fournet, “Emprunts,” 75.

βύνητος, Egyptian garment.

Etym: From Egyptian *bnd*, to wear, to dress (WB I 465, 3) (B. H. Stricker, “Trois études de phonétique et de morphologie coptes,” *Acta Orientalia* 15 (1937), 1–20, 10; Fournet, “Emprunts,” 75).  
Lit: MacGready, “Egyptian Words,” 250.

βύσσος, fine silk.

Etym: H. Lewy, *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen*, Berlin 1895, 125; W. Spiegelberg, “Ägyptische Lehnwörter in der älteren griechischen Sprache,” *Zeitschrift der vergleichenden Sprachforschung* 41 (1907), 127–32, 128–9; Lambdin, “Egyptian Loan Words,” 147; Masson, *Recherches*, 20–2. Frisk describes the etymological process behind this word as “durch semitische Vermittlung” (*Wörterbuch*, I 278).  
Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 27 (cf. II 2, 137).

βωρεύς, *mugil cephalus*.

Etym: From Egyptian *br* (Hemmerdinger, “Noms,” 247; Fournet, “Emprunts,” 58).

Lit: Thompson, "On Egyptian Fish Names," 27; I. Gamer-Wallert, *Fische und Fischkulte im alten Ägypten*, Wiesbaden 1970, 41.

γαλῆ, animal belonging to the weasel family.

Etym: Cf. Coptic **ΚΛΗ**, **ΚΔΛΗ**, Demotic *kl*, Egyptian *gʿl3t* (W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1965, 60). But see Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 207.

γάνις, Egyptian measure.

Lit: MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 252.

γόμος, weight.

Lit: K. Kyriakopoulos, "Γομόω ή γομόω;" *Horos* 10-2 (1992-8), 491-501; S. Torallas Tovar, "Egyptian Loan words in *Septuaginta* and the Papyri," in H. Harrauer and B. Palme (eds.), *Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Papyrology*, Vienna (forthcoming).

ἔβεος, ebony.

Etym: From Egyptian *hbnj* (Hemmerdinger, "Noms," 242). Fournet wonders whether the ultimate origin is Nubian ("Emprunts," 59). See also Spiegelberg, "Lehnwörter," 131; Lambdin, "Egyptian Loan Words," 147; Nencioni, "Innovazioni," 11.

Lit: MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 249; A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, London 1962, revised edition 1989, 434.

ἐμβρύμιον, ἐμβρίμιον, pillow.

Etym: From Cp **ΜΡΩΜ**. M. Pezin, "Pour une étymologie égyptienne de ἐμβρύμιον," *C.E.* 63 (1988), 340-343, 341-343.

Lit: G. Husson, "ἐμβρύμιον/ἐμβρίμιον: à propos d'un objet mobilier égyptien," *C.E.* 63 (1988), 331-40.

ἐντυβον, ἐντύβιον, name of a plant.

Etym: From the Egyptian based on the name of the month τυβί, during which the chicoree was collected, with the Egyptian preposition *m*, in, or the adjective *ny*, belonging to, added to the beginning (Nencioni, "Innovazioni," 17). But Chantraine considers it to be a Semitic loan word (*Dictionnaire*, 352).

ἔρπις, Egyptian wine.

Etym: From Egyptian *irp* (Masson, "Hipponax," 46-50; MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 249; Fournet, "Emprunts," 59). Tzetzis (*Scholia*

to *Lycophron*) and Eustathius already pointed out that the origin of this word is Egyptian.

ζῦθος, ζῦτος (only form in the papyri), beer.

Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 27 (cf. I 2 2, 20). Cf. A. Thumb, *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Beurteilung der Koine*, Strassburg 1901, 111. See also A. Wiedemann, *Herodots zweites Buch: mit sachlichen Erläuterungen*, Leipzig 1890, 327; Th. Reil, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes im hellenistischen Ägypten*, Borna-Leipzig 1913, 164; Frisk, *Wörterbuch*, I 616. MacGready finds it difficult to trace the original Egyptian word (“Egyptian Words,” 250). See also E. Peruzzi, “À propos de l’origine gréco-égyptienne de ζῦθος,” *Humanitas* 1 (1947), 138–40. Chantraine thinks that the resemblance to ζύμη may point to a Greek origin (*Dictionnaire*, 401).

ἡμιτύβιον, hand-towel.

Lit: Pollux 7.71; Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 27.

θιβίς, basket. Cf. also the form qhvbh.

Etym: From Egyptian *db3t* (Hemmerdinger, “Noms,” 246; Fournet, “Emprunts,” 72). Through Hebrew *tebâ*, and this from Egyptian *db3t*, ‘box’ (MacGready, “Egyptian Words,” 252). See also U. Wilcken, *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit*, Berlin/Leipzig 1927, vol. 1, 640 and Masson, *Recherches*, 76.

Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 27.

ἰβίς, ibis.

Etym: From Egyptian *hby* (Hemmerdinger, “Noms,” 242). From Egyptian *hb*, *hib* (MacGready, “Egyptian Words,” 249). See also Fournet, “Emprunts,” 60 and Nencioni, “Innovazioni,” 22.

Lit: Thumb, *Sprache*, 111; Frisk, *Wörterbuch*, I 851; Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 27.

ῥύ, ῥύτιον, measure.

Etym: From Egyptian *hnw* (Hemmerdinger, “Noms,” 246; Fournet, “Emprunts,” 69).

Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

ἶρις, rainbow.

Etym: From Egyptian *irt*, eye (Hemmerdinger, “Noms,” 240). Pierce objects to this derivation (“Loan Words,” 102–3). See also MacGready,

“Egyptian Words,” 251. In Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride* 10) ἰρῖ is a Greek rendering of the Egyptian word *irt*. Chantraine considers it to be of Indo-European origin (*Dictionnaire*, 469).

κάβος, measure.

Etym: From Egyptian *kb* (Hemmerdinger, “Noms,” 247). See also Nencioni, “Innovazioni,” 11 and Torallas Tovar “Egyptian Loan Words.” But compare Lewy who considers it to be a Semitic loan word (*Fremdwörter*, 115).

καίμιον, name of a bird.

Etym: From Coptic Ⲅⲁⲓⲙⲉ, this comes probably from Egyptian *gm.t*, black ibis (WB V 166, 5) (Westendorf, *Handwörterbuch*, 448; Fournet, “Emprunts,” 69).

Lit: L. R. Palmer, *A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri*, London/Oxford 1945, 82.

κάκεις, kind of Egyptian bread, plural form (Strabo XVII 2.7).

Etym: From Coptic ⲄⲁⲁⲄⲉ, and this comes from Demotic *k'k'* (Fournet, “Emprunts,” 66). From Egyptian *'kk* (WB I 235, 4: *k3k3*), which becomes by metathesis *k'k'* (W. Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue Copte*, Louvain 1983, 351).

καλάσιρις, branch of the military caste, Egyptian long garment.

Etym: From Egyptian *gl-šr* (Pierce, “Loan Words,” 103). From Egyptian *ky-sry*, Demotic *glr-šr* (Fournet, “Emprunts,” 60). Both Fournet and Chantraine consider the etymology for the two meanings to be the same, with the name of the military caste coming from the long garment (Fournet, “Emprunts,” 60; Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 484). See also W. Spiegelberg, “Review of E. A. Wallis Budge *Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*,” *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* 27, no. 4 (1924) 182–91, 188–9 and J. K. Winnicki, “Die Kalasirier der spät-dynastischen und der ptolemäischen Zeit,” *Historia* 26/3 (1977), 257–68, 262.

Lit: MacGready, “Egyptian Words,” 249; J. K. Winnicki, “Zwei Studien über die Kalasirier,” *Orientalia Lovanensia Periodica* 17 (1986), 17–32; J. K. Winnicki, “Die Kalasirier in griechischen Papyri,” *JJP* 2 (1992), 63–5.

κάμαξ, vine-pole.

Etym: From Egyptian *km3*, cf. Coptic *kam* (Daniel, “Emprunts,” 22).

But see Chantraine, who considers it to be of Indo-European origin (*Dictionnaire*, 488).

κάννιον, cup.

Lit: Fernández-Marcos, “Rasgos dialectales,” 40.

κάστυ, scribe’s palette.

Etym: From Hebrew *qeset*, and this comes from Egyptian *gstj* (MacGready, “Egyptian Words,” 251).

κέρκηρις, water bird.

Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

κῆβος, κῆπος, monkey.

Etym: From Egyptian *gʃf* (Lambdin, “Egyptian Loan Words,” 154; Hemmerdinger, “Noms,” 244; Fournet, “Emprunts,” 72). But see Lewy and Boisacq who relate it to the Sanskrit *kapi* (Lewy, *Fremdwörter*, 6; Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, s.v.). Compare Nencioni, “Innovazioni,” 13 and Masson, *Recherches*, 87, n. 5.

κιβώριον, cup, box, seed-vessel.

Etym: From Egyptian *kʃyt*, *kʃ*, measure for fluids (WB V 25, 2–6) (Fournet, “Emprunts,” 72). The word has probably an ultimately Semitic origin (Nencioni, “Innovazioni,” 10–1).

κίκι, *ricinus communis*, castor-oil.

Etym: From Egyptian *k3k3* (Hemmerdinger, “Noms,” 242–3). See also Pierce, “Loan Words,” 103 and Fournet, “Emprunts,” 61.

Lit: MacGready, “Egyptian Words,” 249; Vycichl, *Dictionnaire*, 74; Nencioni, “Innovazioni,” 9; Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 530; M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten*, Munich 1925, 201.

κλάλιον, ring, necklace.

Etym: From Demotic *kl*, Coptic **κλαλα** (Fournet, “Emprunts,” 69).

κνίψ, insect that eats fig-insects.

Etym: From Egyptian *hnmś*, midge (Hemmerdinger, “Noms,” 242). But see Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 548–9.

Cf. the related term κώνωψ which Spiegelberg considers it with reservation to come from Egyptian *Hnms* (*Lehnwörter*, 131–2).

κολόβιον, sleeveless tunic. This word probably stems from Egyptian *gb*, fabric and Coptic **Ϯⲟⲗⲃⲉ** (S), **Ⲡⲟⲗⲃⲓ** (B), garment.

Etym: For the Coptic word and the Egyptian etymology see Vycichl, *Dictionnaire*, 338.

Lit: M. Hasitzka, "Bekleidung und Textilien auf uneditierten koptischen Papyri der Papyrussammlung in Vienna: Termini," *GRAFMA Newsletter, Bulletin du groupe de recherche archéologique française et internationale sur les métiers depuis l'Antiquité* 2 (1998), 28–34, 30.

κόμμι, gum.

Etym: From Egyptian *kmyt* (Hemmerdinger, "Noms," 243; MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 249). See also Fournet, "Emprunts," 62 and Nencioni, "Innovazioni," 12.

Lit: Frisk, *Wörterbuch*, I 909; Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 27.

κόνδον, vessel. Perhaps equal to κόντσου (*SB* I 1160)?

Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 30. Cf. Coptic kounjou. Vergote wonders whether the word's ultimate origin is Persian (Vergote, *Joseph en Égypte*, 175–6).

κόρσιον, tuber of the Nile, water-lily.

Lit: MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 251.

κοῦκι, *Hyphaena thebaica*, doum palm; κούκιον, the fruit of the doum palm.

Etym: From Egyptian *kwkw*, a kind of fruit, fruit of the doum palm (Hemmerdinger, "Noms," 244–5; Fournet, "Emprunts," 62). But this is rejected by Pierce ("Loan Words," 104). See also Westendorf, *Handwörterbuch*, 59; Vycichl, *Dictionnaire*, 74 and Nencioni, "Innovazioni," 9. Cf. κούξ, tree and κούκιος, basket made of palm fibres. Chantraine and Frisk consider these words to be probably of Egyptian origin (Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 572–3; Frisk, *Wörterbuch*, I 934).

κουκ(κ)ούφας, -ατος, hoopoe.

Etym: From Egyptian *kk* and from it, Demotic *kkpt* and *kwkwpt* (Fournet, "Emprunts," 69). Compare **ΚΟΥΚΟΥΦΑΤ** (B), **ΚΩΚΩΠΑΤ** (S). But see also Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 573.

κυλλῆστις, rounded Egyptian bread, made of ὄλυρα.

Etym: From Egyptian *krst* (Hemmerdinger, "Noms," 241; MacGready,

“Egyptian Words,” 249; Fournet, “Emprunts,” 62).

Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 27.

κῦφι, aromatic preparation for religious use, Egyptian compound incense.

Etym: From Egyptian *k3pt*, from *k3p*, to burn (Hemmerdinger, “Noms,” 247; MacGready, “Egyptian Words,” 251; Fournet, “Emprunts,” 63).

Lit: Nencioni, “Innovazioni,” 9.

λακώτιον,

Only instance *P.Apoll.* 97 E 13 (Apollonopolis Magna, A.D. 703–15).  
From Coptic **ΛΔΚΟΟΤΕ**.

λεβίτων, λεβητών, monk’s tunic.

Lit: Nencioni, “Innovazioni,” 23; A. Boud’hors, “Vêtements et textiles à usages divers: termes coptes”, *GRAFMA Newsletter, Bulletin du groupe de recherche archéologique française et internationale sur les métiers depuis l’Antiquité* 1 (1997), 20–8, 25; S. Torallas Tovar, “El hábito monástico en Egipto y su simbología,” *Ilu. Revista de Ciencias de las Religiones* 7 (2002), 163–74, 165–6.

λείριον, *lilium candidum*, Madonna lily; *Narcissus serotinus*.

Etym: From Egyptian *hrt* flower, Demotic *hry*, Coptic Sahidic **ϡρηρε**, Fayyumic **ϡΛΗΛ** (Hemmerdinger, “Noms,” 240; M. Cohen, “Quelques mots périméditerranéens: lis, scorpion, sabre,” *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 31 (1931), 37–41, 37–8). But this is rejected by Pierce and Blazek (Pierce, “Loan Words,” 105; V. Blazek, “Greek λείριον,” *Sborník Prací Filosofické Fakulty Brněnské University* 1 (1996), 21–5, 22).

Lit: Nencioni, “Innovazioni,” 20; A. Meillet, “De quelques emprunts probables en grec et latin,” *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 15 (1908), 161–4, 163; G. C. Papanastassiou, *Compléments au Dictionnaire étymologique du grec ancien de Pierre Chantraine*, Thessaloniki 1994, 20.

λεμείσα = στρατηγός.

Etym: From Demotic *mr mš*’, from Egyptian *imi r3 mš*’ (Fournet, “Emprunts,” 70).

Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

λεσῶνις, temple assistant or temple administrator.

Etym: From Demotic *mr šn*, and this from Egyptian *imy r3 šn* (WB VI 249). Cf. Coptic **λαϣϣανε**, town magistrate.

Lit: Maysers and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

λωτός

Etym: From Hebrew *lôt*. (Lewy, *Fremdwörter*, 46). But Daniel derives it from Egyptian *rd*, Coptic **ρωτ**, **λωτ** ("Emprunts," 16–8).

Lit: Papanastassiou, *Compléments*, 23.

μάγδωλος, tower.

Etym: From Egyptian *mkrt* (WB II 164, 2–3), from Hebrew *migdal* (Fournet, "Emprunts," 70).

μάκαρ, blessed, happy.

Etym: From Egyptian *mʿr*, blessed, happy (Hemmerdinger, "Noms," 240). From Egyptian *m3ʿ-ḥrw*, justified of voice (A. H. Krappe, "Μάκαρ," *Revue de Philologie* 66 (1940), 245–6; Daniel, "Emprunts," 18–9). But Chantraine and Pierce consider this etymology to be unsound (Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 659; Pierce, "Loan Words," 105).

Lit: Papanastassiou, *Compléments*, 24.

μασζέρτ, μασέρτ, a kind of rope. See below μεχέρθι.

Attested in *P.Lond.* IV 129, *P.Lond.* IV 1414, *P.Lond.* IV 1416, all from A.D. eighth century Aphrodito. It is probably the Coptic **μαϣϣρτ**.

Etym: Vycichl (*Dictionnaire*, 129), however, relates the Coptic to Arabic.

μάτιον, measure of capacity.

Etym: From Demotic *md3t*, and this from Egyptian *md3*, measure of dates (WB II 186, 15) (Fournet, "Emprunts," 70).

μεχέρθι, ship's cable. Is this word equal to μασέρτ?

Lit: Maysers and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

μηθίς, name of a plant?

Etym: From Egyptian *mnt3*, sacred bush of the abaton of Osiris on the island of Biggeh, near Philae (WB II 92, 13–4) (Fournet, "Emprunts," 66).

μνάσιον, μνάσιον, *cyperus esculentus*, earth-almond.

Etym: From Egyptian *mnw*, a body of water filled with aquatic plants (Hemmerdinger, “Noms,” 245). But this is rejected by Pierce (“Loan Words,” 106).

μόροχθος, clay.

Etym: From Egyptian *m-rht* (WB II 448, 8) Coptic **ΜΟΡΟΨΤ** (Westendorf, *Handwörterbuch*, 520). Chantraine considers it to be a loan word (*Dictionnaire*, 713).

μώιον, jar.

Etym: From Egyptian *m3h* (WB II 31, 1–3) (Fournet, “Emprunts,” 70).  
Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28; Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 729.

ναύβιον, volume measure.

Etym: From Egyptian *nb*. Cf. Coptic **ΝΗΒ** (Crum 221b) (Fournet, “Emprunts,” 75).

Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

ναῶον, length measure.

Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

νέκταρ, nectar.

Etym: From Egyptian *ntry* (R. D. Griffith, “Nektar and Nitron,” *Glotta* 72 (1994), 20–3).

νεμσελ, meaning unclear.

Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

νεονχῶν, ointment.

Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

νέρτος, a bird (Hesychius: **ιέραξ**, a falcon).

Etym: From Egyptian *nrt*, vulture (MacGready, “Egyptian Words,” 249). But this is rejected by Pierce on the basis of the argument that the *t* is already lost in Old Egyptian. Cf. Coptic **ΝΟΥΡΕ** (“Loan Words,” 106).

νίτρον, natron.

Etym: From Egyptian *ntr* (Lambdin, “Egyptian Loan Words,” 153;

Hemmerdinger, “Noms,” 240). From Egyptian *ntry* (MacGready, “Egyptian Words,” 249; Fournet, “Emprunts,” 64; Griffith, “Nectar,” 20–3). But this is rejected by Pierce (“Loan Words,” 106).

Lit: Frisk, *Wörterbuch*, II 321; Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 27, Lucas, *Materials*, 303, 317–47.

ξίφος, sword.

Etym: From Egyptian *sft*, Coptic **Ⲭⲏⲫⲉ** (H. Brugsch, *Hieroglyphisch-demotisches Wörterbuch*, Leipzig 1868, 1213; Cohen, “Mots,” 40–41; Hemmerdinger, “Noms,” 239). But Pierce disagrees with this (“Loan Words,” 106). Jasanoff and Nussbaum criticize Bernal’s etymology (M. Bernal, *Black Athena I*, New Brunswick 1989, 369; J. H. Jasanoff and A. Nussbaum, “Word Games: The Linguistic Evidence in Black Athena,” in M. R. Lefkowitz and G. MacLean Rogers (eds.), *Black Athena Revisited*, London 1996, 177–205, 199). See also T. B. L. Webster, “Homer and Eastern Poetry,” *Minos* 4 (1956) 104–16, 104. The word is attested in Mycenaean and can be traced back to an Indo-European form with initial labiovelar *\*k<sup>w</sup>s-*. Myc. *qi-si-pe-e* (A. Heubeck, “Mykenisch *\*qi-si-po* = ξίφος,” *Minos* 6 (1958), 55–60, 55–60; F. Aura Jorro, *Diccionario Micénico*, Madrid 1993, vol. 2, 205–6, with bibliography). But consider Bertolín Cebrián who lists it as of uncertain Egyptian origin (R. Bertolín Cebrián, “Loan-Words in Mycenaean Greek,” *Sborník Prací Filosofické Fakulty Brněnské University* 1 (1996), 13–20, 14).

ὄασις, oases.

Etym: From Egyptian *wh3t* (MacGready, “Egyptian Words,” 249; Fournet, “Emprunts,” 67).

ὀθόνη, ὀθόνιον, veil.

Etym: From Egyptian *’dmy* (Lewy, *Fremdwörter*, 124–5; Spiegelberg, *Lehnwörter*, 130; Masson, *Recherches*, 89; Lambdin, “Egyptian Loan Words,” 147).

οίφει, Egyptian measure.

Etym: From Egyptian *ipt* (MacGready, “Egyptian Words,” 251; Fournet, “Emprunts,” 71). But compare **οειπε** (Pierce, “Loan Words,” 103).

οὔγγον (οὔπτον, οὔϊτον), Egyptian arum.

Lit: MacGready, “Egyptian Words,” 251.

οὐραΐος = βασιλίσκος.

Etym: From Egyptian *iʿrt* (MacGready, “Egyptian Words,” 251; Fournet, “Emprunts,” 67). But cf. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 838.

οὐρε, οὐρι, harness.

It appears in *P.Fay.* 115 and *PNYU* 9 (still unpublished)<sup>42</sup> rendering the Greek term ζυγοδέσμιαν ἀμάξων.<sup>43</sup> See H. I. Bell and W. E. Crum, “A Greek-Coptic glossary,” *Aegyptus* 6 (1925), 177–226, for a correspondence ζυγοδέσμιον to Coptic **ⲧⲟⲩⲣⲏⲁⲓⲛ** (Reedited by M. Hasitzka, *Koptisches Sammelbuch* I, Vienna 1993 (MPER) XVIII, 256).

πάπυρος, papyrus.

Etym: From Egyptian and Coptic *papurro* (W. Schubart, *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern*, Berlin 1962, 9). See also MacGready, “Egyptian Words,” 251. Mayser and Schmoll do not list it under Egyptian loan words (*Grammatik*, I 31). From Egyptian *p3 pr ʿ3*, the one from the great house (Vergote, “Bilinguisme,” 411–6). But the same author derives it in a later work from *p3 pr*, the one from the house (J. Vergote, “L’etymologie du mot papyrus,” *CE* 60 (1955), 393–7). See also Fournet, “Emprunts,” 64–5; Lewy, *Fremdwörter*, 172; Papanastassiou, *Compléments*, 49.

πίρωμις, καλὸς κάγαθός (hapax in Herodotus 2.143).

Etym: From Egyptian *m(t)* preceded by the article *p3* > Coptic **ⲡⲓⲣⲟⲩ** (B), the man (MacGready, “Egyptian Words,” 249; Fournet, “Emprunts,” 67).

πκωμ, wooden waggon-box.

This word appears in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67303 (A.D. 553) rendering<sup>44</sup> the Greek term ξυλινοβαστάκιον. See Crum (109a) **Ⲡⲟⲩⲩ**, who cites this papyrus.

πορενβῆκις, the keeper of the falcon.

Etym: From Egyptian *p3 wr bik* (LSJ 1449).

Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

<sup>42</sup> I thank warmly Prof. Klaas Worp, who is editing this piece, for calling my attention to this and many other terms in the papyri.

<sup>43</sup> See Sijpesteijn, “Meaning.”

<sup>44</sup> See Sijpesteijn, “Meaning.”

πορθώτης, the keeper of the ibises.

Etym: From Egyptian *p3 wr thwt* (LSJ 1450).

Lit: Maysers and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

πρεμίτ, proper name?

Lit: Maysers and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

προνήσιον, bench along a wall.

Lit: From the Greek prefix προ- combined with Egyptian *ny*, bench, seat or mastaba (G. Husson, "Note sur la formation et le sens du composé προνήσιον," *C.E.* 51 (1976), 167–8). From the prefix προ- combined with Egyptian *nst*, throne (Fournet, "Emprunts," 71).

πυραμίδς, pyramid.

Etym: From Egyptian *pr m ws* (A. Erman, "Aegyptische Lehnworte im Griechischen?" *Beiträge zur Kunde der Indogermanischen Sprachen* 7 (1883), 336–8, 337). But compare Papanastassiou, *Compléments*, 60.

ρίσης, title of an Egyptian priest.

Etym: From Egyptian *hry š*. Cf. also ρισηγέτης (Fournet, "Emprunts," 71). From Egyptian *hry š w3d wr* or *w3d wr* (Vergote, *Joseph en Égypte*, 72).

ῥωψ, boat, πλοῖον παπύρινον.

Etym: From Demotic *rms* (E. Lidén, "Ein ägyptisches Wort bei Hesych," *Glotta* 2 (1909), 149–51; Vergote, "Bilinguisme," 138; Fournet, "Emprunts," 71).

Lit: Maysers and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

σάβανον, linen.

Etym: From Egyptian *sbw*, mummy bandages (WB IV 89, 13) (Fournet, "Emprunts," 71). Cf. Lewy, *Fremdwörter*, 127.

Lit: Papanastassiou, *Compléments*, 67.

σάκκος, sack made of coarse hair-cloth.

Etym: Probably from the Hebrew *saq* (MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 249). Maysers and Schmoll list it under 'Semitische Wörter' (*Grammatik*, I 29). From Egyptian *s3k*, Cp **СОК** (R. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, Leiden 1955, IV 64).

σαλούσιον, σαλώσιον, earthen vessel, measure of capacity.

Lit: Maysers and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

σάμαθον, pail.

Etym: From Coptic **ϣαμαθε** (R. J. Littman and J. Hartley, “A Note on P. Oxy. 1290, 1 and 5,” *ZPE* 4 (1969), 186, 186; Westendorf, *Handwörterbuch*, 538). But it could also be an incorrect spelling of the word σαμβάθιον, which is also a vessel.

σάρι, aquatic plant.

Etym: From Egyptian *s3ri* (Hemmerdinger, “Noms,” 245). Fournet derives it from Egyptian *s3ry*, medicinal plant (WB IV 19, 10–13), or *sʿr*, papyrus-like plant, preferring the latter (“Emprunts,” 68). Cf. also Coptic **ϣαρι** (Crum 584a), aquatic plant. From Egyptian *s3ry* (Nencioni, “Innovazioni,” 9, 18).

Lit: MacGready, “Egyptian Words,” 251.

σεβέννιον, palm tree fibres. Cf. below συμβέννιον.

Etym: From Egyptian *snj bnrt* (Vergote, “Bilinguisme,” 1387; Fournet, “Emprunts,” 71–2).

σελκαμ, meaning unclear.

Lit: Maysner and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

σινδών, linen, fine cloth.

In Herodotus and Aeschylus this word refers to a mummy’s bandage, later its meaning was semantically extended to a curtain or even linen garment (Herodotus 2.86; Aeschylus fr. 153 Radt (*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* III 185)).

Etym: From Egyptian *šndwt*, kilt (Erman, “Lehnworte,” 338, Hemmerdinger, “Noms,” 242; MacGready, “Egyptian Words,” 250; Forbes, *Technology*, IV 75). Pierce considers the etymology to be uncertain (“Loan Words,” 107). Masson, on the other hand, finds a Semitic ancestry for the word (*Recherches*, 25–26). Fournet points to the Accadian *saddinu/sattinu*, but prefers a derivation from the Egyptian *šndwt* (“Emprunts,” 74). Compare Papanastassiou, *Compléments*, 71. The adjective σινδόνιος appears in Strabo (15.1.71).

Lit: Rodríguez Adrados, “Ambiente,” 51.

σοῦσον, lotus flower.

Etym: Through iranian *sūsan* < Egyptian *sšn* (Masson, *Recherches*, 58; Lambdin, “Egyptian Loan Words,” 154; Hemmerdinger, “Noms,” 245). From Egyptian *sšn*, lotus (MacGready, “Egyptian Words,” 251).

σοῦχος, In Strabo 17, 1: name of the crocodile in a certain part of Egypt.

Lit: From Egyptian *shw* (MacGready, “Egyptian Words,” 251). But see under χάμψα below.

στάχι, sort of vermillion.

Lit: MacGready, “Egyptian Words,” 251.

στίμμς, powdered antimony, kohl. στίβι (*Septuaginta*, *Jeremiah* 4, 30).

Etym: From Egyptian (*m*)*sdm*t; Coptic **CTHΛ** (Hemmerdinger, “Noms,” 243; MacGready, “Egyptian Words,” 250). From *msdm*t, from it Demotic *stm* and Coptic **CTHΛ** (Fournet, “Emprunts,” 65).

στυριός, στυρίωσις.

Lit: Maysen and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

συμβέννιον, LSJ cf. σεβέννιον, palm fibre.

Etym: From Egyptian *šnj bnr*t (WB IV 500, 15), Coptic **ϣΝΒΝΝΕ**, literally palm hair (Westendorf, *Handwörterbuch*, 316).

Lit: Maysen and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

συρμαίη, purge plant.

Lit: From Egyptian *smit* (MacGready, “Egyptian Words,” 250).

σφίγξ, sphinx.

Etym: From Egyptian *špʿnh*, living image (MacGready, “Egyptian Words,” 250).

σῶρυ, metallic substance, probably iron sulphate.

Etym: From Egyptian *š3 wr* (Fournet, “Emprunts,” 65).

ταπλαεῖται, cultic group.

Lit: Maysen and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

τεαρσιήκις, obscure word, perhaps an occupation.

Lit: Maysen and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

τνευπε, appears in the papyrus *P.Vat.Aphrod.* 25Fr. A 19 (A.D. VI) to explain the Greek λάκκς, cistern. The t is probably the article. I cannot trace it back to any Coptic word.

τρικέλλαρον, an agricultural tool.

Etym: Perhaps related to Coptic **ΚΑΛΛΗΡΕ** (Littman and Hartley, “Note,” 186; Westendorf, *Handwörterbuch*, 508).

τύφλη (Athenaeus 312b), τυφλίνοσ, τυφλίνης, a kind of fish.

Etym: Volksetymologie from Egyptian *tbt*, “fish,” cf. Coptic **ἮḲṬ** (Thompson, “On Egyptian Fish Names,” 32).

φεννήσις (-ῆσι, -ήσιος), priest of Isis.

Etym: From Egyptian *p(3) hm n Ist* (Fournet, “Emprunts,” 72).

φενπαίος, priest of Ptah.

Etym: From Egyptian *p(3) hm n Pth* (Fournet, “Emprunts,” 72).

φοῖνιξ, phoenix.

Etym: From Egyptian *bnw* (WB I 458, 3–4) (MacGready, “Egyptian Words,” 250; Fournet, “Emprunts,” 74). Cf. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 1219.

φῶκος, a precious stone.

Etym: From Egyptian *mḥkt*, through Hebrew *pūk* (Lewy, *Fremdwörter*, 47; Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, 1040–1). But Lambdin does not agree with this (“Egyptian Loan Words,” 152). Cf. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 1231.

φώσσων, coarse linen garment.

Lit: Fournet, “Emprunts,” 75.

χάμψα, crocodile (Herodotus 2.69).

Etym: From Egyptian *hms* (Hemmerdinger, “Noms,” 242). From Egyptian *msh* (MacGready, “Egyptian Words,” 250). Compare **ⲙⲘⲁⲟ** from Egyptian *msh*, Demotic *msh*, and explaining the Greek by metathesis: *hms* (WB III 96, 11–12; Vycichl, *Dictionnaire*, 123). The explanation with an indefinite article in Coptic **ϣⲈⲚ-** (S) or **ϣⲁⲚ-** (B) for the Greek *χα-* is, however, impossible because, as Fournet points out, Egyptian *h* = Greek *c* is an equation that has no precedents (“Emprunts,” 68).

Lit: R. Renchan, “Some Greek Lexicographical Notes,” *Glotta* 46 (1968), 60–73, 73; Rodríguez Adrados, “Ambiente,” 52–4.

χέννιον, quail.

Etym: From Egyptian *hnt*, *hntw*, bird (WB III 288, 18–9) (Fournet, “Emprunts,” 74).

Lit: MacGready, “Egyptian Words,” 251.

χενόσιρις, Egyptian name of ivy, literally plant of Osiris.

Etym: From Egyptian *h3 n isr*.

Lit: MacGready, “Egyptian Words,” 251; Fournet, “Emprunts,” 68.

χλίβιον, basket, measure. Cf. χλοῦβον.

Etym: Compare **𓆎𓆏𓆑**, from Egyptian \**kleb*, cf. Hebrew *kēlūb* (Vycichl, *Dictionnaire*, 338; N. Y. Clauson, “A Customs House Registry from Roman Egypt (P. Wisconsin 16),” *Aegyptus* 9 (1928), 240–80, 268; MacGready, “Egyptian Words,” 252; Fournet, “Emprunts,” 72).

χρήρη or τχρήρη, appears in a couple of VIth century papyri (*P.Lond.* V 1722.20 and *P.Muench.* I 11, 27 and 12, 22) explaining the Greek word ὑποπέσσιον, which seems to be the space below the staircase generally used for storing things.

Etym: This word has been explained as stemming from Demotic *hrr* “Frauenabteilung” in W. Spiegelberg’s edition of the Strassburg Papyrus 1 (*P.Dem.Strasb.* 1 and *P.Louvre* 2424) (*P.Stras.Dem.* 18). See H. I. Bell, “Syene Papyri in the British Museum,” *Klio* 13 (1913), 160–74, 172; S. R. K. Glanville, *Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the BM* 1, London 1939, XXXIII n. 1; G. Mattha, “Notes on a Demotic papyrus from Thebes,” *Annales du Service des Antiquités Égyptiennes*, 51 (1951) 265–7.

But I think the term in these late papyri is reproducing the Coptic **ϣραι** “below” + **ρι** “room,” with the t being the feminine article for ri, also a feminine noun. But cf. Crum 107b **καλαατωριτ**, a term with a similar meaning.

Lit: G. Husson, “Houses in Syene in the Patermouthis Archive,” *BASP* 27 (1990), 123–37, 126; G. Husson, *Oikia. Le vocabulaire de la maison privée en Égypte d’après les papyrus grecs*, Paris 1983, 226–30, 230.

χυμεία, alchemy.

Etym: From Egyptian *kmt*, literally the black land (MacGready, “Egyptian Words,” 251). LSJ mentions it probably comes from χύμα.

χωνσχυ, meaning unclear.

Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28

ψαγδάν, σάγδαζ, ointment.

Etym: From Egyptian *p3 sgm* (Vergote, “Bilinguisme,” 1387; Fournet, “Emprunts,” 66; Jasanoff and Nussbaum, “Word Games,” 196). See W. Spiegelberg, “Ψάγδαν, ψάγδαζ, σάγδαζ,” *Hermes* 56 (1921), 332–3.

ψχέντ, royal headdress.

Etym: From Egyptian *p3 shty* (WB IV 250, 10; MacGready, “Egyptian Words,” 252; Fournet, “Emprunts,” 72). See also Jasanoff and Nussbaum, “Word Games,” 196.

ώχεί, Egyptian name of the ἀτράφαξυς orach, *atriplex rosea*.

Lit: MacGready, “Egyptian Words,” 252.