pour la première fois la forme saïdique correspondant au fameux mot bohaïrique de la Genèse ⲥⲫⲣⲁⲛ�̄ⳡ.

On voit alors que l'objection soulevée par Černý, comme quoi *sḥ* garde toujours son *ḥ*, n'est pas décisive, car s'il se peut que le *ḥ* soit conservé dans un dialecte, il se peut très bien aussi qu'il disparaisse dans un autre. Qui ne sait que, à l'intérieur d'un nom composé, le 'nomen regens', qui passe de l'état absolu a l'état construit et devient de ce fait en position atone, est sujet à de telles modifications?

Indépendamment de cela, on a un exemple typique de disparition d'un *ḥ* dans le nom de lieu égyptien ⌗⸗⸗⊗, *šȝ ḥtp*, qui donne en copte ⳡⲱⲧⲛ̄ et aujourd'hui en arabe شُطْب 'Šoṭb'.[1]

Le mot, d'ailleurs, a pu venir d'un dialecte de la Haute-Egypte, ou le *ḥ* a pu se perdre, car en Bohaïrique on s'attendrait à *ⲥⳝⲡⲣⲁⲛ̄ⳡ ou quelque chose d'analogue.

Il est donc réjouissant de constater qu'un ancien texte, d'origine gnostique, tout en nous affermissant dans une première intuition qui se révèle positive, nous apporte contre toute attente l'équivalent saïdique d'une forme bohaïrique jusqu'ici isolée, à laquelle il viendra désormais s'ajouter dans nos dictionnaires.

ENZO LUCCHESI

The Coptic Circumstantial Present with an Empty (Impersonal) Actor-Suffix and Adverbial Function

THE following cases of *adverbial* (and seemingly frozen) ⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄, analysable as a circumstantially converted present form, have been noted by me; the third-person-singular masculine actor-suffix has here *neutral*[2] value and *impersonal* reference (not being commutable with any specific substantive lexeme):

(*a*) ⲉϥⲕⲱⲧⲉ, Bohairic ⲉϥⲕⲱϯ: 'around (and around)', translating κύκλῳ, κυκλόθεν (Lev. 8: 15; 9: 12, 18; Ex. 19: 12; 27: 17; 28: 33); in non-Scripture (authentic, even if evidently terminological) 'ⲡⲣⲟⲥ-ⲛⲉϥⲧⲟⳡ ⲉϥⲕⲱⲧⲉ', 'according to its peripheral boundaries', a common mortgage, lease and sale formula (Crum and Steindorff, *Koptische Rechtsurkunden* 41. 48; 74. 73), with ⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧⲉ as a variant.[3] Non-formulaic occurrences in Shenoute ed. Amélineau, I, 129. 4; II, 147. 3; 152. 7; 157. 9. Other attestations in Crum, *Dict.* 124*a* ('Often as adverb without concord in gender').

(*b*) ⲉϥⲥⲁⳡⲉ, 'bitterly', translating πικρῶς: Is. 22: 4 (Sah., ed. Wessely): 'ⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲧⲁⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲉϥⲥⲁⳡⲉ', 'leave me to weep bitterly'; Bohairic (ed. Tattam) 'ⳝⲉⲛ-ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⳡⲁⳡⲓ' Cf. Ez. 27: 30; Is. 33: 7, Sah. and Boh., as well as Mat. 26: 75 (ⲡ̄ⲛ̄-ⲟⲩⲥⲓⳡⲉ: ⳝⲉⲛ-ⲟⲩⲣⲓⲙⲓ ⲉϥⲛ̄ⳡⲁⳡⲓ).

(*c*) ⲉϥϧⲟⲗϫ (Boh.) 'easily, pleasantly', translating ἡδέως: Prov. 3: 24. The Sahidic, Akhmîmic, and Bodmer versions have here a *personal* rendering, ⲉⲕⲙⲟⲧⲛ̄, 'at your ease'.[4] Cf. Stern, *ZÄS* 20

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[1] Cf. H. Gauthier, *Dict. géog.* v, 107–8.

[2] The neuter gender is expressed in Coptic by *masculine/feminine neutralization* (as realized in a state of fluctuation), rather than by either gender alone. See Stern, *Gr.* §§ 487, 497. Consider the masc./fem. kataphora to a substantive-clause of content (ⲁϥϫⲟⲟⲥ/ϥ ϫⲉ-, ϥ, ⲥⲟⲩⲟⲛⳡ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ-, ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲧⲣⲉ-, ⳡⳡⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲉ, ϩⲁⲡⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲉ-, etc.) and especially the neutralization, *in favour of the masculine*, in the suffixal anaphora to a Ø-(zero-) determined substantive (the type 'ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ-ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲉⲛⲁⲁⲁϥ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ', Joh. 15: 13). This highly significant and extensively attested phenomenon, discussed by Jelanskaja, *Koptskij Jazyk*, (1964) 108 and in a special paper in *Drevnij Egipet i Drevnjaja Afrika* (1967), 27–9, and the intriguing problem of neuter in Coptic have been treated by the present writer in an unpublished doctoral thesis, 'The Circumstantial Sentence in Shenoute's Coptic' (1972).

[3] Steindorff's emendation (*ZÄS* 29 [1901], 22) 'ⲡⲣⲟⲥ-ⲛⲉϥⲧⲟⳡ ⲉⲧⲕⲱϯ' is unnecessary as well as misleading. Note that ⲕⲱⲧⲉ is treated here morphosyntactically as *transitive*: see Polotsky, 'The Coptic Conjugation System', § 9 (*Orientalia* 29 [1960], 396 f.).

[4] So too Shenoute ed. Leipoldt, III, 101. 5; 191. 14 (cf. 107. 11) and Ecclesiasticus (ed. Lagarde) 34: 21.

(1882), 194: 'ⲉϥϩⲟⲗϫ ist ein Participium und kann sich nur auf ein Nomen oder auf ein Pronomen der 3 sgl. msc. beziehen, *nicht aber als Adverb* (my emphasis) auf eine Tätigkeit. In ähnlichen Fällen nimmt die Sprache zur Umschreibung ihre Zuflucht'; referring to his *Grammatik* (§ 514) and adducing examples for the usual Coptic rendering (following the Greek) of the Hebrew so-called tautological or absolute infinitive: 'ⲁϥⲣⲓⲙⲓ ϩⲉⲛ-ⲟⲩⲣⲓⲙⲓ ⲉϥⲉⲛϣⲁϫⲓ' (Mat. 26: 75), wherein the inner object is qualified,[1] hence the action itself: a makeshift in default of proper adverbs, Stern offers an emendation: 'ϩⲉⲛ-ⲟⲩⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧ ⲉϥϩⲟⲗϫ', 'in a pleasant sleep'. This seems unnecessary, in view of the foregoing evidence.

Although it is my intention here but to point out this use of the circumstantial form, I would try to account for it in two alternative ways, as follows:

1. The circumstantial form is (or was originally) used *predicatively*, before a syntactical met-analysis isolated it from its nexus;

2. What we have here is a Coptic approximation to the Greek adverbial 'accusativus neutri', with the circumstantial functioning as a substantival relative form.
ARIEL SHISHA-HALEVY

Wn·k ṯn 'Where are you?'

In *Pyr. Transl.* 18 (Utt. 77, n. 1) I gave reasons for translating *ṯn i·wn·ṯ* in § 52*a* as 'Where are you?' This opinion has now been confirmed by Coffin Text Spell 753 (de Buck, *CT* vi, 382), which in 382*c* reads: 'O *Pwy*! O *Wy*! *Wn·k ṯn* 'Where are you?'; the only material difference between the two passages is the position of the interrogative word. The use of *wn* instead of *iw* of normal Old and Middle Egyptian (Edel, *Altäg. Gr.* § 1012; Gardiner, *Egn. Gr.*[3] § 503, 1) may be an indication of great age for the original source, see my remarks loc. cit. See also *CT* Spell 897.
R. O. FAULKNER

Two further decree-cases of *Šꜣk*

In *JEA* 58 (1972), 251–3 there was published a gold cylinder in the Fitzwilliam Museum which bore an inscription offering the protection of Khonsu-in-Thebes-Neferhotpe to a certain *Šꜣk*. It was proposed in this article that the cylinder formerly contained a rolled papyrus bearing the text of an 'oracular amuletic decree'. It now appears that this cylinder is not alone, for the existence of two similar gold cases inscribed with the name of the same person has since been confirmed.[2] Both these additional cylinders are in the Louvre, and the authors would like to acknowledge the help which they have received from the Département des Antiquités Égyptiennes, and in particular from Mme Diane Harlé and M. J–L. de Cenival. A photograph of the two objects appears in Plate XXIX.

A. Louvre E. 3316. Height: 5 cm.; width: 1·3 cm. Bought, together with its companion, in 1858. This cylinder is marginally smaller than its Fitzwilliam counterpart. The inscription runs vertically in a column slightly narrower than that of the two other cases. It is as follows:
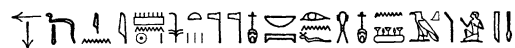
ḏd mdw in ꞌImn-Rꜥ nsw nṯrw nṯr nfr nb pt ir·n·f sꜣ nfr n Šꜣk mꜣꜥ-ḫrw

'Words recited by Amenrasonthēr, the good god, lord of heaven; he made a goodly protection for *Šꜣk*, the justified.'

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[1] The usual equivalent of the 'tautological' infinitive, the *unqualified* ϩⲛ̄- ⲟⲩ- infinitive, *precedes* the finite verb-form (e.g. Ps. 118: 18, Jer. 46: 18). This rendering of the two collateral Greek constructions (the conjunct present participle and a *nomen actionis* in an oblique case) as well as the occasional use of the preposed circumstantial present for the same purpose, deserve a special discussion.

[2] The authors are grateful to R. J. Demarée of The Hague, who first brought this fact to their attention.